Emergent Land Commodification and Intergenerational Land Relations in Northwestern Ghana

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Abstract

Land is the most vital natural resource upon which all human activities and livelihoods depend. In the developing world, especially in Africa, land is essential for livelihoods and food security, a social security for many families, and the main asset that is transferred down the generations. African land tenure has come under pressure due to growing land commodification especially under global influences, which has implications for secured livelihoods and family relations. In Ghana, land is held in communal ownership, and administered by Chiefs, Clan and Family Heads for and on behalf of their respective groups. Land commodification, as well as changing normative frameworks is accelerating, especially in peri-urban areas, resulting in changing land relations in land-owning groups, especially between land custodians and usufructs, between the elders and the youth. Over the years, concerns over the fiduciary role of land custodians in land administration, and the security of the inheritance of the youth have been raised. Within the past two decades, peri-urban Northwestern Ghana has been experiencing growing land commodification as agricultural land is being converted to residential, commercial and other urban-based uses. The main objective of this research is therefore to understand how societal transformation manifests in peri-urban Wa, and which shape this process takes, mirrored by emerging land commodification, intertwined with and answering to intergenerational relations in landowner families. Using the theory of global landscapes, the idea of travelling models, and the intergenerational family solidarities model, the research seeks to understand the driving forces behind societal transformation in Wa and fringe communities; in which ways the forces of globalisation and alongside travelling ideas of modernity influence land commodification; how landowners and land sector actors take advantage of global to local flows on the processes of land commodification; and in which ways the processes and outcomes of the land commodification are intertwined with intergenerational relations in landowner families. The research was conducted using a case study of three peri-urban communities in the Wa Municipality of the Upper West Region of Ghana. In-depth, key informant and expert interviews, focus group discussions, thick observation and photography were used in collecting the empirical data, mainly from the customary landowner families, customary lands secretariats, and state land agencies. From the research, the main driving forces behind the rapid societal transformation are: increasing urbanisation and urban sprawl, the development of modern communication and transport networks, religious and socio-cultural changes, formal and higher education development, and changing institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land. These forces influence the economic, socio-cultural, and politico-institutional conditions of the Tendamba (landowner) families, and in consequence, the commodification of land in support of changing livelihoods and basic needs and aspirations, business opportunities, social and religious activities, modern transport and communication facilities, as well as meeting the costs of land litigations. The Tendamba and Land Technocrats take advantage of the processes of the commodification of the land, facilitated by the modern institutional frameworks for land administration, to reap personal benefits. The commodification of the land produced favourable benefits and intergenerational family relations, but also negative and conflictual relations.

With regard to the positive relations, there are social contacts and integration between the elders and youth at all family levels - the *buurii*, the *yie* and *jaghi*. The elders and youth collaborate and jointly undertake family activities and land transactions. There are also positive normative and functional solidarities in the families, with reciprocities between generations. Family land resources and proceeds from land commodification are shared by family members, in support of education, marriage, means of transport and other personal needs and general welfare. The youth support the elders in their farm work and provide for their food and other welfare needs. In the family land transactions, there is some consensus between the elders and the youth. These positive family solidarities thus foster affection – trust, respect, and intimacy among family members. The research also found that negative intergenerational relations pertain at all family levels. With regard to associational and consensual solidarities, intergenerational relations are limited to Land Management Committees and Family Heads, with little involvement and participation by the larger family. Family support and sharing of land resources and proceeds are skewed towards Family Heads and their biological kin. There are dissatisfactions between the elders and the youth about the amount of support and reciprocity, and also dissenting views about land sales and uses of land sale proceeds. Furthermore, orphans, mostly the younger generation, but also widows and migrant-returnees are deprived and excluded from the family land resource management and benefits. Generally, the land commodification in the study area has weakened family cohesion, resulted in conflicts between the older and younger generations, between Family Heads and other members, created distrusts, and resulted in land fragmentation and the proliferation of splinter Family Heads**.** Among the three family levels, there are more negative inter-[intra] generational family relations at the *yie* levels. There are however opportunities for better intergenerational family relations within the Tendamba families if the involvement of the youth and women, and the issues of transparency and accountability in the management of the family land resources are taken more seriously.

Zusammenfassung

Land ist die wichtigste natürliche Ressource mit Bezug zu menschlichen Aktivitäten und Lebensgrundlagen. In den Ländern des Südens, und hier insbesondere auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent, ist Land für den Lebensunterhalt und die Ernährungssicherheit unerlässlich. Land bietet eine soziale Sicherheit für viele Familien und ist das wichtigste Gut, das über Generationen hinweg übertragen wird. Der afrikanische Landbesitz ist in den letzten Dekaden jedoch durch die zunehmende Kommodifizierung, insbesondere im Zuge globaler Einflüsse, unter Druck geraten. Dies hat Auswirkungen auf die Sicherung der Lebensgrundlagen und schließlich auf Familienbeziehungen.

In Ghana wird das Land traditionell in kommunalem Besitz geführt und von Chiefs, Clan- und Familienoberhäuptern im Namen ihrer jeweiligen Familienzusammenhänge verwaltet. Die Land-Kommodifizierung sowie die sich in diesem Zusammenhang ändernden normativen Rahmenbedingungen beschleunigen sich vor allem in peri-urbanen Gebieten, was zu einen Wandel der Landbeziehungen bei den landbesitzenden Gruppen führt, insbesondere zwischen denjenigen, die das Land verwalteten, und denjenigen, die es nutzten. Im Laufe der Jahre wurden Bedenken hinsichtlich der treuhänderischen Rolle der erst genannten mit Bezug auf die Sicherung des Eigentums der nachfolgenden Generation laut. In den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten hat weiterhin der peri-urbane Nordwesten Ghanas eine zunehmende Land-Kommodifizierung erfahren, da landwirtschaftliche Flächen in Wohn- und Gewerbegebiete sowie für andere städtische Nutzungen umgewandelt wurden und werden. Das Hauptziel dieser Forschung ist ein Verständnis dafür zu schaffen, wie sich die angesprochene gesellschaftliche Transformation im peri-urbanem Wa manifestiert und welche Form dieser Prozess annimmt. Es geht darum, sowohl die Prozesse der Land-Kommodifizierung nachzuzeichnen, sowie deren Verflechtung mit den intergenerationellen Beziehungen in Landbesitzerfamilien in ihrer Dynamik zu analysieren. Mit Bezug auf die von Appadurai formulierte Theorie-Perspektive der *Global Landscapes,* welche in der Datenanalyse mit dem Konzept der *Travelling Models* und dem *intergenerationeller Familiensolidaritätsmodell* zusammengeführt wird, spürt die Forschung den treibenden Kräften der gesellschaftlichen Transformation in Wa und Randgemeinden nach. Es wird empirisch nachgewiesen, in welcher Weise die Kräfte der Globalisierung mit Bezug auf die ‚reisenden Ideen der Moderne' die Landnutzung beeinflussen, wie Landbesitzende und Landsektor-Akteure die Vorteile globaler bis lokaler Ströme über die Prozesse der Landnutzung für ihre Interessen instrumentalisieren, und in welcher Weise die Prozesse und Ergebnisse der Landnutzung mit den intergenerationalen Beziehungen in landbesitzenden Familien in Beziehung gesetzt sind. Die Forschung wurde als Fallstudie von drei peri-urbanen Gemeinden in der Wa Kommune der *Upper West Region* von Ghana durchgeführt. Die empirischen Daten wurden über Forschungsinstrumente wie *Key Informant-* und Experten-Interviews, Fokusgruppen-Diskussionen, *Thick Observation* und Fotografie ermittelt, wobei diese überwiegend mit Bezug auf repräsentative Grundbesitzende Familien, für die Fragestellung typische Landsekretariate und staatliche Landesbehörden erhoben wurden. Aus der Forschung gehen die wichtigsten Triebkräfte für den schnellen gesellschaftlichen Wandel hervor: die zunehmende Urbanisierung und Zersiedelung des semi-urbanen Raums, die Entwicklung moderner Kommunikations- und Verkehrsnetze, religiöse und soziokulturelle Veränderungen, die Entwicklung des Bildungssystems sowie die sich verändernden institutionellen und organisatorischen Rahmenbedingungen im Bereich ‚Land'. Diese Kräfte

beeinflussen die wirtschaftlichen, soziokulturellen und politisch-institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen der *Tendamba*-Familien (Grundbesitzer) und damit die Kommodifikation von Land zur Unterstützung sich verändernder Lebensbedingungen, Grundbedürfnisse und Ambitionen, unternehmerischer Chancen, sozialer und religiöser Aktivitäten, moderner Transport- und Kommunikationsbedarfe, sowie den Zwang zur Übernahme von Kosten von Landrechtstreitigkeiten. Die *Tendamba* und Landtechnokraten nutzten die Prozesse der Land-Kommodifizierung, die durch die modernen institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen für die Landverwaltung ermöglicht wurden, um persönlichen Gewinn zu erzielen. Die Land-Kommodifizierung hat positive Auswirken auf intergenerationelle Familienbeziehungen, sowie auch negative, welche zu konfliktreichen Beziehungen führen. Mit Bezug auf die positiven Beziehungen sind soziale Kontakte und die Integration zwischen Alt und Jung auf allen Familienebenen - den *Buurii*, den *Yie* und den *Jaghi* – zu nennen. Alt und Jung arbeiten zusammen und führen gemeinsam Familienaktivitäten und Grundstücksgeschäfte durch. Es gibt zudem positive normative und funktionale Solidaritäten in den Familien mit Wechselwirkungen zwischen den Generationen. Familienlandressourcen und Erlöse aus der Land-Kommodifikation werden unter den Familienmitgliedern geteilt, um Bildung, Heirat, Transportmittel und andere persönliche Bedürfnisse sowie das allgemeine Wohlergehen zu unterstützen. Die Jungen unterstützen die Alten bei der Landarbeit und sorgen für ihre Ernährung und andere Wohlfahrtsbedürfnisse. Bei den Grundstücksgeschäften der Familie gibt es einen gewissen Konsens zwischen den Alten und den Jungen. Diese positiven Familiensolidaritäten fördern so gegenseitige Zuneigung, Vertrauen, Respekt und Intimität unter den Familienmitgliedern. Die Forschung ergab, dass jedoch auch negative intergenerationelle Beziehungen auf allen Familienebenen bestehen. Im Hinblick auf assoziative und konsensorientierte Solidaritäten beschränken sich die intergenerationellen Beziehungen auf Landmanagementkomitees und Familienoberhäupter, wobei die Einbindung und Mitwirkung der erweiterten Familie gering ist. Die Daten zeigen, dass die Unterstützung der Familie und die Aufteilung der Landressourcen und Erlöse gegenüber den Familienoberhäuptern und ihren biologischen Verwandten verzerrt sind. Es bestehen bei der Erhebung Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen Alt und Jung über das Ausmaß der Unterstützung und Reziprozität, aber auch abweichende Ansichten über Landverkäufe und die Verwendung von Grundstücksverkaufserlösen. Es wird auch festgestellt, dass Waisenkinder, meist die jüngere Generation, sowie auch Witwen und zurückkehrende Migranten benachteiligt und von der Bewirtschaftung und den damit verbundenen Nutzen der familiären Landressourcen ausgeschlossen werden. Im Allgemeinen hat die Land-Kommodifizierung im Untersuchungsgebiet den familiären Zusammenhalt geschwächt, zu Konflikten zwischen der älteren und jüngeren Generation, zwischen Familienoberhäuptern und anderen Familienmitgliedern geführt, Misstrauen geschaffen und zu einer Fragmentierung des Landes und einer zunehmenden Abspaltung von Familienoberhäuptern geführt. Im Vergleich der drei Familienebenen sind mit Bezug auf die *Yie*-Ebene mehr negative inter-[intra]generationale Familienbeziehungen festzustellen. Es gibt jedoch auch Chancen für bessere generationenübergreifende Familienbeziehungen innerhalb der *Tendamba*-Familien. Diese werden über die Einbeziehung von jungen Familienmitgliedern und Frauen sowie eine Anerkennung von Fragen der Transparenz und Rechenschaftspflicht bei der Bewirtschaftung der familiären Landressourcen realisiert.

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Dedication

To my lovely children

Wonenuo Michelle,
Ave Maria Song,
and
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Table of Contents

Abstract i

Zusammenfassung iii

Acknowledgement v

Dedication vii

Table of Contents viii

List of Tables xi

List of Figures xii

List of plates xiii

Abbreviations and Acronyms xiv

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 The Research Background 1

1.2 The Problem Statement 5

1.3 The Rationale and Significance of the Study 6

1.4 The Organisation of Chapters 7

2. REVIEW OF LAND GOVERNANCE, GLOBAL FLOWS AND LAND RELATIONS IN GHANA 8

2.1 Land Governance in Ghana 8

2.1.1 Types of Interests Held in Land in Ghana 8

2.1.2 Land Ownership and Administration 10

2.1.3 An Overview of the Processes of Land Acquisition and Land Use Planning in Ghana 13

2.1.4 The Major Challenges of the Land Sector in Ghana 16

2.1.5 The Land Reforms 17

2.2 Global Cultural Flows, Land Commodification and Land Relations 21

2.2.1 Global Cultural Flows, Land Commodification and Land Relations – A National Overview 22

2.3 Conclusion 29

3. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL VIEWS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK 30

3.1 Globalisation and Appadurai’s Landscapes of Global Interactions 30

3.2 The Concept of Travelling Models in the Face of Global Cultural Flows 33

3.3 The Concept of Land and Land Commodification 38

3.4 Conceptualising Intergenerational Relations 40

3.5 Summary and Conclusion 46

4. RESEARCH APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGY 48

4.1 Philosophical Worldviews/Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives 48

4.2 Research Approach 50

4.3 Case Study Research Design 51

4.4 Case Selection 52

4.5 Methods of Data Collection 52

4.5.1 Reconnaissance Visits 53
4.5.2 Focus Group Discussions, Participatory Mapping and Pairwise Ranking 53
4.5.3 Interviews 56
4.5.4 Direct Observation, Photography and Audio Recording 60
4.5.5 Desktop Study 60

4.6 The Data Analysis 61

4.7 The Ethical Considerations in the Research 62

4.8 The Validation and Feedback Workshop 63

4.9 Positionality/Reflexivity 64

5. THE STUDY AREA IN CONTEXT 65

5.1 Ghana: The Geopolitical, Socio-demographic, and Economic Frameworks 65

5.2 The Upper West Region – A Broader View of the Study Area 68

5.3 A Brief Description of the Case Study Communities 72

5.3.1 Bamahu 72
5.3.2 Nakori 73
5.3.3 Sombo 73

5.4 The Socio-Political Structure, Land Ownership, and the Traditional Perspectives about Land among the Waala 74

6. THE DRIVING FORCES BEHIND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION IN [PERI-URBAN] WA78

6.1 Population Increase, Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl in Wa 78

6.2 Modern Communication and Transport Development in Wa 95

6.2.1 Radio Explosion on the Airwaves of Wa 96
6.2.2 Listening and Watching: Television Expansion in Wa 100
6.2.3 Mobile Communication and Internet 103
6.2.4 Transport Services 108

6.3 Religion and Socio-Cultural Changes 112

6.4 Formal Education Development in Northwestern Ghana and Local Aspirations 115

6.5 Institutional and Organisational Frameworks and Land Reforms 127

6.6 Summary of Global Cultural Flows and Changing Livelihoods, Aspirations and Lifestyles in Wa 133

7. THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORCES OF GLOBALISATION ON LAND COMMODIFICATION IN PERI-URBAN WA 141

7.1 The Reasons for Land Commodification 142

7.1.1 Changing Livelihood Sources and Aspirations: Selling Land for Basic Needs and Aspirations 142

7.1.2 Embracing New Business Models: Land Sale Proceeds as Capital for Investments 145

7.1.3 “The Tail of the Cock Tilts in the Direction of the Wind”: Commodifying Land to Acquire Modern Means of Transport and Telecommunication 148

7.1.4 Financing Social and Religious Activities through Land Sales 149

7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: “Using the Monkey’s Tail to Tie the Monkey” 151

7.1.6 Summary and Conclusion 155

7.2 Players, Processes and Practices in Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa 156

7.3 The Outcome of the Commodification of Land in Peri-Urban Wa 163

7.3 Summary and Conclusion of the Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification 166

8. THE COMMODIFICATION OF LAND AND CHANGING INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN PERI-URBAN WA 171

8.1 Family Solidarity and Land Relations Prior to the Emergence of Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa 171

8.2 Land Commodification and Intergenerational Land Relations at the Buurii Level 177

8.3 Land Commodification and Intergenerational Land Relations at the yir Level 187

8.3.1 Case 1: Family Land Relations in Dakura *yir* 187

8.3.2 Case 2: Land Commodification and Land Relations in Bayor *yir* 191

8.3.3 Case 3: The Story of Adams and Land Relations in Salifu *yir* 195

8.4 Land Relations at the jaga Level 198

8.4.1 Case 4: Land Relations in Yahaya *jaga* 198

8.4.2 Case 5: Land Relations in Mahama *jaga* 200

8.5 Discussion of Intergenerational Land Relations in Tendamba Families 203

9. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH 215

9.2 The Forces of Globalisation, Land Commodification and the Intergenerational Land Relations Nexus 215

9.3 Further Research 222

References 223

APPENDICES 236

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Dimensions of the Intergenerational Solidarities Model 45

Table 4. 1 : Focus Group Discussions Conducted 55
Table 4. 2: Number of In-depth Interview Respondents by Community and Category. 57
Table 4. 3: General Characteristics of In-depth Interview Respondents 58
Table 4. 4: Participating Organisations in the Study 59

Table 5. 1: Population Growth of Ghana: 1960-2010 67
Table 5. 2: Population Density and Urban Proportion of Ghana: 1960-2010 67

Table 6. 1: FM Radio Broadcasting Stations in Wa 97
Table 6.2: Details of Mobile Communication Networks in Ghana 104
Table 6. 3: Statistics on Schools in Wa Municipality in 2016/17 118

Table 7. 1: Trend of Land Prices in Peri-urban Wa 161

List of Figures

Figure 2. 1: Land Use Planning Process in Ghana 16

Figure 3. 1: The Landscapes of Globalisation 37

Figure 4. 1: Summary of Research Methodology 61

Figure 5. 1: Regional Map of Ghana 66
Figure 5.2: Map of Wa Municipality with Case Study Communities (bold black) 72

Figure 6. 1: Student Admission by Academic Years for UDS Wa Campus from 2002/2003-2013/2014 80
Figure 6. 2: Student Admissions for Wa Polytechnic from 2003-2015 80
Figure 6. 3: Population Trend of Urban Wa: 1970-2010 81
Figure 6. 4: Participatory Map of Wa Showing Spatial Expansion from the 1950s to 2002 83
Figure 6. 5: Population Trend of the Study Communities for 1970-2010 85
Figure 6. 6: Housing Stock in Study Communities: 1984, 2000 and 2010 87
Figure 6. 7: Showing the Location of Some Key Educational Facilities in Wa. 119
Figure 6. 8: Literacy by Age Cohorts in Wa Municipality 126
Figure 6. 9: Landscapes of Global-Local Processes Behind Societal Transformation in Wa and Fringe Communities 139

Figure 7. 1: Registered Leases in the Study Communities on Annual Basis from 1998 to 2012 165
Figure 7. 2: Proportion of Registered Leases in Study Communities in Three Periods: 1998-2002; 2003-2007; 2008-2012 166
Figure 7. 3: The Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa 169

Figure 9. 1: The Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification and Intergenerational Relations in Peri-Urban Wa 220

List of plates

Plate 1. 1: Ongoing Land Developments in Peri-urban Wa.. 1

Plate 4. 1: Women Group Discussions at In-service Training Center, Wa.. 54
Plate 4. 2: Photo Showing FGDs with Elders and Youth in Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo form L - R respectively 55
Plate 4. 3: Photo Showing Participatory Mapping in ISTC (L) and the Output of a Pairwise Ranking in Bamahu (R)... 56
Plate 4. 4: In-depth Interviews Being Conducted by a Research Assistant in Sombo (L) and the Researcher in Nakori (R) 57
Plate 4. 5: Showing Participants at the Feedback and Validation Workshop at In-Service Training Center.. 64

Plate 6. 1: Student Hostels in peri-urban Wa.. 88
Plate 6. 2: Stone Gathering and Sand winning in Bamahu and Nakori 89
Plate 6. 3: Some trading activities in Bamahu and Nakori 91
Plate 6. 4: Top: Old Traditional Mud Buildings. Bottom: New Modern Cement Block Iron-roofed Buildings 93
Plate 6. 5a: Photos: Radio Stations in Wa. Left: Radio Progress. Right: Radio Upper West............. 100
Plate 6.5b Photos Showing Communication Service Outfits in Wa and Bamahu …………………..107
Plate 6. 6: Showing various means of transport used in Wa: Right: Motor Bikes & *nyaaba lorry* Sales Shop. Left: *yellow-yellow* at Wa Central Station... 109
Plate 6. 7: Welcoming Hajj Pilgrims from Mecca at Bamahu in September 2017 114
Plate 6. 8: Mosques in Nakori (left) and Bamahu (Right) 115
Plate 6. 9: Lands Commission (top) & Customary Lands Secretariat in Wa (bottom) 130

Plate 7. 1: Top: Tendamba old Traditional Mud Buildings Giving Way to New Modern Cement Block Iron-roofed Buildings in Nakori and Bamahu 145
Plate 7. 2: Tendamba-built Student Hostels in Bamahu and Sombo 146
Plate 7. 3: Shops and Table-top Trading Points of the Tendamba and their Wives (left). Shops Rented out by the Tendamba to Business Persons (right) at Bamahu 147
Plate 7. 4: Samples of Land Use Plans Used by Tendamba in Land Commodification..................... 158

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CLS	Customary Lands Secretariat
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GES	Ghana Education Service
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IIC	In-depth Interview with Community Participant
IIL	In-depth Interview with Land Sectors Agency Official
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KII	Key Informant Interview
LAP	Land Administration Project
LC	Lands Commission
LMC	Land Management Committee
LUP	Land Use Planning
LVD	Land Valuation Division
LP	Local Plans
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NORADEP	Northern Regional Agricultural Development Programmes
NCTE	National Council for Tertiary Education
RCD	Rent Control Department
SFC	State Farms Corporation
SDF	Spatial Development Frameworks
SP	Structure Plans
SMD	Survey and Mapping Division
PVLMD	Public and Vested Lands Management Division
TCPD	Town and Country Planning Department
UDS	University for Development Studies
URADEP	Upper Regional Agricultural Development Programme
UWR	Upper West Region

1. INTRODUCTION

The introductory chapter of this thesis presents the background and the main objective of the study, the rationale and significance of the study, and the organisation of the rest of the chapters of the thesis.

1.1 The Research Background

In recent times, the fringe communities of Wa, the regional capital of the Upper West Region of Ghana, are witnessing unprecedented transformations. Moving into Wa from all directions, one is confronted with glare physical changes at the peripheries - demarcated plots of lands marked and protected by concrete pillars, dwarf corner walls, heaps of sand, stone and cement blocks. Private residential housing, student hostels, shops and other commercial facilities are springing up everywhere, some completed and others at various stages of construction. Agricultural land is being converted to residential, commercial and other urban physical infrastructure. The south-eastern, southern, south-western and western fringes of Wa are the most active areas, exhibiting these characteristics.

Government agencies, civil and public servants, business people, and students, demand land for various uses and for speculation. Land values continue to appreciate, and land prices soar. Families are happy, or compelled, to take advantage of these developments. They approach the land technocrats, who are mostly surveyors and planners, to have their lands demarcated into saleable plots, which are then allocated to interested purchasers. There are observable changes in the life of land owners, in terms of changing aspirations and lifestyles, manifested in the use of modern transport and communication facilities such as motor bikes and mobile phones, changing occupation and livelihoods, and changing housing. Within the indigenous dwelling environment, one can observe older-indigenous housing structures interspersed with new housing facilities.

Plate 1. 1: Ongoing Land Developments in Peri-urban Wa
Source: Darius T. Mwingyine, Field Research, 2015/2016

These transformations have been attributed to the establishment of higher educational institutions, improved transport system, a growing economy, and increasing population and urbanisation (Boamah, 2013, p. 108; Zackaria & Yaro, 2013, pp. 196–203). In the midst of these transactions are various dynamics in land relations among the land owner families, especially between custodian elders and the younger generations – issues of inclusion and exclusion, co-operations and disagreements, support and reciprocity, issues of transparency and accountability, dissatisfactions, conflicts, and insecurity of inheritance to the land.

Before delving deeper into the dynamics of land relations, it is important to re-state the fact that land resources, including, water and trees/forests, are the anchor upon which the sustenance of humankind rests. These resources provide essential material such as, food and medicine, fuel, shelter, clean air, and altogether, support the sustenance of biological systems, as well as socio-economic, industrial, environmental, and cultural development (Cless, 2012; Meissner, 2012, p. 46; UN, 2017). Henry George aptly describes the position of land in the life of humankind thus:

> Land is the home of humans, the storehouse we must draw upon for all our needs. Land is the material to which we must apply our labour to supply all our desires. Even the products of the sea cannot be taken, or the light of the sun enjoyed, or any of the forces of nature utilized, without the use of land or its products. On land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again. We are children of the soil as truly as a blade of grass or the flower of the field. Take away from people all that belongs to land, and they are but disembodied spirits (George, 2006, p. 163).

George argues that everyone needs land to live, and even the advanced development of any people or nation cannot rid them of their dependence on land (*ibid*). This fact notwithstanding, developing countries are more dependent on land to feed their populations. In various African countries and customs, but also in other parts of the developing world, land is a communal, intergenerational property; a major source of livelihood, and one that forms "a large share of the asset portfolio of the poor"; one that has a spiritual value, and forms the basis for social identity, social security and networks (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 24–26; Deininger, Selod, & Burns, 2012, p. 15; Tengan, 1991, pp. 37–38).

Like in most parts of Ghana, land in Northwestern Ghana is not only regarded as a source of livelihoods, but also the intermediary between the human living and the Supreme Being, through the ancestor who resides in the land. The land is believed to belong not only to the human living, but also

to the ancestors and the generations yet unborn (Ollenu, 1962, pp. 4–5), and as such, the land is guarded as a communal intergenerational property. In the Waala [indigenes of Wa and surrounding communities] society, the family is the main social security net for members, and the land is the main resource with which various generations fulfilled their social security functions – parents depend on the land to care for the growth of children, and the children take over the lands later in life as grown-ups, and use same to cater for their [now] aged parents. The clan/family heads manage these lands according to custom, on behalf of their members, including the ancestors and the generations yet unborn.

Over the years, however, these views and the socio-cultural values associated with land, land tenure, and their concomitant land relations, as well as peoples' aspirations and lifestyles have undergone rapid changes under a rapidly globalising world characterised by institutional changes, exchange of ideas, financial flows, and advanced technology. The Waala custom, like all other customs, is not immune to changes, and has witnessed and still is witnessing transformation (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 267), thus influencing land institutions and land relations. Indeed, the African customary land tenure[1] and for that matter, land relations have never been static or homogenous (Lentz, 2013, p. 8).

Within the last two decades, many African governments have embarked on land reforms, with key policies that seek to preserve these customary arrangements and social identity; to protect livelihoods and promote equitable development; and to promote the development of land markets and facilitate access to land for investments (Amanor, 2012, pp. 11–13). Albeit these policy reforms include consolidation of customary tenure arrangements, some researchers [e.g. Amanor] believe that "the engine of land policy has become the needs of the bureaucratic and private capitalist sectors and international trade and investment" (1999, p. 60). The development of land markets thus appears to be the major focus, as many of these reforms rely on international donors including capitalist institutions such as the World Bank.

In the last two decades, Sub Saharan Africa has been a 'hotspot' for land commodification for various investment purposes (Cotula, Vermeulen, Leonard, & Keeley, 2009, p. 17). Global forces such as the 2007/2008 food crisis and price hikes, increasing urbanization and changing food diets, demand for

[1] Land tenure constitutes the various laws, rules and regulations governing the holding and/or ownership of rights and interests in land. This system provides a superstructure within which the rights and interests are exercised or left dormant in the use, development and transference of land (Kasanga, 1998).

biofuel and other non-agricultural commodities, climate change and emerging carbon markets, and other investment opportunities, have been the key drivers of the recent enormous global land acquisitions especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Cotula et al., 2009; GRAIN, 2008, 2016). Under these waves of globalisation, market transactions and for that matter the commoditised economy has stretched its tentacles further to rope in more spheres of life and colonise previously untouched areas (Williams, 2002, p. 257). Consequently, the African tradition and custom have been increasingly "fashioned in the modern world of commodities" (Amanor, 1999, p. 18), and natural and cultural resources are being commodified ranging from the "rural knowledge of medicinal plants, to annual festivals and biodiversity parks for ecotourism" (*ibid*, p. 42).

Within the African regional setting, a combination of factors such as the development of tree and cash crop, demographic pressure, and urbanization (Colin & Ayouz, 2006; Colin & Woodhouse, 2010; Cotula & Neves, 2007), but also changing institutions, changing aspirations and lifestyles, increasing commercialisation of African societies, and increasing individualisation are driving land commodification. These commodifications do not work in isolation, but are facilitated by the high-speed information technology, transport, and media. Whilst there are favourable outcomes for the livelihoods of people, there are also adverse implications for local land relations especially for small holder farming families, and communal land ownership groups (Cotula et al., 2009; Kuusaana, 2016).

In Ghana, land ownership lies within the public and customary domains, and administered using statutory regulations and customary norms and practices. The public lands are vested in the President of Ghana in trust for the people of Ghana. The customary lands which are mostly in communal ownership, are vested in a stool or skin (symbol of authority), clan, family, in trust for their respective groups (Government of Ghana, 1993, 1999). About 80%-90% of the land in Ghana is in customary ownership (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 13). Land in Ghana is widely believed to belong "to a vast family of whom many are dead, a few are living and countless host are still unborn" (Ollenu, 1962, p. 4). The living, at any given time, are not only entitled to the use of these land resources, but are also tenants of the ancestors and trustees of the future generations. The living thus uses the land, and hands it down to the next generation along the family lineage according to custom. With the passing of generations, these communal land relations are increasingly being transformed.

From the pre-colonial and colonial times, the integration into global markets and contacts with British political and religious administrators, changing land institutions and land reforms have had a great influence on local perception of land, and thus land commodification (Amanor, 1999, 2008, 2010a; Kasanga & Woodman, 2004). This commoditised economy started in the cash crop region of the southern part of Ghana, where land is mostly controlled by chiefs. In the second half of the nineteenth century in southern Ghana, a frontier development of palm oil and cocoa export crops for European markets, as well as a mining boom, created powerful economic incentives for land investments. Chiefs took advantage of this rural land market, and sold large expanses of land to neighbouring and settler farmers (Amanor, 1999, 2008, 2010a). As the lands for cash crop eventually became scarce, family land relations became commodified as "land and labour were transacted on market basis, rather than offered or received on the basis of family solidarity" (Amanor, 2008, p. 73).

With accelerated urbanization and the development of urban land markets, large-scale land investments, and land institutional reforms, but also changing lifestyles and aspirations, the commoditised land economy is now nationwide. Migration, increasing population and urbanisation have all enhanced land values in peri-urban areas, especially the city fringes, resulting in struggles and negotiations between chiefs and indigenes, over conversion of agricultural lands to residential and other urban-based land uses. In the face of these struggles and negotiations, some chiefs reap the profits, depriving the commoners of their source of livelihood, whilst in other areas, the land commodification benefits the entire land-owning group (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004; Ubink, 2008). In Northern Ghana, where there was hardly any commercial transactions in land, two decades ago, land commodification is now active and on the increase (Boamah, 2013; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001; Zackaria & Yaro, 2013). Generally, land commodification is transforming land relations - the way communal land, as a common intergenerational property, is negotiated within land-owning groups or families, as well as between generations, and in some cases tilting the balance of power and benefits to the land trustees.

1.2 The Problem Statement

In recent times, the sacred perception of, and communal notion of land in Northwestern Ghana has been changing due to urbanisation, changing institutions, changing aspirations and lifestyles. Land is increasingly being regarded as a tradable commodity, especially in the urban and peri-urban neighbourhood. In the mid-1990s, there was hardly any land leasing, selling or renting of agricultural

lands in the peri-urban area of Wa, the Upper West Regional capital (Benneh, Kasanga, & Amoyaw, 1995). Within the last two decades however, the area has been experiencing growing land commodification, manifested in the processes and activities involved in the conversion of agricultural land to residential, commercial and other urban uses (as described above). These commodifictaions have implications for land relations within the landowning families. The main objective of this research is therefore to understand how societal transformation manifests in peri-urban Wa, and which shape this process takes, mirrored by emerging land commodification intertwined with and answering to intergenerational relations in land owner families.

1.3 The Rationale and Significance of the Study

Much research in Ghana relating to land commodification and land relations, has mostly dwelt more on relations between land custodians (including state land managers) and their subjects (e.g. Kasanga & Kotey, 2001; Kasanga & Woodman, 2004; Ubink, 2008; Ubink & Amanor, 2008), with few researches focusing on the intergenerational dimension (e.g. Amanor, 2010a; Duncan, 2010). These researches (Amanor, and Duncan) focus on the intra-family relations associated with the commodification of farm land and labour for commercial agriculture which is in part driven by the changing prices and availability of labor in the cash crop sector in southern Ghana. This study contributes to the store of knowledge on land commodification and land relations particularly the intergenerational dimensions of family land relations. The study, however, focuses on a/an [peri-] urban environment in which increased demand for land for building purposes is met with changing livelihoods, lifestyles, aspirations, and changing perceptions and institutional arrangements regarding land, in the face of increasing globalisation. The study is particularly situated in Northwestern Ghana, because this area has the highest incidence of poverty in the country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, pp. 14–15), and the people rely on the land as their main source of livelihood. In this area, land management is handled by family or clan heads, within a society where the family structure serves as the main social welfare system for its members. It is within this structure, with the dependence on land, that the implicit intergenerational contract is executed – parents caring for their children to "grow teeth" and the adult children in turn caring for their aged parents to "lose their teeth".

The study provides useful data for the Government, the land sector agencies, non-governmental organisations, the academia, and individuals for policy direction towards sustainable land management and livelihoods in Northwestern Ghana in particular, and the country at large, especially areas

experiencing similar land commodification. The participatory nature of the study, with the active involvement of land owners (youth, elders, and women) in data gathering, and the sharing and discussion of findings, offers families the opportunity to reflect upon their land management style and seek appropriate measures to ensure the highest and best uses of their land resources for the benefit of all generations. In consequence, the study itself is meant to be "transformative" by itself.

1.4 The Organisation of Chapters

The study is organised in nine chapters. The next chapter (chapter 2) presents the institutional and organisational framework governing land in Ghana, and the on-going reforms in the land sector. It also reviews studies on land commodification and land relations in Ghana in the context of global cultural flows. This paves the way for chapter three, which deals with the conceptual and theoretical views, as well as the analytical frameworks. The chapter focuses on globalisation and societal transformation, the concepts of land, and intergenerational relations. The chapter concludes with the key research questions to be addressed in the study, paving way for the research approach and methodology in chapter four. Chapter five presents the details of the study area. Chapters six, seven and eight present the empirical findings of the study. In chapter six, the focus is on the driving forces behind societal transformation in the study area. Chapter seven discusses the influences of the forces of globalisation on land commodification, and how land owners use these forces in land commodification. Chapter eight presents the findings on the commodification of land and changing intergenerational relations. In chapter nine, the last chapter, the summary of findings and conclusions are presented. As indicated above, the following chapter begins with the frameworks of land governance in Ghana.

2. REVIEW OF LAND GOVERNANCE, GLOBAL FLOWS AND LAND RELATIONS IN GHANA

The following presentation turns towards the question of how land is governed in Ghana, and how global, combined with local cultural material, has influenced land relations in Ghana. The chapter is thus structured in two parts. The first part presents the institutional and organisational frameworks governing land in Ghana, and the on-going reforms in the land sector. The second part reviews studies on land commodification and land relations in Ghana in the context of global cultural flows.

2.1 Land Governance in Ghana

This section focuses on the various kinds of interests that are held in land in Ghana, the land ownership and administrative system, and the major means of accessing land. The major challenges of the land sector, and the reforms aimed at minimizing or eliminating these challenges are also discussed.

2.1.1 Types of Interests Held in Land in Ghana

The land tenure regime in Ghana derives from the customary institutions of the country, and inherited colonial institutions based on the English common law and equity. From these institutions, four major types of interests in land are identified, namely: the allodial, freehold, leasehold and the customary tenancies (Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, pp. 3–4).

The allodial title, also known as the paramount title, is the highest proprietary interest capable of being held in land in Ghana (Bugri, 2013, p. 6; Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, p. 4; Government of Ghana, 1999, p. 26). The allodial title is acquired through discovery or conquests of land and settlement thereon, or through purchase, gifts, and through compulsory acquisition of land by the state, all from the original owners (Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, pp. 8–9; Josiah-Aryeh, 2015, pp. 52–58). The allodial title is vested in various different hands in different parts of the country. In some traditions, it is vested in communities and presided over by a traditional authority symbolized by a "stool" or "skin"[2]. In other areas, the allodial is vested in clans and families, and presided over by the clan or family heads. In few cases, the title is held by individuals. One of such cases is where a person obtains a land as a judgement debt from a stool or an allodial holding family. With regard to public lands, the allodial title

[2] The skin and stool are the symbols of traditional authority in Ghana. In parts of northern Ghana, chiefs – the traditional rulers of their communities - sit on specially made animal (cow or sheep) skins whilst their counterparts in the southern Ghana, especially the Akan speaking communities, sit on specially carved wooden stools. These skins and stools are the symbols of chiefly authority, and are believed to embody the souls of the ancestors of the local community. Because the lands are communal lands, they are referred to as skin or stool lands.

is vested in the state. Aside the constitutional limitations on the right to natural minerals[3], the allodial title contains the complete bundle of rights in land including use rights, withdrawal and management rights, and the right to dispose of all rights to the land. The allodial title is transferable in the absence of any law to the contrary, and all other interests in land, customary or common law are derived from the allodial title (Bugri, 2013, p. 6; Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, p. 4).

The freehold interest in land rests on two institutional bases – customary and common law. The customary freehold is held by subgroups and individuals who belong to the group holding the allodial title to land. It is implicitly acquired through the occupation and use of vacant land, or by express grant by the allodial trustees. The customary freehold interest devolves upon the successors of the holders ad infinitum, unless it has been disposed of (Bugri, 2013, p. 6; Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, p. 5). The common law freehold is an express grant to members of the group that holds the allodial title to the land or to strangers of Ghanaian citizenship, which is valid for an indefinite period. Transfers in this freehold are restricted by constitutional provisions particularly in stool lands[4] (ibid).

The leasehold is a common law construct, and a formal land title valid for a defined period of time. Leaseholds are commonly granted for a maximum term of 99 years to Ghanaians, and 50 years to non-Ghanaians. It is derivable from the allodial title and the freehold. The lease entails covenants including payment of annual rents, and where there are no covenantal restrictions, sub-leases may be created by the lessees ((Bugri, 2013, p. 6; Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, pp. 5–6).

Customary tenancies are lesser interests in land created by allodial owners, freeholders or leaseholders. They mostly consist of sharecropping and entail the sharing of farm produce or cropland, or require monetary payments. The tenancy involves the sharing of farm produce or cropped land between the land grantor and the tenant farmer as consideration for the use of the land by the tenant farmer. The common crop sharing or crop land sharing formula are in the ratio of 1:1 or 1:2, known in the Akan-speaking areas as *abunu* and *abusa*[5] respectively (Bugri, 2013, p. 6; Da Rocha & Lodoh,

[3]Per the 1992 Constitution of Ghana (Article 257, Clause 6), every mineral in its natural state in Ghana is the property of the state and is vested in the President of Ghana on behalf of, and in trust for the people of Ghana.

[4] 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"

[5] The *abunu* tenancy entails the sharing of crop or cropped land in two equal halves, the land owner taking one-half and the tenant farmer taking the other half. In the *abusa* tenancy, the sharing is done in three parts, one party taking one-third and the other party taking two-thirds, usually depending on the contribution of parties to the farm output. The party that contributes more resources to the output takes the two-thirds share.

1999, p. 6). All these various interests in land are held and administered by both the customary and state actors and institutions. Land ownership and administration is thus the focus of the next section.

2.1.2 Land Ownership and Administration

Based on the types of interests in land as described above, the ownership of land in Ghana can be broadly categorized into two: customary and public lands. The customary lands constitute about 80% of the land in Ghana (Bugri & Yeboah, 2017, p. 19; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 13), and are mainly in communal ownership, held by communities, clans/families and individuals. Chiefs, earth priests and clan/family heads serve as custodians of these lands for their respective groups. In almost all the Akan traditional groups in Southern Ghana and some Ga communities, the lands are vested in the stool and sub-stools, and in skins in most parts of the Northern Region. In the Upper West and Upper East Regions, the allodial owners are the Tendamba[6] who are mainly clans/families. The aftermath of the British indirect rule, and the vesting and divesting of northern Ghana lands, however, resulted in some rivalry between Tendamba and chiefs over the ownership and control of land in these regions. Some chiefs in these regions - especially the Upper East Region -, contrary to customary law, are claiming that they are the allodial title holders to land rather than the Tendamba (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 14; also see Lund, 2008, pp. 47–67).

In some parts of the Greater Accra, the Volta, the Central, and Eastern regions of Ghana, land ownership is vested in clans/families, village communities or individuals (Government of Ghana, 1999, p. 2; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 13). It is important to note that in some areas where the allodial title is vested in stools and skins, families always have portions of land they exclusively control by virtue of their standing as customary usufructs, and for Bugri and Yeboah, this raises questions on the definition of "family land" (Bugri & Yeboah, 2017, pp. 18–19). Indeed, some chiefs have argued that the land belongs to the royal families, and usufruct families are mere caretakers of the land. In this respect, chiefs sell out these usufruct family lands with little or no compensation to the families in the face of urbanisation, resulting in conflicts between chiefs and usufructs (Ubink, 2008a, pp. 83–85).

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[6] The Tendamba [Tortina in the Sissala Area] are mostly the first settlers in a community, or are later-comers who have acquired the absolute or full interests in the land from the first settlers. The Tendamba are believed to have acquired a spiritual relationship with the land and land spirits, based on which they establish earth shrines. Through sacrifices and rites at these shrines, the Tendamba maintain their relationship with the ancestors and the Supreme Being, in order to ensure the fertility of the land and people, as well as their wellbeing (K. R. Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 13; Lentz, 2013, pp. 15-17;82-126; Tengan, 1991, pp. 81–82).

Public lands on the other hand are vested in the President of the Republic in trust for the people of Ghana. These lands are either state lands or vested lands. The state lands are compulsorily acquired in accordance with Article 20 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125), and are held by the President for and on behalf of the citizenry. These lands are in various parts of the country, and all together constitute 18% of the land in Ghana. The vested lands, which form 2% of the lands in Ghana, have split ownership between the state and the customary people. The state holds the legal ownership, managing the lands in accordance with the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) for the appropriate customary people as the beneficiary owners (Bugri & Yeboah, 2017, p. 19). Ownership and possession of land in Ghana comes with a social responsibility to serve the larger community, and in this regards, the laws of Ghana enjoin all managers of land – the state, stools, skins, families – to discharge their management functions transparently and for the benefit of their people (Government of Ghana, 1993: Article 36 (8)).

As land in Ghana is held by both customary and state actors, it is thus governed within a framework of legal pluralism. Legal pluralism is "that state of affairs, for any social field, in which behavior pursuant to more than one legal order occurs", as distinguished from legal centralism, which denotes the law of the state, uniform for all persons, exclusive of all other law, and administered by a single set of state institutions and organisations (Griffiths, 1986, pp. 2–3). Within this pluralistic legal regime, land governance in Ghana is thus based on customary norms and practices, and state enacted institutions, administered by customary authorities, and state agencies, as well as hybrid institutions and structures.

The customary land governance authorities include chiefs, traditional councils, Tendamba, clan and family heads. These authorities mainly employ customary institutions in administering their lands. The state land agencies administer both public and customary lands. The major state agencies involved in land governance in the country are: The Lands Commission and its four divisions: Survey and Mapping, Valuation, Public and Vested Land Management, and the Land Registration. Among other functions, the Lands Commission manages public lands, regulates and provides survey and mapping services, provides valuation services, and facilitates land title and deeds registration. The Commission also advises the government, local, and traditional authorities on land development, promotes community participation and public awareness in land management and development practices, and

ensures that all land developments are in consonance with approved development schemes (see Article 258 (1) 1992 Constitution; Lands Commission Act 2008, Act 767).

Other state agencies involved in land governance are: the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL), Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD), the District Assemblies, and the Judiciary. The OASL manages stool/skin land revenue in accordance with provisions in Article 267 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands Act, 1994 (Act 481). The TCPD is responsible for land use and spatial planning in the districts. The Department operates under the Local Government structure at the various District Assemblies who are mandated with the land use and planning responsibilities (see details of planning functions of District Assemblies in Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936); and part two of the previous Law, the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462). The functions of the Judiciary in land governance are in respect of direction and adjudication on land related issues and litigations. Due to the legal pluralistic land governance environment, indeterminate land boundaries between customary land owners, and increasing commodification of land especially in the urban and peri-urban areas, there are frequent land conflicts which end up crowding up in the state law courts (cf:2.1.4 The Major Challenges of the Land Sector in Ghana).

Major hybrid land administration authorities [quasi-customary] are the Customary Lands Secretariats (CLSs). The CLS is a land administration secretariat of a customary landowning group (s) – community, stool, clan or family. These Secretariats are largely a creature of the on-going land reforms spearheaded by the Land Administration Project, albeit with some modifications from few existing ones (cf: 2.1.5 The Land Reforms below). The functions of the CLSs include: to maintain records on land transactions including fees and charges in their locality; provide information on land owning groups to the public and serve as a link between the two; serve as a link between land owning groups and the land sector agencies; and to adjudicate on land disputes using alternative dispute resolution methods. In their land administration activities, the customary and state agencies, as well as the CLSs, are required to respect the appropriate state and customary institutions. Access to land in Ghana is basically through the customary land owners and the Lands Commission, and facilitated by the town planning authority. The next section presents a brief overview of land acquisition and land use planning processes in Ghana.

2.1.3 An Overview of the Processes of Land Acquisition and Land Use Planning in Ghana

Land in Ghana can be acquired from the customary or the state land authorities. Land acquisition through the customary system varies throughout the country based on the customary norms of the area where the land is being acquired. As noted by Josiah-Aryeh, "it is difficult to find a tolerably uniform and settled scheme of customary formalities applicable throughout the country (2015, p. 158). There are, however, some general processes involved in land acquisition. The prospective land acquirer first approaches the land owner or custodian, whether a family, a chief or an individual. To ensure that one acquires a land free from any conflicts, one is expected to make a background check of the true ownership of the land, or to make a search at the Lands Commission to verify the ownership and status of the land – whether encumbered or not. If the land purchaser is certain that the land is free from any encumbrances, the land owner and the acquirer negotiate the price or the consideration for the identified land, and if a consensus is arrived at, the land acquirer makes the payment. The land price or payments take various forms or combination of forms – cola, alcoholic drink, crop, and money, depending on the customary area, and the level of urbanisation or land availability. Generally, in the rural farming areas, the non-monetary payments are common. In the urban and peri-urban areas, where land is in high demand especially for residential and commercial developments, the payments are usually in monetary terms. The amount is mostly the equivalent of the market value of the land, albeit relationships between the parties influence land negotiations, and thus the land prices. Agreements between parties for the sale of land are normally supposed to be in writing as provided for by the Conveyancing Decree, 1973 (NRCD 175). Some vendors give a written note or a land allocation note to the purchaser spelling out the details of the transaction, but many others do not.

In the case where the land to be acquired is public land, the prospective developer approaches the Lands Commission with a formal application. If there is available land, the Lands Commission makes the grant, and the developer pays the necessary charges and fees, which are computed by the Commission. The processes involved in the acquisition of public lands are more formal and secured compared to the customary lands. The customary lands are, however, more readily available and accessible, and dominate in the rural areas than the public lands, as the beneficiaries of the public lands are mostly senior civil servants, politicians, security officers, business executives, and the state land administrators themselves (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, pp. 23–26).

As part of the process of acquiring the land, the Survey and Mapping Division (SMD) of the Lands Commission demarcates the required land for the purchaser, based on the local plan prepared for the area. The local plans are land use plans that guide the physical development of a town or area to achieve social, economic, and environmental policies. These plans assign land uses to plots, such as residential, commercial, educational, recreational, sanitary, and open spaces. When the demarcations are done, a site plan is issued by the Town and Country Planning authorities to the land purchaser. The site plan is then submitted, together with the land allocation note (where provided) to the Lands Commission for documentation of the transaction or title under the Land Registry Act, 1962 (Act 122), or the Land Title Registration Law, 1986 (PNDC L. 152).

As indicated above, land acquisition in Ghana is facilitated by the state land sector agencies and the District Assemblies, through the land use planning process. The land use planning in Ghana derives from the British planning system and culture since the colonial period, under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945 (CAP 84) (Scholz, Robinson & Dayaram, 2015, p. 82). The CAP 84 has been in use for the past seven decades until 2016 when the law was replaced by the Land Use and Spatial Planning Act, 2016 (Act 925). Land use planning in Ghana is based on the overall national development planning policy and strategy. Before 2011, the concentration of land use planning was at the district/sub-district and community levels. In 2011, the Town and Country Planning Department established a three-tier hierarchical spatial planning system, comprising spatial development frameworks (SDFs), structure plans (SPs), and local plans (LPs). The SDF is a long-term (20 year) spatial strategy for achieving social, economic and environmental policies, and can be at five levels: national, sub-national, regional, sub-regional and district levels. The National Spatial Development Framework is at the apex of the SDFs and guides land use planning through the preparation of all the other lower hierarchy development frameworks and plans (Government of Ghana, 2016, p. 31, Section 48 (2)).

The preparation of the local plans involves three major stages – plan initiation, plan design, and plan implementation. The District Assembly is the planning authority, and thus can cause a plan to be initiated. However, any other person such as a chief, a head of a land owner family, or an interested individual can initiate the preparation of a local plan (Interview with Planning Officer, TCPD, Wa, 18.11.2015). After the initiation, the plan design and implementation take a participatory process involving the community members, and the officers from the land sector agencies. First of all,

community fora are held to educate and sensitize the people on the importance of the plan and the plan preparation process, and to solicit community input on the plan (Kuusaana & Eledi, 2015, p. 460). Following this, the Survey and Mapping Division (SMD) of the Lands Commission prepares a base map of the subject land. Here again, the input of the local community is required in identifying features of special interest to the community. The base map captures all existing features on the land such as roads, foot paths, buildings, valleys and hills, water bodies, boreholes, shrines and sacred groves (In-depth interview, Lands Surveyor, 14.03.2016). These base maps are submitted to the Town and Country Planning Department to do the 'Use Planning'. The land use plans are again discussed at an open forum for input from the land owners, the community, and the general public. The plans are then displayed in an open place for between one and four weeks for further comments and inputs from the public. Thereafter, approval is given by a Strategic Planning Committee and then, the plans are ready for implementation by the SMD. The officers from the SMD then demarcate the land into individual plots. Figure 2.1 below illustrates the land use planning process as described above. These survey and planning functions can be out-sourced to or executed by private surveyors and planners, but the output has to be approved by the appropriate authority at the Lands Commission and the Town and Country Planning Office (Kuusaana & Eledi, 2015, p. 460).

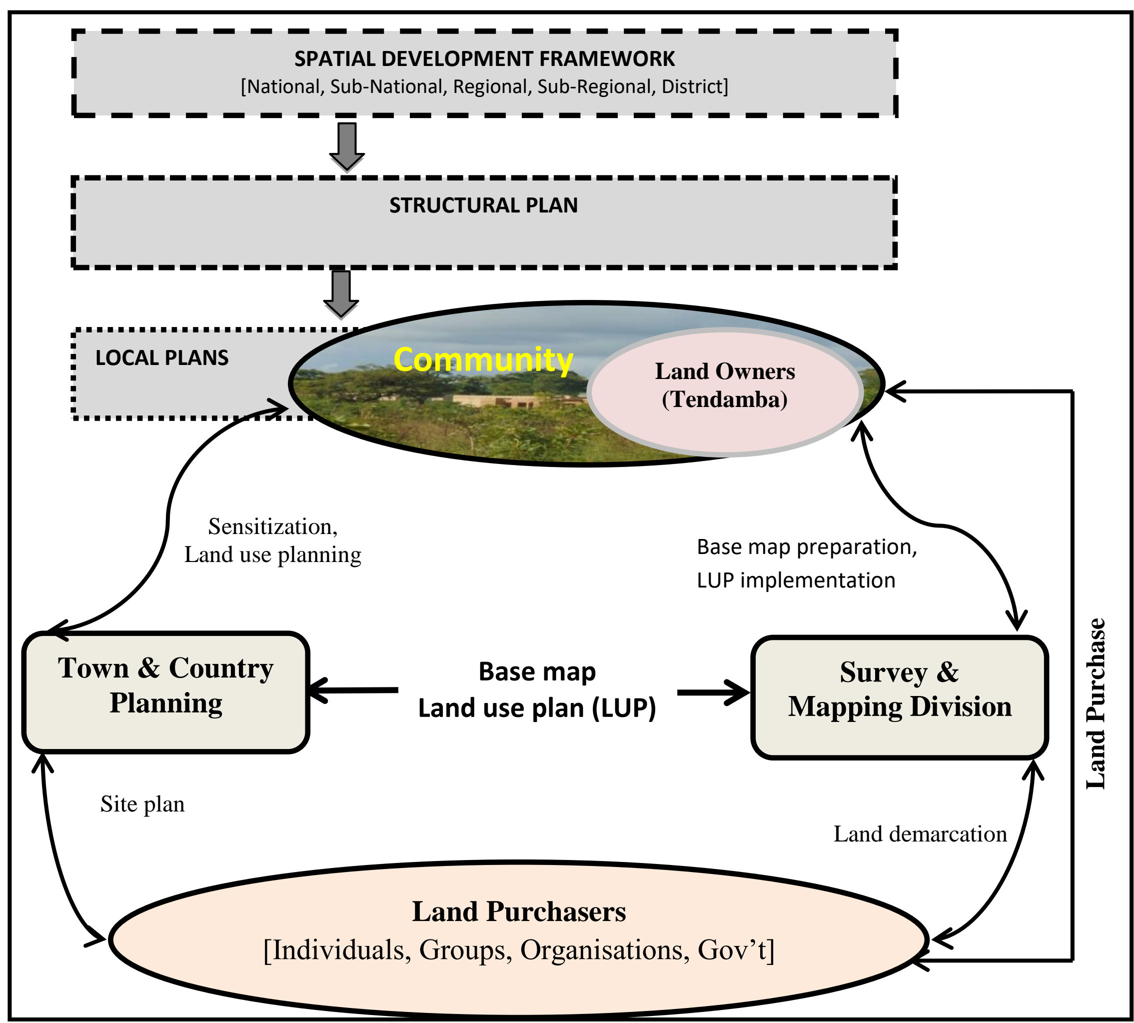

Figure 2. 1: Land Use Planning Process in Ghana
Source: Concept by Darius T. Mwingyine (2017), after Kuusaana and Eledi (2015, p. 461)

In spite of these institutional and organisational frameworks in place, land acquisition and land use planning practices are ineffective, partly due to poor coordination and harmonization between and among customary land authorities and state land/planning authorities (Yeboah & Obeng-Odoom, 2010, p. 83). These, among others, have been the bane of the land sector in Ghana for a long time. The following section presents the major challenges of the land sector in Ghana.

2.1.4 The Major Challenges of the Land Sector in Ghana

The land sector in Ghana has been characterized by major challenges for a long time. After three decades of discussions and numerous studies, in June 1999, a national land policy was eventually

launched. This policy document outlines the key challenges of the land sector, and policy actions towards improving land governance in the country. The major challenges identified in the land sector include: general indiscipline in the land market characterized by multiple land sales, land encroachments, unapproved development plans, and haphazard developments (Government of Ghana, 1999, pp. 3–4). Related to this is the issue of indeterminate customary boundaries which, in part, result from the use of unreliable land boundary marks such as trees, rock outcrops, streams, footpaths, as well as unreliable and inaccurate maps/plans. These have resulted in land conflicts and litigations in the law courts, and in some cases the menace of land guards. These conflicts and litigations pose serious tenure insecurity for land owners and users. In these situations, access to land for residential, industrial, commercial, agricultural and other uses is a huge challenge. The urban and peri-urban areas are especially prone to these challenges. The land sector has also been beset by weak land administration system characterized by a lack of comprehensive land policy frameworks, inadequate, outdated and contradictory legislation, inadequate functional and coordinated geographic information systems and networks, and poor resource capacity (Government of Ghana, 1999, pp. 3–4). Poor or deficient consultation and coordination between and among state agencies and customary land owners has also been a major constraint. Another key constraint in the land sector has been compulsory acquisition of lands and non-payment of compensation thus depriving land owners of their basic source of livelihoods (*ibid*). For further details on the constraints of the land sector, see Kasanga and Kotey (2001).

Having identified these bottlenecks in the land sector, the Ghana National Land Policy (1999) aims at ensuring the judicious use of the nation's land and natural resources by all people, in support of various socio-economic activities in a sustainable manner (*ibid*). The long term goal of this policy is thus to stimulate economic development, reduce poverty and promote social stability by improving security of land tenure, making the processes of accessing land fair, transparent and efficient, developing the land market and fostering prudent land management (Government of Ghana, 2011, p. 6). To deal with the above challenges and achieve the long-term goal, the Land Administration Project (LAP) was launched in 2003 to carry out a long term (15-25 year) land reform programme.

2.1.5 The Land Reforms

Since the dawn of the new millennium, the Land Administration Project (LAP) has been running programmes as part of major reforms aimed at addressing the critical challenges in the land sector

(discussed above). The LAP has been and is being funded by the Government and people of Ghana, the World Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and other international donors. The first phase of the LAP - 2003-2011, with some restructuring - focused on laying a firm foundation on the organizational and institutional framework of land administration, geared towards developing a sustainable and well-functioning administration system that is efficient, transparent and decentralized, and enhances land tenure security in the future (Government of Ghana, 2011, p. 3).

At the end of the phase one, LAP had achieved the following: the restructuring of the land administrative organizational setups by bringing together the hitherto four separate agencies – the old Lands Commission, the Land Valuation Board, the Lands Registry and the Survey Department. These were then merged to become the (New) Lands Commission, with four divisions as Public and Vested Lands Management Division (PVLMD), Survey and Mapping Division (SMD), Land Registration Division (LRD), and Land Valuation Division (LVD). This was made possible by the passage of the Lands Commission Act 2008 (Act 767). The LAP also facilitated the establishment and strengthening of 38 customary lands secretariats in the country. Two of these secretariats were established in Wa namely: the Wa Central and the Sagmaalu Customary Offices (cf: 6.5 Institutional and Organisational Frameworks and Land Reforms). Other achievements chalked by the LAP include: reduction in the back-log of land related court cases, testing of title registration and customary boundary demarcation, ascertaining and codification of customary land rights in 20 traditional areas. The rest of the successes are: the decentralization of the Deeds Registry to all regional capitals in the country, the preparation of a three-level land use planning model, including spatial development frameworks, and the preparation of two Bills – the Land Bill, and the Land Use Bill (Government of Ghana, 2011, p. 3).

The second phase of the Land Administration Project (LAP-2), which started in 2011, seeks to build upon the foundation laid by LAP-1; to consolidate and strengthen urban and rural land administration and management systems for efficient and transparent land services delivery (Government of Ghana, 2011, p. 6). Under the LAP-2 phase, major activities and projects have been carried out. With regards to strengthening the legal and regulatory framework of the land management, the Land Use and Spatial Planning Bill was passed into law, as the Land Use and Spatial Planning Act, 2016 (Act 925). This Act replaced the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945 (CAP 84), which governed land use planning in Ghana for the past seven decades. The Land Bill has gone through review by various stakeholders, and is yet to be approved by the Cabinet and the Parliament of Ghana. Other institutional

and material developments in the state courts have taken place. These include refurbishment and automation of land courts in the Western, Greater Accra, Ashanti, and Northern Regions (LAP, 2017, p. 9).

Regarding the component on decentralizing and improving land service delivery, seven Client Service and Access Units (CSAUs) were established in five regions, namely the Upper East, Northern, Eastern, Greater Accra, and Western. The CSAUs are one-stop-shop computerized front offices of the Lands Commission which receive all applications for land services, and delivery of processed applications to customers (ibid, p. 10). This is aimed at reducing bottlenecks and unnecessary bureaucracies involved in processing land documents. More and more traditional authorities and land owner families are embracing modern formal ways of managing their lands. This can be seen from the proliferation of Customary Lands Secretariats (CLSs), 88 of which now exist in various traditional areas of the country (LAP, 2017, pp. 11–25). In collaboration with the traditional authorities, the LAP has also facilitated the capture and verification of traditional customs and practices that relate to land and family, for further analysis, interpretation, and possible codification under the Ascertainment of Customary Law Project (LAP, 2017, p. 12).

To further improve upon land administration, component three of the LAP-2 phase focused on improved mapping and spatial data. High technology in surveying and mapping has been provided to enhance the preparation of base maps and demarcation of customary land boundaries. Also, to facilitate the preparation of land use plans, the National Spatial Development Framework (NSDF) has been made accessible at the local level by District Assemblies and other stakeholders. This framework provides a strategic national vision for spatial development in Ghana over the next twenty years. Based on this framework, Regional Spatial Development Frameworks are being developed. A land use planning management information system has been developed and is being used by about 216 District Assemblies to support the land use planning process. This information system has also been a valuable tool in facilitating street addressing and property identification in the country (LAP, 2017, pp. 14–18).
In addition to all the improvements in institutional, infrastructural, and technological aspects for better land administration, the LAP believes that human resource development and management is a necessary requirement for improved land administration and management in Ghana. In this regard, the LAP undertook capacity needs assessments and organised various human resource development and capacity building programmes – training programmes, conferences, and workshops for various

stakeholders in the land sector. Some of the key areas of training were on improving upon professional and technical knowledge and skills, especially in new and advanced technology in land administration. For instance, skill training was carried out for the digital business processes and operationalisation of the Client Services Access Units at the Lands Commission. Stakeholders were also trained in gender equality, land rights, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, and monitoring and evaluation. About 1,300 people benefited from the various programmes. They include: land sector staff, traditional authorities, lawyers, judges, and personnel in civil society organisations (LAP, 2017, pp. 18–24). The LAP also financed staff of the LAP implementing agencies including the Lands Commission, to pursue graduate studies in fields such as geodesy, geomatics, geo-information sciences and earth observation, spatial planning, urban management and development, and information technology (ibid).

The on-going land reforms have had teething problems, and have generally faced challenges from various stakeholders including the state land sector agencies and traditional land custodians, arising from varied, conflicting, and entrenched interests. For instance, some chiefs had fears that the government might probe them on their management of customary lands. Their cooperation and support for the land reforms were therefore in question. In order to win the support of these traditional authorities, government and LAP were thus careful not to be seen by the chiefs as imposing requirements for disclosures and accountability of customary land management (Ubink, 2018, pp. 10–13). The placement of the Customary Lands Secretariats under the aegis of the traditional authorities instead of looking at a more community-based approach to customary land management, has also been criticized as consolidating the power of the traditional authorities to deprive their subjects of the benefits of the communal land resources (Ubink, 2018, p. 11). These challenges and criticisms notwithstanding, the land reforms have greatly enhanced land governance in the country, and as noted by Bugri (2012, p. 5), "a new spirit of co-operation…" between the customary and state land governance authorities has emerged.

In conclusion, the ongoing land reforms in Ghana – institutional and organizational reforms, logistical, infrastructural and technological development, human resource development - form part of global flows facilitated by global and local finance, expatriate and local experts, as well as the media. These flows have altogether influenced local perceptions about land, and promoted land market transactions and formalizations.

2.2 Global Cultural Flows, Land Commodification and Land Relations

Global cultural flows play a key role in land commodification, and to borrow from Lentz (2013, p. 9), this "is a phenomenon of the longue duree" albeit with a greater speed in contemporary times. In Africa, for instance, colonization was the first great grab of Africa's lands. Colonial actors – administrators, settlers and companies – acquired millions of hectares of land (Cotula, 2013, p. 15). The dynamics are, however, different in today's era of sovereign states, with different players, motivations and crops, but also institutions, involved in land acquisition and commodification (Cotula, 2013, pp. 15–16). Variously described as large scale acquisitions, land investments, land rush, and land grabs, land commodification has received loud and wide attention in the media, academia and political spheres in the last decade. Many have identified the global food crisis in 2007/2008 as the major driver of the global investments in land. The global food price hike has created opportunities for more investments in the agricultural sector. This, including urbanization and changing food diets, demands for biofuel and other non-agricultural commodities, climate change and an emerging market for carbon sequestration, and land speculations, have been key drivers of the enormous land acquisitions especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Cotula, Vermeulen, Leonard, & Keeley, 2009; GRAIN, 2008, 2016).

Since the year 2000, it is estimated that the quantum of land acquired worldwide in this land rush is in the region of 200 million hectares – approximately the size of Western Europe (Cotula, 2013, p. 37). In Africa, the major countries of interests in these deals are 12 including Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Liberia, Ghana, Mali, and Senegal. The rest are Nigeria, Sudan, Cameroon, Zambia, and Tanzania (*ibid*, 41-43.) According to the International Land Coalition, between 51 million and 63 million hectares of land were acquired in Africa between 2008 and 2010 (*ibid*, 2013, p. 38). The biggest players in the African land rush are mostly investors from the Gulf Region, South-East Asia, North America and Europe (Cotula, 2013, pp. 51–70). It is, however, observed that African nationals, including professional farmers, urban dwellers, government officials, traders and politicians, as well as the African diaspora, are important players in this land rush (Cotula, 2013, pp. 53–54). These transactions did not, and do not take place in a vacuum. They are facilitated, enhanced, and accompanied by people, ideas, finance, technology, and the media, as well as the translation of models and concepts in these investments. As observed earlier, the commercialisation and commodification of land relations is an old phenomenon, and Ghana's case is not different. The next section of the

argument focuses on the influences of global flows on land commodification and land relations in Ghana.

2.2.1 Global Cultural Flows, Land Commodification and Land Relations – A National Overview

From precolonial times to the present, the Ghanaian land sector has experienced multifarious changes affecting customary and statutory institutions, organizational setups, investments in land and natural resources, technological infrastructure, and human resource developments, which have had different impacts on land commodification and land relations in the country. In the sections that follow, the discussion focuses on how global and local influences have facilitated the increasing commodification of land and consequently, land relations. The discussion is structured chronologically – from the pre-colonial and colonial, to post-colonial, and land reform era. The influence of population growth and urbanisation will also be discussed.

2.2.1.1 The Pre-colonial and Colonial Era

Amanor (1999, 2010) shows how already in the pre-colonial era, a global demand for tropical agricultural crops created institutional frameworks and economic incentives that accelerated the commodification of land and land resources, and the commercialization of social and economic relations in the area coming to be Ghana. The expansion in the cash crop – cocoa and palm oil - industry and the development of the mining and timber sectors continued into the colonial era, and gave further impetus for the commercialization of land and natural resources. The opportunities in the natural resource sector changed the aspirations of local citizens and chiefs towards export business ventures. In the nineteenth century, the Krobo and Akuapem people of south-eastern Ghana, for instance, took advantage of the booming export production and bought large expanse of land from the Akyems for cocoa and palm oil plantations (Amanor, 1999, p. 46, 2010, pp. 107–111). In a similar manner, the policy of indirect rule through Native Authorities, empowered chiefs, who used their position to negotiate concessions, sell stool lands, and appropriate same for their personal cocoa plantations, and eventually “transformed themselves from land sellers into major cocoa land owners” (Amanor, 1999, p. 54). As the cocoa export business expanded, family heads deployed family labour, including wives, children and nephews, into the production. Whilst the nephews were entitled to inherit the cocoa plantations of their uncles, wives and sons were rewarded with cocoa farms and lands

as gifts. In addition to the family labour, family heads and chiefs hired migrants to work on their farms and rewarded them on share cropping[7] basis, as well as with land (Amanor, 2010, pp. 112–114).

Beyond the activities of the export market in the natural resource sector influencing land relations, the enactments of laws and altering of customary institutions, including the establishment of Native Authorities, the Land and Natives Rights Ordinance 1927 (as amended in 1931), introduction of the common law institution of the lease, land boundary demarcations, and judgments by colonial officers, have variously affected local perception of, and transactions in land (Amanor, 1999, pp. 43–57; Bening, 1995, pp. 244–246; K. Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 170; Kunbuor, 2009, pp. 33–36). For instance, the Land and Natives Rights Ordinance (1927, as amended), vested all lands in Northern Ghana in the Government, who controlled all land transactions, and only remitted part of the accrued rent (not less than one-half), to the Native Authorities for community development (Bening, 1995, pp. 244–246; Kunbuor, 2009, pp. 35–36). This not only influenced the local perception of land, but subsequently influenced land ownership relations and contestations among the local people, especially between chiefs and Tendamba in the Upper East and West Regions (cf: 2.2.1.2 The Post-colonial Era). The colonial laws still affect land transactions and relations today as land leases have become the major interests transacted in land, and colonial court decisions have remained as precedents for determining land cases in the Ghanaian courts (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 171).

The foregoing shows how the global market integration of cash crop producers, and colonial policies created economic incentives for chiefs and land owner families to commodify land. Within these developments, the traditional authorities and land owners have received and dealt with global flows such as people (e.g. investors, migrants), ideas, and finance, which in various ways, influenced customary institutions, facilitated the commodification of land, and consequence, communal or family land relations. These cash crop developments and colonial policies continued to impact on land commodification and land relations in the post-colonial period.

2.2.1.2 The Post-colonial Era

In the early years of the post-colonial era, the pioneer phase of the cash crop plantations was exhausted with consequent decline in returns. It became increasingly difficult for elders to reward family

[7] Under this share cropping arrangement, land owners released land to migrants to establish cocoa plantations with their own resources. When the plantations were near maturity, the farm was shared between the land owner and the migrant tenant. The land owner mostly took two-thirds and the migrant tenant took one-third of the plantation.

members with land or farms, and many farmers shifted to food crop production. Land grants to family members, specifically wives, children and nephews through gifts and inheritance, ceased. To access land, family members, including the youth had to sharecrop on family farms. Children, who were allocated land by their fathers, were expected to reciprocate the gesture by providing their fathers with farm produce, and those children who failed to reciprocate with farm produce, lost their lands to other share croppers (Amanor, 2010, p. 114 ff). The payment for family labour services in the form of farm lands did not, however, die out. In the last decade, evidence, mostly in the matrilineal society of the Western and Brong Ahafo Regions, showed that family labour services on cocoa farms were rewarded with farm lands (Duncan, 2010, pp. 308–311). In some cases, women demanded educational support for their children in place of farmland rewards (*ibid*).

During the post-colonial period, the government also undertook various policies and programmes in the land and agricultural sectors which in various ways influenced and still influences land commodification and land relations in the country. Within the agricultural sector, agricultural mechanization, peasant out-grower schemes, irrigation development, and oil palm plantations programmes were implemented. With regard to the agricultural mechanization and production, for instance, the State Farms Corporation (SFC) was established in 1962 by the Nkrumah government, and supported by the Soviet Technical Assistance and Israeli Aid (Miracle & Seidman, 1968, p. 12). In support of this programme, large areas of land were compulsorily acquired by the state for production of crops such as: palm oil, cotton, sugar-cane, rubber, and food crops such as rice, yams, and maize (Amanor, 1999, p. 33; Miracle & Seidman, 1968, p. 14). In Bamahu, the study community, lands were used by the SFC for the cultivation of food crops and cotton. According to Amanor, the SFC was largely unsuccessful in its aim of driving increased domestic agricultural production (1999, p. 33).

After the overthrow of the Nkrumah government in 1966, the state farms were abandoned and some privatized, and attention was shifted to private capitalist agriculture. These private farmers were supported by the state with subsidized imported farm machinery, inputs, and soft loans (Amanor, 1999, p. 33). Again, in the 1970s, further need for increased domestic food production resulted in donor-supported agricultural programmes in the northern part of Ghana. These programmes - the Upper Regional Agricultural Development Programme (URADEP) and the Northern Regional Agricultural Development Programmes (NORADEP) - were supported by cheap machinery, inputs

and credit, but these inputs mainly benefited capitalist farmers (ibid, pp. 33-34). In all these programmes, lands were expropriated from the local people.

In the 1970s, Ghana experienced serious economic challenges and had to eventually rely on external support to recover. Accordingly, in the 1980s and 1990s, the government, supported by the World Bank and IMF, implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). As part of these programmes, there were redevelopments in the mining, cocoa, forestry, infrastructure, and other sectors of the country, and these promoted further foreign private capital investments. Also, the liberalization of the currency and economy attracted massive flow of external resources into the construction sector, which had a direct impact on land relations (Amanor, 1999, pp. 61–62; Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, pp. 171–172). For these investments, especially the extractive industry and agricultural sectors, local citizens and chiefs were encouraged to release land to foreign investors (Amanor, 1999, p. 62). In the face of these investments, there was the growing demand by especially foreign investors and international financial institutions for institutional reforms to assure security of land tenure (Amanor, 1999, p. 62; Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 172).

With regard to land institutions, the post-colonial Government, on the one hand, continued to rely on the British legal system, and the land institutions which had been established during colonial times. On the other hand, some laws were changed and new ones enacted. For instance, the Land and Natives Rights Ordinance, which vested all northern lands in the government, was in force until the 1979 Constitution divested the lands to their original owners. This divestiture, which was reassured by the 1992 Constitution (Articles 257 (4), 267 (2)), gave local traditional authorities and families the power to deal with their lands according to their customary norms and practices. This reversal of land control produced two important and related consequences: increased land commodification in Northern Ghana, sometimes depriving usufructs of their sources of livelihood; and competition and contestations to ownership of the lands by clans, families, and even tribes (Lund, 2008, pp. 47–67; Pul, 2003, pp. 62–63).

To further regulate land and land revenue, the State enacted new laws including the Stool Lands Act, 1960 (Act 27), Land Registry Act, 1962 (Act 122), Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123), State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125), Land Title Registration Law, 1986 (PNDC L. 152), and provisions in the 1992 Constitution on Land Ownership and Administration (see 1992 Constitution, Article 257 to

269). The Land Title Registration Law for instance is meant to enhance land markets by assuring proof and certainty of title and to regulate against fraud in land transactions. The law is, however, accessible to few in the country, being applicable to only the Greater Accra and Ashanti Regions. Even within its limited geographical coverage, it took more than seven months to complete a title registration. The interventions of the land reforms within the last one and half decades have now reduced the turnaround time in registering titles, to about one month (LAP, 2017, p. 2). These land reforms – which are still ongoing – are based on a national land policy document formulated in 1999.

The land reforms began in Ghana in 2003, supported and emphasised by the World Bank and other international donors. The reforms are aimed at developing a sustainable and well-functioning administrative system that is efficient, transparent and decentralized, and enhances land tenure security (cf: 2.1.5 The Land Reforms). These reforms are generally in line with the formalization and transformation of the indigenous property rights regime going on since the colonial era, and are meant to facilitate the creation of effective land markets. Indeed, the call for land reforms has been very loud throughout Africa, and since the 1990s, many African countries have embarked on this path (Amanor, 2012, pp. 7–13), thus facilitating the development of land markets on the continent.

Land market advocates argue that commodification - particularly rental markets - creates access to land by others, transfers land to the most productive uses, raises productivity, helps households to diversify their incomes, and facilitates exit from poverty (World Bank, 2007, p. 9). The renowned neo-liberal economist, Fernando de Soto, for instance argues strongly that some people have land yet are trapped in poverty because they sit on dead wealth. According to him, this wealth can be resurrected by formalizing property rights to land. With formal titles to land, market transactions can be facilitated through mortgage, land rentals, and sales which secures income for people to move out of poverty (De Soto, 2000, pp. 5–8). Benjaminsen and colleagues however caution that, where the cost and bureaucratic processes involved in [peri-urban] land planning and formalization are beyond the reach of the local usufructs, benefits of high land rents are enjoyed by the elites, bureaucrats, and the informed, whilst local land owners and usufructs lose out (Benjaminsen, Holden, Lund, & Sjaastad, 2009, pp. 30–31).

The above discussion has tried to show the influence of global forces on local land relations. From the discussion, it can be seen - as in the pre- and post-colonial era - that the global market dynamics of

cash crops continued to affect land relations in land owner families/groups. The discussion has also shown how the national agricultural, economic, and land policies have been influenced by foreign or external forces – ideas, finance, technology – which continued to change locally the perception of land, from an intergenerational communal asset to one of a tradable, private commodity, thus affecting local land relations.

2.2.1.3 Population Pressure and Urbanisation

Population pressure, urbanization, and other socio-economic factors influencing land commodification in peri-urban and urban Ghana have been well documented (Boamah, 2013; Zackaria & Yaro, 2013; Ubink, 2008a). In the Ashanti Region, for instance, especially in peri-urban Kumasi, Ubink (2008b), and Kasanga and Kotey (2001) describe how the increasing population and processes of urbanisation have triggered demand and appreciated land values, and how chiefs have seized the opportunity to convert agricultural land into residential and other urban land uses. In Northern Ghana, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, population pressure and urbanisation resulted in land commodification, and some land owners started demanding cash or "drink money"[8] for land allocations (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 14). Also, Zackaria and Yaro (2013) describe the extent of commercialisation and commodification of custom and land in Northern Ghana. According to Zackaria and Yaro (*ibid*), increasing population pressure and urbanisation have resulted in a mixture of monetary, customary, and other material transactions in land. For instance, in Jirapa in Northwestern Ghana, some landowners allocated land to purchasers in exchange for money, customary fees (including cola and drink), and in some cases, building materials such as cement, roofing sheets and wood. Also, in Navrongo, land buyers offer cash payments in addition to customary payments which include cola, drink, tobacco, fowls and a hoe (ibid, p. 197). The commodification of land in northern Ghana is found to be more pronounced in the urban and peri-urban areas, especially the regional capital environments of Wa, Bolgatanga and Tamale (Zackaria & Yaro, 2013, p. 198). In the commodification process, the land buyers mostly include local and foreign business persons, real estate developers, politicians and the elite in general. Migrants into these communities, as well as local migrants outside the community, participate in these transactions. For instance, Ghanaian migrants abroad and their relations took

[8] "Drink money" is cash payment that is offered by a land acquirer to a land owner for the grant of land. By custom, some drink in the form of a spirit/hard liquor mostly in Southern Ghana, or pito (locally brewed beer from millet or maize), and cola nuts, in Northern Ghana, were offered to landowners for land grants. In the advent of the commodification of culture, these land owners demand real cash instead.

advantage of the incidental opportunities in the fast growing city of Kumasi to invest remittances in acquiring lands in peri-urban Kumasi (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, pp. 176, 203–204).

In the face of this commodification, land relations have altered. Whilst in some areas, land commodification benefited the larger community or family, in other areas, the custodians benefited more, at the expense of the landowning group. With respect to the favourable outcomes of land commodification, examples of good customary land managers include the Gbawe Customary authorities in Accra, the chiefs of Jachie and Deduako communities near Kumasi. These land custodians have used land sale proceeds to finance infrastructure development including schools, libraries, clinics, market sheds, sanitation, hostel facilities, and scholarship awards to students in their communities (Gough & Yankson, 2000; K. Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, pp. 195–196; Roth, Cochrane, & Kasanga, 1996; Ubink, 2008a, p. 84). In some jurisdictions, land custodians have benefited more in the name of maintenance[9] of the stool and the traditional council (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 17). In other areas, land commodification has resulted in various kinds of struggles and negotiations between the land-owning chiefs and their people, landlessness, endemic poverty and general insecurity, especially in the peri-urban neighbourhoods, mostly due to the lack of equity, transparency and accountability in land deals and distribution of benefits (K. R. Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, pp. iv, 18; Pul, 2003, pp. 63–64; J. M. Ubink, 2008a, pp. 83–84).

In sum, population growth and urbanisation have enhanced the economic value of land, and some land custodians – chiefs and family heads - are converting agricultural land to residential and commercial land uses. Whilst some community and family members benefit from these land conversions in terms of land allocations and infrastructural developments in their communities, others are denied their sources of livelihoods, resulting in contestations, conflicts, and overall bad community or family relations.

[9] Maintaining the stool [including skins lands] means ensuring that the traditional office is provided with the necessary resources, including buildings, regalia, and equipment to function well. It includes financing of traditional activities such as festivals, meetings, adjudication sessions, and even reception and entertainment of visitors to the palace. The occupants of the stool and their council of elders also need to acquire and robe themselves in the appropriate clothing befitting of their status.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter presents the details of the Ghanaian land tenure system, the major challenges facing the land sector, and the reforms that have taken place, and are still on-going, in ensuring an effective and sustainable land governance system in the country. From this presentation, it is shown that the land in Ghana is owned mainly by communities, clans and families, and administered in a plural environment, using customary and state institutions and organisations.

A number of challenges have been identified to be facing land governance in the country, among which is the general indiscipline in the land market, characterized by multiple land sales, land encroachments, unapproved development plans, and haphazard developments, which are especially rife in the urban and peri-urban areas. The foregoing chapter has also shown that the processes of globalisation have played a major role in facilitating and accelerating the land commodification in Africa, and for that matter, Ghana. Global forces such as the export market economy, colonization, and its associated practices, ideas, and laws, investments in the natural resources sector of the economy, land reforms, moving populations and urbanisation, have in various ways influenced local institutional and organisational frameworks concerning land, local perception about land, and in consequence, land commodification. In the light of the influence of global forces on local environments and land commodification, this research finds Appadurai's (1996) Theory of Globalisation Processes, and the Travelling ideas of Rottenburg (2009) as appropriate theoretical frameworks within which to discuss the findings of the research. The next chapter presents in detail the theoretical and conceptual perspectives for the study.

3. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL VIEWS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Land commodification has emerged as an important phenomenon in the developing world, especially in Africa where land ownership, land use, land management and the transfer of interests in land are associated with changing socio-cultural and communal relations. Critical in these dynamics are the intergenerational relations within land owning groups. Land commodification and intergenerational relations do not occur in a vacuum, but within a society that is increasingly being influenced and transformed by global forces – ideational, institutional, financial, technological, media, and migration - which operate from all directions at various scales – global, national, and local (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 33–37). To lay the foundation for discussions on land commodification and intergenerational land relations, this chapter reviews key theoretical and conceptual issues on the forces of societal transformation, focusing on processes of globalization, the idea of "travelling models" and their influence on institutional, economic, and socio-cultural changes, including peoples' aspirations and lifestyles. The concepts of land and land commodification, as well as intergenerational relations are also discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary based on the conceptual framework and the research questions, paving way for a discussion of the research methodology.

3.1 Globalisation and Appadurai's Landscapes of Global Interactions

Globalisation is a broad concept, and is defined differently based on the interest of focus. Globalisation comprises such terms as; internationalisation, liberalisation, universalisation, westernisation, and de-territorialisation (Scholte, 2007, p. 1473; Trask, 2010, p. 7). Drawing from Scholte (2007, pp. 1473–1478) and Trask (2010, pp. 7–8), internationalisation refers to increasing international trade and capital exchanges. Universalisation, as a form of globalisation, is seen as the process of worldwide diffusion of ideas, ideals, and experiences through the internet and other communication media, together with the materials and images they carry. With regards to liberalization, the focus is on the introduction of a restriction-free movement of goods and services across international borders thus creating an increasingly unrestricted world economy. Westernisation addresses a particular form of universalisation in which western ideals and concepts such as democracy and individualism are spread across the world. In this respect, convergence around western values is often perceived to threaten pre-existing cultures and curb local self-determination. All these aspects of globalisation are related to the forces of modernisation and industrialization, and the spread of capitalism (Scholte, 2007, pp. 1473–1478; Trask, 2010, pp. 7–8). But globalisation also leads to

deterritorialisation - the reconfiguration of social spaces, whereby geography becomes less important and social relations become ever more closely linked with locales, both close and distant (Trask, 2010, p. 8). In this way, globalisation connects people, and enables them to engage or relate with each other anywhere on earth (Scholte, 2007, p. 1478). The above perspectives of globalization overlap in various respects and altogether portray the fact that the global society is increasingly in close interactions, through the movement of people, ideas, finance, goods and services.

The global processes and interactions are, however, not completely new. Globalization processes have been happening since 500 years ago, but today's processes have taken a more intense dimension (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 250; Wallerstein, 2000, p. 249). As remarked by Trask (Trask, 2010, p. 3), "the farthest reaches of the world are becoming accessible, in ways that most of us were unable to imagine even just 20 years ago". Globalisation is in general, a complex phenomenon, and understanding its origins, spread, and intensity, cannot simply be limited to single-factor explanations or one-dimensional concept or variable (ibid, 2010, p. 8). Globalisation can thus be likened to the trunk of a baobab tree, which cannot be comfortably embraced in its entirety by the arms of a single discipline, variable or dimension. Following Giddens (1990, p. 64), globalization is defined in this research as the intensification of worldwide social, but also economic, cultural, ideational, and institutional forces, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (emphasis mine). Globalisation thus expands and speeds up transcontinental flows, and social transformation (Gilbert, 2014, p. 166, after Held & McGrew, 2002, p. 2). These worldwide intensifications, interactions and flows take place through and along various landscapes, as identified by Appadurai (1996b).

Appadurai (1996, pp. 27–29) agrees with those who say that globalsiation processes and global interactions are not new, especially under the influence of war, religion and trade, several centuries ago. He observes that the advent of technology, communication and transport has, however, accelerated human interactions, and brought humankind - far and near - into a new condition of neighbourliness. In the wake of these developments, Appadurai (1996, pp. 5–31) argues that ordinary people are now able to deploy their imaginations in practices of their everyday life. He notes; "imagination has become a social practice…central to all forms of agency… and a key component of the new global order" (ibid, p. 31). The new global order, he argues, is a complex one, characterized by some disjunctures between economy, culture and politics (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 32–33). Appadurai

(1996, p. 33) explains the disjunctive nature of the global processes using five landscapes[10] along which cultural material – ideas, images, experiences and practices - moves across territorial boundaries, and thus produces global interactions. These landscapes, he coins as: *ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes* and *ideoscapes.* The surfix “scape” in these terms, points to the fact that these landscapes are fluid and varied in nature, and very much dependent on the perspectives and interpretation of different people. In other words, these landscapes are “deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors” – multinationals, nation-states, communities, families or individuals - the individual being the last locus of these perspectival landscapes, for these landscapes are eventually navigated by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations, in part from their own sense of what these landscapes offer (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33).

The ethnoscapes, according to Appadurai (1996, pp. 33–34), are the landscape of persons exemplified by tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other groups and individuals moving across various territorial borders in the world. These movements are determined by information or ideas obtained from other parts of the world through the media, and facilitated by access to modern transport and finance. The movement of people is thus facilitated by technoscapes, which denote the global configuration of technology, mechanical and informational, moving across global territories (ibid). Through technology such as the television, the camera, the mobile phone, the Automated Teller Machine (ATM), the airplane and other forms of transport facilities, the circulation of information, finances, and goods and services become easy and rapid. The third landscape of global flows noted by Appadurai (1996, pp. 33–34) is financescapes. These refer to the size and nature of capital and stock, as well as the facility and speed with which these capital and stock move across the globe. The increasing rate of a cashless economy and the ability to make instant transfers of money across borders for instance, influence the movement of people, and transactions in goods and services.

The final two paths of global flows, which are closely related landscapes of images, are mediascapes and ideoscapes. Mediascapes refer to the distribution and capabilities of various media in the production and dissemination of information via print, electronic and theatre. The various images and narratives produced by these media, are accounts of strips of reality that are circulated far and wide,

[10] Landscapes are the building blocks of the imagined world, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups all around the world (Appadurai, 1996, P. 33).

influencing how people perceive or construct scripts of imagined lives (ibid, p. 35). Indeed, the difference between the reality and fictional landscapes is so faint, so that the father away the audiences are from the direct experiences of urban lives, the more likely they are to construct imagined worlds of excitement, fantasies and a mixture of lives. These imaginations influence people's lives, including their desires and movements (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 35–36). Just like the mediascapes, the ideoscapes represent images, but which are often political and frequently have to do with the ideologies and counter ideologies of groups of people. These ideoscapes consist of ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and democracy (Appadurai, 1996, p. 36).

All the global landscapes, as outlined above, including people, technology, finance, media and ideas, flow at different rates and magnitudes, in different directions, and influence each other differently, and in different contexts. As these forces move or are carried into new societies, they tend to be indigenized in various ways (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32). The idea of the multi-directional movement of global cultural material, and the indigenization of same, are in line with the idea of "Travelling Models" which also places emphasis on the multi-directional movement of ideas, and concepts, and the de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of these ideas in new settings. At this stage, the details of the concept of "Travelling Models" are discussed.

3.2 The Concept of Travelling Models in the Face of Global Cultural Flows

The idea of "Travelling Models" was developed by Richard Rottenburg in 1996, and expatiated by Behrends et al. in 2014, as an analytical concept within globalization studies. Rottenburg defines a 'model' as an analytical representation of particular aspects of reality, created as an apparatus or protocol for interventions in order to shape this reality for certain purposes (Behrends, Park, & Rottenburg, 2014, pp. 1–2). Models, and the ideas about reality embedded in them, always come objectified and combined with material technology to put them into practice and to transfer them as blueprints to new sites. According to Behrends et al., models are transferred by being translated (2014, p. 2). That is, they are "conveyed, carried, picked up, called for and interpreted by various actors" (mediators). Models work under situations specific to their setting. They are associated with rationalities and techniques that are based on certain knowledge, as well as on institutions and norms peculiar to the local setting of the model. These [locally based] rationalities, techniques, institutions and norms do not travel with the objectified model. The only thing that travels is the objectified model

that depicts an aspect of a certain social order with its rationality. To travel, this thing or element is de-territorialised, that is, detached from its setting, as a token (symbol and evidence of the original setting). The token transports ideas and is re-territorialised in new settings or problem spaces. In the new setting, the travelling token changes in order to fit into the peculiar ontological and epistemological background, as well as the institutional set-up and technological infrastructure. In this regard, the travelling token may be improved, subverted, appropriated, and annexed, but once the token is taken up by the new environment, it becomes a model. The new setting may be unaffected by the model, or may be eventually transformed depending on the extent of incorporation of the new institutions or elements. This is referred to as appropriation or vernacularisation (Behrends et al., 2014, p. 3; Merry, 2006, p. 44). At one end of the vernacularisation continuum, lies replication, where imported institutions remain largely unchanged with just superficial and minimal decorative adaptation. Hybridisation lies at the other end, where imported institutions, knowledge and symbols are merged with local ones (Merry, 2006, p. 44). Translators of ideas negotiate the middle in the field of power and opportunity. Their positioning, loyalties and commitments, and their knowledge of both settings of the interchange, shape the vernacularisation process – whether hybrids or replicas result (Merry, 2006, pp. 42–48).

Behrends et al. (2014, pp. 11–19) compare the traveling model concept with some related theories. Travelling models, the theory of diffusionism, and modernization theory all involve the movement of ideas, concepts, models or cultural material from one place to another. However, whilst diffusion and modernization theory assume a center-periphery or uni-directional dimension - movement from cultural centers to peripheral areas, more advanced to less advanced areas, - travelling models show that models move simultaneously from and to different directions. The third theory that Behrends et al. (2014, pp. 11–19) looked at is the rational choice theory. This theory posits that people take ideas because they believe that the ideas best fit their situation and interests. Travelling models diverge with respect the rational choice's notion of a generally existing rationality. Travelling models suggest that a token has to possess an aura in order to be attractive and valued as a model. That is, the token should have something that is convincing, appealing, and of persuasive character. The aura of the token is influenced by the rate of previous adaptations, mode of delivery or mediation, origin of model, and the degree of connectedness of the model to existing circumstances of the new site. The concept of travelling models enables a reflection about social and cultural change in a world that is characterised by sophisticated economic, communicational and legal integration that causes an exchange of

ontological, epistemic, normative and material orders with huge implications (Behrends et al., 2014, p. 20). The concept of travelling models has been applied in conflict management and peace building, and natural resource governance (see Fuest, 2014; Gemechu, 2014; Hoinathy & Behrends, 2014; Troeger, 2016).

The two concepts which translate into various landscapes of globalization, and the idea of Travelling Models, complement very well in demonstrating the various ways through which global cultural material - ideas, practices, experiences, and lifestyle - moves around the globe, and how this material is received – translated and vernacularized in new environments, and thus differently transforms these societies. Both concepts are concerned about the fact that today's travelling of ideas and concepts can no longer be regarded or conceived of as uni-directional, but multi-directional, and that individuals and societies adapt ideas and concepts to their cultural and institutional settings.

The interaction of the different parts and cultures of the world results in cross fertilization of ideas, practices and relations in various ways, influencing "local happenings", described as: local events, local social relations, local social structure, local institutions, and local norms of behavior (Wanitzek & Woodman, 2004, p. 2). Local people should, however, not be seen as mere objects of global influences, nor as subjects which act only in response to these influences (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 185). Individuals, families and communities are to be taken as subjects, who have the potential to resist aspects of these influences, restate conflicting representations, or convert them to their own local purposes, and in the process, maintaining the local identity (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 185; Trask, 2010, p. 18).

Much as societies, communities, families and individuals are in general, not immune to the increasingly accelerated and profound global forces, they are implicated differently. Some places are witnessing extreme rapid transformation, arguably the cities, urban centers and their fringes, compared to the country side (Trask, 2010, p. 3). This is because these urban areas are regarded as centers of socio-economic infrastructure and services, pivots of knowledge, technology, and finance (United Nations, 2015, p. 34). The intensity of globalisation and that of urbanisation are intertwined, and thus, not only have globalisation processes accelerated in the past few decades, but also urbanisation. In the last six decades, for instance, the world population living in urban areas rose from less than one-third (0.7 billion people) in 1950 to more than half (54% or 3.9 billion people) in 2014, and is estimated to

reach two-thirds (6.3 billion people) in 2050 (United Nations, 2015, p. 7). Similarly, in Ghana, the urban population rose from less than one-quarter (23.1%) in 1960, to more than half (50.9%) by 2010 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, pp. 50–53).

At the small group or family level, global flows influence people in various complex dimensions, with privileges and constraints. For instance, some societies and families have greater access to resources and opportunities for business, travel, contact with others, access to information and communication technologies, and opportunities to draw new ideas, beliefs, and traditions. For others, however, global scapes have translated into greater poverty, dislocation, and marginalization, separating family members, drawing people in and out of jobs, and transforming critical care relationships (Trask, 2010, p. 197).

As individuals open up to, or are affected by the new ideational, cultural and material frameworks, and thus opportunities as well as constraints, their aspirations, lifestyles and livelihoods change. In this context, lifestyles are regarded as a set of practices which an individual adopts, in fulfilment of a utilitarian need, or to give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity. These are manifested in various forms such as habits of dress, eating, and behaviour, and the more people are exposed to external influences, the wider their choices of lifestyles (Giddens, 1991, pp. 80–81). Aspirations in this research refer to individual [or communal] ideas about the future, about success and social status, which are culturally defined (Appadurai, 2013, pp. 187–188; Laube, 2016, p. 3). For instance, aspirations about a good and fulfilled life are part of "a larger map of local ideas and beliefs about: life and death, the nature of worldly possessions, the significance of material assets over social relations…" (*ibid*, 2013, p. 187). Appadurai (2013) further notes that aspirations as higher order goals may be reduced into some local norms at intermediate level, and further into specific wants and choices. For instance, the higher order goal for a good life may be viewed in terms of local ideas about marriage, work, leisure, respect, friendship, health, and virtue. These intermediate norms may then simply manifest in wants and choices such as a particular parcel of land, a marriage connection, a job, or even a type of clothing (Appadurai, 2013, pp. 187–188). Aspirations as targets or goals, are future-oriented - be they educational, job, a standard of living, or a way of life - for which people are willing to commit resources – time, effort, money, to attaining (MacBrayne, 1987; Quaglia & Cobb, 1996; Sherwood, 1989). These resources, according to Sherwood (1989:62), come from the individual aspirant, as well as from communal resource stocks. This perspective of communal resources further

buttresses Appadurai's view that aspirations are never simply individual but are linked with the larger cultural norms of a society (2013, p. 187). By the linkage of aspirations to wider social norms, the resources thus required to invest in aspirations go beyond money, time and effort (as noted by Sherwood, 1989 above), to include ideas and experiences of others.

In conclusion, the above perspectives on global landscapes and the idea of travelling models demonstrate how global forces move or are carried around different parts of the world, and how these materials affect or are received by societies. In Figure1.1 below, global forces, designated as "landscapes of globalisation processes", travel, or are carried across borders into different territories, within the global, national, and local arena. At these various levels, the new forces - ideas, concepts, images, finance, technology, and people - interact differently, and are interpreted and received differently. These interactions variously influence the politico-institutional, socio-cultural, economic, and ecological conditions of families and individuals. As rational subjects, and not just objects, families and individuals take advantage of or react to these influences with various strategies for a better life. The agency of these families and individuals has consequences, and in the case of land owner families, land commodification and intergenerational relations are major outcomes.

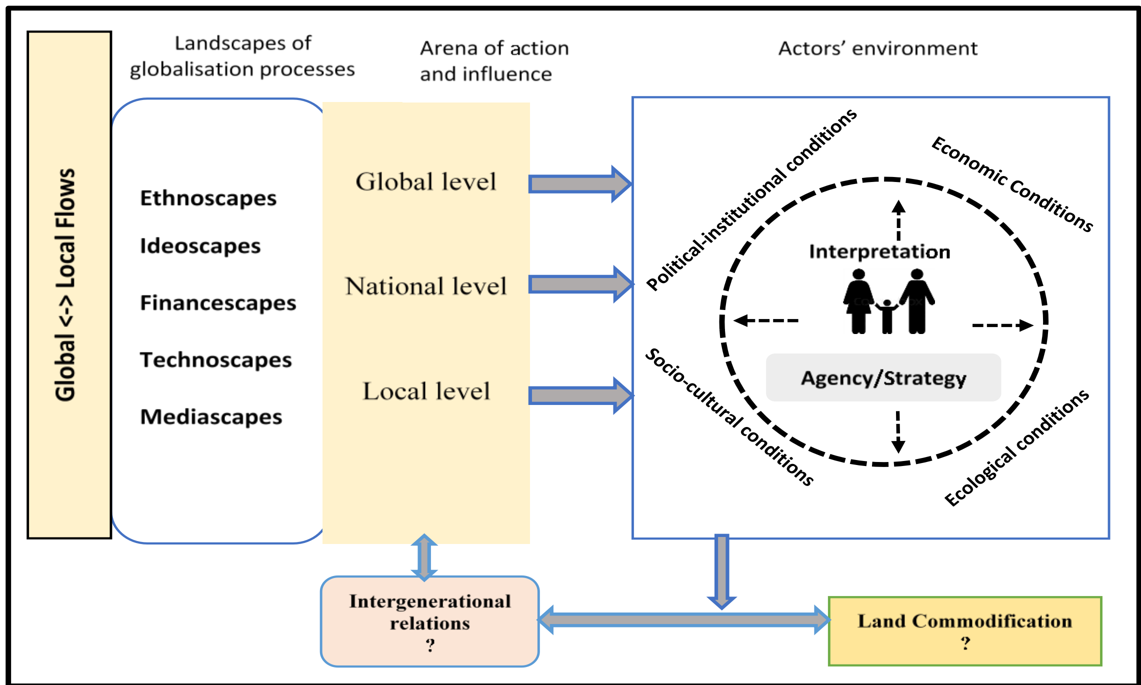

Figure 3. 1: The Landscapes of Globalisation
Concept: Darius T. Mwingyine, after Appadurai (1996); Troeger (2016, p. 357), after Rauch (2003).

Wa and its peri-urban fringes, and Ghana at large, are not excepted from the globalisation processes and consequences. In the last three decades, Wa has experienced significant societal transformation, and increasing land commodification, with consequences for intergenerational family relations. The above discussed theoretical perspectives are thus regarded as suitable for analyzing the forces of societal transformation in peri-urban Wa. This forms the foundation for further analysis in which ways these globalisation forces influence or are received and used in land commodification and intergenerational relations. In the following section, the concepts of land and land commodification, and intergenerational relations are discussed.

3.3 The Concept of Land and Land Commodification

The concept of land can be viewed from emic and etic perspectives. From the emic perspective, land in Ghana is regarded as a living and sacred gift from God. It is a source of identity and livelihood, a shelter for the living, and a permanent home of the ancestor (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 24–26; Tengan, 1991, pp. 37–38). In northwestern Ghana, as in most areas of Ghana, land is widely believed to belong to the ancestor, the living, and the yet unborn, and as such stays in a continuous flow of people, from generation to generation (Ollenu, 1962, pp. 4–5). From this perspective, land is more of a sacred communal inheritance. From the etic perspective, land falls under the wider class of property which refers to a thing capable of ownership or ownership itself, and is both physical (corporeal), and non-physical (incorporeal) hereditaments (inheritable) (Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, p. 95). As a property capable of ownership, the physical land denotes the land surface and its natural attachments, whilst its non-physical component refers to the rights, title or interests in the land (Alchian & Demsetz, 1973, p. 17; Da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999, p. 95). Land in this regard is more of a commodity that can be owned by individuals.

In the face of a rapidly globalizing world, local perception of land is increasingly leaning towards the etic view. Colonial and post-colonial influences, religion, international donor agencies, foreign investments, and migrant remittances have in various ways contributed to a changing local perception of land. The Ghanaian customary law today is thus a vernacularised version of customary norms, principles and practices, with aspects of the English common law and equitable principles. In the Ghanaian customary law therefore, land is defined to include the surface soil of the land; things that are part of the land by nature, exemplified by rivers and other water bodies, growing trees such as palm, dawadawa, and shea trees. It includes things artificially attached to it like buildings and other

structures. The land also includes the non-physical aspects such as interests or rights in, to or over the land, or over any of the other things which land denote, for example, the right to collect snails, herbs, shea nuts, or to hunt on the land (Ollenu, 1962, p. 1). Land-related property is thus seen as a bundle of rights, comprising of rights related to the use of the land: use right, right to appropriate the return from the land, right to bring long-term improvements; the rights to transfer the preceding rights: temporarily or permanently, through market or non-market devices; and the rights to administer the lands - to define others' rights by controlling land access, use and transfer, including the right of exclusion (Chauveau & Colin, 2010, p. 83; Colin, 2008, p. 235; Schlager & Ostrom, 1992). Ownership of land-related property basically denotes the relationships between persons with respect to those rights in, to or over the land (Sally Falk Moore, 1986, cited in Lentz, 2013, p. 166). Notwithstanding the fact that many traditional Ghanaian societies, including the Waala still hold some cultural views about land, in urban and peri-urban settings, the perception is increasingly towards one of a commodity that can be packaged for the market.

The term commodification emanates from the word commodity itself. A commodity is anything that can be bought and sold, and is directly measurable, with examples as goods and services, inputs, and even labour (Rutherford, 2002, p. 115; Stanford, 2008, p. 5). Commodification is "the expansion of market trade to previously non-marketed areas. It involves the conceptual and operational treatment of goods and services as objects meant for trading. It describes the modification of relationships, formerly unaffected by commerce, into commercial relationships" (Gomez-Baggethun & Ruiz-Perez, 2011, pp. 619–620). Radin (1987, pp. 1859–1860) describes commodification in a narrow and a broad sense. In the narrow sense, commodification simply refers to the buying and selling of something. Broadly defined, commodification goes beyond buying and selling to include the practice of thinking about interactions as if they were sale transactions, and the use of monetary cost-benefit analysis to evaluate or judge these interactions. Related to this broad sense of commodification, Radin (1987, pp. 1860–1861) talks about universal commodification, where he notes that all the desires and needs of people, including not only goods, but also personal attributes and relationships, are considered as commodities. Williams (2002, pp. 526–527) identifies three elements associated with a commodified economy: the exchange of goods and services, monetary transactions, and profit motive.

Following the above concepts of commodification therefore, land commodification in this study will denote the processes and transactions where land, customarily regarded as an embodiment of the

ancestral world and the key livelihood portfolio of a people which is handed down the generations, is treated as a marketable commodity. Land commodification here goes beyond the transfer of bundles of rights through the market - land lease, be it fixed or share contracts, land sale, pledging, or mortgaging (Colin, 2008) - to include the commercialisation of relationships between and among people involving land. In peri-urban Wa, customary land relations are increasingly being commodified – laced with monetary considerations. As land relations are increasingly being commodified, relations within land owning groups especially intergenerational family relations, are implicated in the transactions.

3.4 Conceptualising Intergenerational Relations

The term 'generation' is seen differently by different authors based on the subject of concern. Generation may be regarded as a group and category of people belonging to a certain period of time, society, or position in descent line with specific rules and conventions (Whyte, Alber, & Van der Geest, 2008, p. 2). Generation may designate a kin relationship and a genealogical lineage – such as children, parents, grandparents - and may encompass an age span of 30 years or more (Hareven, 1994, p. 440). The concept of generation may also be seen as a principle for structuring society beyond kinship links, and in this sense, generation is related to age (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 4). In his essay "The problem of generations" (1952 [1927]), Karl Mannheim sees generation as a particular kind of identity, embracing related age groups embedded in a historical-social process. Thus, people who are born within the same historical and cultural region share common experiences, potentials and destinies (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 5). Within African anthropology, the most common conceptualization of generation is a genealogical relation of kinship (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 3).

Whyte el al. look at generation from two perspectives: passive and active meanings. In the passive meaning, people (generations) are born into already existing culture and social structure, relations and historical forces. In the active sense, however, people (generations) are not just stuck to their culture or society, but are able to generate new ideas and practices and pursue their own interests within the historical circumstances in which they find themselves (Whyte et al., 2008, pp. 2–3). Accordingly, this active voice of generation is growing louder in the face of globalization and cultural creativity (ibid). Appadurai aptly portrays this active voice of generation when he noted that, when family members move to new locations, or grown up sons and daughters return from time spent in strange parts of the world, family relationships can become volatile; "new commodity patterns are negotiated, debts and

obligations are recalibrated, and rumors and fantasies about the new setting are maneuvered into existing repertoires of knowledge and practice" (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 43–44).

For the purpose of this work, the term 'generation' would be defined to include both the passive and active perspectives. Thus, a generation is a group of people in a kin relationship within a genealogical lineage who belong to the same position in a line of descent. Within the context of the study area, that is, the Waala society of Ghana, the family set up is patrilineal in nature, and the family descent is along the male lineage from the same grandfather or great grandfather (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 281). A generation in this context is regarded as a group of people who descend from the same grandfather or great grandfather, within the same position, but without regard to age differences. Thus, there are, the generation of fathers, the generation of sons, the generation of grandsons etc. The relations that exist between these various generations are referred to as intergenerational relations. Though relations within families are mostly governed by the norms and customs which make up the social meaning of the family, these are not fixed but are continuously reconstructed in social interaction (Kabeer, 2000, p. 466).

In intergenerational relationships, reciprocity is core; referring to the sense of mutual dependence expressed in give and take over time (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 6). In other words, there is an implicit contract within the family, that is, an intergenerational contract between parents and children which revolve around two different kinds of dependencies separated in time: dependency associated with infancy and early childhood, and dependency associated with infirmity and old age (Kabeer, 2000, p. 465; Whyte et al., 2008, pp. 6–7). The intergenerational contract is the implicit expectation that parents will care for or look after their children until they (children) can care for themselves, and that the [now] adult children will look after their parents when they (parents) can no longer support themselves (Kabeer, 2000, p. 465; Whyte et al., 2008, p. 7). Roth (2008, pp. 50–51), after Marie (1997), notes that the intergenerational contract is based on the 'logic of debt'. In this respect, parents care for the growth of their children as their creditors, and when these children come of age, they (children) pay back the debt by caring for their parents, their debtors.

The intergenerational contract and transmission of resources between generations are inextricably linked. As noted by Kabeer (2000, p. 465), "looking after" in the context of the intergenerational contract, extends to emotional as well as material support. Embedded in the intergenerational contract

therefore, is the need for material resource flows such as: food, housing, land, livestock, labour, and money, as well as immaterial resources such as: social contacts, cultural knowledge, religious traditions, control of supernatural powers, and time spent nursing and nurturing (Whyte et al., 2008, pp. 6–16). Beyond the family and local community level, the call and concern for care and support in the family is also made at the national and international levels. Some of these calls are provided in the Constitution of Ghana (Article 28), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990), the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1982: Article 29), and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Intergenerational contracts are very important especially in societies where families are the dominant welfare institutions, and there are limited opportunities outside family support for adult children to secure their livelihoods, and aging parents their survival and security (Kabeer, 2000, p. 465). In African societies, care for the elderly is socially institutionalized based on the implicit norms of intergenerational reciprocity, unlike the industrialised countries, where care for the elderly is state organised in the form of welfare and pensions, is impersonal, and based on explicit contracts between the working and elderly populations (Mazzucato, 2008, p. 92).

In the Waala society (study site) in particular, and Ghana in general, the concept of intergenerational relations and contracts are deeply rooted in the socio-culture of the people, and are summed up in the care of children by parents, and the reversal of this care when the parents are old, and in-turn, receive care from their adult children. In the words of the elders of the Waala society, *"parents look after their children to grow teeth*[11]*, and when the children have grown strong enough teeth, they in turn, look after their elderly parents to lose their teeth"* (cf: 8.1 Family Solidarity and Land Relations Prior to the Emergence of Land Commodification in Peri-Urban). Similar proverbs are used to express the concept of international relations in other societies. Among the Yuroba of Nigeria for instance, it is said that "when the bush rat is old, it feeds on the children's breast" (Togonu-Bickersteth, 1989, p. 46), and in Rwanda, the expression is that "an old hare suckles from the young" (Aboderin, 2006, p. 6 after Marzi, 1994).

[11] Among the Waala, the metaphor of the "growing of teeth" is likened to the period and process of physical, economic, emotional, cultural and indeed, integral development of a person. A person who has fully grown teeth is said to be able to "bite and chew", and thus has attained adulthood capable of managing a home. "Losing teeth" thus denotes the physically weak and economically inactive stage of a person's life.

Fulfilling intergenerational contracts requires resources, and those who do not have the means cannot assume their place in the cycle of debt (Kabeer, 2000, p. 465; C. Roth, 2008, pp. 49–54). Young adults who are unsuccessful in life or without jobs, and sometimes even still cared for by parents – sometimes men together with their wives - are described as living in an "inverted intergenerational contract" or in "waithood" (Honwana, 2014, p. 19; C. Roth, 2008, p. 54). In Africa, land resource constitutes a major vehicle with which generations fulfill their part of the contract. The same piece of land that parents work on to care for their children, is later handed down to their children (now adults) to also use and "pay their care debts". Retaining land in the family and transferring same down the generations are therefore very critical to the intergenerational contract. The people of northwestern Ghana, as well as Southern Burkina Faso, for instance, believe that whilst it is morally right to give land to a well-intentioned stranger, families must always reserve sufficient land for the future generation (Lentz, 2013, p. 153). Also, in the Nyeri District of Kenya, parents have a cultural obligation to bequeath land to their children. However, as family land diminishes in size, and there is less land to pass onto future generations, parents have decided to have fewer children, and offer them formal education as an acceptable alternative to land inheritance (Shreffler & Dodoo, 2009, p. 88). Remittances are also an important resource to 'paying one's intergenerational debt'. In this regard, Mazzucato (2008, pp. 94–107) tells the story of Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands and their care for parents back home in Ghana. According to Mazzucato (2008), whilst some migrants provided shelter and remittances to support the upkeep of parents, others did not feel obliged because they felt that their parents did not do enough for them during their childhood. In intergenerational relations, historical experience and differing positions regarding the past and present, politics and power, are other key resources employed by both the youth and the elderly in pursuing their interests (see Whyte et al., 2008, pp. 9–20). The implicit intergenerational contract opens up a space for negotiation, a space full of conflict of ideas about life, especially with changing socio-cultural relations within families, and both the youth and the elderly negotiate their claims, demands and priorities (Roth, 2008, p. 54). Intergenerational relations can thus be cordial or conflictual, as generation is about connections and contrasts - and often conflicts - in a temporal perspective (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 1) .

In intergenerational relations, there is solidarity among members, that is, a union of interests or purposes or sympathies, and ultimately interdependence (Merz, Schuengel, & Schulze, 2007). Solidarity is a social cement that binds society – a nomenclature for family integration, (Merz et al., 2007). The work of Ferdinand Toennies, a German sociologist, sheds more light on the concept of

solidarity. In his 1887 publication, "*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft"* (community and society), he distinguishes between two forms of social interaction, i.e, community and society, that define different forms of solidarity (Angel & Angel, 2018, pp. 16–17). By community, Toennies refers to groups and societies in which an individual's place is determined and guided by traditional mores and norms, and the individual is subordinate to the group, as in tribal societies, families, and religious orders. With regards to society, Toennies refers to relationships [among members] that are not based on tradition or norms, kinship or close ties, but on contracts and individual self-interests (*ibid*). Based on the above characterizations by Toennies, family relations in the northwestern Ghana, and in Ghana as a whole, follow the *Gemeinschaft* solidarity, as kin relationships are based on traditional norms, values and practices of interdependence and reciprocity. The concept of solidarity does not entail only positive relationships, but also, negative elements (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002). In examining the intergenerational relations in this study therefore, the intergenerational family solidarity model is employed.

Studying the effects of wider socio-economic, cultural and institutional changes on intergenerational decision making and relations within families, the family solidarities framework developed by Bengtson et al. (2002), Silverstein, Bengtson, and Lawton (1997), and Bengtson & Roberts (1991) seems to be well suited as a heuristic tool. The Solidarity Model was developed on the notion that broader social structures and contexts affect family life and relationships. The Model is a response to concerns that widespread changes at every level of society are affecting the family, and that a means to register such effects [for better or worse] is required. Their Intergenerational Solidarities Model identifies different aspects of intergenerational relations within families, a multifaceted multidimensional construct covering various areas of life, reflected in six distinct elements of parent-child interaction. These dimensions/elements reflect conceptual contributions from classical social theory, social psychology, and family sociology. The six elements are: the strength of **family norms, resource sharing, association, consensus,** the opportunity **structure for interaction, and affection.** The Solidarities Model's view of families is positive only when the dimensions of family relationships are positively assessed, but when family relations are not positive, the Model reveals them as negative on specific dimensions. Table 1.1 below provides summary explanations to the various dimensions of intergenerational solidarities.

Table 3.1: Dimensions of the Intergenerational Solidarities Model

	Solidarities Construct	**Meaning of Construct**
1	Normative	Strength of obligation felt towards other family members; commitment to performance of familial roles and to meeting familial obligations; Norms of familism and individualism
2	Affectional	Types and degree of sentiments held about family members, and the degree of reciprocity of these sentiments; feelings of emotional closeness, affirmation, trust, respect, and intimacy between family members; intimacy and distance
3	Functional	Helping and exchange of resources; exchanges of instrumental and financial assistance and support between family members; resource sharing – dependence and autonomy
4	Associational	Frequency and patterns of interaction in various types of activities in which family members engage; social contact and shared activities between family members; integration and isolation
5	Consensual	Actual or perceived agreement or similarity in opinion, values, attitudes, beliefs and lifestyles between family members; Agreement and dissent
6	Structural	Opportunity structure for intergenerational relationships reflected in number, type, and geographic proximity of family member; factors such as geographic distance that enhance or constrain between family members; opportunities and barriers

Source: Compiled from Bengtson & Roberts (1991, p.857), Silverstein, Bengtson and Lawton (1997, p.432), Bengtson et.al. (2002, p.571)

Adapting this family solidarity schema to the local context, will guide my analysis of the intergenerational relations in land owner families in peri-urban Wa. As shown earlier, intergenerational family relations in the study area are summed up in the total welfare for family members, which revolve around the provision of basic livelihood needs and care. Embedded in these family relations therefore are the normative obligations, resource sharing and reciprocity, joint activities, and decision making. As the elements of the Intergenerational Solidarities Model are interrelated and cross-cutting, the family relations in the study area are analysed generally based on the elements, but with a focus on the normative obligations, resource sharing and reciprocity, joint activities, and decision making, as any other elements of intergenerational relations are inherent in these aspects.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual views that underpin the research in land commodification and intergenerational relations. In this chapter, globalisation and globalisation processes are reviewed based on Appadurai's theoretical definition of global landscapes, and Rottenburg's idea of travelling models. The concepts of land, land commodification, and intergenerational relations are also reviewed, in order to give a focus to the research. Against this reference, the world is rapidly taken as "borderless" and a place of close and constant interactions. These interactions are realised by the rapid movement around the world, by people, machinery, technology, money, images and ideas. These global flows are picked up by communities, families and individuals around the world, variously interpreted, adapted, and used, based on local perceptions, and differentiated against socio-cultural, institutional, political, economic, and ecological conditions.

The Waala society and Ghana at large are actors in these global flows – giving out and receiving various images, ideas, practices, and experiences. In the last three decades, Wa and its fringe communities have been going through processes of increasing societal transformation, manifesting in the rapid conversion of land from agricultural to residential land, commercial and other urban uses. In order to have a better understanding of these dynamics, the above theoretical perspectives are used to analyse the forces of societal transformation in peri-urban Wa, and an answer given in which way and how far these forces influence land commodification in the area. The idea of travelling models is particularly useful in analyzing how global forces are picked up, interpreted and employed by land owners, as well as by land sector agencies, in the processes of land commodification in the study area. The commodification of land has consequences on the intergenerational relations in Tendamba families. In analyzing these family relations, the intergenerational solidarities model serves as a useful guide. Based on these theoretical perspectives which hinge on globalisation processes, and societal and individual actor interpretations and practices, the social constructivist, that is, interpretivist paradigm is adopted in this research in addressing the key research questions presented below.

The main research question is: "how does societal transformation manifest in peri-urban Wa, and which shape does this process take mirrored by emerging land commodification intertwined with and answering to intergenerational relations in land owner families?". The specific research questions addressed in this study are:

a) Which are the driving forces behind societal transformation in Wa and fringe communities?
b) In which ways have the forces of globalisation and alongside travelling ideas of modernity influenced land commodification?
c) How did land owners and land sector actors take advantage of global to local flows on the processes of land commodification?
d) In which ways are processes and outcomes of land commodification intertwined with intergenerational relations in land owner families?

To next chapter presents the research approach and methodology used in addressing these research questions.

4. RESEARCH APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGY

This section presents the research approaches, the philosophical worldviews or paradigms, the research design and details of the methods employed in carrying out the study.

4.1 Philosophical Worldviews/Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives

In the industry of investigation, discovery, and knowledge generation, the choice of a research approach is guided by the nature of the subject under study, and the philosophical principles – that is, “abstract ideas and beliefs” – that the researcher brings into the study (Creswell, 2013, p. 16, 2014, p. 3). These principles combine beliefs about ontology, epistemology and methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 12). The ontological beliefs relate to the nature of reality and its characteristics, and the kind of being the human person is (Creswell, 2013, p. 20; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 12). Epistemology enquires about what constitutes knowledge and how this knowledge is obtained, as well as the relationship between the researcher and the objects of the research (Creswell, 2013, pp. 20–21; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 12). The methodology questions how the researcher should go about finding out or obtaining knowledge (Guba, 1990, p. 18). These forms of beliefs constitute a bundle – “a basic set of beliefs that guide action”, variously termed paradigm or interpretive framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13; Guba, 1990, pp. 17–18), “a way of looking at the world” (Mertens, 2010, p. 7) or “worldviews”, (Creswell, 2014, p. 6). The commonly discussed and used worldviews that inform research approaches are positivist/post-positivist, constructivist-interpretive, transformative, and pragmatic paradigms (Creswell, 2014, p. 6; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13; Mertens, 2010, p. 8).

The belief of the positivism/post-positivism is anchored on a realist ontology, and an objectivist epistemology, with a separation between the researcher and the researched (Crotty, 1998, pp. 27–29; Guba, 1990, pp. 19–21; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, pp. 102–103). Post-positivism “is a less arrogant form of positivism. It is one that talks of probability rather than certainty, claims a certain level of objectivity rather than absolute objectivity, and seeks to approximate the truth rather than aspiring to grasp it in its totality or essence” (Crotty, 1998, p. 29). By way of methodology, the positivists seek knowledge using scientific methods, including experiments, measurements, and testing of hypothesis (Guba, 1990, p. 20; Mertens, 2010, pp. 10–11), and thus leans more towards a quantitative approach to research.

Constructionism/(Social) Constructivist Paradigm takes on a relativist ontology, a subjectivist epistemology, and a naturalistic set of methodological processes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13). The paradigm is based on the understanding that all knowledge is based on human practices, constructed in the course of the interaction between humans and their environment, and as such, meaning does not inhere in objects, and can thus not be discovered, not created, but constructed from the world and its objects (Crotty, 1998, pp. 42–44).

A third paradigm, the transformative worldview, is premised on the fact that research should aim at finding solutions to the needs of people, especially the marginalized, the discriminated, and those who suffer from issues of injustice, power imbalances, and oppression. Accordingly, these social issues are not adequately addressed by the positivists and constructivists (Creswell, 2013, p. 25; 2014, p. 9). The transformative researcher believes that knowledge is not neutral and it reflects the power and social relationships that exist in society (Creswell, 2013, p. 25). This group of researchers include; critical theorists, participatory action researchers, Marxists, and feminists. These researchers, adopt qualitative research approaches that include an action agenda, aimed at addressing the peculiar situation of research participants, and/or their living environment(Creswell, 2013, p. 26). Pragmatism, another worldview, arises out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions. It is not tied to one kind of philosophy and reality, and employs more of a mixed methods approach in research (Creswell, 2014, pp. 10–11).

On this research subject, - land commodification and intergenerational relations - the (social) constructivists/interpretive paradigm is adopted. The social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work, and as such, rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation under study (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). This research seeks to understand the forces of globalisation and their influences on land commodification, intertwined with and answering to intergenerational relations in a peri-urban context.

The constructivist paradigm forms a strong basis for this research because issues of land commodification and land relations have deeper social, economic, cultural, and political meanings, and it needs to be understood how individuals develop and have varied meanings on these issues based on their experiences. In this respect, gaining a better and in-depth understanding of the varied

perspectives of participants and altogether land relations, is best achieved within the natural setting of the study participants, and with close interaction with these participants. In this study, the researched are thus regarded as subjects, and their views respected (Creswell, 2014, p. 8), contrary to the positivists who regard the researched as mere objects, and believe that there is only one reality (not multiple perspectives) out there, and that scientific knowledge is completely objective, valid, certain and accurate (Crotty, 1998, pp. 27–29; Guba, 1990, pp. 19–21; Lincoln et al., 2011, pp. 102–103).

Interpretivism, is often associated with constructivism (Creswell, 2014, p. 8), and involves a reflective assessment of the reconstructed impressions of the world (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 40). Associated with the thoughts of Max Weber (1864-1920), interpretivism aims at "*verstehen*" (understanding) the views, opinions, and perceptions of the people in a study (Crotty, 1998, p. 67; Sarantakos, 2013, p. 40). Understanding societal transformation, land commodification, and intergenerational land relations, involves listening to the views and perceptions of the landowners and other stakeholders in the land market. In contradistinction to the positivist view of explanatory approach (*Eklaeren*), interpretivism offers a better approach to understanding and explaining socially constructed reality (Crotty, 1998, pp. 66–67), and in this context, land relations. The output of this research is very useful for policy direction on land management in peri-urban areas. Its core business is, however, not for an action agenda aimed at transforming customary land relations, but rather, to understand the transformations in customary land relations within the context of the forces of globalisation. In this regard, the transformative worldview, which is action oriented, is not also a suitable guide to the approach of this research.

4.2 Research Approach

Based on the constructivists/interpretive paradigm, the qualitative research approach is adopted for this study. The qualitative approach preferences open-ended questions, derivation of meanings from interpretations, and description or narration of findings (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). Employing this approach gives research participants a voice to express their views on the subject of discussion. It also enables the researcher to probe for in-depth information on pertinent issues such as family relations, land transactions, and livelihoods, in the face of land commodification. The use of the qualitative approach is also helpful in presenting the findings of the research in the form of descriptions, narratives, as well as reporting the exact words of research subjects in the form of quotations. Whilst the qualitative approach is the main research approach adopted, the study did not ignore quantitative

data that was useful for consolidating the qualitative data and arguments. With the qualitative research design strategy, the case study was used.

4.3 Case Study Research Design

A case study is an empirical study of a phenomenon within a real-life, contemporary context or setting, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident (Yin, 2009, p. 18, 2014, p. 16). By this approach, the investigator explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases), over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, and reports a case and case themes (Creswell, 2013, p. 97; Yin, 2009, p. 18). According to Creswell (2013, p. 98), a case study may be a concrete entity such as an individual, a small group, an organization, or a partnership, or may be less concrete when it focuses on communities, relationships, decision making. This research was based on a less concrete case, as it studied land relations within land owner families in urban fringe communities.

The case study is particularly appropriate for "how" and "why" type of research questions (Yin, 2014, pp. 9–10). This study sought to understand the driving forces behind societal transformation in the Wa urban fringes, and how these forces influence land commodification. The study further asked how the land commodification affected and was affected by intergenerational family relations and livelihoods. Albeit some historical data was sought, this study focused on contemporary issues, which is a key strength of a case study. The basket of data collection methods used by case researchers and historians are similar, but case studies embrace two additional sources of evidence: direct observation of the events being studied and interviews of the persons involved in the events. Furthermore, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence - documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations - beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study (Yin, 2009, p. 11, 2014, p. 12,57).

In the case study design, Yin (2014) distinguishes between two types as: single case, and multiple case studies. Accordingly, the rationale for using a single case design is for cases that are *"critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal"* (Yin, 2014, p. 51). Land commodification and intergenerational relations is not an unusual subject, neither can it (arguably) be said to be common, especially with respect to Northwestern Ghana. Though the subject has not been investigated in this

part of Ghana, issues of land commodification and family relations exists here, and in other parts of the country, especially in the peri-urban and commercial agricultural zones. Also, it is not the intention of this study to pursue a longitudinal study. This study thus follows a multiple case design using three communities to illustrate the Phenomenon. Single case designs have their peculiar rationale, and though multiple cases cannot usually satisfy these rationale, when generally compared to single cases, multiple case designs tend to be more robust, with more compelling evidence (Yin, 2009, p. 53).

4.4 Case Selection

The study is located within the urban fringes of Wa in the Wa Municipality. The selection of study cases was aided by information obtained through reconnaissance visits of Wa and fringe communities, as well as visits to the Lands Commission, the Town and Country Planning Department, and the Customary Lands Secretariats in Wa. My choice of communities was first based on areas with active land transactions – "cases that will most likely illuminate" my research questions (Yin, 2014, p. 28). This is identified with the direction of the Wa city growth. The growth of Wa since the 1980s has been towards the southern and western parts of the city. The fringe communities in these areas were thus considered possible candidates for the study. These communities are: Danko, Bamahu, Sing, Kpongu, Nakori, and Sombo. For a manageable number, three communities were selected. For the selection, Yin's concept of replication (and not sampling) logic was used. By this logic, two communities - Bamahu and Sombo - with similar features, and likely to offer similar findings are selected, with the third community - Nakori showing slightly different characteristics from the other two. This selection was to provide for possible varied dimensions in illustrating the issue under study. In terms of activity of the land market, Bamahu and Sombo showed higher intensity of land commodification than Nakori. Again, these two communities are closely merging with the urban Wa, as the space between them and the Urban city is more built-up than Nakori which is still relatively remote, with open spaces between the community and Wa, albeit with new buildings rapidly springing up.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

Researching on contemporary issues, case study relies on various sources of information, using varied methods to gather the information. This is to ensure adequate triangulation and in-depth knowledge obtained on the phenomenon under investigation. Yin (2014, p. 103) lists common sources of case study evidence as: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-

observation, and physical artifacts. These are key sources of evidence for the study. By way of methods, the following were employed in eliciting the evidence. Focus Group Discussions (FGD), In-depth Interviews, Key Informant Interviews, Observation, and Photo Taking. Key subjects or participants from whom data were obtained included: Landowners (family heads/elders, youth, and women), the Customary Lands Secretariats, Government Land Sector Agencies, and key informants. The entire fieldwork was done from July 2015 to May 2016. In August and September 2017, a research feedback and validation workshop was organised and some data gaps were filled based on the outcome of the workshop (cf: 4.8 The Validation and Feedback Workshop). To prepare the ground for the field research, reconnaissance visits were made as detailed below.

4.5.1 Reconnaissance Visits

To lay the foundation for the selection of study sites and data collection, a reconnaissance survey was conducted in Wa and fringe communities in July and August 2015. Ten communities were covered as folows: Danko, Bamahu, Sing, Napogbakole, Kpongu, Nakori, Sombo, Charia, Guli, and Kperisi. Land Sector Agencies including the Lands Commission and the Customary Lands Secretariat were also visited by the Researcher. The aim of these visits was: to introduce the researcher [myself] and explain the objective and nature of the research to the community, especially the land owner families and elders, and the Land Sector Agencies; to seek permission and ascertain the willingness of these stakeholders to participate in the research; to obtain a quick overview of the situation of land commodification and family land management in the area; and to acquire a quick visual impression of the nature of ongoing physical developments in the area. During this exercise, people were identified as community research assistants for the main fieldwork. Based on the responses, information and observation gathered from these visits, three communities – Bamahu, Nakori, Sombo - were eventually selected for the study.

4.5.2 Focus Group Discussions, Participatory Mapping and Pairwise Ranking

The main data gathering commenced with Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs). This was to obtain general information about the community including community history, land ownership and management, family relations with state land sector agencies, genealogical data of the landowning family (Tendamba), and societal transformation and their driving forces. The FGDs were also used to gather data on the history and nature of land commodification, intra-family relations and obligations,

aspirations, lifestyles, and livelihoods. The target groups in the FGDs were: elders and youth combined, elders only, youth only, and women only. With respect to the women groups, a special inter-community group of 19 women (12 wives and 7 daughters of Tendamba) from Sombo, Napogbakole and Bamahu were brought together at In-Service Training Centre in Wa for a discussion. The women were aged between 24 and 65. The main purpose was for an interactive discussion on the role they [women] play in household livelihoods, how land commodification is handled in the family, and how it affects household livelihoods. After a general group interaction, the group split into smaller units based on communities, for further discussions on the topics.

Plate 4. 1: Women Group Discussions at In-service Training Center, Wa
Source: Photo by Darius T. Mwingyine and Alfred Dongzagla (2016)

Aside this larger group of women, the average group size for the FGDs was eight and the average time spent on a discussion was one hour. Most of these discussions were in the farming season, and participants required time to work on their farms. In this case, some group discussions were kept short, and it took two or more meetings to exhaust some issues. The Table 4.1below shows the statistics of FGDs undertaken.

Table 4. 1 : Focus Group Discussions Conducted

Community	Elders/Youth	Elders only	Youth only	Women	Total
Bamahu	**7**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**16**
Nakori	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**10**
Sombo	**4**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**11**
Total	**15**	**11**	**6**	**5**	**37**

Source: Darius T. Mwingyine's Compilation from Field Work (2015-2017)

As shown in Table 4.1 above, a total of 37 FGDs were conducted in the three communities. Most of the participants were illiterate, and in order to facilitate the discussions and ensure effective participation, symbols and charts were employed during the discussion sessions. These symbols were either local physical materials identified or created by participants or symbols drawn on cardboards.

Plate 4. 2: Photo Showing FGDs with Elders and Youth in Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo form L - R respectively
Source: Photo by Darius T. Mwingyine and Alfred Dongzagla (2016)

Within the FGDs, data, including maps were also gathered using participatory mapping. A map of Wa showing the physical growth from 1957 to 2002 was produced using this process (cf: Figure 6.4). As part of the process, two separate workshops were held to produce two separate maps which were later consolidated to obtain a single map. At both meetings, we asked participants to show the growth of Wa based on specific periods. For instance, the question was asked "before independence, where was Wa built up to?" We were particular about significant continuous built up area, taking cognizance of the fact that there were isolated old developments. The workshops were composed of participants from the Customary Lands Secretariat, Tendamba and Royal families, Town and Country Planning

Department, Department of Real Estate and Land Management of the University for Development Studies, and Geo-Information Science students. The team relied on the memory of the elderly persons from the Tendamba and Royal families especially for the period before and the early years after the independence of Ghana in 1957. As part of the discussions, reasons were given for the pattern of developments. The map and discussions served as valuable information as well as triangulations on other sources of information on the pattern and dynamics of the physical developments and growth of Wa, urbanisation and urban sprawl and the general transformation of Wa and its fringe communities. The photo (L) below (plate 4.3) shows one of the participatory mapping sessions.

As part of the FGDs on land commodification, the reasons for land sales and uses of money obtained from the sales were discussed using pairwise ranking. Several reasons were identified for land sales, as well as items of expenditure from land sale moneys. These were then regrouped into nine main categories for the pairwise ranking by the elders and youth separately in each community. The photo (R) below is one of the outputs of this exercise (see Appendix B for details).

Plate 4. 3: Photo Showing Participatory Mapping in ISTC (L) and the Output of a Pairwise Ranking in Bamahu (R)
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine and Nara Baslyd (2016/2017)

4.5.3 Interviews

A number of face-to-face interviews were used by the Researcher and his team of Research Assistants to elicit information in and outside the study area for this study. These were in-depth interviews mostly with Tendamba, interviews with land sector agencies and other relevant organisations, and key informant interviews. The in-depth interviews were used to elicit more detailed information, personal experiences, and views on the subject under study. In particular, issues discussed focus on family land

transactions, relations between elders and youth in land transactions, personal aspirations, societal transformation, and livelihood issues. The genealogical data generated through the FGDs were used for the selection of respondents for the in-depth interviews. At least, one member from each direct line descent (father-son-grandson), was interviewed. Some of the respondents for the in-depth interview were identified during the FGDs based on their contributions to discussions. For instance, people who were noticed to have extra information or issues but were reluctant or hesitant to express them at the group level are later contacted for details. Also, in the course of the in-depth interviews, references were made to some people (names were mentioned), and these became candidates for in-depth interviews or key informant interviews.

Plate 4. 4: In-depth Interviews Being Conducted by a Research Assistant in Sombo (L) and the Researcher in Nakori (R)
Source: Photo by Alfred Dongzagla (2016)

The average time spent per respondent was 1 hour. Just like the FGDs, more than one interview were held with some respondents to be able to obtain details. A total of 63 respondents, including men, women, and the youth from Tendamba families participated in the in-depth interviews. The Table 4.2 below gives the number of respondents by community and category.

Table 4. 2: Number of In-depth Interview Respondents by Community and Category.

Community	Elders/family heads	Youth_sons/ grandsons	Women	Total
Bamahu	7	10	7	**24**
Nakori	7	7	3	**17**
Sombo	5	12	5	**22**
Total	**19**	**29**	**15**	**63**

Source: Darius T. Mwingyine's Compilation from Field Work (2016)

The general characteristics of the respondents at the in-depth interviews are shown in the Table 4.3 below. About one-third (32%) of the respondents were 65 years old and above. Respondents in this category were mostly family heads and thus responsible for most land management issues in the family. With regard to education, the majority (60%) had no formal education. Only 4 respondents (6%) had attained tertiary education. In respect of occupation, slightly over one-half (54%) of the respondents practiced farming as their major occupation. Aside their major occupations, most respondents were engaged in other jobs such as security services (watchmen), trading, stone gathering, sand winning, and other labour services at construction sites.

Table 4. 3: General Characteristics of In-depth Interview Respondents

	Total respondents	Percentage
Age Cohort (Years)		
22-30	13	20
31-64	30	48
65 +	20	32
Total	63	100
Education Level		
None	38	60
Arabic	3	5
Basic	11	18
Secondary	7	11
Tertiary	4	6
Total	63	100
Occupation Type		
Farmer	34	54
Trade Business	10	16
Craft/Artisanry	12	19
Driver	2	3
Teacher	1	2
None/Student	4	6
Total	**63**	**100**

Source: Darius T. Mwingyine’s Compilation from Field Work (2016)

Aside the Tendamba participants in the interviews, Government Land Sector Agencies and other organisations were also consulted for information for this study. These orgnaisations were at the Municipal, Regional, and National levels. Interviews were mostly held with the heads and other staff of these organisations. Altogether, 10 organisations (some with multiple offices) and 23 personnel

participated in the interviews. Some public records and archives such as land registration records, Ghana population and housing census data, courts records on land disputes were also consulted for data. The list of the participating organisations is shown in the Table below

Table 4. 4: Participating Organisations in the Study

Land Sector and Related Agencies	**Office and Location**
Town and Country Planning Department	Wa Municipal and Upper West Regional Offices
Customary Lands Secretariat	Wa Central and Sagmaalu Offices, Wa
Lands Commission	Upper West Regional and National Offices
Land Administration Project Unit	National Office, Accra
Rent Control Department	Wa Municipal Office
Law Courts	High and District Courts, Wa
Ministry of Food and Agriculture	Wa Municipal and Upper West Regional Offices
Ghana Statistical Service	Upper West Regional Office
Radio (FM) Stations	Wa
Mobile Communication Networks and Service Providers	Wa

Source: Darius T. Mwingyine's Compilation from Field Work (2016)

Data for the study were also obtained from key informants – people in and outside the study communities who were knowledgeable on the issues of inquiry. These key informants offered details or corroborated some of the evidence obtained from other participants. Some of the information obtained touched on land disputes, land transactions, and state land acquisitions. The key informants were identified through observations and consultation with Community Research Assistants[12]. Also, some participants at FGDs and in-depth interviews served as informants leading to the contacts of key informants. The key informants who participated in the study included a retired lands officer, a retired agricultural officer, two retired officers of Upper Regional Development Corporation (URDECO), university lecturers and students, community school teachers, community opinion leaders, and a

[12] The Community Research Assistants were people in the study communities who were chosen by the community leaders (Tendamba or Chiefs) or by the Researcher to assist in the field work. Their role was mainly to assist or advise the Researcher in identifying research participants for interviews, organize meetings with research participants, assist in conducting FGDs, and do translations and interpretations where required.

politician. Land purchasers, including early settlers in the study communities were also valuable sources of information. In all, 20 key-informants were consulted for information for the study.

4.5.4 Direct Observation, Photography and Audio Recording

In the course of the study, observation was employed in obtaining some evidence. This was particularly useful for obtaining information on processes of land sales, extent of land sales and physical developments, livelihood and business activities. The observation was both more "formal" and less formal or "causal" (Yin, 2014, p. 113). More formally, were specifically planned guided and unguided transect walks and rides by the Researcher through communities to observe land commodification-related activities such as land demarcations, construction works, etc. Visits were made to stone gathering and sand winning sites. During Focus Group Discussions and interviews, participant observable behaviours and reactions to issues under discussion were equally useful sources of information. Less formal observations took place throughout the fieldwork. There were occasions when the research team was coincidentally confronted with some events. For instance, the signing of lease documents by family heads. Photos were taken of some of the events and activities during observation. Evidence from these observations served as precursors, affirmations, details, and contrasts to various information gathered from other sources. The photos offer a visual impression to readers, of the subject of discussion. At almost all the interactions, discussions, interviews, audio recordings were done with the permission of the participants, and notes were taken of key issues at the same time.

4.5.5 Desktop Study

Desktop study was also a very valuable method of obtaining data for this study. Published articles and grey literature relevant to the study, including globalisation, land governance, land commodification, intergenerational relations, the profile of the study and its people, were consulted and reviewed. Some of the grey literature consulted were reports of the land sector agencies, statutes, population and housing census reports and other reports of the Ghana Statistical Service. The Figure 4.1below presents a summary of the research methodology showing the place of research, the research participants and the methods used to collect the data.

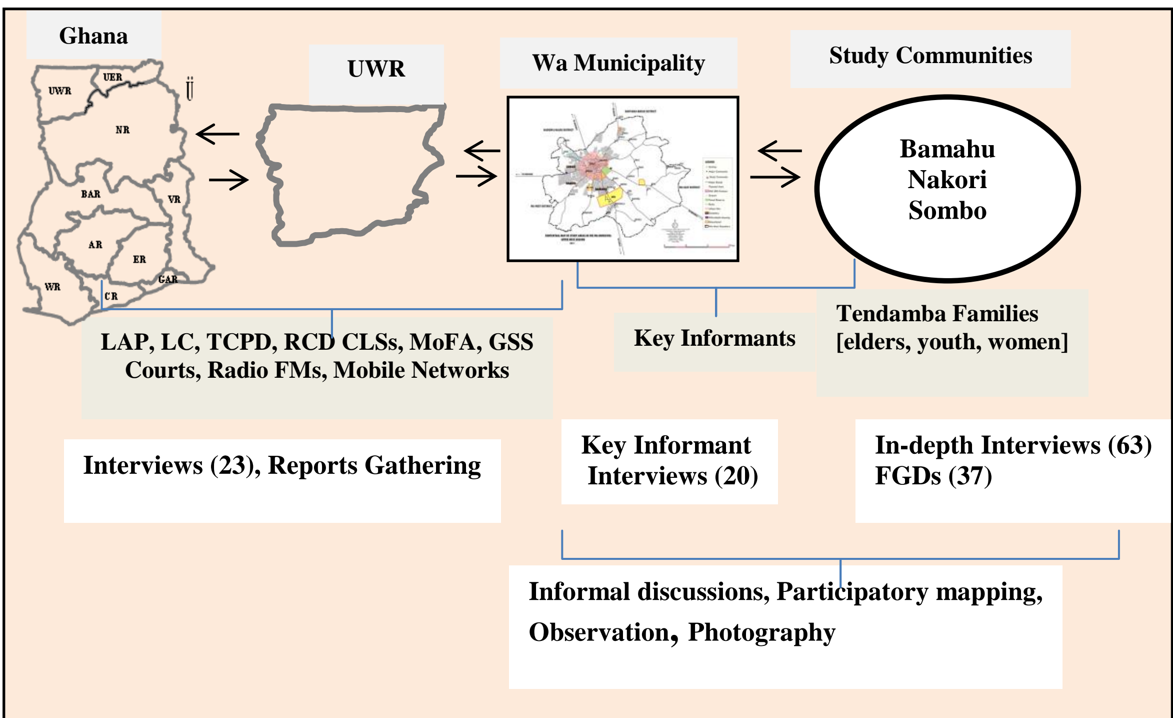

Figure 4. 1: Summary of Research Methodology
Source: Concept by Darius T. Mwingyine (2017)

4.6 The Data Analysis

The data analysis was done in line with the research questions. The data recorded using audio recorders were transcribed. Data on land deeds registration from the Lands Commission were cleaned for missing or incomplete information, and analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 20), and Microsoft Excel. In a multiple case study design, Yin (2014, p. 62) suggests a holistic or embedded analysis. This study applied the embedded case analysis. The data was categorised into themes to reflect the research questions. The cross-case analytical technique was then employed for a thematic analysis across the cases. Similarities and contrasts among the cases were highlighted. Descriptions, narratives, case stories and direct quotations from participants were used in reporting the findings. The quantitative data was presented in the form of tables, graphs, and charts. Maps and photos (plates) were also useful in depicting or supporting some of the findings reported. The analysis was done in relation to the theoretical perspectives as discussed in chapter three. The analysis concludes with an overall assertion on the overarching phenomenon of investigation. The case study was presented as unified cross-case report where the information from all the cases reflected across all empirical chapters.

4.7 The Ethical Considerations in the Research

Every research work involves dealing with non-human and human subjects including the researchers themselves. In a case study, where the research is conducted of a contemporary issue within its real-world context, direct interactions with human subjects and their environment form a core part of the entire work. Researchers are thus required to maintain acceptable ethical conduct in their relationship with research subjects, in access to and protection of information obtained from the research. Having fulfilled the necessary requirements provided for ethical clearance by the Center for Development Research, University of Bonn, I obtained an approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the Center, to embark on this research.

In the field, I followed the traditional community entry protocol to meet with research participants. Consent forms were used to solicit the informed consent of communities, represented by their traditional authorities, as well as individual participants, before any information was obtained. Most of the participants were not lettered, and so I read the content of the consent form to them in the Waali (indigenous) language. In most cases, the participants granted oral consent, albeit some participants opted to thumb-print or sign the consent forms. Group discussions with community participants were held in places prescribed by the participants. In most instances, these meetings were held at the community usual meeting grounds. Individual participants decided on places convenient to them, but took into account confidentiality issues. As part of respect for the culture of the people, interviews with women participants were mostly held in the open within homes or under tree shades. Sometimes, I did the interviews in the company of a female research assistant, or taken by the latter alone. These measures engendered a great sense of trust, respect, and cordial relationships between the research participants and my research team. At the end of the field work, I again followed the normal community exit protocol to leave the field. I however maintained contact with community elders and community research assistants whilst on the compilation of this report. In the analysis of this report, especially where direct statements or quotations were taken from the research participants, pseudonyms are used, and not their real names or designations. This is to maintain some confidentiality of the research participants with respect to the information they gave. At the draft stage of the report, the key findings were disclosed and discussed with the research participants at a validation workshop on 12th September 2017 at the In-Service Training Center in Wa.

4.8 The Validation and Feedback Workshop

The research participants were co-producers of the research output and it was therefore appropriate to share the results with them. Against this background, I organised a workshop with the key participants at the In-Service Training Center in Wa, in order to present to them the preliminary findings of the research we co-conducted. The aim of this exercise was two-fold: To give feedback to research participants on key findings, and to subject these findings to a review by the same participants. The participants at the workshop were mainly land-owner families (Tendamba) from the study communities, and land professionals from the state land-sector agencies. The study communities, namely; Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo, were each represented by three persons including an elder, a youth, and a woman. The land sector agencies were represented by their Heads of Divisions and/or their Deputies. These agencies were: the Town and Country Planning Department, and the three Divisions of the Lands Commission, consisting of the Public and Vested Lands Management Division, Survey and Mapping Division, and Valuation Division. Altogether, fourteen participants, comprising nine Tendamba and five lands officers participated in the workshop. At the workshop, the key findings of the study were orally presented using power point, in the indigenous Waali language as well as in English. Plate 4.5 below shows a cross-section of the participants at the workshop.

The participants at the workshop were grateful for sharing in the preliminary findings of the research, and as remarked by one of the lands officers, *"indeed, you have provoked our minds to some issues with regard to land transactions and how we relate particularly with landowners. I think it is a good research and with the work done so far, I am satisfied".* Whilst giving concurrence to the research findings, participants offered some comments and suggestions on the research. Following discussions on the findings of the research, and blames and counter blames among participants - between the Tendamba and the state land agencies, and also between Tendamba elders and Tendamba youth – the participants finally agreed that for better family and urban land governance, there was the need for more encounters and dialogue between landowners and state land agencies. The discussions and comments from the exercise added valuable input in refining the research report.

Plate 4. 5: Showing Participants at the Feedback and Validation Workshop at In-Service Training Center, Wa. Source: Photo by Gracious Mwingyine (2017).

4.9 Positionality/Reflexivity

The Researcher is a native of Northwestern Ghana. In this research, he comes with a good knowledge of the language, and the cultural values and norms of the study communities. He is also fairly familiar with the wider study environment – Wa and its environs. He has however observed a great change of this environment within the last two decades. The Wa city has generally expanded into the nearby communities. Land commodification has become very common, and he also participated in this commodification process. The Researcher conducted this study with an open mind, with the view to acquiring a deeper understanding of family land relations in this commodification process. The research participants, especially the case study communities, regarded the researcher as one of their own, and some participants usually asked details of his clan and immediately established the relations between him and them. The fact that participants found some social connections between the Researcher and themselves made them open to discuss the research subject. In the course of the research, some families obtained ideas from the interviews/discussions. For instance, these included ideas on how to improve upon documentations on land transactions, the need to prepare lease documents and filing of same. The researcher believes that his entry into these communities for the research has aroused a self-reflection among Tendamba on improving on their land management strategies for favorable intergenerational land relations.

The next chapter focuses on the description of the study area.

5. THE STUDY AREA IN CONTEXT

The study was conducted in peri-urban northwestern Ghana. This chapter presents an overview of the study area, including the physical and the social context within which the research was undertaken. The chapter provides basic information about Ghana, and offers a brief description of the geographical, physical and socio-economic characteristics of Northwestern Ghana and the case study communities. The chapter further gives an overview of the socio-political organization of the Waala (study people) and their land relations.

5.1 Ghana: The Geopolitical, Socio-demographic, and Economic Frameworks

Ghana is located at the coast of the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, sharing borders with Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, and Ivory Coast to the west. Ghana occupies a land mass of 238,533 square kilometers (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, p. 53). The country has five main agro-ecological zones, defined on the basis of the climate, reflected by the natural vegetation and influenced by the soils (MoFA, 2016, p. 5). These agro-ecologocal zones are: the Rain Forest, the Deciduous Forest, the Transitional Zone, the Coastal Savannah, and the Northern Savannah (Guinea and Sudan Savannah) (*ibid*). Ghana is endowed with rich natural resources which include: petroleum, gold, diamond, manganese, bauxite, vast forests and arable lands, and water bodies.

As a former British colony, Ghana gained independence in 1957 and became a republic in 1960. Since its republican status, the country has experienced political instability for three decades. The first civilian government – the Convention People's Party, headed by Kwame Nkrumah - was overthrown in 1966, and a military government ruled for the next three years. The second civilian rule under the Progress Party led by Dr. K.A. Busia, was ushered in in 1969, but lasted a little over two years. The period 1972 to 1979 was marked by various military interventions. In 1979, the third republican constitution was promulgated, and a civilian government was ushered in, under the headship of Dr. Hilla Limann of the Peoples National Party. Just like the second republic, this regime lasted a little more than two years. In 1981, a military takeover occurred led by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings and his Provisional National Defense Council, and lasted for 11 years. Since 1993, Ghana has enjoyed a stable civilian regime with two dominant parties – the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party - alternating the executive governance of state.

The executive arm of government of the country is led by the President. For the purposes of decentralization of governance, the country is divided into 10 administrative regions[13] and 216 districts[14]. The regions and districts are respectively presided over by Regional Ministers and District Chief Executives. At the community level, the populace is governed by a mix of customary (chiefs, queen mothers, Tendamba) and modern (assembly members, unit committee members) political leadership.

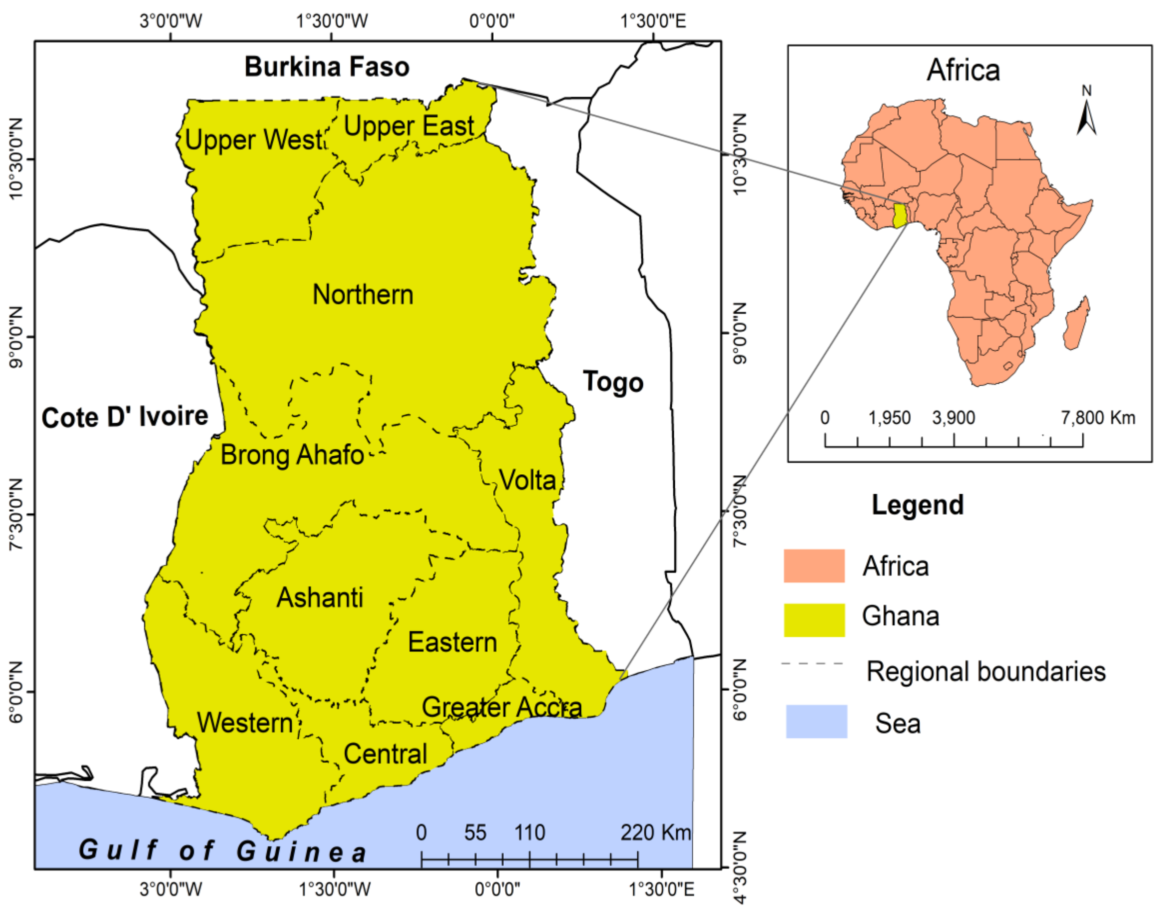

Figure 5. 1: Regional Map of Ghana
Designed by Alfred Dongzagla (2018)

[13] There are plans to create 6 new regions – namely Savannah, North East, Oti, Ahafo, Bono East, and Western North. The Electoral Commission has set December 27, 2018 for a referendum in the four regions – Northern, Volta, Brong-Ahafo and Western – from where the new regions would be carved out.
[14] In March 2018, 38 new Districts were inaugurated. This brings the total number of Districts to 254

The population of Ghana was 24,658,823 in 2010, and projected to reach 27,670,174 in 2015 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, p. 50, 2016, p. 1). A large proportion of this population is the youth, with more than half (58.3%) below 25 years of age. The population aged 25 to 59 years is slightly more than one-third (35%). The aged population - 60 years and above - constitutes a very small proportion of 6.7% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, p. 54). Over the last five decades, Ghana has experienced substantial population growth. With an annual average growth rate of 2.5% over the fifty-year period, the population density of the country rose from 28.6 persons per square kilometer in 1960 to 103.4 persons per square kilometer in 2010. The growing population has led to increased urbanization. In 1960, the urban population was 23.1% , but in 2010, more than half (50.9%) of the Ghanaian population lived in urban areas (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, pp. 50–53). The Tables (5.1 and 5.2) below provide details of the population and urban growth of Ghana over the last five decades.

Table 5. 1: Population Growth of Ghana: 1960-2010

Period	**1960-1970**	**1970-1984**	**1984-2000**	**2000-2010**
Annual growth rate (%)	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.5

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a

Table 5. 2: Population Density and Urban Proportion of Ghana: 1960-2010

Year	**1960**	**1970**	**1984**	**2000**	**2010**
Population density	28.6	35.9	51.5	79.3	103.4
Urban proportion	23.1	28.9	32.0	43.8	50.9

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a

Whilst the population of the country is increasing and becoming more urban, agriculture remains the most common economic activity for Ghanaians, albeit its contribution to the gross domestic product is falling. Of the employed Ghanaians aged 15 years and above, 44.3% are engaged in agriculture, and about half (51.5%) of the 6.6 million households work in the sector. Agriculture is typically a more rural activity engaging 82.5% of the rural population, and even 93% of the rural savannah households in northern Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014c, pp. 4, 49, 102). Other major occupations are service and sales, and craft and related works which respectively employ 24.5% and 12.7% of persons aged 15 years and above (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014c, p. 49). The three occupations – agriculture,

service and sales, and craft-related works - together engage 81.5% of the employed (ibid). In terms of the share of these sectors to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2016, the services sector contributed the largest share (54.3%), followed by industry (25.6%) and then agriculture (20.1%) (ISSER, 2017, p. 18). Ghana exports a number of commodities to the international market, and the major ones are mineral products such as gold, diamond, bauxite, and manganese, and petroleum; agricultural products such as cocoa, cashew nuts, banana, shea nuts, sea foods, horticultural products, and timber; and handicrafts (ISSER, 2017, pp. 90–96; MoFA, 2016, p. 1).

Whilst Ghana has vast natural resources, with the people engaged in varied economic activities, the 2012/13 Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS 6) reported that about one-quarter (24.2%) of the population were living in absolute[15] poverty, and nearly one-tenth (8.4%) of the population were extremely[16] poor. In absolute numbers, about 6.4 million and 2.2 million people in Ghana were considered to be poor, and extremely poor respectively (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, pp. 3–18). The GLSS 6 report also showed that poverty in Ghana is more a rural issue, but also a major problem in the savannah area. The rural areas accounted for 78% of the people living in poverty, whilst the rural savannah accounted for 40.8% of the poor (*ibid*).

The empirical study of the thesis was undertaken in three peri-urban communities in the Wa Municipality in the Upper West Region, and the following sections of the chapter present a brief description of these areas.

5.2 The Upper West Region – A Broader View of the Study Area

The Upper West Region (UWR) is located in the northwestern part of Ghana. It shares boundaries with Burkina Faso to the north and west, the Upper East Region to the east, Northern Region to the south, and Ivory Coast to the west. The Region is located in the Guinea Savannah area, and has a single rainfall season between May and September, with an average annual rainfall of 115 cm. The total land area of the UWR is 18,476 square kilometers, being 12.7% of the total area of the Country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, p. 1).

[15] The incidence of poverty in Ghana is determined based on absolute poverty and extreme poverty. The absolute poverty constitutes the upper poverty line of 1,314.00 GHS per adult per year (1.83 Dollars per day). This expenditure incorporates essential food and non-food consumption. This is the minimum living standard.

[16] Extreme poverty constitutes the lower poverty line, with an amount of 792.05 GHS per adult per year. This amount is the minimum required to meet an individual's nutritional requirements. Individuals whose total expenditure falls below this amount are considered to be extremely poor. In dollar terms, this is 1.10 dollars per day (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, pp. 7–8)

The UWR is partitioned into 11 administrative districts and had a population of 702,110 in 2010, with an urban proportion of 16.3% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, p. 4). The Region has a very youthful population, with more than two-thirds (68%) below 30 years of age. The main part of the population belongs to four major ethnic groups: the Dagaaba, the Sissaala, the Waala and the Brifo/Lobi. About 72% of the people, predominantly peasant farmers, work in the agriculture, forestry or fishery sector. Farmers cultivate crops such as maize, millet, rice, sorghum, yam, groundnuts and beans, and keep livestock (mostly sheep, cattle, goats) and poultry (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, pp. 69-77). Poverty levels in the Region are the highest in the country, as over 70% of the people are unable to meet the minimum living standard and over 40% are considered to be extremely poor (G. Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, pp. 14–15).

The Wa Municipality, one of the 11 districts of the UWR, is the study district for this research. The Municipality is bounded to the north by Nadowli District, to the east and south by Wa East District, and to the west and south by Wa West District. The Municipality has a land size of 579.86 square kilometers (6.4% of the regional land size), and a population of 107,214 (15.3% of the regional population), and carries about 62% of the regional urban population. Whilst the Municipality is seen as an urban district (66.3%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013), this population is concentrated in the Wa city and its fringe communities.

The Municipality is a multi-religious one, albeit predominantly Islam. Two-thirds (65.9%) of the population of the Municipality are moslem, with almost one-third (29%) being Christian, and a small proportion of Traditionalists (4.1%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 26). In terms of economic activities, the majority (29.3%) of the population aged 15 years and above is engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishery, which is much lower than the regional proportion (72.2%). Other major occupations are the service and sales sector (25.7%), and craft and related trades (18.5%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, pp. 33-34). The literacy rate of the Municipality (65.2%), for the population 11 years and older, is much higher than the literacy rate of the UWR (46.2%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, p. 117, 2014a, p. 26). The urban nature of the Wa Municipality accounts for the high literacy.

The indigenous people of the Wa Municipality are mainly Waala. There are, however, other ethnic groups such as the Dagaaba, Sissaala, Brifo, Frafra, Dagomba, Akan, and the Ewe, who live, mostly

within the Wa town and the peri-urban areas. The Waala are an ethnic group that evolved from a long period of interrelationships and cultural fusion of varied kinship groups - indigenes and immigrants who lived together in the same area. These kinship groups include the earliest indigenes such as the Lobi, Dagaaba, Chakalle, Pasala, Nomem Tampulima, and Vagla, as well as emigrants from Dagbon, Mamprusgu, Mande, Hausa, and Gonja lands, many of whom entered Wa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Bin Salih, 2008, pp. 11–23; Wilks, 1989, pp. 13–17). As these different groups of people lived together and interacted on a daily basis, their different languages and cultures gradually metamorphosed into a common language and culture now known as Waalii/Waala. The Waala, like most groups in Northern Ghana, practice the patrilineal family system, albeit they attach great cultural values to the matrilineal system (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 274–275; Kpiebaya, 2016, p. 48). The patrilineal family comprises a unit of all persons male and female descending from the direct male line of a common ancestor (Ollenu, 1962, pp. 140–141).

The Waala communities are governed by traditional and modern political systems. The traditional system is made up of a tripartite political structure, with a clear separation of powers, but collaborative in nature. Religious matters are administered by the Imams, land matters by the Tendamba, and the Chiefs handle local governance, including executive, legislative and judicial[17] responsibilities (Benneh, Kasanga, & Amoyaw, 1995, p. 61; Wilks, 1989, pp. 17–20). Where there is failure of resolution of disputes at the community level, an appeal is made at the Wa Naa's (chief of Wa) court, which is regarded as the traditional supreme court of the Waala (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 284). Together with the traditional governance structure, the modern political leadership of District Assembly and Unit Committee members collaborates in the general development of the community.

The capital of the Wa Municipality is Wa, which also serves as the administrative capital of the UWR. As the district and regional capital, Wa houses all the regional and district government departments. The city also has a number of educational centers, which attract people from other parts of the country. These include the largest of four campuses of the University for Development Studies, a polytechnic, a

[17] Disputes in the communities are first handled by the heads of the families of the respective family members in dispute. Where the family heads are unable to resolve the dispute, the case is referred to the community chief for adjudication. Where there is still no resolution at the community level, the case is further referred to the next level of the chieftaincy hierarchy. The chieftaincy hierarchies include: the sub-divisions, the divisions and the paramouncies. Where the conflicts relate to chieftaincy issues, the Constitution of Ghana provides for the Judicial Committees of the Chieftaincy to handle such conflicts. If the various levels of the Judicial Committees – Traditional, Regional, and National Houses of Chiefs – are unable to resolve the dispute, the case is then brought to the modern court system at the Supreme Court.

teacher training college and several senior high schools. There are also plans for an Islamic University (site acquired) near Wa.

Many commercial and light industrial facilities also abound in the city. The demand for urban infrastructure, housing and commercial facilities for workers, students, and in-migrants has increased demand for land in and around Wa. The presence of workers and students from other parts of the country, government development projects and land policy, as well as changing customary norms and aspirations are fertile factors influencing land commodification and land relations in Wa and peri-urban communities (cf: Chapters six, seven and eight for the detailed discussion). These peri-urban communities are Danko, Bamahu, Sing, Napogbakole, Kpongu, Nakori, Sombo, Charia, Loho, Guli, Kperisi, and Busa. Three of these peri-urban communities namely: Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo were selected for the study (cf: 4.4 Case Selection). The next section presents a brief description of these communities. Figure 5.2 below is the map of Wa Municipality, showing the Wa Urban area (pink) and the case study communities (in black ink).

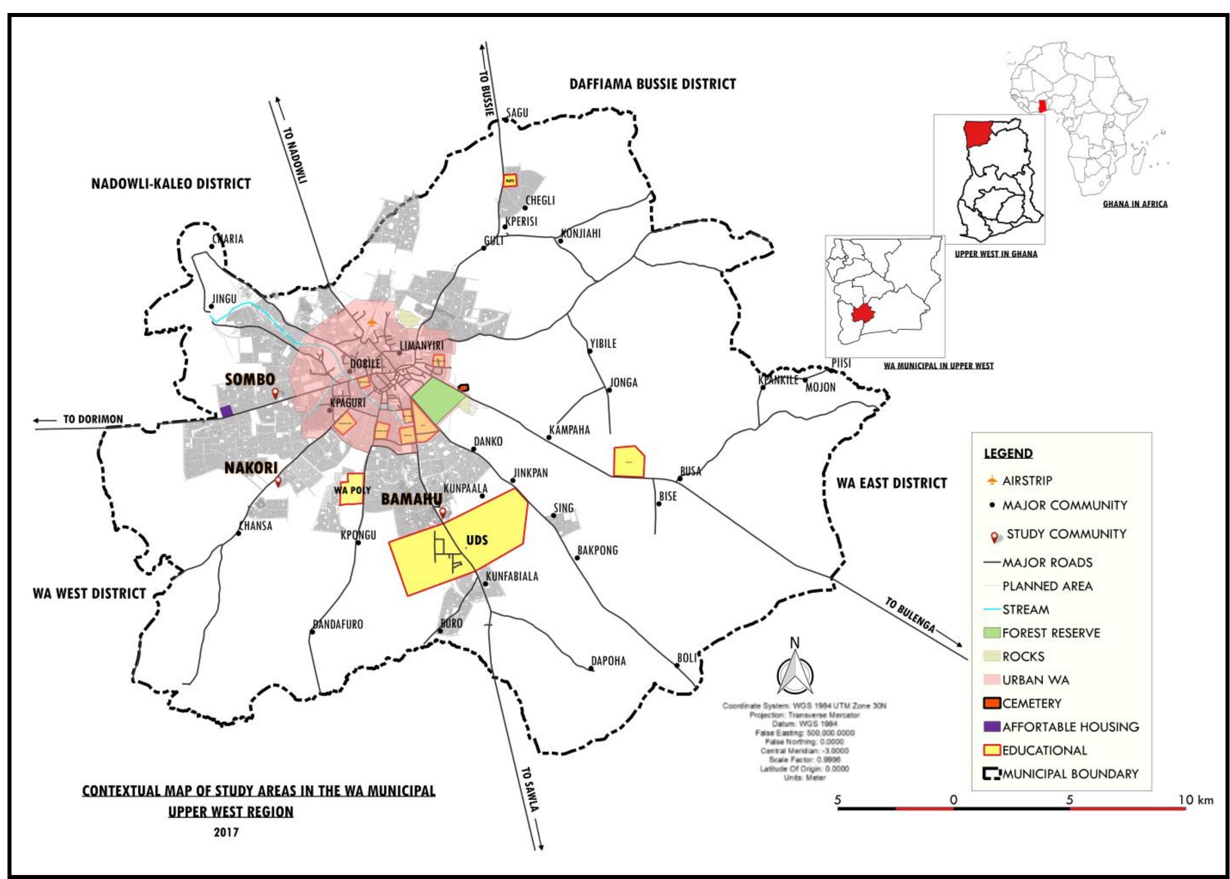

Figure 5.2: Map of Wa Municipality with Case Study Communities (bold black)
Source: Based on data from Town and Country Planning Department, Wa

Designed by R.N. Niminga-Beka, Town and Country Planning Department, Wa

5.3 A Brief Description of the Case Study Communities

5.3.1 Bamahu

Bamahu community is about 8 km south of Wa City centre, along the Wa-Bole-Kumasi highway. Wa's urban sprawl has almost reached Bamahu, but there are still patches of undeveloped lands between the community and Wa. In 2015, the projected population of the community was 3,794 (GSS-UWR, 2017). The inhabitants of Bamahu can be categorised in five major groups: the Tendamba, the *Nabiihi* (royals), the Imams or *Yerhi* (Muslims), the early settler Dagaaba, and all other strangers (KII_10b, 28.2.2016; KII_18a, 11.04.2016). These groups of people live in more or less identifiable sections of the community. The Tendamba, *Nabiihi* and *Yerhi* live within the central part of the community. The Dagaaba mostly live in the periphery of the central part of the town. The other strangers – a mix of other ethnic groups - live in the outskirts of the community, on former farmland of the indigenes.

The Main Campus of the University for Developments Studies (Wa Campus) is located in this community. Therefore, the community is home to hundreds of university students as it contains several student hostels of all forms, ranging from two-bedroom buildings to multi-storey student hotels. Other facilities in the community include a basic school, a health center, and a bank. Along the Wa-Bole highway through the community, are located many businesses including provisions shops, restaurants, hairdressing and barbering salons, internet cafes, copy centers and stationery shops, motor and electronic repair workshops, and mobile phone and recharge credit vendors.

5.3.2 Nakori

Nakori community is located south-west of Wa, and about 8 km from the Wa City centre. Nakori is linked to Wa by an untarred, dusty road. Wa's urban sprawl is also reaching Nakori, and a number of newly developing houses can be seen between Wa and the Nakori indigenous settlement. The estimated population of Nakori in 2015 was 1952 (GSS-UWR, 2017). The community is made up of four major groups of people including the Tendamba, the *Nabiihi*, and the Dagaaba/Luobe. The fourth group of people are settlers who have bought land on the outskirts of the community. Social services available in the community include: basic schools and a health center. The community also has a reservoir (dam) which is used for dry season gardening. There are a few businesses, mainly general provisions shops, mobile phone and recharge credit vendors, and cooked food sellers.

5.3.3 Sombo

Sombo community is located in the western part of Wa, along the Wa-Dorimon road. The community is now merged with Wa. From the indigenous settlement of Sombo to Wa, is a continuous built up area. There are a few patches of bare land within the core settlement strategically left for family housing. People are building houses in all parts of the community. In the far west and north of the community, there are vast undeveloped lands, which are the community farmlands. These lands are currently being sold and converted into building plots. The 2010 population and housing census estimated that Sombo would have had a population of 4181 in 2015 (GSS-UWR, 2017). Apart from lands acquired by settlers, the state has acquired large parcels of land in this area for a residential housing project – the Affordable Housing Project, and a leasehold interest in a 30-acre landed property held by the Lands Commission. The Faculty of Business Studies and Law of the University for Development Studies is located near this community.

Social services in the community include basic schools and a health facility. Along the main road connecting Wa-Dorimon, community members, including the Tendamba have opened various businesses. These include shops that sell basic household provisions, food vending and drinking spots, and motor spare parts and repair shops. Other business activities include welding and fabrication, blacksmithing, car wash, textile weaving, and molding of land boundary pillars.

5.4 The Socio-Political Structure, Land Ownership, and the Traditional Perspectives about Land among the Waala

The traditional socio-political governance structure of the Waala is at the family and the community levels. The term family as used among the Waala falls in line with the general usage of family in Ghana. In the Ghanaian family law, a family consists of the entire lineal descendants of a common ancestor (Ollenu, 1962, p. 140). The family may be patrilineal, matrilineal or a combination of the two. Whilst the patrilineal family comprises a unit of all persons male and female descending from the direct male line from a common ancestor, the matrilineal family consists of all persons male and female, lineally descended from a common female ancestor (Ollenu, 1962, pp. 140–141). In most parts of Northern Ghana, the patrilineal family system is common and the Waala generally practice the patrilineal family system albeit they attach great cultural values to the matrilineal system (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 274–275).

The family structure of the Waala comprises three levels – the *buurii*, the *yir*, and the *jaga.* For want of better nomenclature, these levels of family can be respectively referred to as the clan, the extended and the nuclear families. The term *buurii* means “seed” which connotes the concept of generating, referring to the descendants of a common ancestor (Kpiebaya, 2016, p. 45). Each *buurii* comprises a number of lineages (*yie*, plural, and *yir* as singular) who trace their descent from a common epic ancestor. Within the *yir*, brothers may have their own compounds or houses known as *jaghi* (*jaga* as singular). The *jaga* is the basic unit of the Waala social organisation (see Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 274–285). Each of the family levels is headed by the most senior at that level, and the most senior of all the family heads, heads the clan. Thus, the most senior male of the *jaga* is the *jaga ninkpong* (head); the most senior male of all the *Jaghi* together is the *yir ninkpong*; and the most senior male of all the *yie* together is the *buurii ninkpong* (clan head) (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 274–285).

Decision making, adjudication of disputes and the general governance of the families follow these family structures. In this regard, family issues that concern each *jaga* are handled within the *jaga* under the guidance of the *jaga ninkpong*. When issues concern more than one *jaga*, they are handled at the *yir* level, and cases involving a number of *yie* are handled at the *buurii* level, superintended over by the *buurii ninkpong*. Where issues cannot be resolved at the *jaga* level, they are referred to the *yir* level, and issues that cannot be resolved at the *yir* level are referred to *buurii* or clan level for resolution (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 282–284).

Governance at the community level is based on a tripartite political system, with a clear separation of powers but collaborative in nature. Religious matters are administered by the Imams, land matters by the Tendamba (land owners/custodians), and the Chiefs handle local governance, including executive, legislative and traditional judicial responsibilities (Benneh et al., 1995, p. 61; Wilks, 1989, pp. 17–20). At the community level, especially in mixed clan communities, where there are conflicts or other issues between clans that require a third-party intervention, the three heads – Iman, Tendaana, and the Chief - collaboratively adjudicate. Where there is failure of resolution, an appeal is made at the Wa Naa's (chief of Wa) court which is regarded as the traditional supreme court of the Waala (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 284). In addition to the traditional governance structure, the modern political leadership of District Assembly and Unit Committee members collaborate with the traditional authorities in the management of general community development.

Land ownership among the Waala - as in the rest of northwestern Ghana - is vested in the Tendamba, who are [mostly first settler] clans or families. In the Wa area and surrounding villages, the Tendamba are said to be of Lobi and migrant Dagomba/Mande origin (Bin Salih, 2008, p. 120). The Tendamba are made up of different clans. These include the *Balum* clan, comprising Sokpariyiri, Puohuyiri, Suuriyiri, and Kpaguri. Other Tendamba clans are the Manteena (Mangu), the Tuomune/Froko, and the Daanaayiree (Biitir & Nara, 2016, p. 532; Bin Salih, 2008, pp. 113–134).

In other villages within the Waala Kingdom, the lands are owned by other clans who do not belong to the *Balum* group, but are Tendamba of their own right. These groups include the Biiseele, Busaala, Kpere, Sime, Bole and Nasaala (Yerhi/Old Muslims of Nasa) (Bin Salih, 2008, p. 131; Wilks, 1989, pp. 17–20). The Tendamba in the study communities – Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo - fall under this category of non-*Balum* clan. The land tenure system of the Wa and surrounding communities

generally originated from discovery, conquests, gift, settlements and inheritance (Benneh et al., 1995, p. 61).

In Bamahu, the Tendamba belong to the "Tortoise clan", from the Somboli lineage. They trace their origin and relationships respectively back to the Bagoloyire of Biihe, and the Sopkariyire of the Balum clan of Wa (FGD, Elders & Youth, Bamahu, 11.09.2015; In-depth interview with an Elder of Tendamba Clan, IIC_13, Bamahu, 20.02.2016; Youth, Biihee, 11.04.2016). The Tendamba are mostly Muslim. In Nakori, the Tendamba mainly belong to two sections namely, Mogyieyiri and Kanguuhoyiri. They belong to the *Ekwala* (*Eko*) clan and trace their origin back to Kupeo in the Northern Region of Ghana. The Tendamba are mostly Muslims, with few Traditional Religion practitioners (In-depth Interview with Elder, IIC_25, Nakori, 13.02.2016; In-depth Interview with Elder, IIC_39, Nakori, 16.04.2016). Just like the Tendamba in Nakori, the Tendamba in Sombo belong to the *Ekwala* (*Eko*) clan, tracing their origin back to Kupeo in the Northern Region of Ghana. The Tendamba are in three wider *dinoe* [sections] namely: Dangori, Yikpong, and Kparsaga (In-depth Interview with Elder, IIC_42, Sombo, 12.02.2016). With regard to the religious affiliations, the Tendamba are a mix of Traditionalists, Christians, and Muslims, with the Muslims being the dominant group.

The land governance structure and practice among the Waala are similar to the Dagara as described by Kunbuor (2003, pp. 112–113). The *jaga* constitutes the productive economic unit in terms of land relations, but also to a lesser extent the *yir*. The *jaga* usually has the customary freehold interest or the usufruct of the land in their possession, as members of the landowning group, and handed down from one generation to another. At the *yir* level, members may also hold and manage the land resources as a unit. Spiritual tasks associated with the land, and communal lands or commons are however administered by the *Tendaana* (*buurii ninkpong*), who holds the highest interest in the land on behalf of the entire *buurii* (Kunbuor, 2003, pp. 112–113). Land as a family property entails common ownership by all members, and thus bestows legal rights and duties on members (Ollenu, 1962, p. 142). In this regard, all family members are entitled to the land benefits, as well as liability to contribute towards protecting family land, and common right to sit in or be represented in the family council on decisions relating to the family land [emphasis mine] (ibid).

The Tendamba regard land as an economic resource, but also, as one that has social, religious and political significance. The land is perceived as a natural and sacred gift from God – the source of identity, source of livelihood, a temporary dwelling for the living, and a permanent home for the ancestor. Both the living and the ancestor share ownership of the land, the ancestor regarded as the first owner, having been in physical and now spiritual possession of the land. Among the Tendamba, the land thus serves as the medium of communion between the living and their ancestors, and subsequently, communion with the Supreme Being - God. Daily activities, including land use and administration are [supposed to be] guided by customary rules, including prohibitions such as sexual activity in the bush or in the open, fighting or beating a woman on the farm, shedding human blood on the land, death or murder on the farm, and stealing on the farm (FGD with Elders and Youth, Sombo, 02.10.2015). The ancestors, being co-owners of the land were [and still are] believed to have the power to punish any mal-administration or misuse of the land by the living (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 24). These punishments come in the form of poor rains, poor crop harvests, injuries, diseases, and mysterious deaths in the community. Under such misfortunes, or in times of need such as rain, food, protection from calamities, health, procreation, prosperity, peace and harmony, the community members – led by the head Tendaana - offer sacrifices to the Supreme Being by invoking or appeasing the ancestors to intercede with Mother Earth on their behalf (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 24–31; Nuolabong, 2015, pp. 209–210). Maintaining close relations with the Supreme Being and the ancestors ensures that land management practices inure to the benefit of the present as well as the future generations.

Just like any other culture, the Waala culture is dynamic and thus susceptible to changes. The traditional forms of social life, as well as land allocation and management by the Tendamba as described in this chapter have not remained static, but have over the years undergone some transformation. To understand the forces of this transformation, and the influence on land commodification and intergenerational land relations in the peri-urban area of Wa, the study turns to the next chapter on a detailed presentation of the research findings.

6. THE DRIVING FORCES BEHIND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION IN [PERI-URBAN] WA

This chapter discusses the major forces of transformation of the socio-cultural, institutional, and economic life of Wa and its fringe communities especially in the last two decades, and the consequent influences on the lifestyles and aspirations of the Tendamba of this area. The major forces of transformation identified include: population increase and urbanisation, modern technology in information and tele-communication, transport development, religion, formal education development, and institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land.

6.1 Population Increase, Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl in Wa

Increasing population and urbanization are major forces driving the transformation of Wa and the Municipality at large. The 2010 population and housing census recorded the population of Wa Municipality as 107, 214, with an annual growth rate of 1.7%. By this rate, the Municipality is projected to be inhabited by 123,744 people in 2017 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a, p. 15; GSS_UWR, 2017). Based on the 2010 census, the Wa Municipality had an urban proportion[18] of 63% and held 61% of the Upper West Regional Urban population (based on GSS-UWR, 2017). The urban population of the Wa Municipality is however concentrated within Wa, being the only urban center in the Municipality, whilst the rest is peri-urban and rural in nature. In Ghana, urbanisation is seen more from the perspective of population concentration in a locality. Thus, an urban area is one with a population of 5000 or more (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a, p. 53). In this regard, increasing growth of the resident population and immigration are the major factors of the urbanisation of Wa and urban spread into fringe communities. The generally high fertility rates in the Upper West Region (UWR) contribute to the population increase. Compared to the rest of the country for the period 2012-2014, for instance, the Region had a fertility rate of 5.2 children per woman, second only to Northern Region (6.6 per woman), whilst the national total fertility rate was 4.2 children per woman ((GSS) Ghana Statistical Service, Ghana Health Service, & ICF International, 2015, pp. 59–62).

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[18] The 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) – Wa Municipal report included Sombo as part of Wa town. Wa town is the only urban town in the Wa Municipality. By this, the rrban proportion of Wa Municipality is noted as 66%. In the previous censuses however, Sombo was not included as part of Wa town. To enable better comparison of the population of Wa town for various census years, Sombo's share of population is taken out from the Wa township population for the 2010 PHC. In this regard, the urban proportion of the Wa Municipality, as well as the Wa Municipal share of the regional (UWR) urban proportion, is computed based on Wa town (urban Wa) excluding the population of Wa-Sombo.

As a major contributor to urbanization, population movements generally from rural to urban centers continue to increase. For instance, from 2000 to 2010, the rural-urban migrant population in Ghana had grown by 4.5% per annum far greater than the urban non-migrant population growth of 3.6% per annum (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b, p. 24). In the Wa Municipality, the total migrant population in 2010 was about 23% of the Municipal's total population. The greater proportion (64%) of this population constituted in-migrants from outside the UWR (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a, p. 20). The immigration to Wa can be attributed significantly to political administration and education development. With regards to political administration, Wa which was already a district capital, doubled as the regional capital when the Upper West Region was created in 1983. Consequently, a lot of regional branches of national ministries and agencies opened their offices in Wa. Following the return of Ghana to civilian rule in 1993, constitutional agencies [e.g. the Lands Commission, the Electoral Commission] continued to be established in Wa. By this, more human resources had to move into the city to work in these offices. In respect of the contribution of higher education to the urbanisation, the establishment of the Wa Polytechnic (Wa Poly) and the University for Development Studies (UDS), respectively in 1999 and 2002, as well as teacher and nursing training colleges, brought more people into Wa – including students, workers, and business persons. The contributions of the UDS and Wa Poly to the urbanization process are especially significant.

The UDS, for instance, started with 450 students in 2002, and steadily increased to a peak admission of 12,438 for the 2011/2012 academic year, and thereafter slightly declined due to inadequate infrastructure (UDS, 2014, pp. 14–18). The details of student admissions by year from 2002/2003 to 2013/2014 academic years are shown in Figure 6.1 below. By the 2011/2012 academic year, the student population (1st to 4th year) of the Campus had shot up to about 23,000. The population of the Campus staff (academic and non-academic) as at September 2013 stood at 339 (UDS, 2014, pp. 24–25).

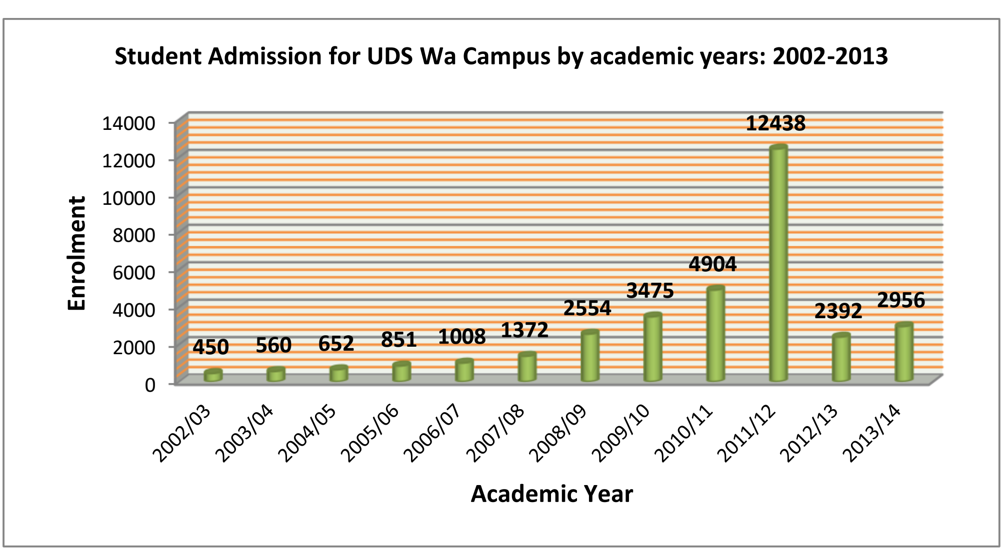


Figure 6. 1: Student Admission by Academic Years for UDS Wa Campus from 2002/2003-2013/2014
Source: Based on Data from UDS (2014)

With regards to the contribution of the Wa Poly to the urban population, the Polytechnic enrolled its first batch of 51 tertiary students in 2003 (Wa Polytechnic, 2016, p. 11). From this number, the Polytechnic successively increased admission to a highest of 1417 in 2011/2012 academic year, and thereafter reduced intake slightly, due to inadequate lecture facilities and non-existent hostel facilities on campus (NCTE, 2017; phone discussion with the Planning Officer, Wa Poly, 15.11.2017). Figure 6.2 below provides details of the student enrolment from 2003 to 2015. In the 2011/2012 academic year, the Polytechnic had a total of 3666 students (1st to 3rd year). The staff (both academic and non-academic) strength of the Polytechnic in 2014 was 105 (NCTE, 2014, p. 11).

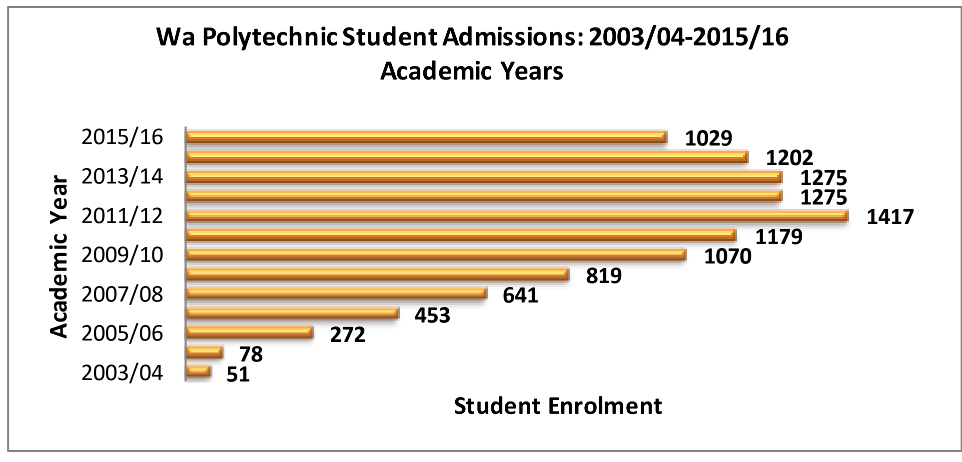


Figure 6. 2: Student Admissions for Wa Polytechnic from 2003-2015
Source: Based on Data from NCTE (2017).

The establishment of these two educational facilities had directly and indirectly brought in a huge population – students, workers, and business people. The statistics above for instance showed that in the 2011/2012 academic year alone, there were over 27,000 students from the UDS and Wa Poly combined. Aside students and education workers, other people, including investors and job seekers came into Wa and neighbouring communities to take advantage of the varied business and employment opportunities that these educational facilities offer.

Population censuses over the last four decades illustrate the increasing urbanization of Wa (see Figure 6.3). In 1970, Wa was already urban with a population of 17, 825. Inferring from the Figure below, the population of Wa more than doubled (102%) in 14 years (1984), and in 30 years (2000), the population of Wa had grown to nearly four times its 1970 size. Between 2000 and 2010, there was, however, only a very marginal increase (1%). This minimal growth may be explained by the fact that after 2000, Wa city had expanded into the neighbouring communities, and people subsequently found home in the urban fringes.

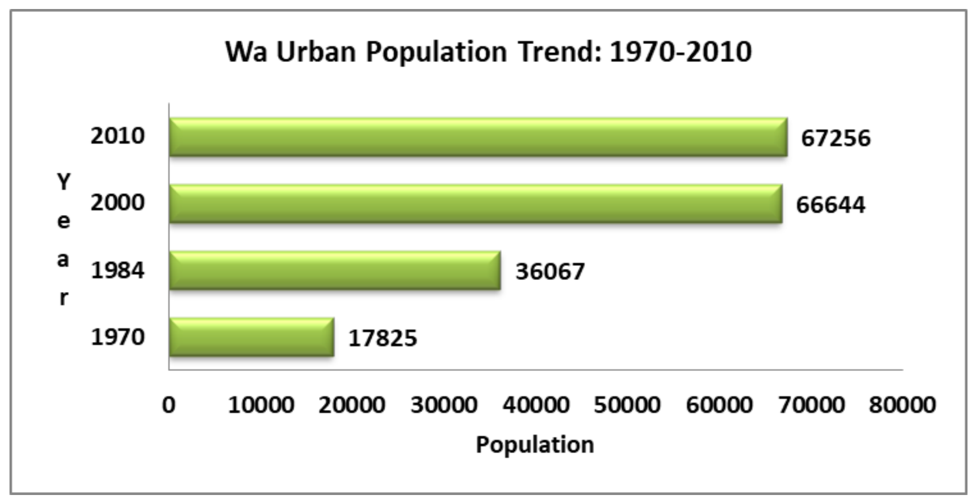


Figure 6. 3: Population Trend of Urban Wa: 1970-2010
Source: Data from Ghana Statistical Service (2005); 2010 PHC, GSS-UWR (2017)

The above population statistics showed that urban sprawl had started occurring in Wa at the dawn of the millennium. Urban sprawl refers to the non-contiguous and unplanned expansion of urban areas, characterized by low density physical developments and the absence of basic infrastructure (e.g sanitation), usually beyond the urban fringes (Patrick B. Cobbinah & Amoako, 2012, p. 388). Showing

the spatial expansion of Wa, Figure 6.4 below is the output of a participatory mapping held in Wa in 2016. The participants at this mapping were elders and youth from Tendamba families, officers from the Town and Country Planning Department, land management professionals from the University (UDS), and graduate students of Geo-Information Science. The figure depicts the extent and direction of expansion of Wa from the 1950s to 2002. From Figure 6.4, the largest spatial expansion of the city occurred after Wa was nominated as the capital of the newly created Upper West Region - especially between 1983 and 1992 (indicated by the brown line). As explained above, the creation of the UWR and the subsequent location of ministries, agencies and other organisations, with the concomitant immigration of people could explain the large spatial expansion of Wa after 1983. More State agencies and other organisations continued to establish in Wa after the country's peaceful return to constitutional rule in 1993, and thus more workers continue to settle in the city. All these people have to find accommodation in Wa town or the periphery.

By 2002, the Wa town had thus expanded into the fringe communities (shown by red line). From Figure 6.4, the broken ring shows the approximated limits of the Wa town. After 2002, physical developments could thus be seen taking place within the peri-urban areas.

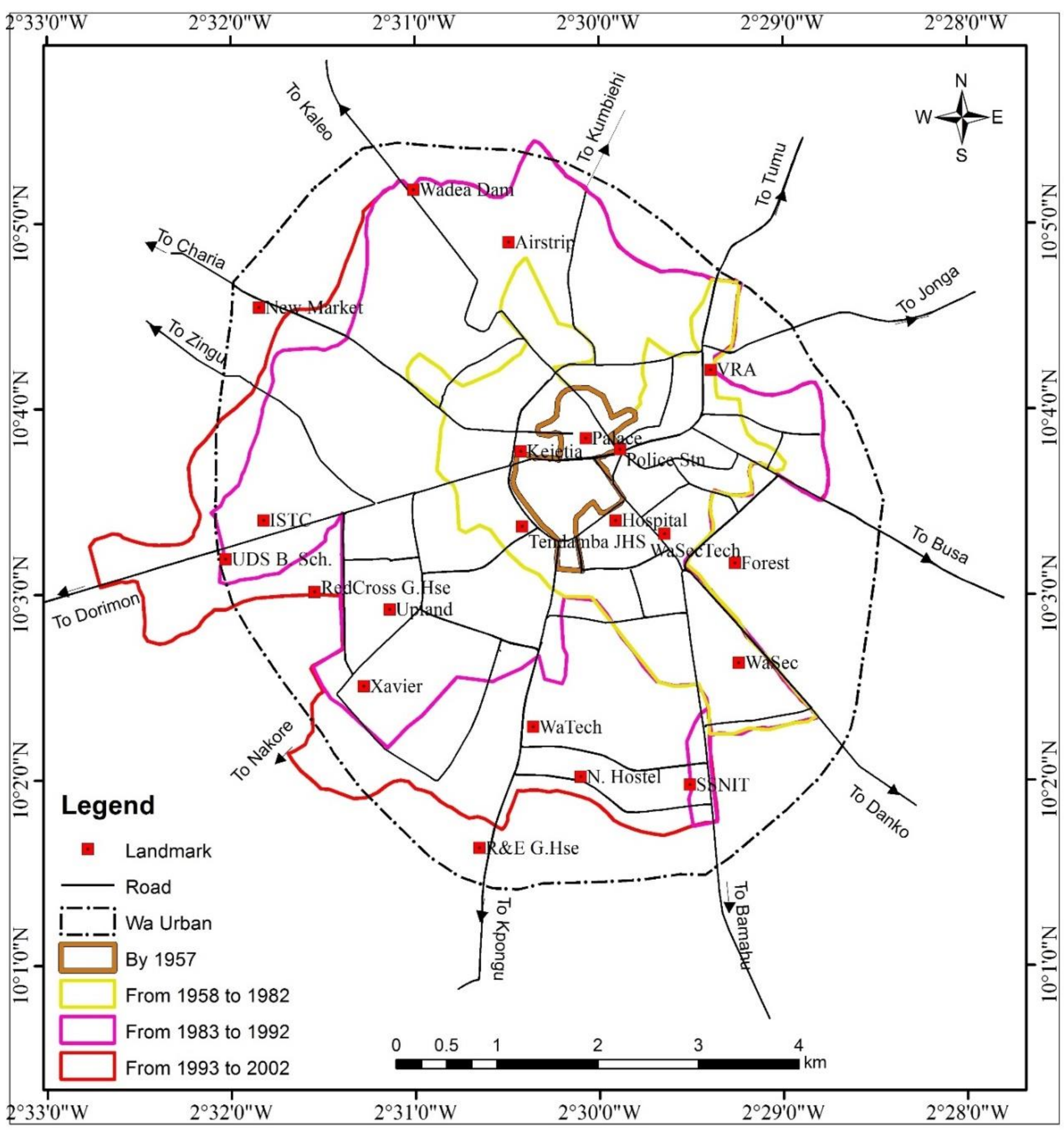


Figure 6. 4: Participatory Map of Wa Showing Spatial Expansion from the 1950s to 2002
Source: Participatory Mapping (2016); Designed by Aabeyir, R. and Dongzagla, A. (2016)

The spatial expansion of Wa has been tremendous within the last three decades. The growth has, however, not been uniform. Following from the Figure 6.4 above, the physical growth of Wa has predominantly been in the southern, south-western and western directions. A number of factors - physical and cultural, underlie this direction of expansion. From the physical perspective, professionals at the Land Sector Agencies attributed the direction of expansion to the role of so-called 'growth poles'. According to them, large infrastructural projects such as the UDS, the Polytechnic, as well as a site for the 52 acre Affordable Housing Project, and recently, site for a satellite campus for

the University of Cape Coast, all located in the southern, south western, and western parts of Wa, attract physical developments such as residential and commercial properties.

In respect of the limited physical expansion of Wa towards the east, the existence of rock outcrops and the location of the Wa forest reserve in the area are partly the reason. Beyond this, cultural/religious reasons are assigned to the limited physical development in the east. The Tendamba of Wa noted that the eastern part of the city is a sacred place. According to one of the Tendamba elders (aged over 90) of the Balum clan of Wa, "*the samuni [east] is the direction everyone looks at as soon as they rise from bed. That is the dwelling place of our ancestors... It is the place where the dead are buried... Even as a non-indigene, if one is allocated land in this area and one is conscious, one would have reservations about the area, and would not accept a plot of land in this area*" (KII_17 Wa: 10.04.2016). The Tendamba believe that as the *samuni* is where the sun rises, it should not be obstructed by any buildings or physical developments. The eastern direction should be left clear, so that daybreak is easily detected by the rising of the sun, so that men would set off for their farms. The location of a public cemetery in the east is believed to be a disincentive to establishing residential facilities in the area (FGD with CLS, Wa Central: 01.04.2016). The association of the east with the ancestor, coupled with the location of the cemetery thus heightens the perception of the area as a mysterious territory and thus unattractive for residential uses (Eledi & Kuusaana, 2014, p. 277).

The direction of the expansion of the city has influenced the rapid population growth of the fringe communities in the southern and western parts of Wa, including the study communities - Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo. The evidence of this growth for the study communities is shown in Figure 6.5 below, using population statistics from 1970 – 2010. From the figure, it can be seen that the population increased only moderately from 1970 to 2000. However, between 2000 and 2010, the population significantly increased especially in Bamahu and Sombo.

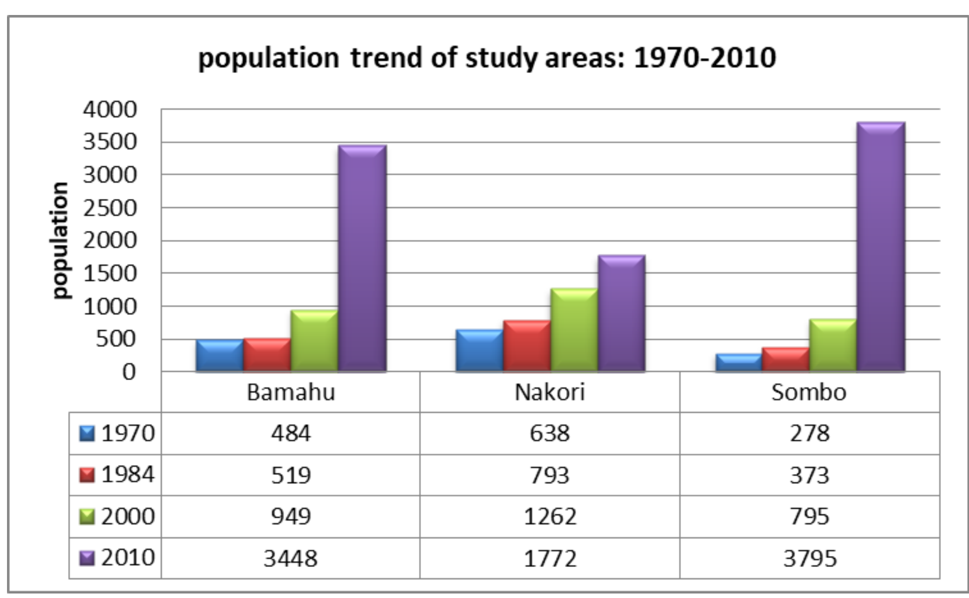


Figure 6. 5: Population Trend of the Study Communities for 1970-2010
Source: Data from Ghana Statistical Service (2005); 2010 PHC, GSS-UWR (2017)

Comparing the population growth in the three communities, the population growth of Nakori has been quite uniform for all the census years relative to those of Bamahu and Sombo. But whilst the population figures of Nakori were greater than those of Bamahu and Sombo in 1970, 1984 and 2000, the population of Bamahu and Sombo more than doubled that of Nakori in 2010. Figure 6.5 clearly demonstrates that within one decade - between 2000 and 2010 – the populations of Bamahu and Sombo rose from below one thousand to over three thousand, a percentage growth of 263% and 337% respectively. These growth differentials can be explained by the impact of the siting of the University for Development Studies at Bamahu and Sombo, compared to the relatively remote Nakori.

Population growth and the development of dwelling units are inextricably linked as increasing number of people means increased housing facilities. The increasing population and urban sprawl have had a tremendous effect on the demand for and supply of housing units in Wa and its fringes, mainly by individuals. State housing facilities - mainly in the Degu residential area, Dobile, and the Medical Village at the Airtrip - are limited and can only accommodate few government workers - mostly regional and municipal departmental heads. Most government sector workers have to find their own residential accommodation. Also, the large numbers of tertiary students and staff, coupled with limited student and staff residential facilities on campus has increased the

demand for housing in and around Wa, especially in Bamahu and Sombo, which are the immediate vicinity of the UDS. In the 2012/2013 academic year for instance, only 6% of the UDS students were accommodated in university residential facilities on Campus. Over 90% of the students had to find private accommodation in various parts of Wa (Derbile, Dakyaga, Dakuu, & Jambadu, 2016, p. 67). According to Officers of the Rent Control Department of Wa, the Bamahu-Kunfabiala area is the most concentrated rental housing zone in Wa because of the University (Interview, Rent Control Department, Wa, 17.03.2016). In this area, there are over 150 student hostels and several converted family houses in which some indigenous families share housing units with students.

Whilst students and most workers resort to rental accommodation, some workers prefer to build their own houses. According to the Rent Control Department in Wa, the attitude of some landlords such as unilateral changes in tenancy terms, arbitrary increment in rents, and harassment of tenants, but also tenant-tenant harassment, have been factors driving the surge in private buildings (Interview, Rent Control Department, Wa, 17.03.2016). Also, some government worker retirees who previously occupied state residential properties, prefer to build and live in Wa instead of returning home. One example is a teacher who settled in one of the communities after his retirement in 1997 (KII_02, 11.10.2015). According to another settler in the same community, there is proliferation of private real estate investment in Wa and fringe communities in recent times by immigrants because, *"even young people are buying land to build their personal residential property. People no longer care about building outside their hometowns. Now, everywhere is regarded as home"* (KII_01, 14.10.2015). Similar to this notion of home away from home, Abdul-Korah, writing about migration of young Dagaaba to the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana in the 1980s and 1990s, found that majority of the migrants tend to settle permanently because, to them "where is not home?" (Abdul-Korah, 2006, p. 92).

The housing stock of the study communities has been greatly impacted by the generally increasing demand for housing in Wa and surrounding communities. Analysis of the housing stock in the study communities using data from three national censuses – 1984, 2000, and 2010, showed the significant growth of hosing between 2000 and 2010 (see Figure 6.6 below).

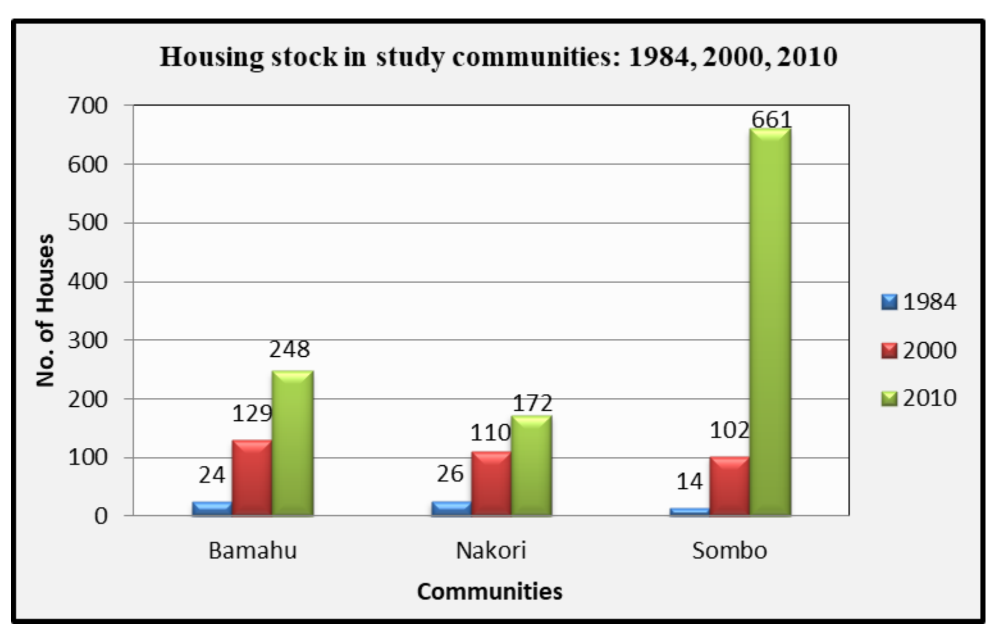


Figure 6. 6: Housing Stock in Study Communities: 1984, 2000 and 2010
Source: Data from Ghana Statistical Service (1989; 2005; 2014); 2010 PHC, GSS-UWR (2017)

In 1984, all the communities had less than 30 houses. By the year 2000, the number of houses increased by about five and four times in Bamahu and Nakori respectively, and about seven times in Sombo. Between 2000 and 2010, the housing stock in Nakori increased minimally, and nearly doubled in Bamahu. However, Sombo recorded an exceptionally high growth of housing stock - more than six times the stock in year 2000. Just like the population growth dynamics, the increase in the housing stock can be attributed to the presence of the UDS. The proximity of Sombo and Bamahu to the University thus accounts for the huge growth in housing stock in these communities compared to Nakori. The contribution of the UDS to the population and spatial expansion of the study area was articulated by an elder in Bamahu thus:

> the growth of Bamahu started during J.J. Rawlings' regime as Head of State [1980s]…The inflow of strangers continued gradually until information came that a big school [UDS] was to be established in Bamahu, then many people started moving into Bamahu. Bamahu community which was not known by many people, a community which was not expected to grow, suddenly expanded…Indeed, the tremendous growth of Bamahu started at the establishment of the University (FGD with Elders and Youth, Bamahu, 11.09.2015).

The urbanization of Wa and urban expansion into the fringe communities have created an enormous impact on the socio-economic lives of the inhabitants. These processes have opened up opportunities for various economic activities and infrastructure in and around Wa. For instance, real estate

investments and services in student accommodation, family rental housing, owner-occupier housing, offices, restaurants and shops, have all developed to cater for the increased population and business activities. Both outsiders and local people took advantage of these opportunities. During an in-depth interview with a young man in Bamahu for instance, he stated that he first understood the idea of student hostels whilst on his taxi business in Wa town and Sombo at the start of the UDS. So, when the University eventually started operations in Bamahu, he and others quickly adapted the idea, refurbished their houses and built additional rooms to let to students (IIC_19, 06.03.2016). These rooms were mostly simple two-five bedrooms adjoining their family houses, unlike the mostly huge standard student accommodation - some multi-storey, provided by non-locals. Whilst these real estate investments are a direct source of income for Tendamba through land sales and rent, they also provide varied job opportunities for the people. These jobs include: sand winning, stone gathering, block laying, excavation of building foundation trenches, masonry, carpentry, welding and fabrication, and other minor works at construction sites. The youth who are mostly men, engage in the sand winning and construction works generally, whilst women are engaged mostly in the stone gathering to sell to construction firms.

Plate 6. 1: Student Hostels in Peri-Urban Wa
Source: Photos by Fredrick Kuupille (2017)

Plate 6. 2: Stone Gathering and Sand Winning in Peri-urban Wa (near Bamahu and Nakori)
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine (2016)

Aside the developments of the real estate and related job opportunities, other business opportunities have been created. Both locals and outsiders sell various goods, and provide a number of different services catering for the urban demand. These goods and services include: general household provisions and foodstuff, building materials, stationery, electronics, communication services, and transport facilities and services, hotel, restaurant and bar services. These businesses further create employment opportunities. Indigenous people have taken advantage of these varied business opportunities to diversify or change their sources of livelihoods. For instance, women who two decades ago, carried fuelwood, charcoal, and wild vegetables to Wa town for sale, are now engaged in petty trading in foodstuff and food vending on table-tops or small container shops in their communities. Others moved to Wa town to engage in these businesses or to assist market women sell their wares, locally referred to as "*tavama*".

These business activities have been enhanced by the presence of higher education facilities such as the UDS and Wa Poly which constitute a significant market for the goods and services. Commenting on the changing streams of livelihood in Wa and fringe communities, a Professor of Sociology of the UDS in Wa said:

> Today, we have a lot of businesses coming [into Wa] …I was born and raised here. So, I know the business developments within Wa and even the surrounding communities. Wa is not the Wa we knew twenty years ago. Wa has expanded in terms of economic development…Now the population has swelled. These students are in their thousands … they come with money. They buy things…So business men and women are benefiting from the presence of UDS…people are selling food, beverages and doing various commercial activities…these people could have remained probably unemployed [without UDS] and even if they were engaged, not at the level that they are engaged now" (Radio discussion with Prof. Bagah, Radio Progress, Wa; 08.02.2017).

As noted by Scott (2010, pp. 372–373), educational centers generally serve as intermediaries or mediators between national/global and local markets, and make decisive contributions to the economy of the city of location and its region.

The urban population, and the flourishing business activities in Wa and surrounding communities have been supported by financial organisations, improved road network, transport and other infrastructure. Over a dozen financial organisations, most of which were established in Wa within the last two decades, offer various financial services to the inhabitants. These organisations include: GCB Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, Co-operative Credit Union, National Investment Bank, SG-SSB Bank, and Stanbic Bank. Others are: Barclays Bank, GN Bank, ARB Apex Bank, Access Bank, Nandom Rural Bank, Lawra Rural Bank, Song-zelle Rural Bank, and Pro-credit. Urbanisation and urban sprawl undoubtedly results in the expansion and use of public transport, especially for people who live farther away from the city center and their inner-city workplaces, and have to commute between the urban center and the periphery (Cobbinah & Aboagye, 2017, p. 238; Owusu, 2013, p. 1). The spatial expansion in Wa resulted in the opening up of new roads and increased use of various transport services including *trotro*[19], taxi, tricycles and motor bikes (cf. 6.2.4 Transport Services). To cater for the new demands, service providers have also extended basic infrastructure such as electricity, water, and health facilities to the fringe communities. All these infrastructure and services are essential for enhanced socio-economic activities.

[19] The *trotro* is the local name given the public transport that serves passengers within mostly the city centers and the fringe communities. The vehicles mostly used for these services are mini and urvan buses

Plate 6. 3: Some Trading Activities in Bamahu and Nakori
Source: Photos by Fredrick Kuupille and Darius T. Mwingyine (2016)

Whilst the increasing population and urbanisation processes have created socio-economic opportunities, supported the diversification of local livelihoods, and thus provided multiple streams of income for the people, the same processes have also deprived local people of their land for agriculture, which is traditionally their major source of livelihood. Testifying to this situation, some Tendaana had this to say:

> I used to farm my backyard and harvest a lot of maize. Today, I have given all this land to people to build their houses. So, I can no longer get the foodstuff I used to obtain from the land, but the people allocated the land to, will not also feed me because I gave them land (Tendaana Elder, Sombo, 12.02.2016).
>
> Our land was basically used for farming. But due to increasing population and the construction of houses all around us, we are no longer able to cultivate near homesteads because people's livestock destroy the crops (FGD Bamahu Youth, 04.12.2015).

With the loss of land for food production, some local people are unable to find any sustainable livelihood options because they do not possess any skills or are not physically strong to take advantage of the myriad of the job opportunities created by the urbanisation processes.

Another major adverse consequence of the increasing population, urbanization and urban sprawl, is land litigation. These developments have increased land values, created competing interests for land, and provided a fertile ground for land litigation in many areas of Wa and fringe communities. According to a Lands Officer of the Lands Commission in Wa for instance, four families (clans) have competing interest and counter claims to ownership of various portions of the land occupied by the UDS. Accordingly, the state is unable to pay compensation for the University lands until these land disputes are resolved by the law courts (IIL_06, 28.01.2016; 09.03.2016). This situation re-enforces the livelihood losses for the local people in the affected areas.

The urbanisation processes in Wa and its neigbourhood did not only impact on the business and livelihood activities of the people, but also local aspirations and lifestyles. The massive influx of people into Wa and its peri-urban communities inundated the fringes of the indigenous dwelling spaces with modern-type houses of various design and function. With this, Tendamba's views about better housing changed. Expressing this view during a FGD with the youth in Bamahu, a participant said: "*we used to construct our houses with mud and mud roof. But in recent times, as we move around, especially in the cities, we see iron-roofed houses and we also want our houses to be like that… This is also a sign that our 'eyes are open' [we are modern]"* (FGD_11, 04.12.2015). The elders are of the same mind with the youth on this aspiration when they agreed with their colleague that *"our desire is to have better dwelling places by refurbishing our indigenous houses, as well as building modern houses"* (FGD_07, Bamahu, 02.10.2015). The youth, especially, seem to have acquired modern lifestyles and taste for modern housing and furniture. As argued by a 50-year-old elder in Bamahu "*today's youth want modern houses decorated with tiles and with the type of furniture that when one sits and rises, the seat also rises after one [referring to stuffing chairs]… the walls of my first house [three decades ago] were not even cement screed but I was staying in it with my wife* (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). It could also be observed that the local mud housing structures with mud roofs are increasingly giving way to new modern-type houses in all the communities.

Plate 6. 4: Top: Old Traditional Mud Buildings. Bottom: New Modern Cement Block Iron-roofed Buildings in peri-urban Wa
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine (2016)

A major character of urban settings is heterogeneity of cultures and lifestyles. The Waala are not just passive participants of the urbanisation processes taking place in their environment. Some cultures, practices and ideas that are brought in by immigrants are taken up by the local people. For instance, perceptions of identity and fashion have been observed to be changing among the local people. For instance, comparing his youth days to contemporary times, an elder in his 50s in Bamahu noted that *"when we were young, we used to have very few clothing and sometimes share some. The youth of today have access to many fashionable clothing…These sandals I am wearing, no youth will like them. They will feel shy wearing them"* (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). Despite the abundance of clothing in contemporary times, the general complaint however, was that the choice of dresses and sometimes, the mode of dressing were culturally unacceptable. Some pointed accusing fingers at tertiary education students for influencing the local youth. An elderly woman in Nakori for instance argued that "*the unacceptable dressing of our youth is imitation of the UDS students. When the youth see the funny dresses of the UDS students, they feel it is good…though the UDS students do not stay in this community, our children see them when they go to Wa town"* (IIC_28, 23.02.2016). Beyond copying the style of dressing, the local girls received gifts of dresses from the tertiary student ladies, and "*they*

enjoy wearing them…they feel beautiful in them...they want to attract the opposite sex" (Interview with Teachers, Bamahu, KII_07, 22.02.2016). Access to these dresses by the local girls facilitates their quest to identify with tertiary students, with new fashion. Also, during a discussion with a UDS student at Bamahu, he noted that "*natives sometimes dress as if they were UDS students and joined in student celebrations*" such as Students Week (SRC) celebrations and casual sports activities (KII_19, 19.02.2016). Whilst these fashion are seen as "modern" especially by the local youth, the elders lamented that their children are copying bad fashion which is inconsistent with their Islamic traditions (Derbile et al., 2016, pp. 69–71). Despite the negative influences of tertiary students complained by some natives, there are favourable aspects as well (cf: 6.4 Formal Education Development in Northwestern Ghana and Local Aspirations). In general, the interactions between students and the natives of Wa and surrounding communities have been described by Prof. Bagah of the UDS as having "*made our society richer*" in terms of cross-cultural ideas, exchanges, and social cohesion (Prof. Bagah, radio discussion, Radio Progress, Wa; 08.02.2017). Generally, the academic life in all its manifestations has always been a major contributor to the emergence of broader urban cultures, and an intermediary or mediator between national/global and local cultures (Scott, 2010, pp. 372–373).

In conclusion, the above discussion shows that in the last three decades, Wa has witnessed rapid population increase, urbanization and urban sprawl into its fringe communities. Natural population rise of the resident indigenes, and immigration of government workers, students, investors, and job seekers, have been major contributors to the urbanization, and urban sprawl which intensified in the 2000s. These developments resulted in increased demand for residential housing, offices and shops, and thus increased investments in the real estate sector. Socio-economic activities expanded, with opportunities in jobs and businesses and multiple streams of livelihood. With these developments, some local people acquired new ideas and practices about business models, and adapted these to fit into their social setting, and their managerial and financial capabilities in order to better their lives. At the same time, other locals lost land, their major sources of livelihoods, to housing developments and other urban uses. The pressure on land for various uses has also resulted in conflicts between families. With Wa now assuming a heterogenous socio-cultural character, the local people have also acquired tastes for modern housing and lifestyle. In sum, urbanisation and urban sprawl have produced new forms of cultural material such as ideas and finance, through the migration of people into Wa and fringe communities, which in part, contributed to changing livelihoods and aspirations for better life in

the Waala communities, and at the same time, constitute forces that influenced and continue to re-enforce urbasnisation and urban expansion in Wa and surrounding areas.

6.2 Modern Communication and Transport Development in Wa

The knowledge, perspectives and life views of local actors have been also influenced by the ever-increasing flow of information, concepts and ideas that came along with huge expansion of the communication and transport sector the research area has seen in the last decades. Before the arrival of modern means of information and communication such as the Newspaper, Radio, Television, Mobile, Internet, and vehicles, Ghanaians, and in general, Africans had their own way of interacting, communicating and obtaining information. These indigenous communication modes included music, dance, storytelling, and theater (Ayensu, 2003, p. 20). Various instruments and devices were also used in communication such as [talking] drums, bells, flutes, and xylophones. Despite the introduction and expansion of modern means of communication, these traditional means of communication remain relevant, and continue to play important roles especially in the socio-cultural life of local people.

The history of modern means of communication in Ghana dates back to the colonial era when the colonial authorities introduced the technology for the purpose of governing the colony, as well as relating among themselves across other colonies and their home country (Ayensu, 2003, pp. 31–33). In the colonial era, information dissemination in the Wa and surrounding communities was mainly through community announcers and messengers, using traditional media such as drums and bells. Messengers were sent on distant errands to give and receive information. During a FGD in Nakori (FGD_17, 07.11.2015), participants noted that in those days, the Chief of Wa sent his messengers to deliver information to all sub-chiefs under his jurisdiction, and information from the smaller communities was also sent to the Chief of Wa through community messengers. The modern technology for communication developed slowly from the colonial into the post-colonial era. In the 1990s, as part of the IMF policies on structural adjustments and economic liberalization, Ghana deregulated its state-controlled media environment, opening up for the proliferation of global media flows (see Garritano, 2013, pp. 91–101). The modern information and communication landscape experienced a great expansion at the turn of the millennium. Also, by the early 2000s, there was better road network and ease of movement in the country, and in Northern Ghana in particular. The various media which include the radio, television, mobile phone, and the internet, as well as transport services are discussed below.

6.2.1 Radio Explosion on the Airwaves of Wa

In the radio sector, news broadcast before the 1990s was mainly done from Accra via relay stations, mostly to the district capitals. The 1990s saw the emergence of FM Radio stations in various parts of the country, and as at December 2016, there were 354 FM Radio stations operating in Ghana, out of a total of 481 authorised stations (NCA, 2016a, p. 4). Reports of the National Communication Authority (NCA) show that more than half of these stations were authorized in the last seven years (NCA, 2016a). By 1983 when the Upper West Region was created, only the district capitals at the time - Wa, Tumu and Lawra- received radio broadcast from Accra through relay stations. By the late 1980s, the URA Radio, a World Bank Agricultural Project Radio, replaced the relay stations, and transmitted from Bolgatanga to the Upper West Region (UWR) via a repeater station in Hain (Interview with Programmes Manager, Radio UW, Wa: 15.03.2016).

The first FM radio [Radio Progress] in the Upper West Region was established in Wa in 1996 by the Catholic Church, as a community radio[20]. The second radio station in the Region, the Radio Upper West (UW), was established in 2001, and is the only public Radio in the Region. From two Radio stations in 2001, there were eleven stations in operation in the Region by 2016, with eleven other authorized stations yet to start operation (NCA, 2016a, pp. 56–58). Six of the eleven FM stations operate in Wa, and can be received by the urban and peri-urban communities. The Radio UW is operated by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), and serves as the mouth piece of the government, as well as the citizenry. The station also aims at promoting public participation in governance and community development (Interview with Programmes Manager, Radio UW: 15.03.2016). By this, the station keeps the local people informed about government activities and policies, and also airs the views and concerns of the public about government business and their own welfare.

The radio broadcasts are usually in the local languages of the Region including Waalii, Dagaare, Brifo and Sissaali, as well as in English. The use of the local languages in the radio makes it widely accessible to the local people, and enables them to effectively participate in discussions. And as the people are able to air their concerns and share ideas through these platforms, it enhances social cohesion and harmony (Diedong & Naaikuur, 2012, p. 134). The details of the Radio Stations

[20] Community Radio are none profit stations established by organisations, communities and individuals mainly to inform, educate, give a voice to, and thus involve local communities in their own development.

operating in Wa and received by the communities in the Wa Municipality are provided in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6. 1: FM Radio Broadcasting Stations in Wa

S/N	Name of FM Radio	Date Authorised	Location	Type	Frequency
1	Mass Media for Development (Radio Progress)	03.05.1996	Wa	Community	98.1 MHZ
2	GBC Radio Upper West	01.11.2001	Wa	Public	90.1MHZ
3	Sungmaale	22.12.2011	Wa	Community	90.5 MHZ
4	Radio Sahel Ltd.	05.10.2012	Wa	Commercial	93.5MHZ
5	Bugli Sesew Duoho	09.10.2013	Wa	Community	88.1MHZ
6	Wa Polytechnic	03.12.2013	Wa	Campus FM	89.3MHZ

Source: Based on Data from NCA (2016a, pp. 56–58)

The radio programmes of various stations center on information transmission, education and entertainment. The public also has the opportunity to share their views through this media via call-ins and text messaging. Major broadcasts cover issues such as: land use and planning, agriculture and business development, love, marriage, gender, childcare, family and other socio-cultural issues, education, health and sanitation, law and politics, security, sports, and religion.

With regard to land use and planning, radio stations provide schedules for various land sector agencies to educate, as well as listen to the public on land issues. For instance, the Programmes Manager of Radio UW reported that "*the Lands Commission comes on Radio UW every Thursday to educate people on land issues… The Customary Lands Secretariat has also been on this network several times to educate landlords on the registration of their lands"*. He added that town planning issues were also aired to inform communities about planning regulations. Advertisements had also been made for individuals who purchased land and wanted to resell, as well as warning notices to prospective land purchasers not to engage in transactions on specific parcels of land (Interview with Programmes Manager, Radio UW: 15.03.2016). The ideas obtained here by land owners and buyers facilitate secure land transactions and developments. In relation to agriculture and business development, market days for major towns in the region, and market prices of major foodstuff are announced every week. This information is essential for the growing businesses in the city, especially for traders who buy foodstuff from the rural farmers and resell to the urban consumer. Business owners also use the

radio to advertise their products, which does not only promote the owner's business, but also offers multiple and alternative sources of products for consumers.

Radio discussions on love, family and social relations in general were very important for the communities studied. One popular programme was "*Friday Morning Toaster*", a two-hour programme aired by Radio Progress, every Friday. It centers on social issues, mostly love and relationships, including family affairs. Real life stories (anonymous) are presented to the public. The public is then allowed to participate in the discussion with comments and pieces of advice, via phone-in calls and text messages. In the April 29, 2016 edition of the "*morning toaster*", a 55-year-old woman expressed regrets for advising her three daughters to marry wealthy men. "*I must say that I have actually misled them [daughters]",* she said. Many suitors who came to request the hand of these ladies in marriage were rejected because they were regarded as not wealthy. At their ages 39, 35, and 30, her daughters were still not married, and were not certain if men would be interested in them anymore. The woman concluded that the family was then open to any man…and any words of advice from the public (Radio Progress, Wa: 29.04.2016). The phone-in contributions from the public on this subject revealed that the desire for riches and aspirations for "already-made men" were very common. Similar sentiments were expressed in the study communities (IIC_30, 23.02.2016; KII_10b, 28.02.2016). For instance, Dauda, a key informant in one of the study communities observed that ladies in their community no longer consider family reputation, but focus on the wealth of individuals as a yardstick for suitable marriage partners (KII_10, 28.02.2016). To enable them get wives, young men must therefore be able to accumulate wealth – which could be by fair or foul means – and this has implications for societal safety and security. Indeed, in recent times, various media reports have decried the alarming rate of burglary and theft in the Wa Municipality – with 163 motor bike theft cases alone in 2014 (Ali, 2014; Blege, 2017; Ghana News Agency, 2015; Ibrahim, 2016).

The "*Friday Morning Toaster*" programme reveals various perspectives about love relationships, the meaning of possessions in family and love relations, and people's aspirations in this regard. The programme thus serves as a platform for soliciting, obtaining and giving ideas, counsel, and life lessons in resolving social challenges. Indeed, favourable outcomes have been reported, not only by people who directly participated in the "*Friday Morning Toasters*" but other listeners, about how ideas, and lessons of the programme have been helpful in resolving family conflicts, and building stronger love and social relationships (Diedong & Naaikuur, 2012, pp. 134–135). Beyond this,

Diedong and Naaikuur (2012) have documented some favourable impacts of community radio in Ghana including peace building and conflict management, gender and education, favourable cultural practices, community and social support networks. On the issue of favourable cultural practices for instance, the Dormaa FM in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana facilitated a discussion on funeral practices which resulted in the local people cutting down on extravagant funeral performances, and shifting resources to the education of their children (ibid 2012, pp. 135–137). These underscore the importance of community radio in contributing to a positive societal transformation.

Whilst the radio stations generally cover many subjects, each station has a focus or core motivation for coming on air. For instance, the core subject of Bugli FM is revival and sustenance of the culture of the people of Northwestern Ghana. The Station thus places value on programmes geared towards educating people, particularly the youth, on the richness of the local culture, communal family life, and respect for elders. For instance, elders are brought on air to talk about the culture of the people, and to tell stories and lessons about traditional social life, including family support systems and gender roles (Interview with Programmes Manager, Bugli FM, Wa, 04.2016). The core mandate of the Radio Station is in reaction to the realization that the Waala society, and that of the Region at large, are losing their cultural values due to the rapid spread of "modern" individual lifestyles (*ibid*)., Beyond their core mandate, the Programmes Manager noted that the Bugli FM invites health experts to discuss health challenges in the Municipality, available health services, and how to access them. The Municipal Assembly also comes on this Station to discuss general town planning and sanitation issues, and to inform the populace about new government programmes.

The radio was the most widespread means of obtaining information and participating in discussions, as nearly every house in the study communities owned at least one radio set. Acknowledging that information flow in contemporary times has seen a great transformation, a 50-year old man in Bamahu said when he was a young boy, "*the only source of information about the world was a wireless set placed on a wooden platform at Kejetia [central transport station] in Wa. Today, we sit here and know whatever is happening in Accra"* (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). During a FGD with women groups from Nakori, Sombo, Bamahu and Napogbakole, the radio was mentioned as their major source of information about their communities and the world, albeit other sources were also important such as the television, health workers and school teachers (Women FGD, Nakori: 01.02.2016; Joint Women FGD, ISTC Wa: 02.02.2016).

In conclusion, the establishment and expansion of Radio in the last two decades in Wa has enhanced the propagation of information, the sources of entertainment, and the sharing of ideas among the local people in all aspects of life incuding marriage, family and communal life, wealth and love relations, agriculture and business, health and sanitation, secure land transactions and sustainable town planning. The radio by itself, as a modern vessel of communication, and the ideas they transmit, all form part of the global cultural material – technoscapes and ideoscapes - which in various ways and degrees, impact on the lifeworld of the local populace. Another important media that has and continues to influence the lifeworld of the local populace, not only through ideas, but also images, is the Television. This is the focus of the next discussion.

Plate 6. 5a: Photos: Radio Stations in Wa. Left: Radio Progress. Right: Radio Upper West.
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine, Field Research (2016; 2017).

6.2.2 Listening and Watching: Television Expansion in Wa

The inauguration of the Ghana Television (GTV) in 1965 marked a major epoch in the development of the television sector in Ghana (Ayensu, 2003, p. 36). The GTV was the first to start transmission to the Upper West Region in the late 1980s. Later in the 1990s and 2000s, more television stations came in and currently, several TV stations are accessible through decoders. Some of the TV channels accessible in Wa Municipality are: TV3, Joy News, Adom TV, Pan Africa, GHOne, and other channels from Digital Satellite Television. Information telecast by these media cover issues from regional, national and the international sphere. The broadcasts were mostly in English, and a few languages spoken in Ghana such as Twi, Dagbani, Ewe and Hausa. The broadcasts in English make limited access to the largely illiterate elderly population. However, a woman noted that "*our children who are educated sometimes listen to the TV news and interpret for us. Also, when politicians come to*

our region to campaign for votes, the news on these political events are sometimes broadcast in Waalii" (FGD with Women, Nakori: 01.02.2016).

Aside major news broadcasts, there are programmes such as African movies, Mexican soap operas, Indian films and other foreign programmes including sports. Some of the widely viewed films are the African movies, especially Ghanaian (Ghallywood) and Nigerian (Nollywood) movies, and recently, the Indian movie series such as "*Kumkum Bhagya*". In the past 15 years, there has been a *Nigerialisation* of the Ghanaian entertainment space, to use the words of Garritano (2013, p. 3), due to the "relentless onslaught of Nigerian videos in Ghana". The broadcast and viewing of Nigerian movies reached a peak when Ghanaian and Nigerian actors cooperated to produce movies. Also, in recent times, the Ghanaian movie space is undergoing *Indianisation*. The Indian telenovelas especially attract huge viewership because some [e.g "*kumkum Bhagya*"] have been adapted to give them a Ghanaian cultural touch, by dubbing (translating) the movies into the Akan language - a language widely spoken and understood across the country. These entertainment programmes not only carry stories, ideas and images about life - love, marriage, family, and general social relations - but also, images about foreign lands and culture. As argued by Garritano, local Ghanaian movies that include foreign scenes and images [e.g "Love in America"], all shape local aspirations to be modern and global subjects (Garritano, 2013, p. 22). And even the names "Ghallywood/Kumawood" and "Nollywood" respectively denoting the Ghanaian and Nigerian movie industries, derived from the American movie hub Hollywood, all portray the aspirations of local movie producers towards global standards (Garritano, 2013, pp. 11–13).

These movies and telenovelas have permeated the lifeworld of the local people and are reshaping family and social relations. In the study area, it is common to find people (including children) mimicking expressions, dressing and behaviours that have been obtained from these movies. The popularity of the telenovelas, for instance, is manifested in products such as games and educational materials which have the images of the movie casts on them. Whilst there are favourable influences, there are concerns about some of the material from these media. During in-depth interview with a woman in Nakori, for instance, she acknowledged the many good lessons, ideas, and entertainment from the TV, but also notes that the TV is a major source of waywardness among the youth (IIC_33, 24.02.2016). In recent times, concerns have been raised about culturally unacceptable material appearing in some Ghanaian movies, considered by the viewing public as "soft profane pornography"

(Adjei, 2014, p. 65). Also, Nollywood movies a decade ago, have been criticised by audience as giving "too much emphasis on sex, violence, prostitution, sibling rivalry, evils of polygamy, devilish spiritualism and other related themes" (Akpabio, 2007, p. 99). Today, these themes are still prevalent in African movies, which undoubtedly have negative consequences on society. In a news article on ghanaweb titled "The fights against indecent dressing", Tahiru (2017) blamed the menace of undesirable lifestyles and fashion among Ghanaian youth, on the television and the media in general. Ownership of modern electronic gadgets, including the TV set and decoders is highly cherished by people in the study community, and among the Tendamba for that matter. Discussions and observations in the study communities show that more than half of Tendamba houses have television sets. Those who do not own television sets go to their neighbours and friends to watch and listen to news and other programmes. These visits are, however, regarded as discomforting or embarrassing, and as such, every family wishes to own a TV set. Ownership of a TV set adds to the value of life, and is thus regarded as a measure of one's success and status in life (Ungruhe, 2010). Acquisition of modern electronic goods as symbols of success and status is not new. Commenting on the transformation of the media landscape and the desire of people to acquire the latest information and communication equipment, an elder from Bamahu noted that unlike the past when the wireless was the major modern electronic source of information, "n*ow, we have the TV where we can listen, but also watch what is happening in other places*" (FGD_08, 03.10.2015). The elder noted that the TV is an important target for the youth - and even the elders – who would do everything possible to acquire them (*ibid*). In the 1950s, electronic gadgets such as tape recorders were highly cherished among the Dagaaba, and people travelled to southern Ghana to earn money to acquire them (Abdul-Korah, 2008, p. 16). Today, TV sets and decoders are in vogue due to their better functionality as recounted by the elder in Bamahu (*ibid*). As observed by Ungruhe (2010, p. 268), symbols of success change over time, and the contemporary generation has to keep up with what is current.

Concluding from the above, the television, like the radio, is a modern technological vessel for the transmission of information. Whilst this is a great source of information about the world, as well as a source of entertainment, it is also a source of foreign lifestyle among especially the local youth. Tendamba in peri-urban Wa regard the TV, with its accompanying accessories such as decoders, as a modern good that gives fulfilment to or raises personal status in the local environment. Again, the TV is a source of ideas and images that travel or are picked up from other parts of the world into the local milieu, thereby interacting variously to produce new ideas, aspirations, and lifestyles.

6.2.3 Mobile Communication and Internet

The mobile telephony is one of the key vehicles that have transformed the global information and communication landscape in a very short space of time. Reports from the International Telecommunication Union indicate that globally, the number of mobile cellular subscriptions rose from 2.20 billion in 2005 to 7.18 billion in 2015, and is estimated to be 7.74 billion in 2017 (ITU, 2017a, p. 5). The number of subscriptions has per 100 population also grew from 33.9 in 2005 to 98.2 in 2015 with an estimated 103.5 in 2017 (*ibid*). This means that the number of subscriptions has outstripped the global population. In Africa, only 2% of people had mobile phones in the year 2000, and by 2008, one-third of Africans possessed mobile phones (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh, & Brinkman, 2009, p. 11). In 2016, there were 74.6 mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 population in Africa (ITU, 2017b, p. 69). In Ghana, mobile services started in the early 1990s. Before then, telephone services – mainly land lines – were available in homes and in public places via phone booths, albeit limited. The telephone services in the country dates back to the 1890s when they were introduced by the British in few sectors such as the postal services (Ayensu, 2003, p. 37). This took a steady development until the early 1990s, when the mobile telephony was introduced into the country. Within two decades after the introduction of mobile communication in the country, the facility expanded rapidly. Currently, six networks are operating in the country including the Upper West Region. These networks are: Millicom Tigo, Expresso, Scancom MTN, Vodafone, Airtel, and Glo. All these networks are operated by foreign companies. Tigo, Expresso, MTN and Glo for instance are subsidiaries respectively of Swedish, Dubai, South Africa, and Nigeria based telecommunication companies, whilst Vodafone and Airtel are UK and India based telecommunication companies respectively (Sankaran et al., 2011, pp. 7–9). Ghana has part ownership in two of these mobile networks, Vodafone and Airtel companies – owning 30% and 25% shares respectively (Arthur, 2016, pp. 23–24). These telecommunication companies operate in Africa and other parts of the globe. Table 6.2 below shows the details of these mobile phone networks, including the time of entry into the Upper West Region of Ghana, and their nationwide market share.

Table 6.2: Details of Mobile Communication Networks in Ghana

Launch in Ghana	Changed to	Current Name	Entry in UWR	Market Share (%) in Ghana. December 2016
Mobitel *1991*	Buzz *2002*	**TIGO** *2006* tigo	2007	13.94
Celltel *1993*	Kasapa *2003*	**Expresso** *2010* expresso		0.24
Spacefon *1996*	Areeba *2004*	**MTN** *2007* MTN	2004	50.37
OneTouch Gh *2002*	-	**Vodafone** *2008* vodafone	2004	21.64
Westel	Zain *2008*	**Airtel** *2010* airtel	2008	11.99
GLO *2013*	GLO	**GLO** glo		1.82

Source: Adapted from Arthur, 2016; NCA, 2016b; Interview with Mobile Network Operators in Wa, April 2016.

From the Table 6.2 above, it can be seen that MTN is the most widely used network in the country, taking about half the market share, with Vodafone as the next largest network with approximately one-fifth of the market share, and the least being Expresso. A wide coverage of the mobile networks as well as affordable mobile phones and SIM cards have made it possible for many people, even the rural folk and the less affluent in society to own a mobile phone and use mobile services (Osiakwan, 2008, pp. 14, 36; Verne, 2017, p. 158), albeit the cost of calls limits the use of mobile services by most rural poor (Rashid & Elder, 2009, p. 3). In 2014, 85% (92% urban and 76% rural) of households in Ghana had mobile phones (ITU, 2017b, p. 69), and at the end of 2016, there were 38,305,078 mobile voice subscribers in the country which was inhabited by 28,308,301 people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2016; NCA, 2016b).

Mobile communication networks and services began in the Upper West Region in the early 2000s. Based on interactions with the people in the study communities, as well as personal experience and

knowledge of the researcher of the Upper West Region, MTN and Vodafone are the most widely used mobile networks in the study area - reflecting the dominant market share of these two networks countrywide. Ownership and use of the mobile phone are widespread in the Region. About one-fifth (20.7%) of the population of the Region aged 12 and above own and use a mobile, and close to half (48%) of the population of the same age group in the Wa Municipality own and use a mobile phone (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, p. 39, 2014a, p. 37).

The mobile phone is a great medium for communication and information sharing through voice calls, emailing, browsing, and texting, across social, economic and cultural issues. The mobile devise enables this information sharing in varied forms including images, text, video, and music. Money transfer is also an important service provided by the mobile phone, especially for most non-banking persons. A survey on cellular mobile consumer satisfaction in Ghana in 2012/2013 showed that the most frequent use of the mobile phone was voice calls, reported by 97% of consumers. The other frequent uses in order of importance were: emailing (16%), internet browsing (10%), social network (facebook, twitter etc) (2.2%) and mobile money transfer (1.4%) (NCA, 2013, p. 22). In the last three years however, the mobile money transfer service has expanded and many more people have joined in its use. This is the case also for the use of social media, given the sudden explosion of Wattsapp. The mobile phone has been noted as a useful device in connecting business partners, family relations and other social networks

In the study communities, beyond the purpose of day-to-day social relations, the mobile phone is important for business relations in real estate services, jobs, petty trade, land pricing and land transactions in general. Mobile money transfer services are important for these business activities, but also for social support and relations. The mobile phone, with internet, is also a source of entertainment, facilitating the downloading and sharing of stories, jokes, images and videos. The mobile service by itself has created jobs in the Wa Municipality including sale of mobile phones, SIM cards, recharge cards, phone repairs, and mobile money transfers. It is very common to find many businesses also offering mobile communication services such as sale of recharge cards and mobile money transfer. On a wider scale, research has found that the mobile phone has great socio-economic benefits for users in Africa. These benefits include: improved access to and use of information at lower [information] costs; improved coordination among market agents and increased market efficiency; creation of new jobs and incomes; facilitating communication among social networks in

response to shocks and risks; facilitating the delivery of financial, agricultural, health, and education services (Aker & Mbiti, 2010, pp. 213–224).

The types and uses of mobile phones in the study area differ between the elders and youth. During an in-depth interview with Dauda a key informant in Bamahu, he observed that "*the elders mostly use simple phones for just making and receiving calls, whilst the youth prefer smart phones that can provide more functions like music, camera, video, and internet*" (KII_10b, 28.02.2016). This is because, the youth on the one hand are more likely [than the elders] to use everything a mobile phone offers, from news and information to video games (Wei, 2008, p. 43). The preference and use of smart phones by the youth, facilitate for instance, the togetherness of two young lover birds, Salya and Massoud, through the exchange of messages, pictures, music, voice and video calls, albeit they are separated by distance (Verne, 2017, p. 167). The elders on the other hand, particularly in the study area are mostly illiterate, and thus are unable to effectively operate the more complex phones. Beyond the [in]ability to operate phones, the youth are noted for their quest for more modern multi-functional phones, and "*look at the phone I am using, none of them [youth] will like it even for free",* commented a 50-year old elder (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). The possession and use of modern phones are part of the portfolio of symbols of success and status among young people in the Upper East Region of Ghana, who embark on migration to acquire these goods in order to be part of the modern class (Ungruhe, 2010, pp. 265–268). In order to remain modern, Dauda notes that the youth keep changing their phones for current models, unlike their elders who use the same phones for very long time (KII_10b, 28.02.2016).

The forgoing demonstrates that the use of the mobile phone in northwestern Ghana as a medium of communication begun in the early 2000s, and became widespread by the end of the decade. In peri-urban Wa, the mobile phone created jobs, enabled quicker financial transactions, facilitated and enhanced business activities and livelihoods, and enhanced social contacts and relations. The device is also regarded as a status symbol, and thus, current models of phones form part of the portfolio of "modern goods", especially for the youth, who want to maintain a certain level of status among their peers. The mobile phone is a foreign technological tool - owned and operated by mostly foreign companies - that facilitate global cultural flows – ideas, images, finance – into Wa and its peri-urabn areas, and is transforming the Waala society.

Plate 6. 5b: Photos Showing Communication Outfits in Wa and Bamahu.
Right: Vodafone Office, Wa. Left: Mobile Communication Services Point in Bamahu.
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine, Field Research (2016; 2017).

The information obtained from the various sources of modern communication – radio, television, mobile phones and the internet are further shared by families and friends in the community through community daily informal interactions. One of these informal interactive sessions is the "local parliament". The "local parliaments" are designated purpose-built sheds in the communities where people, mostly the male youth, meet to relax, socialize, share ideas, and have fun. These gatherings are informal and mostly take place after the day's work or during non-working days such as Fridays. At an interaction with some youth and elders during one of these "parliamentary sessions" in Nakori, the members indicated that they usually discuss a wide range of issues obtained from various sources. For instance, "*this man siting over there [pointing to a young man] sometimes logs onto the internet, and tells us current news…also, back in our homes, we watch and listen to different TV channels, and radio. So, when we meet here, we share the information we obtain from these various sources*" (Informal Group Discussion, Local Parliament, Nakori: 23.02.2016). According to these local "parliamentarians", they also share ideas, life experiences, stories, and job opportunities they obtain from the media and their travels to various parts of the city and country. They note that even the idea of establishing the "local parliament" was brought from the city by one of the youth. Before then, various sections of the community usually sat under tree shades around homes to talk (ibid). With this new form of communicating, facilitated by the modern media such as the radio, television, the internet, and modern transport, the study communities shared in the multiple streams of cultural flows from various parts of the world.

6.2.4 Transport Services

Access to a good transport system is critical for access to information, engagement in economic activities, social interactions, and maintenance of daily livelihoods. Specifically, transport plays a crucial role in urban and peri-urban development by facilitating access for people to education, markets, employment, recreation, health care and other essential services (Dinye, 2013, p. 271). Aside its political administrative status, Wa is the gateway to the Upper West Region from southern Ghana, and a key transit point connecting southern Ghana to Burkina Faso through the northern western border at Hamile. In the last two decades, there have been improvements in the road networks in the region, and roads connecting Wa and southern Ghana, and most recently in 2016, to the Northern Region. This has become a major incentive for not only private transport investors, but also state transport services to expand or start operations in the region, connecting Wa to other parts of the country. Some of these transport companies are: O & A Travels and Tours, VIP Jeoun Co. Ltd, Intercity STC, and Metro Mass Transport.

In terms of internal transport, the 2000s saw a great improvement in the opening up of Wa town roads including largely undeveloped outskirts of the town. Passenger shuttle services (mainly privately owned) for internal city movements and for commuting between nearby communities and the Wa city, rapidly witnessed some favourable transformation. Before the year 2000 these services were virtually non-existent. Beginning in the early 2000s with few taxi services, shuttle services increased tremendously by 2008 with the introduction of *trotro* (urvan mini buses) services in Wa. By 2010, the *nyaaba lorry* (motorized three-wheelers or tricycles) was in use, mostly for fringe community-city passenger traffic, and for movement of goods. These types of tricycles have different names in different parts of the country – Lion Motor in Accra, Motor Kia in Kumasi, and Motor King in Tamale (Dinye, 2013, p. 258). In the last three years, a new model of tricycles locally referred to as *yellow-yellow* or *Mahama cambuu*[21] flooded Wa and its fringe communities, which are especially excellent for door-to-door passenger traffic, where the *trotro* and taxis cannot reach. In 2015, the government of Ghana, through its Micro-finance and Small Loans Center (MASLOC) introduced a hire purchase

[21] These vehicles were named after the former President of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama. This was because the vehicles became common in the country during his (Mahama) reign as President. Also, the government through a Micro-finance and Small Loans Center (MASLOC), supported individuals with these vehicles on hire purchase basis. The shape of the vehicle is likened to the president's "cambuu" (Camp Boot), and thus so called as "Mahama cambuu. The vehicle is also called "yellow-yellow" simply because most of them are yellow in colour.

facility for individuals in Wa to acquire the *yellow-yellow*, "as a back-up to the regular taxi and *trotro* transportation system" (Quaye, 2015).

Private ownership and use of vehicles, especially motor bikes, have also increased over the past few decades. Expressing wonder at the great transformation over ownership of vehicles in Wa within the last three decades, a retired civil servant observed that "*in the 1980s, you could count the number of cars in Wa, you could count motor cycles in Wa. I was privileged to have a motor cycle…My brother, I tell you, even a bicycle…to count money and buy a bicycle was not easy. Many government officers were riding bicycles…if you saw a motor cycle owner, then he had taken a loan, sometimes 500 or 600 cedis*[22]" (Key informant interview, Wa: 13.04.2017). Acquisition of motor bikes started gaining grounds in Wa by early 2000 with people making orders from other regions, especially from Bawku in the Upper East Region of Ghana, and the Ghana-Togo border town of Sankasi. Today, several brands of motor bikes, the *nyaaba* and *yellow-yellow* are available in the many sale shops in Wa. Prices[23] mostly ranged from GHS 2,700.00 to GHS 3,500.00 for the motor bikes, about GHS 6,000 for the *nyaaba lorry* and GHS 13,000.00 for the *yellow-yellow* tricycle (Informal discussions with motor shop owner, Wa, 28.08.2017).

Plate 6. 6: Showing various means of transport used in Wa: Right: Motor Bikes & *nyaaba lorry* Sales Shop. Left: *yellow-yellow* at Wa Central Station
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine and Fredrick Kuupille, Field Research (2016, 2017)

[22] Before 2007, the Ghanaian currency was "cedis". In 2007, the country re-denominated its currency 10,000 times, where every denomination was divided by 10,000 to obtain the new currency. To differentiate the old from the new re-denominated currency, the new was termed "Ghana cedis" and "Ghana pesewas" (GHS/Gp for short).
[23] On 28.08.2017, the USD-GHS exchange rate was USD1 = GHS4.4. Thus, the prices of motor bikes in US Dollars ranged between 614 and 796; 1,364 for the *Nyaaba Lorry*; and 2,955 for the *Yellow Yellow*

The improvement in the road network and transport system has favourably impacted on socio-economic activities in the Wa Municipality, especially within Wa and surrounding communities. Whilst the external road network and transport services facilitated trade transactions in and out of Wa, the internal road and transport system enhanced business development and social interactions in the city. Business activities such as sale of general household provisions in kiosks (generally referred to as containers), building materials, electrical appliances, hairdressing and barbering salons, motor repair services, and drinking spots are mostly located along newly opened roads. The transport system has created jobs for people in passenger-transport services – drivers, traders in motor bikes and motor spare parts, mechanics, as well as small-scale fuel sellers. Business activities have been greatly facilitated in the city. On Wa market days for instance, one can observe the flow of traffic using these various means of transport from the peri-urban areas to and from Wa - The *trotro* and tricycles carrying passengers and goods, and the motor bikes riders carrying other persons or goods. Aside the direct impact of the transport sector on the livelihoods of people through the many business opportunities, the sector also facilitates the day-to-day social activities of the citizenry – running errands, visiting friends and family, attending social activities such as funerals and wedding celebrations at distant places, and attending academic activities by students. The *trotro* mainly shuttled between the Wa town and the University campuses at Bamahu and Sombo, and between the Wa town and the Polytechnic campus. Most students also use motor bikes, and patronize the services of the *yellow-yellow* to and from lectures. The ability of the inhabitants of the Municipality to undertake various activities with ease makes life comfortable.

Aspirations for a comfortable life include intermediate material possessions such as "modern goods"[24]. In peri-urban Wa, it is regarded as a pride to own and use a means of transport, at least a motor bike. This is especially true for the youth. Dauda, a key informant, observed that in Bamahu community, "*almost every youth owns a motor bike. Few people ride bicycles or walk long distance say to Wa [up to 7km]*" (KII_10b, 28.02.2016). That, it is the order of the day to ride a motor bike, a 75-year old in

[24] Following Ungruhe (2010),"modern goods" are used here to refer to commodities that are perceived by local people as special and offer people a sense of modernity. Possessors of such goods regard themselves and are regarded by others as having attained a higher social status or success. Some of these "modern goods" are: mobile phones, bicycles, modern clothes. Changing times imply changing perception of goods as "modern". Whilst a bicycle or tape recorder was a "modern good", a symbol of success several decades ago in Wa, they are not seen as such today. Instead, a motor bike, a car, a TV set and a smart phone are regarded as modern symbols of success.

Nakori said that in their youthful days, people walked to Kumasi[25] [about 400km], "*but today, if I am walking to the next village, Kpongu [3km away], people will see me to be strange"* (IIC_32, 24.02.2016). The society has become used to the modern means of transport – especially the motor bike – to the extent that a distance of 3 km is regarded too far for a walk. Possession of "modern goods" or "symbols of status" could even influence one's chances of getting a spouse [especially the men]. During an in-depth interview with Dauda (*ibid*) a key informant, he noted that in finding husbands, ladies in their communities no longer focus on the family background or reputation, but on the individual suitor's material worth, what he called "*already made*" men*...for instance, two boys approach a lady, one riding a motorbike and the other walking, the lady will definitely consider the one with the motorbike. So, men in the community want to do their possible best to win the attention of ladies they want to marry"* (KII_10b, 28.02.2016). Similar findings were observed in the Upper East Regions of Ghana, where ownership of a means of transport such as a bicycle, among other "modern goods", was very important for retuned migrants in winning the attention and love of ladies (Ungruhe, 2010, pp. 265–269). Among the Waala [people of Wa], Dinye (2013, p. 267) observed that "motorcycles add to the social standing (status) of respondents as motorcycles are seen as symbols of economic success and honor". Other socio-economic importance of motor bikes documented by Dinye (2013, pp. 267–269) include the ease and timely movement of people to the market, school, social and religious functions; flexibility of use in areas inaccessible by cars; creation of employment opportunities for mechanics and fuel attendants; but also, increasing rate of motor bike theft, and health challenges due to high rates of accidents. The bottom line is that, to achieve their aspirations for a good life, individuals in the study communities strive to acquire "modern goods" including a means of transport, at least, a motor bike.

In sum, improvements in the transport sector in Wa - road networks, as well as increased passenger, and personal transport services - are part of the global flows of technology which have transformed business activities and socio-economic livelihoods. Open to these flows and the benefits they bestow, many people, including Tendamba aspire for the better life – ease of mobility and livelihood enhancement – by acquiring various means of transport especially motor bikes.

[25] Kumasi was used here in a generic sense, referring to southern Ghana, mostly the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions. These were [and still] major destinations of migrants from Northwestern Ghana.

6.3 Religion and Socio-Cultural Changes

Religion has had and continues to have influence on the socio-cultural and economic life of the people of Wa in particular, and Northwestern Ghana in general. Three main religions are in the Region: Christianity (44.5%), Islam (35.6%) and African Traditional Religion (13.9%). In the Wa Municipality, about two-thirds (65.9%) of the population is Muslim, with close to a third (29%) and a small proportion (4.1%) being Christians and Traditionalists respectively (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, pp. 28–29, 2014a, p. 26).

Before the proliferation of new religions - Islam and Christianity and their variants – in the area now referred to as northwestern Ghana, the African Traditional Religion (ATR) was the main religion of the people. The religious philosophy of the traditional religionists was the belief in *Naa-Mwin* (chief spirit/god), and the existence of other spirits or gods – *kpiinhi* (ancestral spirits), *tengan* (earth spirit), *tengbama* (earth shrines), *baa* (river spirit), *saa* (rain god) - and their powers of blessings and curses (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 24–31; Nuolabong, 2015, pp. 209–210). In the fifteenth century, Islam was brought into the Wa area by the Mande *Yeri* (Mande Muslims) (Nuolabong, 2015, p. 3; Wilks, 1989, p. 73). Five centuries later, in 1929, the Catholic Missionaries arrived in northwestern Ghana [Jirapa], to propagate the Christian religion and in 1960, the Wa Parish was established (McCoy, 1988, pp. 17, 257). The arrival and subsequent conversion of the people to the new religions gradually transformed the socio-cultural and economic lives of the people of Northwestern Ghana.

The converts of the traditional religion adherents abandoned some of their belief systems, and took up those of the new religions. For instance, the Islam converts rejected [still do] the existence of other spirits and thus no longer use the word *Naa-Mwin* to refer to God. Instead, they simply say *Mwin* (God/Spirit) to signify that there is only one God, and in sync with the Islamic term "kalimat ut-Tawhid" (there is no other lord but God) (Nuolabong, 2015, pp. 209–210). Tendamba who are Muslims do not therefore participate in ancestral rites and sacrifices. In a discussion with one of the Head Tendamba of Nakori, he indicated that when the Tendamba family has any traditional rites to perform which involves consultation with the ancestors, those elders who are still traditional religion adherents carry out the necessary rites on behalf of the family whilst the other elders (Muslims) simply observe. *"As we sit, our tradition is Tendaalung [landownership]…however, anyone of us who professes 'Alaahu Akbar', is not supposed to slaughter a fowl at the shrines. As the head of the family, I can sit in and observe without saying a word. When the rites are over, they tell me the outcome"* (In-

depth Interview, 13.02.2016). Because of the abandonment of these customary practices, a key informant Tendaana blames Islam and Christianity for the mismanagement of family lands and protracted land conflicts in the Region (cf: 7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: "Using the Monkey's Tail to Tie the Monkey").

Another important abandonment, as well as upholding of religious practices can be found in marriage. Whilst polygamy [practiced in the ATR] is prohibited in Christianity, it is permitted in Islam. This thus constitutes abandonment of polygamous relations among Christian Tendamba, but an endorsement for Moslem Tendamba. Marriage is one of the major institutions in northwestern Ghana that has been influenced by the new religions. Writing about Islam and the Dagaaba of Northwestern Ghana, Nuolabong noted that the greatest cultural impact of the Islamic religion on the Dagaaba culture is in the area of marriage (*furi*), naming ceremony (zu-*pomo*), and funerals (Nuolabong, 2015, pp. 212–220). These influences are not limited to the Dagaaba, but other ethnic groups in Northwestern Ghana including the Waala. Among the Waala, marriage ceremonies, and also, naming, and funeral activities are characterized by Islamic rituals and Qu'ranic recitations. For instance, the *furi* is contracted with the payment of the *furi sadaaqi* (dowry) by the man to his would-be-wife, and sealed at the *furi leebu* [wedding] with Islamic prayers at a public gathering.

The performance of the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) is another important Islamic rite that every Moslem aspires for, as noted by an elder in Bamahu. "*When I get money, I intend to go on pilgrimage to Mecca…to purify myself...ask for God's mercy for all my sins*" (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). Performing the Hajj is not only a fulfilment of the obligation to the fifth pillar of Islam, but also an assurance for paradise for the pilgrim (Mohamed, 1999, pp. 5, 14). Bamahu has become the "welcome zone" for pilgrims [from the UWR] returning from Mecca. When the pilgrims arrive, they are met by relatives and friends who already gather in this community. Prayers are said in the mosque, after which the pilgrims are led in procession into Wa town (see Plate 6.7 below). The joy and pageantry that characterize the occasion are motivations for people to strive to perform the Hajj. Beyond these attractions, the travel processes involved in performing the Hajj have over the years been made easier for many people to participate. For example, Hajj agencies such as Dan Wanaa and Labaka Umuraa have established offices in Wa to assist potential pilgrims with travel documentation as well as the processes involved during the Hajj. Also, since the past two decades, successive governments have taken interests in the issues and organisation of the Hajj including facilitation of acquisition of travel

documents, and pre-departure lodgings for pilgrims in Accra and Tamale. Recently, the Vice President of Ghana, Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, speaking at the 23rd Annual Ramadan Conference in Wa in May 2017, said “issues of Hajj are of great concern to government and measures are being put in place to simplify the acquisition of passports to ease the burden on pilgrims” (thefinderonline.com, 2017). Government has also promised to subsidize the cost of the pilgrimage for 2018 to the tune of GHS 4,500 per pilgrim. In this respect, the Chairman of the Hajj Board, Sheikh I.C. Quaye, announced that each pilgrim will pay GHS 15,000 instead of GHS 19,500 (classfmonline.com, 2018). The pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia continues to attract hundreds of people from the UWR each year, and nationwide, about 5,400 pilgrims were expected to perform the Hajj in 2018, as against 2,300 pilgrims ten years ago in 2008 (classfmonline.com, 2018; Ghana News Agency, 2008).

Plate 6. 7: Welcoming Hajj Pilgrims from Mecca at Bamahu in September 2017
Photo by Darius T. Mwingyine (2017)

Aside the influence on the cultural beliefs and practices of the people in Wa Municipality, religious organisations have provided a lot of socio-economic amenities and services in the Municipality. These include: educational and health facilities, hotel and conference facilities, construction and mechanical services, and media services. The acquisition of land for some of these infrastructure and facilities was backed by financial transactions, for example the acquisition of Xavier lands by the Catholic Church in the 1960s (FGD_17, 07.11.2015). With regards to education establishments for instance, nearly half of the schools [143 out of 299] in the Wa Municipality are faith based, established by various Islamic and Christian denominations (GES, Wa Municipal, 2017). The establishments of some of these schools are in close collaboration with the Tendamba (cf: 7.1.1 Changing Livelihood Sources and Aspirations: Selling Land for Basic Needs and Aspirations). Much as these educational establishments were [and are still] fundamental media for propagating the Islamic and Christian faith and practices,

they have provided and enhanced access to formal education among the indigenes. Generally, the infrastructure and services provided by the faith based organisations have enhanced the livelihoods of the people in the area.

To sum up, Christianity and Islam have provided new ideas, beliefs, and practices to the local people of northwestern Ghana. These cultural flows have permeated every facet of the Waala society. Converts to these new religions have not only taken up the belief about one God, and new ideas in marriage and religious observances, but have also abandoned some of their traditional customs and practices such as ancestral ritual performances. Whilst some Tendamba welcomed and cooperated with the new religions in promoting development in their communities, other Tendamba argued that the erosion of certain traditional customary practices especially associated with land administration by these religions had contributed to incessant land litigations in the Waala society (cf. 7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: “Using the Monkey’s Tail to Tie the Monkey”).

Plate 6. 8: Mosques in Nakori (left) and Bamahu (Right)
Source: Field Research (2016)

6.4 Formal Education Development in Northwestern Ghana and Local Aspirations

Education, formal and informal, is a basic human need that is required for the integral development of a person to realise his or her full potential for life and be able to fit into the society. Beyond the individual development, education, from the basic to the tertiary level, plays a crucial role in transforming society and propelling development (Scott, 2010, p. 373). The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights includes education as a human right that must be upheld by all nations (United Nations, 1948, Article 26). The preamble of the Education Act of Ghana, 2008 (Act 778) notes that the Ghana education system aims to produce knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes and

attitudes that are functional and productive for integral human development, and the total development of society (Government of Ghana, 2009, p. 3). This aim is being pursued mainly through the formal western-type education, without compromising or neglecting the Ghanaian traditional way of education and formation.

The history of formal western-type education in Ghana dates back to the fifteenth century in southern Ghana (Graham, 1971, p. 1; Suom-Dery, 2017, pp. 150–151). The aim of the European Merchant and Missionary proprietors at the time was to train local interpreters for trade and evangelization purposes respectively (Graham, 1971, p. 1; Kadingdi, 2006, p. 4). From this time, formal education in Ghana went through significant developments especially in the colonial era, and continued in the post-colonial era. Curriculum and human resource development, as well as geographical coverage in educational infrastructure were part of these significant developments with the active involvement of both the State and Missionaries. With the development of education beyond the basic level, the first secondary school, the Achimota College, was established in 1927 (Bening, 1990, p. 216), and the first University, the University of Ghana, Legon was opened in 1948.

In the Northern part of Ghana, the British colonial authorities were not only disinterested in the development of the area, but they also imposed restrictions on Missionaries in opening schools in the North (Suom-Dery, 2017, pp. 149–151). The formal western type education thus arrived in Northern Ghana much later, in the early 1900s. The first primary (Catholic) school was established in 1907 by the White Fathers in Navrongo, followed two years later in 1909, with the first Government primary school in Tamale (Bening, 1990, pp. 5, 251; Suom-Dery, 2017, p. 151). Secondary education started with the establishment of the Secondary School/Junior Seminary (Catholic) in Wiagha in 1932, and much later with the first government secondary school in Tamale in 1951 (Bening, 1990, p. 220; Suom-Dery, 2017, p. 155). Then, forty years later in 1992, the first university in Northern Ghana was opened in Nyankpala near Tamale.

The establishment of basic schools in the Northeast and in Tamale granted the first access to formal education to pupils from Northwestern Ghana, albeit limited. Due to travelling, security and safety, lodging and other challenges faced by the Northwestern pupils in accessing education in the East and North, the need for the establishment of schools in the Northwest became necessary in order "to educate Northwest boys in Northwest" and to also give opportunity for the education of the girl child

(Bening, 1990, pp. 8–9; Suom-Dery, 2017, pp. 159–162). Thus, in January 1917, the first primary school in Northwestern Ghana, the Wa Experimental, was established in Wa with 42 pupils, and followed in 1935 with the second school in Lawra (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 143; Bening, 1990, pp. 8–10). Later in 1937, the first mission [Catholic] primary school in Northwestern Ghana was opened in Nandom (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 143; Suom-Dery, 2017, p. 164). As the years went by, more public and mission primary schools were established in various parts of Northwestern Ghana. At the initial stages of these schools, admission preferences were given to people from royal households [in public schools] since a key factor in starting the schools was to train potential community leaders such as chiefs and interpreters, but also to facilitate trade relations. Similarly, in the mission schools, preference was given to Catholics, especially the families of catechists (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 143; Bening, 1990, p. 3).

The development of education in Northwestern Ghana slowly progressed from the primary to the middle and secondary levels. The first middle school in Northwestern Ghana was St. Agnes, opened in 1946 in Jirapa by the Catholic Mission, and in 1951, the first government middle school was started in Wa (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 145; Bening, 1990, p. 146). Facilities for secondary education were to follow. With the joint effort of the government and the Catholic Church, five secondary schools were established between 1959 and 1970 in Northwestern Ghana. Beginning with St Francis of Assisi Girls Secondary School in Jirapa in 1959, and St. Francis Xavier Minor Seminary in Wa in 1963, both established by the Catholic Church. The others are: Lawra Secondary School in Lawra in 1968 (Government), St Michael's Secondary School in Nandom in 1969 (Catholic), and Wa Secondary School in Wa in 1970 (Government) (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 145; Bening, 1990, p. 220). Four decades down the line, there has been significant improvement in the provision of education infrastructure such that by mid-2010, Northwestern Ghana could boast of 29 secondary schools (MOE, 2015, p. 13), and the development of higher education facilities such as the University for Development Studies (UDS) and the Wa Polytechnic.

In the Wa Municipality, education facilities are widespread, and at least, basic schools can be found in most of the communities. In the study communities for instance, – Bamahu, Nakori, and Sombo - there are primary and junior high schools. As at the 2016/2017 academic year, there were 299 schools in the Wa Municipality, ranging from the basic to the secondary level (Ghana Education Service, Wa Municipality, 2017). The details are shown in the Table 6.3 below.

Table 6. 3: Statistics on Schools in Wa Municipality in 2016/17

Type of ownership	**Number and Level of Schools**					**Total number of Schools**
	Kindergarten	Primary	Junior High	Senior High	Technical/ Vocational	
Public	68	85	59	5	4	221
Private	30	29	13	4	2	78
Total	**98**	**114**	**72**	**9**	**6**	**299**

Source: Ghana Education Service, Wa Municipal Office (2017)

The Municipality also hosts the only university (UDS) and polytechnic (Wa Poly) in Northwestern Ghana as well as other higher education facilities such as the Nustra Jahan Teacher Training College, the Pastoral and Social Institute, the Nurses Training College, and the Adult Education Center. Figure 6.7 below shows some major educational centers in the study area.

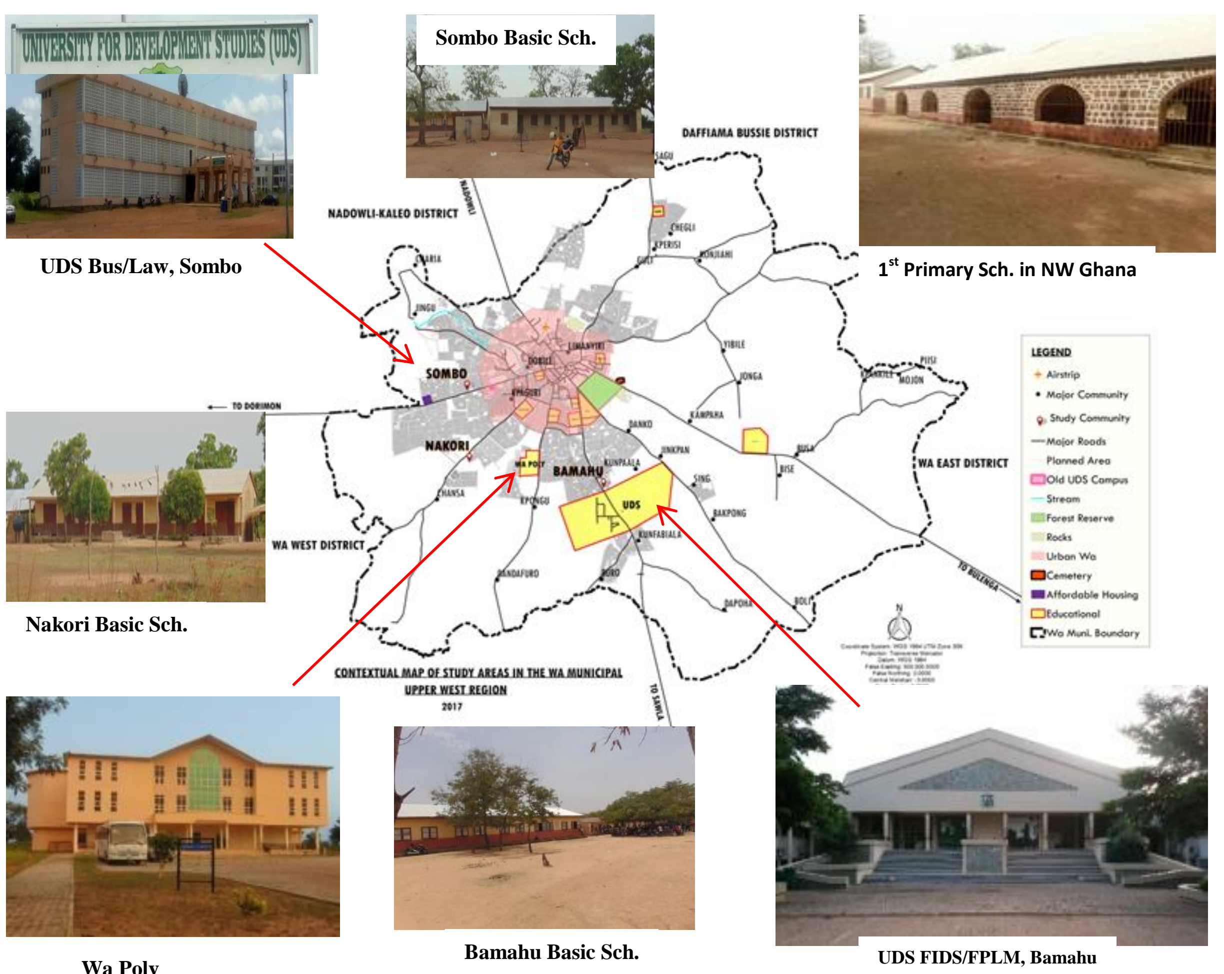


Figure 6. 7: Showing the Location of Some Key Educational Facilities in Wa.
Bottom: Library of the Wa Polytechnic (left); Bamahu Basic School (middle); Auditorium and offices of UDS (Bamahu) (right).

Top: Lecture Rooms and Offices of UDS (Sombo) (left); Sombo Basic School (middle); The First Primary School in Northwestern Ghana (right); Left middle: Nakori Basic School

Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine (2017)

The development of formal education in Northwestern Ghana, and in general, Northern Ghana, has generally been very slow. Aside the disinterest of the colonial authorities in the development of the area, inadequate human resource and infrastructure, long distance, selective enrolment of royal and Christian leadership families, as noted above, there was also some disinterest or inertia among the local people in participating in the formal education. As noted by Suom-Dery (2017, p. 150), the local people regarded formal education as a novel reality to which they could not hastily lend their

patronage. Among the Waala, and other Moslem dominated areas in the North, literacy and general formal education were focused on Islamic religious knowledge, and thus limited to the reading and writing of the Arabic language and memorizing the Holy Quran. These Moslems considered formal western education as "*belonging to the infidel*" [unbeliever or non-Moslem], or something that was "*Christian and abominable"* (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 270; Iddrisu, 2002, p. 336). During an in-depth interview in Bamahu with a Tendaana elder in his 70s, he confirmed the above assertions when he said that formal education was not taken serious in their youthful days [in the 1960s and 1970s]. He noted that, "*we Waala children were not attending school. Schooling was not necessary for us. Our parents only enrolled us in the Arabic school, which I attended*" (IIC_08, 19.02.2016). Similar sentiments were expressed in Sombo by an elder in his 70s. He said during their childhood days, "*when the teachers are coming to the house to ask the children to go for classes, our mothers will tell us to hide. So, we usually ran into the hen coop and when the teachers come into the house, they do not find any child"* (IIC_54, 17.03.2016). Further, in Nakori, Teni, a young woman, noted that even as recent as the 1990s, education was not taken serious by their parents, which accounted for her failure to go beyond basic education IIC_33, 24.02.2016). This assertion by Teni confirms the disillusionment of the Chief of Nakori, when he answered to the question of education for their children in the mid-1990s during an informal interview with Kasanga. Complaining about the youth, the Chief said: "we sent you to school to go and 'steal' the whiteman's brains to come back and help use. Perhaps you succeeded in stealing the brains, only to come back and cheat us. Why should we send more children to school?" (Kasanga, 1997, p. ii).

Disinterest in formal education was much greater during the youthful days of her parents, according to Teni (*ibid*). She noted that only "lazy" children [were] enrolled in school, and women whose biological children were enrolled accused their husbands of dislike[26] (IIC_33, 24.02.2016). School was regarded as punishment, and only children who were not the favorites of their mothers/parents and those who were not strong enough for the farm were enrolled. As noted during FGD with the youth in Nakori, their parents were more concerned about farming (FGD_18, Nakori, 30.11.2015). It was however generally acknowledged that women were more disadvantaged as *"parents were more interested in enrolling boys than girls in school, since the girls later in the future became members of*

[26] The Waala society was and is still polygamous. Enrolling children in school was perceived as punishment by some, especially where children had to walk long distances to attend school. Women or co-wives who had this perception thus thought that their husbands did not love them, if their children were selected to attend school.

another family through marriage" (IIC_29, 23.02.2016). Disinterest in formal education was not peculiar to the Waala. In northeastern Ghana, Laube noted that up to the 1950s, interest in formal education and other "western" ideals – colonial administration and Christianity - was low, and those who followed them were regarded as "having gone astray in the bush" (Laube, 2016, p. 9).

The low interest in the western-type education by the local people later gave way for increased motivation and aspirations for better life through the formal education system. Three important factors were responsible for this – the integration of the western-type education into Islamic schools, other government policies and programmes on education development, and personal experiences of local people. With regard to the integration of Islamic and secular education, the *Karinderi/Madrassas*, which were mainly for Arabic education, were from the 1973/1974 transformed to include the western-type education in what is referred to as English/Arabic schools, gradually transforming the culture of education, especially in moslem dominated areas (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 270; Iddrisu, 2002, p. 340, 2005, p. 59). Further, the establishment of the Islamic Education Unit in 1986/1987 facilitated the blend of Islamic education with that of the secular (Iddrisu, 2002, p. 341; Owusu-Ansah & Iddrisu, 2008, p. 461). In respect of further policies on education development, education infrastructure was expanded, and various policies and programmes implemented especially in the 1990s and 2000s. Major policy documents that provided for the implementation of education programmes in the country include the 1992 constitution, the various Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy documents, the Ghana Education Act, 2008 (Act 778), and the Education Strategic Plans. Some of the key programmes implemented were the free universal basic education, school feeding programmes, capitation grants, girl child education, and girl friendly guidance and counselling systems, and public sensitization (Ministry of Education, 2010a, pp. 51–55, 2010b, p. 10). In developing these plans, policies and programmes, the government was guided by global policies including the UN Declaration for Human Rights, UN MDGs, World Declaration for Education for All, and Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All. All these contributed to improved access and a favourable perception about formal education among the local folk. The Box below presents a summary of key international as well as national provisions on education development.

Box 6.1
Key global and national provisions on education

a) Guarantee the right of all citizens to equal educational opportunities and facilities
b) Provide for free and compulsory universal basic education; take into account the culture, needs, and opportunities of communities
c) Provide and make accessible educational facilities at all levels, in all regions to all citizens
d) Ensure education access, needs and opportunities for all – children, young people, adults, boys and girls, ethnic, racial and linguistic minorities, nomads and migrants, disabled, and other vulnerable and disadvantaged persons
e) Integrate other needs such as nutrition, health care, and general physical and emotional support in education provision
f) Ensure quality and excellence in all aspects of education, and at all levels
g) Eliminate gender and other disparities and stereotyping in education arising from exclusion and poverty
h) Give special attention to the promotion of ICT, science education, technical and vocational education and training, and skills development at all levels
i) Promote teacher education
j) Decentralize basic and secondary education management and delivery to local governments
k) Strengthen partnerships in education at the international, national, regional and local levels

Source: (Government of Ghana, 1993, 2003, 2005; Ministry of Education, 2010b; UNESCO, 1990, 2000; United Nations, 1948, 2000).

As part of the expansion of education infrastructure and access in the Upper West Region, Wa Polytechnic and the University for Development Studies were established in 1999 and 2002 respectively. These infrastructural facilities also played and still play significant roles in shaping local perceptions about formal education.

Various participants during the research acknowledged that the presence of higher education facilities in their midst have been a motivation to aspire for higher knowledge. For instance, during an in-depth

interview with a woman in her 80s in Bamahu, she said that children in the community were formerly not serious in education, but the influx of university students into the community has motivated them to enroll in school. In her compound [house] of four households, she said "*there are over ten children in this compound alone who are in school…education is now indispensable…there are people from all parts of the country who are in the University in our community…and this is motivating for us"* (IIC_10, 19.02.2016). In a similar voice, a youth leader in this community noted that,

> "awareness on education was very low and natives did not take education seriously.... But now, parents tell their children: 'your age mates have travelled from other parts of the country to this community. It is because of education they have come. Some of them have to leave their wealthy homes and modern housing, and manage with our weather, with our food, and with our type of housing'…Some of our children who are in the Junior High school see their age mates in the University, and this is motivating enough for them to take their studies serious…Every parent now wants the child to get the best education" (KII_10, 28.02.2016).

The narratives of the people above are corroborated by a Professor of Sociology at the UDS. In a Radio discussion with Professor Bagah on "Education and Development", he noted that UDS has opened up the minds of the indigenes to aspire for better education, for better life: He said:

> A lot of people were not very enthusiastic about education, but as soon as the University came to stay…then people [locales] started seeing that…others were coming from various places to attend the University …a lot of people, with the presence of UDS, have been convinced that they also belong and if 'A' can be there [university], 'B' can equally be there and 'Z' can be there too. So, there is some enthusiasm [that has been injected] among especially the youth, and they are all now serious about education (Prof. Bagah, radio discussion, Radio Progress, Wa; 08.02.2017).

Writing on the "social outcomes of interactions between university students and Waala communities", Derbile (2016) and others have documented the influence of UDS on local perception and interests in education in Wa. A participant in that research had this to say: "as for education, we all know that prior to UDS, many people, even the elderly did not take education seriously but now, children have actually been influenced by the University students and the presence of the University here" (Derbile et al., 2016, p. 68). The female University students particularly served as role models of education for the Waala young girls, "inspiring them to attain higher education" and not go into early marriage (ibid 2016, pp. 68–69). The motivation for girls was particularly important because, in former times, even where parents agreed to enroll their children in school, some chose the boy-child over the girl-child who was regarded as a "member" of another family as she would sooner or later get married. In addition, university students assisted the local children with their learning needs. The university

students voluntarily organised extra classes and assignments for the local children (Derbile et al., 2016, p. 69). This support from university students was confirmed by teachers of the Bamahu Basic School (Interview with Teachers, Bamahu, KII_07, 22.02.2016).

The motivation to participate in formal education has also been shaped by the personal experiences and stories of local people about the power and benefits of formal education. For instance, "the fortunate few", to borrow from Behrends and Lentz (2012, p. 145; after Clignet & Foster, 1966), who have had formal western-type education in the past have served as models of success for others, and thus shaped their aspirations for successful life through formal education. During an in-depth interview with Teni, a Tendamba wife in Nakori for instance, she said: *"Now, 'our eyes are open'...people have seen their neighbour enroll a child in school. Years later, the child completes school and provides food for the parents, builds a house for them and cares for all their needs. These observations have been motivation for us to invest in the education of our children"* (IIC_33, 24.02.2016). Another woman, Fatimata and wife of the Tendamba in Nakori, noted that *"if one is not educated, one has limited usefulness to society".* She further observed that parents have now realised this fact, and thus strive to enroll all their children in school, instead of the single child as happened in the past. She laments that her parents never enrolled her in school (IIC_34, 24.02.2016). In Sombo, a 46-year-old farmer and father of three children said that, among his numerous aspirations, educating his children was the most important (IIC_46, 07.03.2016). Again, during a Focus Group Discussion with elders in Bamahu, there was a consensus on education as a major aspiration. In the words of one of the elders, *"Our aspiration today is to give our children good formal education. This is because, we want our children to have a better life than we have. Without education today, one can hardly do anything meaningful. Today, if one does not speak English, one cannot get a watchman (local security) job, not even a toilet cleaning job...If our children are well educated, they can be of help to us, or at least to themselves"* (FGD_07, 02.10.2015).

Experiences and stories about unfair relations between the educated and elite on the one hand, and the illiterate on the other hand, have also spurred some local people to participate in formal education. For instance, Tendamba youth in Nakori have argued that the *gbangu* [book] - referring to formal education - has been used as "*a weapon for robbery*". This they explained that the educated people use their knowledge to cheat or rob the uneducated (FGD_18, 30.11.2015) – as noted earlier, this was also the concern of elders about their educated children in the 1990s. In Sombo, for instance, the Tendamba

complained about how an organisation [URDECO] deprived them of the use of their land without any benefits (IIC_42, 12.02.2016). Illiteracy is a hindrance to understanding technical and legal issues including land institutions (Cotula, Toulmin, & Hesse, 2004, p. 20). Due to this disadvantage, local illiterate land owners are prone to abuses, and have in the past been deprived of their land benefits by the educated and well connected, the powerful, and the influential (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001). Tendamba thus believe that formal education is an effective shield against any sort of cheating by others (FGD_18, 30.11.2015).

The developments, motivations, and the changing local perceptions and interests in formal education in Northwestern Ghana reflect in the education attainment and literacy rates today. For instance, in 1984, only 1% of northwestern Ghanaians above 25 years of age attained secondary education, and 0.1% (237) of the age cohort 25 to 50 from this area had ever attended university (Behrends & Lentz, 2012, p. 145). Twenty-five years later in 2010, 5.3% (21,813) of [a larger group] of Northwesterners aged 15 years[27] and above attained secondary education. Those who attained a Bachelor degree were 2,241, constituting 0.7% of the population aged 20 and above (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, pp. 23, 54). In terms of literacy levels, Northwestern Ghana (UWR) has seen some improvement. Whilst one-quarter (25.4%) of the population aged 15 years and over was literate in the year 2000, the literate proportion increased to 40.5% in year 2010 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005, p. 34, 2013b, p. 52). In the Wa Municipality, the literate proportion of 62% is much higher than the regional proportion (40.5%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, p. 52). Analysis of the literacy in the Wa Municipality, according to age cohorts, shows that the greater proportion of the younger generations is literate compared to the older generations. From Figure 6.8 below, it can be seen that 88% of the age group 15-19 (born between 1990 and 1995) are literate, whilst about half of this proportion (42%) of the age group 55-59 (born between 1955 and 1960) are literate (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a, p. 27).

[27] The lowest age limit for school attendance at primary one is 6 years. The age ranges for Primary, Junior High and Senior High Schools are respectively 6-11, 12-14, and 15-17. By age 21, a person is expected to obtain a bachelor degree. The age cohorts provided for northwestern Ghana (UWR) by GSS in the 2010 PHC UWR Analytical Report (p.23) do not allow for clear-cut computations in line with the school attendance age ranges. The closest age is to adopt age 15 and above for secondary education attainment, and age 20 and above for bachelor degree.

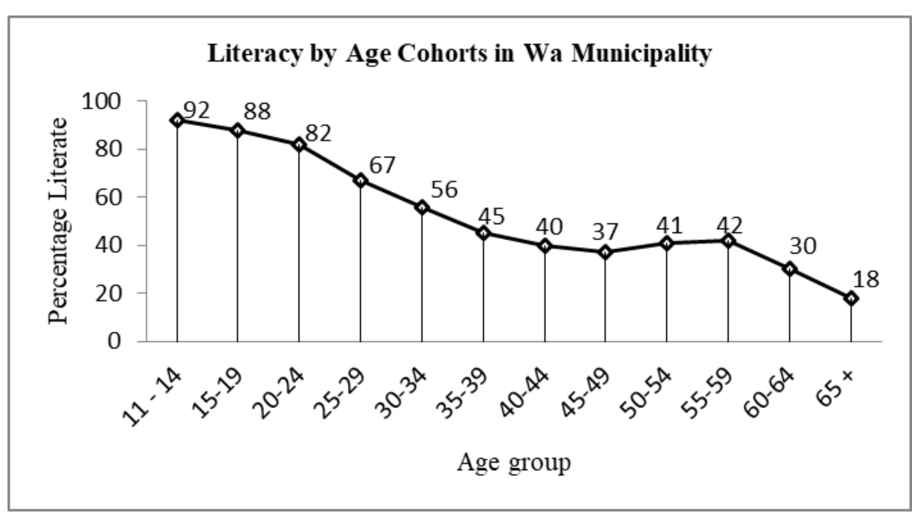


Figure 6. 8: Literacy by Age Cohorts in Wa Municipality
Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014a, p. 27)

In the face of the generally favourable developments in the education sector and increasing positive local perception and willingness to invest in formal education today, some Tendamba elders have concerns about the changing attitude of the educated youth. They lament that the educated children are disrespectful because "*they see themselves as more enlightened and regard their elders as backward, old-fashioned*" and no longer consult their elders in anything they do (FGD, Nakori Elders, 07.11.2015). The elders believe that the younger generation should avail themselves for wise counsel from the elders, and thus the transmission of the experiences in life, "for as long as one's father [includes uncles] is alive, one remains a child" (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 281–282), and must confer with and consult the elders. The youth, especially the educated ones, do not wholly agree with this "custom". They [youth] believe that the contemporary times differ from the days of their parents and grandparents when only elders were the repository of knowledge and wisdom. They believe that they are capable of taking their own decisions and must not always consult or depend on their elders for everything. During an in-depth interview, a 25-year old tertiary student in one of the communities, argued that:

> in this community, the elders always believe that the older someone is, the wiser. But that is not the case. Someone may be older than me, but I am wiser than the person. I don't know whether it is because they [elders] are not educated or it is that they pretend to understand the nature of the world today… You can be older than me and I will know certain things that you can never imagine (IIC_26, 13.02.2016).

Similar changing relations between elders and youth in the intergenerational transmission of "wisdom" was reported in Kwahu Tafo in the Eastern Region of Ghana (Van der Geest, 2008). In today's globalizing world, Van der Geest believes that "wise" elders should be ready to remain open to the changes taking place (Van der Geest, 2008, p. 396).

To sum up, formal education has been in Ghana since the fifthteenth century and in Northwestern Ghana since a century today. This model, unlike the traditional way of education, was introduced by foreign actors – missionaries and colonial authorities. The right to education is a human right and is supported by the global community. Recognising this fact, the government of Ghana has developed and implemented policies and programmes aimed at providing access to education for all. In the last three decades, Northwestern Ghana has witnessed significant development in the education sector, including the establishment of higher education facilities. All these programmes and facilities, coupled with personal experiences of the local people, have transformed minds, and changed local perception about formal education, thus increasing motivation to aspire for higher education. The ideas, practices, and influences of the tertiary students have particularly been a great motivation for the local people to take education more seriously than before. This motivation notwithstanding, some elders are dissatisfied with the attitude of the youth - who tend to assert their independence, with little or no consultation with their elders – which the elders attribute to the influence of formal education. This has de-motivational tendencies in investing on their children's education.

6.5 Institutional and Organisational Frameworks and Land Reforms

The activities of the Europeans, and their relationship with the citizens through negotiations for land to settle, establishment of trade relations, the introduction of indirect rule through native authorities, the introduction of the English Legal System, and passing of land laws, resulted in the gradual metamorphosis of the institutional and organisational framework of land management in Ghana (Sewornu, Quaye, & Namikat, 2015). The post-colonial government inherited these legal institutions from the colonial masters, and in addition passed more land laws and established regulatory bodies. Key among these are the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) for vesting of lands in the President, the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125) for compulsory acquisition of lands, and the establishment of the Lands Commission. With these laws, state intervention in the management of customary lands became stronger in the country.

In respect of Northern Ghana, the annexation of the Northern Territories as a British Protectorate (in 1902) and the passing of the Land and Native Rights Ordinance of 1931, as amended in 1932, are important institutions and actions that had vested state control in Northern Ghana[28] land (Bening, 1995, pp. 244–246; Kunbuor, 2009, pp. 35–36). However, persistent discussions among the Northern intelligentsia, traditional authorities, and the Governments, finally resulted in the de-vesting of Northern Ghana lands to their original owners in 1979, and this status was subsequently maintained by the 1992 Constitution (Article 257) (see Bening, 1995, pp. 247–257). The State control of Northern Ghana lands in the colonial and post-colonial era had enabled land acquisitions for various projects and infrastructure, including agricultural projects, State offices, residential, health, educational, and recreational facilities. Two of such State land transactions in peri-urban Wa which are still relevant to local land relations today are, the State Farms Project in Bamahu and neighbouring communities, and the Upper Regional Development Corporation[29] Agricultural Project in Sombo. Their relevance is in relation to the fact that these lands were later re-acquired as sites respectively for the University for Developments Studies (UDS), and the State Affordable Housing Project[30]. The UDS lands were taken in 2001/2002, and officially acquired in 2011under the State compulsory land acquisition laws[31], whilst the Affordable Housing site was acquired under negotiation with the Tendamba of Sombo for outright purchase[32]. But whilst the Tendamba of Sombo had received monetary payment for their land, compensation for the UDS site had not yet been paid due to litigation on the subject property by neighbouring communities (Interview: Lands Officer, Valuation Division, Lands Commission, Wa: 09.03.2016). These State land transactions have impacted on local livelihoods, as well as the perception about land as a marketable commodity.

[28] Northern Ghana refers to the political and administrative regions of the Northern part of Ghana, namely, the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions. In the colonial era, these three regions were part of the Northern Territories.

[29] The Upper Regional Development Corporation was one of the state-established corporations in every region in the country. They were established in 1973, by a decree (NRCD 140). The Corporation was established in Bolgatanga the regional capital of Upper Region then, with a branch in Wa. Among the objectives of these Corporations, Section 1 of the Decree provided that "a Regional Development Corporation shall have the power to carry on any business of an industrial, commercial and agricultural nature".

[30] As part of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Government's housing policy at the time, residential houses were to be constructed at affordable prices for citizens. The project was dubbed "the Affordable Housing Project", and was to be undertaken in various parts of the country, especially in the Regional capitals. The land purchased at Sombo was 51.65 acres. The Deed of Conveyance was executed on 22nd July, 2008 (Interview with Lands Officers, PVLMD-Lands Commission, Wa, 23.3.2016;24.03.2016;13.04.2016)

[31] The State can compulsory acquire land in Ghana under the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125), and the 1992 Constitution (Article 20 (1)). Under these laws, 3,466.88-acre land was acquired with Executive Instrument No. 40

[32] The land purchased at Sombo was 51.65 acres. The Deed of Conveyance was executed on 22nd July, 2008 (Interview with Lands Officers, PVLMD-Lands Commission, Wa, 23.3.2016;24.03.2016;13.04.2016)

Land management and administration has generally been on ad-hoc basis in the past, especially before the 1990s (Government of Ghana, 1999, p. i). The first three decades of post-independence Ghana for instance were characterised by political and economic instability, and therefore did not offer an enabling environment for effective and sustained land policies. Whilst there were land institutions and regulatory bodies such as the Lands Commission, the Land Valuation Board, and the Town and Country Planning Departments in various parts of the country especially in the Regional capitals including Wa, the return to constitutional rule in 1993 provided for better institutional and regulatory frameworks, and more sustained efforts in managing the country's lands.

To guide major reforms for effective and efficient land management in the country, a National Land Policy was passed in 1999, and since 2003, the policy actions are being implemented by the Land Administration Project (LAP), a multi-million-dollar project being supported by the World Bank and other international donors. These reforms follow paradigms promoted by the World Bank, other international organisations and donors worldwide, and constitute travelling models that form part of neo-liberal development agenda, and aimed at promoting effective land markets that make land available for investments (Borras, 2006, p. 99). The results of the land reforms in Ghana include the restructuring and strengthening of the organisational and institutional framework of the land sector, and the establishment and strengthening of customary land secretariats (cf. details 2.1.5 The Land Reforms). These reforms have impacted and continue to influence community and family land administration at the local levels, including Wa and surrounding communities.

In Wa, the new Lands Commission which comprises four Divisions, together with the Town and Country Planning Department are housed in one building (Plate 6.9 below) for effective coordination of land management programmes. These agencies are guided by the new Lands Commission Law (Act 767, 2008), and the Land Use and Spatial Planning Law (Act 925, 2016), which preparations were facilitated by the LAP. With the support of the LAP, two Customary Lands Secretariats (CLSs) namely; Wa Central, and Sagmaalu were established respectively in 2008 and 2009 in the Wa Municipality. These Secretariats are composed of Tendamba (land owners) within Wa and its peri-urban areas, as well as some rural communities in the Wa Municipality. The membership of the Wa Central CLS is more of urban land owners, whilst that of the Sagmaalu is more rural. Because of less active land markets transactions in the rural areas, the Sagmaalu CLS has been dormant for the past years. The photos (Plate 6.9) below show the offices of the Land Sector Agencies in Wa.

Plate 6. 9: Lands Commission (top) & Customary Lands Secretariat in Wa (bottom)
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine, Field Research (2016/2017)

As part of strengthening the land sector agencies and the CLSs, the LAP provided logistics and capacity building to these agencies in Wa. These include vehicles, office furniture, and training on various aspects of land administration. The CLSs were supplied with office equipment such as furniture, computers, photocopiers, printers, and motor bikes. The LAP also provided training for staff of the Secretariats on land rights and land management, including alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

The establishment of these land sector agencies, and strengthened by the reforms of LAP, has greatly impacted on land administration in the Wa Municipality. As part of their responsibilities, the Land Sector Agencies (LSAs) are to promote community participation and public awareness on sustainable land management and development process, as well as advise land owners in this regard (Lands Commission Act, 2008 (Act 767: p. 2-3). The LSAs in Wa have thus organised educational and sensitisation programmes on land management and land use planning for the Tendamba and the general public (cf: 6.2.1 Radio Explosion on the Airwaves of Wa). For instance, a Lands Officer at the Lands Commission noted, “*we have a radio programme on Radio Upper West on Thursdays, and personnel from the various Divisions of the Lands Commission go on this programme”.* According to him, the public is given the opportunity to phone-in to ask questions and contribute to the discussions

during these radio programmes. The Lands Officer further noted that the Commission carries out education programmes in the various Districts in the Region (In-depth Interview: Lands Officer, Wa, 24.11.2015). The information delivered at the District Assemblies is carried to the community levels by the Assembly and Unit Committee members. In a discussion with another Lands Officer (Interview, Lands Commission, Wa, 13.04.2016), he mentioned that in their sensitization programmes, they remind the Tendamba that the land belongs to the dead, the living and the yet unborn, and as such, they should manage the lands in such a way that the future generations still benefit. In this regard, they advise the Tendamba to ensure that their lands are properly planned and allocations made in accordance with the planning scheme. Further, the Lands Officer continued;

> we let them know that those who allocate land and just tell the allottees to go and develop without registration [at the Lands Commission] are cheating themselves…we let them know that when they give the land and insist that it is registered, they benefit from annual ground rent, and at the expiration of the lease…their grandchildren will renegotiate with the lessee and also earn some benefits…with this education, a lot of Tendamba now insist that people to whom they sell land, proceed to do the registration (Interview, Lands Officer, Lands Commission Wa, 13.04.2016).

During a focus group discussion with elders and the youth in Nakori, the Tendamba corroborate the report by the Lands Officer (ibid). One of the Elders noted that

> in our ignorance, we used to [and some still do] sell our lands to outsiders without any documentation…but the Lands Commission has taught us that we should document and register our transactions as leases…and those Tendamba who have ensured that their lease transactions are registered have received some rent every year from the Lands Commission (FGD_15, 13.10.2015).

The Lands Commission also advises Tendamba to put in place land management committees to lead land transactions at the larger family level and avoid breaking up into smaller families with small fragments of land (Interview, Lands Officer, Lands Commission Wa, 13.04.2016). The Lands Commission, in collaboration with the Town and Country Planning Department assists Tendamba to survey, plan and demarcate their lands. The Customary Lands Secretariats (CLSs), especially the Wa Central, are also involved in the activities that inform and guide their members (Tendamba) and the general public on land ownership and sustainable management issues. As part of these activities, the CLSs organise sensitisation programmes through community durbars and the Radio, on prudent land management including land sales and documentation. They assist Tendamba in land sale negotiations especially where large parcels of land are involved, and also on land documentation at the Lands

Commission. The CLSs also assist prospective land purchasers in ascertaining the true Tendamba of lands that purchasers intend to acquire. Using Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms, the Customary Lands Secretariats facilitate resolution of land disputes between and among Tendamba, as well as disputes between Tendamba and land purchasers. For instance, the Wa Central CLS has from its establishment in 2008 up to 2014, resolved 56 land cases constituting 89% of the 63 cases received within the period. These cases mostly (90%) involved double or multiple land sales (Biitir & Nara, 2016, p. 533). At a national scale, the CLSs have resolved over 2000 land cases using ADR mechanisms (LAP, 2017, p. 27).

Generally, due to the achievements of the land reforms on-going since the early 2000s, there has been, as opposed to the past, "a new spirit of co-operation rather than confrontation" between the customary and state land governance authorities (Bugri, 2012, p. 5). In Wa, there are some amount of cooperation between the Land Sector Agencies (LSAs) and Tendamba on many areas of land administration including; land use planning and demarcations, land registration, and land revenue collection (ground rent) on lands allocated to developers. There are however situations of conflict and distrust. Whereas LSAs blame Tendamba for indiscriminate land sales without recourse to approved development plans, the Tendamba blame "LSAs"[33] for high charges and demand for land as payments for their services. Also, the lack of clear areas for collaboration between the LSAs and the CLSs also creates some dissatisfaction. For instance, the CLSs are of the view that some land management functions such as collection of ground rents, should be left in their hands, and not with the Lands Commission. Tensions between the two CLSs are also eminent. This is mainly due to differences in historical accounts of land ownership by different families/clans in Wa, resulting in little cooperation between the two CLSs. Inactive participation by some Tendamba families in the affairs of the CLSs makes it difficult for the CLSs to accurately document land transactions within their catchment areas, as well as mobilise revenue. Writing on the role of Customary Lands Secretariats in promoting land governance in Ghana, Biirtir and Nara (2016, pp. 532–536) described the relationships among Tendamba, and between the CLSs and the LSAs as characterized by fear, suspicion, lack of trust, and weakness.

[33] Some individual personnel from the LSAs rendered services as survey and planning activities to Tendamba on private basis. Their charges included plots of land. Some Tendamba however did not know that the transactions are private. The Tendamba knew them as Sate Land Sector staff, and thus considered the jobs as such.

In conclusion, the colonial land administration has been foundational sources of global cultural flows – foreign institutions and practices – which constitute travelling models in land governance in the country. The influence of global cultural flows on local institutions and organizational frameworks regarding land however heightened with the implementation of the land reforms. In these reforms, the support of the World Bank and the Canadian International Development Agency generated financial resources, ideas, and technology, which in various ways enhanced the capacity of the Land Sector Agencies and the customary authorities in land administration. These ideas are further shared with Tendamba and the general public in Wa through the sensitization programmes of the LSAs and the CLSs, mostly via the media. Within the last two decades, local perception about land and land administration has changed, and Tendamba have, and continue to embrace, adopt and adapt more modern ways and models of transacting and managing land – land surveying, land use planning, land demarcation, land registration, and the use of land management committees. At the same time, conflict situations have arisen among customary land authorities, and between the formal and informal land institutions and authorities.

6.6 Summary of Global Cultural Flows and Changing Livelihoods, Aspirations and Lifestyles in Wa

Over the years, from pre-colonial times until today, African societies, including that of northwestern Ghana have been guided by customary norms, institutions and practices. However, these institutions and practices did not and do not remain fixed (Lentz, 2013, p. 8). The Waala society is no exception. In the last three decades, Wa Municipality, particularly Wa and the fringe communities have witnessed tremendous societal transformations. The most significant forces behind these transformations have been increasing population, urbanisation and urban sprawl, technological advancement in the information, tele-communication, and transport sectors, religion, formal education development, and institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land. These forces constitute Appadurai’s (1996, p. 33) landscapes - *ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes* and *ideoscapes* - along which global cultural flows – people, machinery, finance, information, images, ideas, experiences, concepts, models – move or are carried into Wa and fringe communities. These cultural materials are promoted, embraced, adopted, or adapted by state actors and local people, as travelling models, and which in various ways influence local norms, perception, practices, as well as aspirations, lifestyles, and livelihoods of the Waala communities.

The rapid urbanisation of Wa due to increasing population, including the ethnoscapes – moving government and non-government workers, students, investors, and other individuals - affect the local socio-cultural and economic environment. These moving people - to and from various parts of Ghana and beyond - also carry with them cultural material such as images, ideas, cultures, narratives, terms, norms and practices. Together with new concepts, belief systems, new models of education, policies and land administration, promoted by international donors, the government, and religious groups, the cultural materials carried from various parts of the world alter and enrich the local ideoscapes. These travelling people, ideas, images, models, and practices are facilitated and re-enforced by the media and technoscapes. In this respect, the availability of the modern information and communication services in Wa - the FM Radio stations, the television, the internet, as well as transport- which are provided and promoted by global, national, and local actors, further enhance the exposure and connectedness of the people of the Wa Municipality to other parts of the world. The interactions of the different people, ideas, images, practices and finances have significant impact on the local economic, socio-cultural and institutional life, including local livelihoods, aspirations and lifestyles in various ways.

In respect of the economic lives of the local people, the increase in population, immigration and urban sprawl, development in the transport and communication sectors, and the activities of religious organisations have created multiple employment and livelihood opportunities in Wa and fringe communities. Increased demand for housing, shops and offices has resulted in a boom in the real estate sector. The sector provides a range of employment from skilled builders to unskilled casual labourers at construction sites and student hostels. Local people are undertaking investments in the real estate sector, especially on student hostels in Bamahu and Sombo. The development of the transport and communication services in the study area equally provides varied livelihoods. Many local people are either engaged by others in the trade and transport services or they operate their own businesses as drivers, shopkeepers, mobile recharge and money vendors, mechanics and others. Most of the new livelihood opportunities require some skills, physical strength (e.g the real estate/construction sector) or financial capital to engage in. In this respect, the elderly who are mostly illiterate and weak, do not have many opportunities compared to the youth. It is observed that the real estate related activities are mostly undertaken by the youth, and trading activities as well as stone gathering by the women. In the face of these new economic opportunities, the local economy of peri-urban Wa is fast changing from an agriculture based to a non-farm-based economy, crowding out the farmers. Financescapes play a key role in the business activities in the Municipality. Local businesses have access to numerous

financial organisations for financial security and credit facilities. Also, the purchasing power of individuals and groups, including students (ethnoscapes) who supply and demand various commodities and services especially in the real estate and trade sector, all boost the local economy. Whilst the impact of population increase, urbanisation and urban sprawl in terms of job and investment opportunities is widespread in Wa and the peri-urban areas, with respect to the study communities, Bamahu and Sombo are more impacted compared to Nakori because of their proximity and easy accessibility to Wa town, and as well as the University.

In order to effectively take advantage of the new job and investment opportunities, most locals adapt the new business models to suit their resources, managerial skills, and socio-cultural environment, as travelling models. For instance, local people convert family rooms and houses into student hostels, and one can thus find communal family-student accommodation where families and students live together in compound houses or semi-detached houses within the indigenous living space. Also, women conduct their trading activities on table-tops within their living environments or compounds, and the youth use tricycles (*Mahama cambuu*) as taxis. As noted by Behrends, Park and Rottenburg (2014, pp. 2–3) travelling ideas work under situations specific to their setting - rationalities and techniques that are based on certain knowledge, as well as on institutions and norms peculiar to the local setting. These adaptations of the local people support the idea that local people are not just mere objects of global influence, but are people who have the potential to rework global influences and ideas to fit their peculiar circumstances and purposes, whilst maintaining their local identity in the process (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 185; Trask, 2010, p. 18).

Global cultural flows open up new avenues and opportunities, but also result in loses and adverse effects (Trask, 2010, p. 3). Whilst there are new economic opportunities in the study area, there are losses and contestations. The increasing demand for land, appreciating land values, and changing perception of land as a commodity, result in families selling out their farm lands to outsiders for residential and other urban developments. In the process, whole or some family members lose their land, their main source of livelihoods. Without the skill, the physical strength, or the capital in order to take advantage of the new jobs and investment opportunities, the plight of these landless people is worsened. Indeed, beyond the loss of livelihoods, local people lose some immeasurable socio-cultural value and identity because farming is a deeply rooted part of their socio-cultural living environment and belief system (Youkhana & Laube, 2009, p. 574). There are also competing claims and

contestations to land among and between families, as well as between land owning groups and land buyers, resulting in litigations in the law courts. Unlike the opportunities, the loses and contestations are felt in all the study communities, albeit Bamahu experiences greater impacts due to the expropriation of part of its land by the state for the University. The loss of livelihoods and contestations in peri-urban areas due to increasing urbanisation and urban sprawl is common in Ghana. In peri-urban area of Tamale (Northern Region) and Kumasi (Ashanti Region) of Ghana for instance, loss of land and livelihoods, as well as conflicts between displaced families on the one hand, and traditional land custodians and new land developers on the other hand are very rife (Naab, Dinye, & Kasanga, 2013, pp. 280–282; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, pp. 16–18).

Global cultural flows also impact significantly on local aspirations in the study area. Formal education, modern housing, and spiritual fulfilment are particularly important here. With regards to formal education, the local people believe that education is the key that unlocks opportunities for good jobs, and ultimately, better life. The promotion of formal education by the state, religious and other organisations, through direct contacts as well as the media, has gradually changed local perception about formal education hitherto regarded as "Christian and abominable" (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 270–271). Also, the presence of higher education students and staff in the local communities and family compounds, the interactions between these students and their local hosts, their ideas and activities, all contribute to renewed interests in education by the local people. Elders are now willing more than ever, to invest in the education of their children, albeit some parents are not very keen, as they believe that formal education makes their children arrogant and disrespectful to elders. The fact that the Waala have generally embraced formal secular education alongside Islamic education, is seen by Bin Salih (2009, pp. 270–271) as a "cultural innovation". This kind of cultural innovation is not peculiar to the Waala. In northeastern Ghana, the birthplace of formal education in Northern Ghana, Laube observed that up to the 1950s, those who followed "western" ideals including formal education and Christianity were regarded as "having gone astray in the bush" (Laube, 2016, p. 9).

Another aspiration among the Waala is modern housing. The development of the real estate sector does not only contribute to livelihood diversification of the local communities, but also influences local perception about better dwelling conditions, and thus, their aspirations for better life. The proliferation of varied modern architecture in the locality thus changes local aspirations towards better and modern type, more durable residential housing – cement block, aluminum iron-roofed, floor-tiled

housing. The youth are particularly known to have taste for these modern type of housing as ownership of these types of houses is regarded by the local populace as a symbol of success, and adds to their social status. And for a young man who is yet to get married, building a room for himself and his wife-to-be "*uplifts the image of his family"* (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 378–379).

Beyond modern housing and education as intermediate means to a better life, spiritual welfare and fulfilment are also important aspirations for many in the study area. In Islam for instance, one of the key pillars of the religion is performance of a pilgrimage (Hajj) to Saudi Arabia. This rite is believed to be a major access route to heaven, and has become important for many, including the Tendamba. In recent times, the processes for embarking on the pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia are easier due to the financial and organisational support provided by the state and private Hajj agencies. These, in addition to the images of Hajj performances observed through the media, as well as welcome ceremonies for returned pilgrims, serve as motivations for many Moslems in the study area to aspire for the pilgrimage to the Islamic Holy Land. Beyond the spiritual fulfilment, the acquisition of the titles "Alhaji" (men) and "Hajia" (women) by returned pilgrims is a pride, as the journey also functions as a source of social mobility, achievement, and identity (Iheanacho, 2015, p. 260).

In the midst of the multiple flows of cultural material, local indigene's perception about social status and symbols of success, as well as lifestyles change. Technoscapes and mediascapes are important pathways to achieving higher social status among peers. Thus, the possession of motor bikes, smart phones, TV sets and decoders, and other electronic gadgets, is regarded as a sign of success. Also, as noted above, ownership of a modern house decorated with "modern furniture", and bearership of the "Alhaji" and "Hajia" titles are socially recognised in the study area as symbols of success in life. Indeed, the Hajj is inseparably linked to the modern or new house, in that the pilgrim is regarded as a "new creature", and is thus supposed to return to a new dwelling environment. In this respect, pilgrims mostly renovate or build new houses as part of the performance of the Hajj. The youth in particular believe that these modern materials are necessary if one must be part of the modern world, and to put it in the words of a youth, "*the tail of a cock always points in the direction of the wind"* (KII_18, 12.04.2016). Local people especially the youth thus strive to acquire these "modern goods" to meet the new standards. These symbols of success offer their owners certain advantages and edge over their peers, including love relations and access to their desired marriage partners (Ungruhe, 2010, pp. 265–269).

In respect of lifestyles, the heterogeneous character of the society, especially the activities and interactions of tertiary students with the local people are important influencing factors for the indigenes, especially the youth, who try to adjust their lifestyles – dressing, activities, material possessions - to identify with the University and Polytechnic students. The influences of tertiary education students on their local environments and the Ghanaian youth in general, especially on fashion, have been criticised as socially unacceptable (City FM Online, 2015; Motey, 2008; Tahiru, 2017).

The socio-cultural institutions and practices among the Waala are also transforming due to the heterogenous ethnoscapes - workers, students, business people, and other migrants – who come with varied ideas and practices. Religious groups and colonial administrators are also important influences on the socio-cultural institutions of the local people. Christianity and Islam are sources of ideas, freedom, and development to the local people. Adherents of the new religions thus see themselves as having gained freedom from ancestral worship and their associated taboos. For instance, Tendamba who are Moslems no longer perform rituals associated with land relations as the local custom demands. Colonial land policies and transactions also charted the path for the infiltration, adoption, and adaptation of new ideas in land governance in Ghana. Most significantly, the ongoing land reforms supported by the World Bank and other international donors, and spearheaded at the national level by the Land Administration Project (LAP), introduce ideas, finance and technology into the land administrative system of the country. These cultural materials reflect in the concept of the Customary Land Secretariat (CLS) or land management structures established and promoted by the LAP in various parts of the country including the study area. Through these land reforms, the land administrators at these customary structures, customary authorities, and state land professionals are trained in modern land management. The ideas obtained through these trainings – e.g. land survey and mapping, land use planning, land registration, land dispute resolution - are shared with the Tendamba and the general public at the local level using the media. Also, various equipment and machinery such as survey tools, computers and vehicles are provided to both the state and customary land secretariats, including Wa. The land governance regime in peri-urban Wa is increasingly taking on a formal character – one that was largely informal two decades ago (Benneh, Kasanga, & Amoyaw, 1995, pp. 63–64; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 20). Figure 6.9 below shows the landscapes of global-local processes behind societal transformation in Wa and fringe communities.

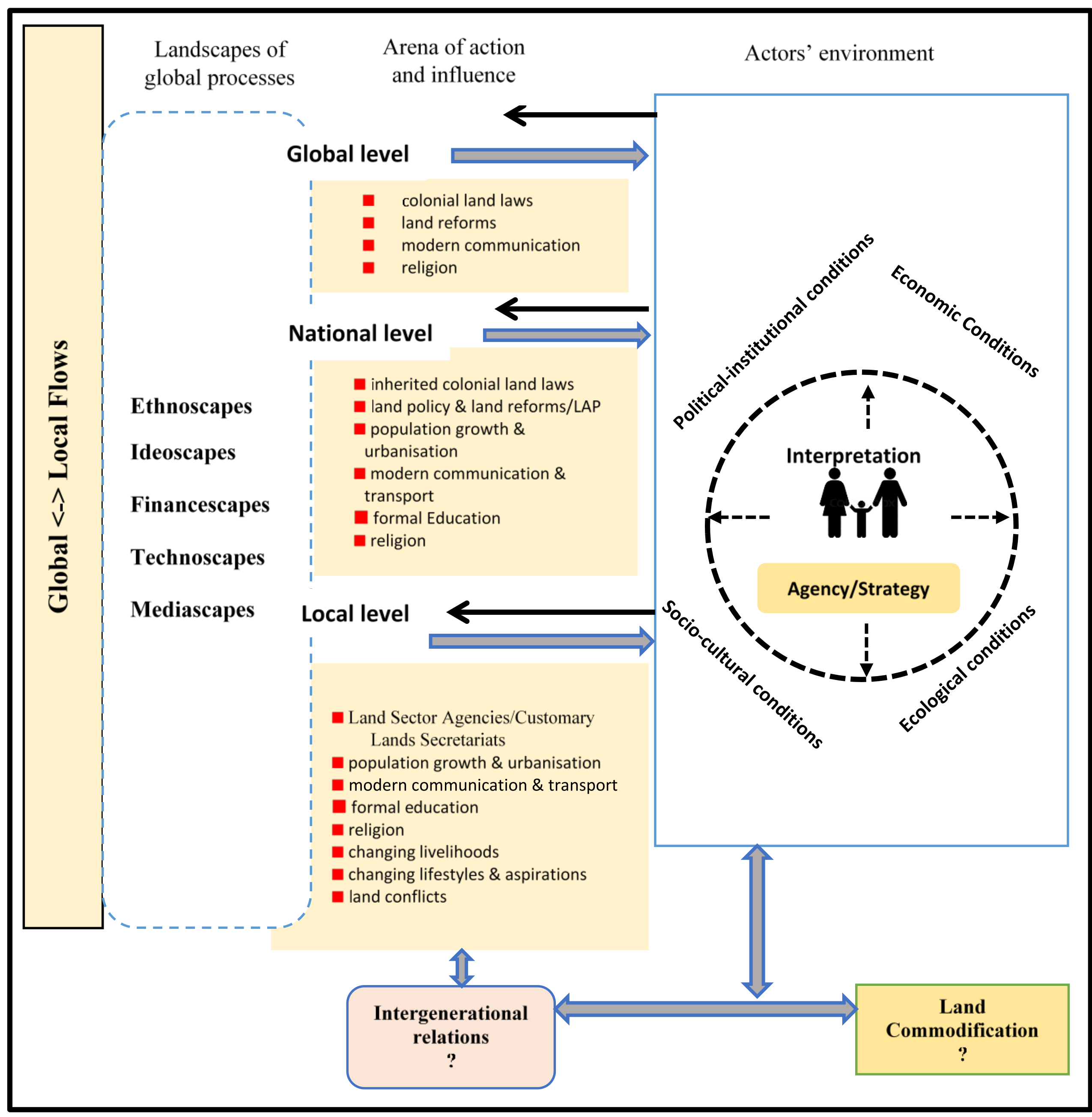


Figure 6. 9: Landscapes of Global-Local Processes Behind Societal Transformation in Wa and Fringe Communities
Concept by Darius T. Mwingyine, after Troeger (2016), after Rauch (2003).

The foregoing discussion shows how cultural flows - ideas, images, belief systems, experiences, practices, technology, and finance, are carried into Wa and its peri-urban area, along various landscapes. As shown in Figure 6.9, these flows come from multifarious sources – global, national,

local – and interact differently to influence the environment of the local actors – their economic, socio-cultural, and politico-institutional life, thus transforming the local society. The major driving forces thus behind the societal transformation of Wa and its peri-urban areas are: population increase and urbanisation, modern technology in information and tele-communication, transport development, religion, formal education development, and institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land. As a result of these forces, greater opportunities have become available for local livelihoods especially in trade and investments. Local people have new aspirations for a better life through formal education, modern housing, and religious fulfilments. Also, lifestyles have changed in favour of "modern goods" or symbols of success, but also new mode of dressing - particularly among the youth – albeit regarded by the elder generation as indecent. New institutional and organisational frameworks for land administration are also embraced by the local people in the study area. Whilst there are favourable developments in the face of the global flows, there are adverse consequences, particularly with respect to loss of sources of livelihoods, and land conflicts. Global cultural flows affect societies and communities differently, with some places experiencing more rapid transformation than others (Trask, 2010, p. 3). In this respect, the socio-economic environment of Bamahu and Sombo are generally more impacted than Nakori because of the former's proximity to the University and better linkage to Wa town. How these forces of globalisation alongside travelling ideas of modernity influence land commodification in the study area, as well as in which way Tendamba and land technocrats respond to the processes of the commodification, are the focus of the next chapter.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORCES OF GLOBALISATION ON LAND COMMODIFICATION IN PERI-URBAN WA

Land commodification began in the study communities in the last three decades, albeit the local people already had knowledge about the fact that land was a tradable commodity. Accounts of the local people indicate that land commodification has been taking place in Wa, the nearby big town, far back in the 1960s. According to the elders, for instance, land sale transactions took place between the Wa Tendamba and the Catholic Missionaries[34] in the 1960s, and some elders had also personally bought land in Wa (FGD_17, 07.11.2015). The land transactions in those days were shrouded in secrecy, as land, to use the words of Radin (1987, p. 1850), was regarded as "market inalienable", that is, not tradable for money. Beyond the borders of Wa, the Tendamba had also learnt about the commodification of land in their migration experiences to southern Ghana, where they did not only pay money for the use of farm land, but even for hunting (In-depth Interview, Tendaana Elder, Sombo, 12.02.2016). The Tendamba of the study area thus observed and participated in the land commodification going on both from far and near. As noted by some Tendamba, "*our ears have heard, and our eyes have seen, that land can be demarcated and exchanged for money*", and "*even though the storm [land commodification] did not get to us* [*their communities*]*, we could see some of the leaves [evidence] it has dropped*" (FGD, Bamahu Youth, 04.12.2015; FGD, Bamahu Elders and Youth, 13.09.2015).

With all these previous information and experiences of land commodification, the seed of perception of the local people about land - traditionally an inalienable resource – as a tradeable commodity was already planted. Within the last three decades, the forces of globalisation which include a growing population, urbanisation and urban sprawl, technology and transport, formal education development, and institutional reforms in the land administration, precipitated the commodification of land in the area. These forces did not only nourish the local perception of land as a tradable commodity, but also created opportunities as well as disruptions in the economic, socio-cultural, and institutional environment of the people, thus eliciting various responses from land owners, land agencies, and other individuals, manifesting in the commodification of land. This chapter thus discusses in which ways these forces of globalisation influence the commodification of land in peri-urban Wa, especially in the

[34] The land was for the establishment of St. Francis Xavier Minor Seminary, the first secondary school in Wa. According to the Nakori elders, this land transaction took place during the reign of Naa Seidu as Chief of Wa (FGD_17, 17.11.2015). A document in the possession of a key informant titled "List of Wa Chiefs, 1625-1979" showed that Wa Naa Seidu reigned from 1953 to 1961 (KII_18, 12.04.2016).

last three decades, and how Tendamba and land technocrats take advantage of these forces in the land commodification process. Three main issues are thus discussed in this chapter, namely the reasons for commodifying land, the processes and practices of the land commodification, and the outcome of the commodification of land.

7.1 The Reasons for Land Commodification

The major reasons for commodifying land are: supporting basic needs and aspirations such as foodstuff, housing, health and education; investment in business opportunities such as rental accommodation and trade: acquisition of means of transport and communication devices; support of social and religious activities; and financing land litigation.

7.1.1 Changing Livelihood Sources and Aspirations: Selling Land for Basic Needs and Aspirations

The transformations ongoing in Wa and its peri-urban environs arising from the combined forces of population increase and urbanisation, higher education development, modern telecommunication and transport, though created livelihood opportunities, have also disrupted traditional livelihood sources, especially agriculture. With increasing demand for land for residential housing, commercial purposes and offices in the peri-urban communities, the Tendamba respond by giving out their farm lands to individuals, groups and the state for various developments and infrastructure. In doing this, however, farming, their major source of livelihoods is disrupted. As an alternative, the Tendamba argue that whilst it is a moral obligation to grant access to land to others to build and settle, they think it is justifiable or compelling to obtain some money from the people they give land to in order to provide for their basic needs – food, health, shelter, education. In Sombo, for instance, a Tendamba elder said that he used to give his backyard farm to people free of charge for housing purposes, but subsequently, as more people requested for land, "*I always ask for a little money [sell] to enable me continue to feed…since these people will not feed me because I give them land"* (Tendaana Elder, Sombo, 12.02.2016). In a similar vein, the Tendamba of Bamahu argued that they give out their farmlands to people who use them for various purposes including business, and it is only fair to ask such people to pay for the lands. During a FGD, one Tendaana noted that, "***w****ith the establishment of UDS, we feel that it is no longer wise to give out land free of charge. If we do that, the people who acquire these lands would build student hostels and make money out of that…so we should also take money from people who come to request for land"* (FGD Bamahu Elders and Youth, 13.09.2015). The money thus

obtained from the land sale is used to purchase the food, pay medical bills, shelter, education and other basic needs which hitherto were obtained from the farm and sale of farm produce.

Beyond the fact that education and housing are basic needs for every person, the aspirations of the Tendamba for better living conditions and life through improved housing and formal education, give special attention to these needs. With regard to the educational aspirations, the development of formal education institutions and infrastructure, sensitistaion and motivation policies, the presence of tertiary students, their ideas and practices, and the general urbanisation of the area have greatly influenced the perception of the Tendamba about formal education as a sure way to better jobs and life. The perception and resolve of the Tendamba to take education more seriously than before can be summed up in the words of a woman in Nakori that: *"Now, 'our eyes are open'…there is motivation for us to invest in the education of our children"* (IIC_33, 24.02.2016). "*This is because",* [an elder in Bamahu noted] *"we want our children to have a better life than we have…If our children are well educated, they can be of help to us, or at least to themselves"* (FGD_07, 02.10.2015) (cf: 6.4 Formal Education Development in Northwestern Ghana and Local Aspirations).

The Tendamba see that a better life requires a better job, and education is one of the surest ways to guaranteeing this. Land commodification is thus a major source of financing this aspiration. The Tendamba use land sale proceeds to pay school fees directly or put into some other investments such as hostel and trading business which generates profits to finance the education of their children. The wife of a Tendaana, Mrs. Bayor, for instance argues that in the absence of funding sources for education, it is not wise to keep land whilst their children go uneducated (IIC_47, 07.03.2016; IIC_48, 08.03.2016), (cf: 8.3.2 Case 2: Land Commodification and Land Relations in Bayor yir). In Bamahu, a youth obtained admission to the nursing training college and the fee alone was about GHS 4,000. The family had to sell some plots of land and obtained an amount of GHS 10,000 to enable them pay the fees and meet other major school costs (In-depth Interview with a youth leader, KII_10b, 28.02.2016). Abu financed his student hostel from land sale proceeds, and used part of the rent received to finance the education of his children at the basic and the senior high schools (In-depth Interview, Bamahu, IIC_02, 18.02.2016). Many more examples of commodifying land for educational purposes abound in the study communities. At the wider community level, the Tendamba of Sombo in partnership with the Catholic Church constructed a school [St. Cecilia Primary] for the community. According to Antuonmwini, the Head Tendaana of Sombo, the Catholic Bishop of Wa [in 1992] asked the community to support the school project with sand, stone, and the excavation of the foundation

trenches. To enable the community meet these needs, "*I started collecting money from people who came to the community to ask for land, and used it to support the school project"*, the Head Tendaana noted (In-depth Interview, Antuonmwine, assisted by son, Sombo, 12.02.2016).

Aside obtaining better life through education, the Tendamba also viewed better life to include better housing synonymous with modern housing – cement block, tiled floor and iron-roofed houses. As noted in chapter six, the proliferation of modern housing with various designs and functions within the local environment motivates or even compels the Tendamba to improve upon their own housing. To achieve this therefore, the Tendamba resort to land sales as a major source of housing finance. So *"we sell the land and use the money to buy cement and iron-roofing sheets for our houses",* the Tendamba noted this during a focus group discussion in Bamahu (FGD_11, 04.12.2015). With land sale proceeds, many Tendamba thus put up new houses, and others renovate their old houses. During a discussion with a key informant in Bamahu about housing, he testified how land sale proceeds have transformed the indigenous housing in the community over the last fifteen years. He noted that before the year 2000, most buildings in the community were constructed mainly with mud bricks and mud roofs, which sometimes leaked badly in the rainy season. However, as the years went by, the mud bricks and roofs were gradually replaced by cement blocks and iron roofs because "*these are stronger and last longer*" (KII_10b, 28.02.2016). The construction of modern housing is also regarded as a symbol of higher status, and in the words of a Tendaana, *"this is also a sign that our 'eyes are open' [we are modern]"* (FGD_11, 04.12.2015). Basic needs, comprising food, health, housing, and education, are the most important reasons for land sales in the study area, especially for the elders. The results of a pairwise ranking of eight categories of items for which reason the Tendamba sell land, show that basic needs rank the topmost priority in Sombo for both elders and youth, and the 1st and 2nd priorities respectively for the elders and youth of Bamahu. In Nakori, basic needs are considered as the 2nd most important by the elders, and the 3rd by the youth (cf: Appendi B).

Plate 7. 1: Top: Tendamba old Traditional Mud Buildings Giving Way to New Modern Cement Block Iron-roofed Buildings in Nakori and Bamahu
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine and Fredrick Kuupille (2017)

7.1.2 Embracing New Business Models: Land Sale Proceeds as Capital for Investments

In previous discussions (cf: 6.1 Population Increase, Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl in Wa), it was shown that urbanisation and the increasing numbers of workers and tertiary students have resulted in a large market for housing, goods and services, thus creating a new ideas and a wealth of investment opportunities especially in the trade and the real estate sectors. With this development, the Tendamba are not just supplying land to outsiders for commercial and real estate business, they [Tendamba] also embrace the idea of participating in the business opportunities themselves, especially in student hostel and trade business. In doing this, land commodification is seen as a major source of capital. The Tendamba thus sell land and invest the proceeds on rental housing development by refurbishing their old houses or constructing entirely new student hostels and renting them to students. In Sombo, for instance, a youth part financed the construction of a four-bedroom house with the proceeds from land sales, and let it to students of the UDS (In-depth Interview, Sombo, 23.03.2016). From Bamahu, a young man constructed a five-bedroom house from land sale proceeds, and let out three rooms to students (IIC_19, 06.03.2016). Abu, an elder also in Bamahu, part financed a seven-room student hostel from land sale proceeds. From the hostel, he receives a rent of GHS 4,200 annually. From this income, Abu has bought building materials, with the view to building more hostel rooms (In-depth Interview, Bamahu, IIC_02, 18.02.2016).

Plate 7. 2: Tendamba-built Student Hostels in Bamahu and Sombo
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine and Fredrick Kuupille, Field Research (2016, 2017)

Aside the hostel business, the Tendamba also invest land sale proceeds in building stores and establishing shops in the community or in Wa town. Some Tendamba operate their own businesses in these stores, whilst others let out the stores to business people. As agricultural land is increasingly giving way for urban expansion, the Tendamba see the real estate and trading activities as viable alternatives and sustainable means to ensuring their livelihoods. This is particularly important in Bamahu and Sombo which are closer to the University which serves as a huge market for these sectors. As noted by a participant during a focus group discussion in Bamahu, "*in the absence of livestock or grain for sale, we can earn rent from building and letting rooms to tenants"* (FGD_07, 02.10.2015). Also, in Sombo, a youth asserted that "*we have seen that people who do business [trading] are progressing"* (IIC_56, 23.03.2016), and this motivates Tendamba to sell land and invest in various trading activities. Farm produce and livestock used to be major sources of income for the local people, and since they no longer have land and space to farm and keep livestock, rental housing and trade have become important alternative sources of income. At the time of data collection, a 27-year old university graduate in Sombo was in discussion with his father to sell part of their farmland for investments in rental housing (IIC_55, 21.03.2016). The high demand for rental housing especially

by the university and polytechnic students and workers, as well as business persons in Wa and its environs makes the real estate sector a very lucrative investment option. Investment purposes are the number two important items of expenditure from land sale proceeds made by the elders in Bamahu and Sombo, and the youth in Nakori (cf: Appendix B). As observed earlier (cf: 6.1 Population Increase, Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl in Wa), the Tendamba make these investments according to their financial strength and local circumstances, that is, indigenising the business model. By this, the Tendamba and other locals provide simple structures and compound-like houses as hostels, and small stores, metal containers, and table-top shops for their trading activities, in contrast to the big investors from outside the communities who build multi-strorey hostels and big shops. The photos below (Plate 7.3) show some of the investments of the Tendamba.

Plate 7. 3: Shops and Table-top Trading Points of the Tendamba and their Wives (left). Shops Rented out by the Tendamba to Business Persons (right) at Bamahu
Source: Photos by Darius T. Mwingyine and Fredrick Kuupille, Field Research (2016, 2017)

The income received from these investments are put to various uses including basic needs - foodstuff, health, shelter, education, as well as other social and religious activities, and general community development. Apart from this as source of income for various desires, the Tendamba also specifically sell land to finance the acquisition of means of transport and communication, social and religious obligations, and land litigations – the subject of discussion in the following sections.

7.1.3 "The Tail of the Cock Tilts in the Direction of the Wind": Commodifying Land to Acquire Modern Means of Transport and Telecommunication

Modern means of transport such as motor bikes, tricycles and cars, and information and communication devices such as the television, satellite discs, decoders, and mobile phones, represent a kind of wind of modern technology that is blowing in the Wa Municipality. These technological tools facilitate the movements and communication of the people in and outside the Municipality as discussed in the previous chapter (cf: 6.2 Modern Communication and Transport Development in Wa). The Tendamba believe that embracing these modern technologies will enhance their business activities and social networks, and keep them informed about the happenings of the world. According to a Tendaana youth, these modern technologies are the order of the day and they therefore cannot resist joining the global modern wagon if they are to grow. As such, like the tail of the cock, the Tendamba must move in the direction of this wind of modern technology (IIC_18, 12.04.2016). The view of this young Tendaana is similar to one expressed by Gebre Mariam Tewolde, the CEO of Ethiopian Airlines. Commenting on the development of the air transport sector in Africa, Gebre Mariam said: "Globalisation is coming to Africa in a big way. So, whether we like it or not, we have to join the forces…and we will participate in that process" (Guntermann, 2019, p. 140; Uwaleke, 2015). Beyond embracing technology as a development tool, the Tendamba regard the ownership and use of these facilities and devices, as symbols of success in life, and status booster. As observed by Pfaff (2010, p. 352), these modern goods are "much more than just tools…The goods themselves as well as their attributes play a role in the processes of individual expression and identification, and the trendiness of the users".

To enable them acquire these modern goods and thus improve upon their socio-economic lives, many Tendamba rely on land commodification as a major source of finance. Almost every Tendaana family owns at least one motor bike or tricycle, and some families own cars, which are wholly or partly financed from the sale of land. In the early years of the proliferation of motor bikes in Wa (mid-2000s), Tendamba exchanged plots of land directly for motor bikes. During a FGD with the youth of Nakori, for instance, they recounted the events of exchanging land for motor bikes in the mid and late 2000s with great regret. With the deep desire of owning a motor bike, one could exchange as many as six plots of land for one motor bike[35] in those days (FGD_18, 30.11.2015). This practice subsequently

[35] Today, the value of one plot of land is on average equivalent to the value of a motor bike. See 6.2.4 Transport Services, for details of motor bike prices, and for land prices, see Table 7. 1: Trend of Land Prices in Peri-urban Wa, below.

changed as the Tendamba realised that they were cheating themselves. In the last six years, they would usually sell the land and use the money to purchase the motor bike. The motor bike has become the commonest means of transport in Wa and the peri-urban areas, especially for the youth. According to a settler in one of the study communities, "*most adult sons did not own even a bicycle ten or fifteen years ago, but all of a sudden, they all bought motor bikes*" mainly through land sales (KII_03, 18.10.2015). In another community, a youth leader also confirmed that land sales have greatly supported the Tendamba in the acquisition of transport and communication goods, and through this, "*almost every youth now owns a motor bike…and there is no youth in whose room you would not find electronic gadgets such as a TV, home theater"* (KII_10, 28.02.2016).

Results from a pairwise ranking of reasons for land sales and or items of expenditure using land sales show that means of transport is among the topmost priority for both the elders and youth. It is the topmost item for land sales by the youth in Sombo and Nakori, and the 2nd topmost for the elders in Sombo and Bamahu (cf: Appendix B). With regard to the communication and other electronic gadgets, the results of the pairwise ranking show that these do not constitute a major reason for the sale of land. This is because, much less finances are required in acquiring these gadgets compared to buying a motor bike, building a house or paying school fees. In some cases, the Tendamba sell land for multiple purposes which include financing such goods. The ability to obtain these status goods within the community has limited the out-migration of the youth. According to the youth leader (*ibid*), the rate at which the youth of the community travelled to southern Ghana in the past to acquire symbols of status has reduced because, with land commodification these items can be obtained at home. The possession of "modern goods" and thus symbols of status or success also has implications on other social relations such as marriage.

7.1.4 Financing Social and Religious Activities through Land Sales

Land commodification is also a major source of financing social and religious activities by the Tendamba in peri-urban Wa. Key among these activities are marriages, funerals, and the performance of Hajj. With regard to marriage, changing lifestyles towards increasing desires for wealth and symbols of status in recent times create huge financial and material requirements for entering the marriage institution among the Waala, just as in many other societies. As observed in the study communities, but also in Northeastern Ghana (Ungruhe, 2010, pp. 265–269), possession of symbols of success or social status influences people's chances for and choices of marriage partners, and even the

nature of wedding ceremonies (emphasis mine). The whole process of the Waala *furi*[36] (marriage) is characterized by presentation of gifts and kola nuts, rivalry with other suitors, and expenditure on food and drinks (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 370–385). These activities, aside owning at least one room of his own, can be very expensive for a young man who wants to marry.

To finance the marriage activities including the dowry and wedding, the Tendamba thus turn to land commodification. During an in-depth interview with a woman in one community, she confirmed this, noting that "*if not because of land sales, my husband would not have been able to marry two more wives"*, since he [husband] does not have any regular job to enable him cover the cost of these marriages (IIC_20, 20.02.2016). Land sales do not only grant land owners access to money for dowries and financing the wedding ceremonies, but also facilitate the entire process of the courtship. From the perspective of enhanced social status, a youth leader described how a Tendaana youth, who already had two wives, was able to out-compete rival suitors in winning the love of a lady because he had better resources – motor bikes and money obtained from land sales – which he placed at the disposal of the lady (KII_10 28.02.2016). This also shows how some ladies attach importance to material possessions and status in selecting marriage partners, as in this case, the lady did not care being a third wife. To emphasise the importance of land commodification to financing marriages in peri-urban Wa, the words of a settler in one of the communities were very revealing. At the peak of land commodification in the late 2000s and early 2010s, *"those [Tendamba] who had one wife, took a second, and those who had two wives married a third……but in recent times, because of the decline of the land size of the community and thus land sales, I do not hear about such frequent marriages*" (KII_03,18.10.2015). Peri-urban lands are gradually moving into the hands of outsiders through sales, and the resources available to enable people marry more wives are thus diminishing. Related to social life and regarded as symbols of status are modern fashion and furniture. These goods are also financed through land sales. These are particularly a priority for the youth but considered by the elders as the least important of goods to expend land sale proceeds on (cf: Appendix B).

[36] There are five major stages of the Waala *furi as*: the *porga peingbu* (courtship), the proposal, the *puoho* (formal reception of bride by groom's family), the *furi leebu* (selemnisation of marriage), and the *bielibu* (escorting bride to groom's house). The ceremony is concluded with the *pogipaali deu*, where the bridal party keeps the bride in company in her new home for about a week before returning to their home. The *furi sadaaqi* (dowry) consists of *leefe* (an assortment of clothing and other basic items) and some money (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 370–385).

Performing religious obligations is equally a major reason for the sale of land in peri-urban Wa. The better life to the Tendamba is not complete without a spiritual purification and reconciliation with God. As Moslems, the Tendamba believe that performing the Islamic rites of the Pilgrimage (known as Hajj) to Mecca enables one, to use the words of an elder "*ask for God's forgiveness for our sins*" and to re-establish a favourable relation between one and God, live a satisfied life, and thus pave way for one's entry into heaven after death (IIC_02, 18.02.2016). This is a major aspiration for many, and achieving this, finds a means in land commodification. For instance, through land sale proceeds, an elder in one of the communities financed his pilgrimage to Mecca. He sold land and obtained over GHS 11,000 (USD 4,681)[37] to cover the cost of the flight ticket and other travel arrangements. Still supported by land sales, Mahama built a new house and refurbished an old one as part of the rites, activities and grandeur associated with the pilgrimage (In-depth Interview, IIC_40, 17.04.2016).

Aside the pilgrimage activities, the Tendamba also resort to land sales to finance Ramadan feasts and prayer grounds. During the Ramadan celebrations for instance, families prepare food and share with their neighbours and friends, and "*I usually sell land and use the money to buy a cow for the celebrations*", an elder noted (IIC_40, 17.04.2016). In another community, land sale proceeds were used to purchase roofing sheets and wood for the construction of a Mosque, and the purchase of some basic items required in the Mosque (FGD_05, 18.09.2015; IIC_21, 03.03.2016). Religious and social activities occupy an important position in the lives of the Tendamba of peri-urban Wa. During pairwise ranking among eight categories of items for which land is sold, it turned out that religious and social activities were the 5th priority for the elders of Bamahu and Nakori, and the 4th most important for the elders of Sombo. Among the youth, these activities were most prioritized in Bamahu (3rd position) than in Nakori (4th position) and Sombo (6th position) (cf: Appendix B).

7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: "Using the Monkey's Tail to Tie the Monkey"

Increasing population, higher education development, urbanisation and urban sprawl in Wa resulted in high demand for land and increasing land values in the city and the peri-urban areas. This phenomenon results in the scramble for land leading to numerous land conflicts, some of which are litigated in the state courts. The Tendamba of Bamahu, for instance, said that they did not have any land litigation with their neighbours until the UDS was established. They argued that as a result of the

[37] 1 USD = 2.35 GHS as at January 1, 2014. Source: OANDA. https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/

associated effects of the siting of the University on increased land values and business opportunities, there is competition for land, triggering encroachment and counter-claims to land, with their neighbouring communities claiming ownership to parts of their lands (FGD Bamahu Elders and Youth, 18.09.2015; FGD, Bamahu Youth, 08.11.2015; KII_18, 11.04.2016). The expectation of the local communities around the University, that government will pay compensation for the lands taken for the University, cannot be ruled out as a force in these counter-claims to land. Also, in Nakori, the Tendamba said that some of their neighbours exhausted their lands through sales, and have encroached upon the lands belonging to them (people of Nakori). This resulted in conflicts and law suits in the state courts (FGD with Elders of Nakori, 07.11.2015).

Within the last two decades, many land litigations have beset peri-urban Wa. These disputes concern indeterminate boundaries between communities or clans, between clans/families and land purchasers, between individual land purchasers, and conflicts within clans. Some of the land disputes relate to land commodification and sharing of land sale proceeds. A most recent intra-clan conflict in May 2017, which bothered on the disclosure and sharing of compensation paid by the government in respect of the acquisition of Wa Technical School lands, resulted in gunshot injuries and the death of one person (myjoyonline.com, 2017).

Some of the land disputes, especially relating to inter-clan boundary determinations are being litigated in the state courts. These include: Kambali vrs Nakori; Kabanye vrs Bamahu; Kpongo Tafali vrs Bamahu; Sing vrs Bamahu. Other land disputes in the Wa Municipality are: Kambali and Mangu, Tanina and Sing, Kpaguri and Kpongu (Boamah, 2013, p. 106). At the time of the interview in 2015, the Nakori-Kamabli land litigation in the state courts has been on for about 21 years, and that between Bamahu and Kabanye, eight (8) years. There are several other conflicts between individuals, and between individuals and Tendamba families, some of which are also being litigated in the formal law courts.

Records available at the Wa High Court show that, from 2003 to 2015, 119 land cases were brought before the Court, averaging nine (9) cases per year. Within the 13-year period, more than half (59 cases) of these litigations occurred in the last four years (2012-2015) – more than one land case in a month - showing increasing incidence of land litigations in the Region, but mostly within the Wa Municipality. At the time of the data collection, about one-fifth (22) of these cases were pending in the

Court (High Court, Wa, 04.03.2016). Land litigations are a nationwide problem. According to a land professional at the Lands Commission in Accra, the national capital and many other parts of the country are bedeviled with land litigations, with increasing incidence of land guards (In-depth Interview, Lands Officer, PVLMD Accra, 09.05.2016). According to a Ghanaweb article titled "Land litigation is endemic in Ghana - Prof Bugri", Bugri raised concerns about the endemic nature of land litigations in the country, which he said is frustrating effective land administration. Inferring from a World Bank report, Bugri noted that there were at that time, about 35,000 land litigations in the courts in Ghana (Ghana News Agency, 2018). In the early 2000s, land cases nationwide approximately accounted for 45 – 50% of the total cases filed in court (Crook, 2004, p. 6).

In the face of protracted land litigations in peri-urban Wa, the Tendamba have to find resources to meet the costs which include lawyers' fees, transport and accommodation, court fees, cost of land surveys, movement costs of the Tendamba to and from court hearings, and related costs. According to the Tendamba, they are unable to meet these costs from family levies, and they have no other reliable sources of income to finance the court cases. Confronted with such a situation, the Tendamba thus see the land "as a monkey whose tail must be used to tie the rest of the monkey". That is, selling part of the land to protect the rest of the lands. During an in-depth interview with a Land Management Committee member in one of the communities, he argued that, *"it is because there is no rope that the hunter resorts to using the monkey's tail as rope to bind up his game, the monkey"* (KII_18, 11.04.2016), emphasizing the fact that if the Tendamba had alternative sources of funds, they would not give out their lands for the purposes of protecting the same land.

As part of the court requirements in land litigation, one of the communities for instance was required to produce a cadastral map of its land. As they did not have money to pay for the survey services, the Tendamba had to allocate plots of land to the surveyors as payment. Meanwhile, they still needed to find money for other costs of the litigation, *"but we did not have any money…What could we do to pay for the services of a lawyer? So, we had to start selling our land"*, an elder lamented (FGD_17, 07.11.2015). In this community, the youth noted that the family spent about GHS 1,300 to GHS 1,400 during each court hearing to cover the costs of accommodation, transport, and other fees for their lawyers. The youth estimated that the litigation is responsible for nearly 60% of all land sales from the common land at the *buurii* level (FGD_18, 30.11.2015). Similar expenditure was reported in another community, where the Tendamba spent about GHS 1000 for every hearing on costs of movement and

accommodation for their lawyer in the previous two-three years. The number of hearings in a year was not fixed, ranging from two to six (In-depth Interview with a Land Management Committee member, KII_18, 11.04.2016). Discussions with these communities revealed that each community has so far sold over 100 plots of land (over 25 acres) to meet land litigation related costs alone. In one of the communities, an elder remarked that "*the land is even finished and we are still litigating…the whole area is built up…the other people [opponents] were selling and we were also selling"* (In-depth interview, IIC_25, 13.02.2016). So much of the land being sold to cover litigation costs indicates that, it is more than the "tail of the monkey" that is being used. To show the magnitude of this, results from a pairwise ranking in Bamahu and Nakori, which are particularly saddled with protracted land litigations, showed that just as basic needs, meeting the costs of land litigations is the most important reason for their land sales (cf: Appendix B). Using the "tail of the monkey to tie the monkey" is not peculiar to Wa and its environs. Research in the Ashanti and Northern Regions of Ghana, suggests that, the need for cash to fight land litigations in the courts in order to protect community or family lands from rivals, compelled land holders to sell off agricultural land for urban uses (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 17; Naab et al., 2013, p. 280).

Notwithstanding the reliance on the modern state courts, and the huge expenses incurred, some Tendamba have reservations about the appropriateness and capabilities of the state law courts in handling land litigations. The loss of confidence in the state judicial system is reflected in the Afrobarometer Round Six Report for Ghana. According to this report, nearly a quarter (23%) of the people from the UWR have little or no trust at all in the law courts, and 70% perceived some, most, or all Ghanaian judges and magistrates as corrupt (CDD-Ghana, 2014). These reservations support the position of those who suggest that the modern state mode of land conflict resolution is expensive and waste of family land resources. One of those who hold this position is a wife of the Tendamba in one of the study communities. She made her point at the Feedback and Validation Workshop for this research in Wa (cf: 4.8 The Validation and Feedback Workshop). The elderly woman noted that judges and lawyers are rather "*eating the fruits*" of the *Tendaalung* [land ownership] and not the Tendamba. She lamented that "*whilst Tendamba are busy litigating, lawyers and judges are busy erecting skyscrapers from the land sale proceeds which they receive in the form of legal fees and charges".* She noted again that some Tendamba have almost exhausted their lands through sales for court cases, "*and if you get into the house of some Tendamba, you would not believe that they are Tendamba [landowners]",* because they have become poor, "*and sometimes they even have to borrow*

from the meager savings of their wives to finance the land cases in the court". She then sounded a word of caution to her Tendamba husbands; *"by the time the lawyers and judges complete their buildings, the entire family land would be gone"* (Elderly Woman at Feedback and Validation Workshop, ISTC, Wa, 12.09.2017).

In this regard, some Tendamba lament that the customary way of administering land, including land conflict adjudication has been abandoned on the grounds of religious and statutory human rights, thus perpetuating land conflicts. Voicing the views of many Tendamba, a Land Management Committee member (ibid) noted that, "*the slaughter of a fowl was the seal to land grants, but today, we have embraced new religions – Islam and Christianity – and this customary practice has been converted into money…These new religions are the cause of the protracted land conflicts today"* (KII_18, 11.04.2016). He argued that the customary adjudication method is expeditious, but because of the consequences for the fault claimants, many people turn to the harmless modern court where in place of slaughtering a fowl, the Word of the merciful God - the Bible and the Qu'ran - are used for taking oaths (KII_18, 11.04.2016). The more tolerant and forgiving nature of the "Christian and Muslim god" compared to the gods of the ancestors, has been blamed for general social "moral degeneration" in Northern Ghana (Dietz, Van der Geest, & Obeng, 2013, p. 31).

7.1.6 Summary and Conclusion

The forgoing discussion focuses on the reasons for land commodification in peri-urban Wa. The discussion shows that the impact of the forces of globalsiation including a growing population, urbanisation and urban sprawl, technology and transport, changing religion, formal education development, and western institutional frameworks for land administration are major factors influencing land commodification in peri-urabn Wa. These forces contribute to increasing demand for land in the area, the disruption of agriculture, the main source of livelihoods of the local people, creation of new businesses and sources of livelihoods, a changing architecture and the built-environment, and changing aspirations and lifestyles among the local citizenry. In response to these changes in order to sustain their livelihoods and achieve their aspirations, the Tendamba resort to selling part of their land to buy foodstuff, invest in formal education and modern housing, undertake business activities, acquire modern means of transport and communication, and support social and religious activities.

In the face of the increasing demand for land, the commodification of land for various activities, competition and contestation over land arise among landowners and thus conflicts. This situation further fuels the commodification of land to finance the cost of litigation in court, particularly a major priority in Bamahu and Nakori. From the discussion, basic needs such as foodstuff, health, as well as modern housing and education – which are major aspirations of the Tendamba - appear to be the most important reasons accounting for most land sales in the area. Whilst modern fashion and furniture appear to be important for the youth, they are rated the least among the elders as far as the use of land sale proceeds are concerned. It is important to note that the reasons for land sales are not necessarily stand alone, in that, land is sometimes sold for the purpose of financing multiple activities such as furniture and electronic gadgets. Also, these various activities are complimentary such that profits from hostel or trade businesses which are financed by land sales are used to buy foodstuff or support educational expenses.

Elsewhere, research has shown that flourishing peri-urban land markets are demand-driven, backed largely by monetary considerations. In the Ashanti Region for instance, increasing demand for land for housing and agricultural purposes was met with a rapid response by landholders including chiefs, queen mothers, family heads and individuals who supplied land to outsiders for valuable consideration (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, pp. 16–17; Ubink, 2008, p. 73). In the case of peri-urban Wa, the forgoing discussion shows that the flourishing commodification of land is not only demand-driven, but also supply-driven as the need for finance to also participate in the multiple business activities, achieve their aspirations, acquire modern goods, and ultimately lead a better life, drive the Tendamba (sometimes in search for buyers) to offer land for sale. What processes and practices are involved in the land commodification and how this is undertaken are the focus of the next section.

7.2 Players, Processes and Practices in Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa

To ensure sustainable land governance in Ghana, the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) previously, Local Government Act 1993 (Act 462) requires that land allocations, land use and development be guided by local plans. This also paves the way for registration of interests and titles to various parcels of land acquired. Land transactions thus revolve around these land use planning institutions, administered by the customary land authorities and the statutory land sector agencies. In the land commodification game in peri-urban Wa, three major players are identified. These are: the Tendamba (Tendaana – singular), that is, the landowning families; the land purchasers, who are

mostly private individuals; and the land technocrats comprising state land sector professionals, and private land practitioners (licensed and unlicensed) who engage in land surveying, planning, and documentation. The state land professionals include: land surveyors, land valuers and land management professionals from the Lands Commission, and the planners from the Town and Country Planning Department. Some of these professionals also engage in private practice.

The land commodification is mostly initiated by either the Tendaana or the purchaser. The Tendaana, however, prepare the ground by preparing a local plan or layout[38] of their lands, within which framework the land transactions take place. To prepare the local plans, the Tendaana engages the services of the land technocrats - State Land Professionals, mostly surveyors and planners, or the private practitioners. The surveyors prepare the base maps for the planners to assign various uses – residential, commercial, educational, etc - to the land. After the land use planning, the plan is handed back to the surveyors to implement by way of demarcating the land into plots (cf: for details in 2.1.3 An Overview of the Processes of Land Acquisition and Land Use Planning in Ghana).

Whilst some local plans are prepared in accordance with the laid down procedures and are thus valid, others are done without recourse to the official procedure, and are thus unapproved [sometimes referred to as pocket layouts] (In-depth interview with Lands Officers, Wa, 18.11.2015). Unapproved land use plans are common in peri-urban Wa, mostly prepared by private practitioners, some of whom are not licensed to practise. With these local plans, – approved or unapproved – Tendamba start selling their lands. The photos (Plate7.4) below show samples of local plans depicting parcels of land demarcated into plots and numbered, and are largely zoned as residential areas. The red marks on the second photo show that these plots are sold out.

[38] The local plan or layout is a land use plan that guides the physical development of a town or area to achieve social, economic, and environmental policies. Within the plan, an area is zoned for various uses such as residential, commercial, educational, recreational, sanitary, and open spaces. Within a plan, there may be mixed and compatible uses, for instance, educational and commercial uses within a largely residential area (see 2.1.3: An Overview of the Processes of Land Acquisition and Land Use Planning in Ghana, for details on the preparation of land use plans). In this thesis, local plans and land use plans are used interchangeably.

Plate 7. 4: Samples of Land Use Plans Used by Tendamba in Land Commodification
Source: Tendamba, Field Research (2016)

The costs of services for the preparation and implementation of the local plans are paid in cash or kind. Where these serves are rendered by the state land agencies, the fees are mostly paid in cash by

the landowners. In 2008 for instance, a family in Sombo requested the services for a local plan covering a 45-acre land, and paid about GHS 6,700 cash (USD 6,262[39]) (In-depth Interview (IIC_53), 17.03.2016). Where the services are carried out by private practitioners, the costs are mostly negotiated with the land owners, and payments are in cash, in kind or both. Narrating his experience in the preparation of a local plan, a Tendaana from Bamahu said: *"Sometimes we negotiate the payment terms with them [the land technocrats], to pay cash or give a number of plots… When they charged us, we gave them half as cash and the other half as plots of land"* (IIC_19, 06.03.2016). Where plots were given in payment for the services, it was mostly about 10 percent of the total number of plots surveyed. In 2013/2014, for instance, a family in Sombo allocated 13 plots of land as payment for the preparation of a local plan covering 130 plots. According to a Tendaana, "*the surveyors initially asked for 20 plots, but we pleaded until they accepted the 13 plots. They complained that it was not enough since they were to share with the planners…we also took care of their fuel and other expenses to the site…we had no choice in this deal, since we could not draw the plan ourselves"* (IIC_56), 23.03.2016). Similarly, in Nakori, a 71-year old farmer and family head said the family gave 7 out of 82 plots surveyed to the private land practitioners in 2015 for preparing a local plan (In-depth Interview (IIC_39), 16.04.2016). Aside determining the number of plots they want as payment, these private practitioners sometimes determine the location of land they prefer. As observed by a landowner, "… s*ometimes, if you [Tendaana] are not conscious, the surveyors usually select the plots in the prime areas, which they later sell*" (IIC_56, 23.03.2016). The land technocrats take advantage of the inability of the Tendamba to make cash payments for the survey and planning services, to not only demand large amounts of land, but prime areas that attract higher values.

Transactions involving private practitioners and in-kind payments in the land and natural resources sector in general are not new. For instance, with emerging land commodification in peri-urban Kumasi, "professionals and/or reasonably qualified" surveyors and town and country planning officials were usually hired by chiefs, queen mothers and community land allocation committees to demarcate land prior to any disposals, and the professional fees paid in cash and/or plots of land (Benneh et al., 1995, p. 30). In-kind payments for services have also been reported in the timber industry in southern Ghana. The arrangements were usually based on the *abusa* system of tenancy (cf:

[39] 1 USD = 1.07 GHS on June 30, 2008. Source: OANDA. https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/

2.1.1 Types of Interests Held in Land in Ghana), with the farmer and the wood sawyer sharing the sawn boards in the ratio of 1:2 (Amanor, 1999, p. 69).

In order to advertise their lands for sale, Tendamba send out information through family and friends. The land technocrats especially "family surveyors[40]", also assist land owners to market their plots. Also, people who come to buy the land spread the message about the availability of land for sale. Other media such as "Local parliaments" (cf: 6.2.3 Mobile Communication and Internet) and the Radio are useful for issuing land sale advertisements. The use of the radio stations is of limited use and yet to be embraced by most land owners including the study communities. The interaction between the players in the commodification process is mostly facilitated by mobile phone communications, and the use of motor bikes especially in accessing plot locations which are inaccessible by cars.

The prices of the plots of land are usually negotiated by the parties, and are influenced by factors including physical, social and institutional factors. With regard to the physical factors, land parcels generally closer to Wa command higher values and reduces in value as one moves away from the urban center. For example, in Sombo, the average cost of one plot of land closer to Wa is GHS 8,500 (USD 2,163) whilst plots father away cost GHS 3,000 (USD 763) each. Other physical factors that inform higher land prices are proximity to utility services such as water, electricity, road network or other important social services or infrastructure, or land with good soil structure. With respect to social factors, transactions involving persons with kin or social relationships with the Tendamba attract more favourable prices compared to transactions involving total strangers. Also, perceived social standing of a prospective buyer - judged by kind of job, type of vehicle used, or dressing - is also an important determinant of land prices. In situations of emergency, land prices are lower compared to sales that do not involve immediate or dire need for money. Finally, areas with approved local plans offer better tenure security, and thus command higher values compared to unapproved or unplanned areas. Table 7.1 below shows the land prices in the study area. Land prices in peri-urban Wa in 2016 generally ranged from GHS 2,500 to GHS 10,000 per plot (USD 636 – 2,545). Sombo and Bamahu have higher

[40] These are surveyors, mostly private practitioners, who are permanently used by families for all their survey services. These Surveyors usually retain copies of the family local plans and are the only ones entitled to undertake subsequent services for the family. These land technocrats are relied on for other services such as advertising of family lands, and determining land prices and processing lease documents.

land values compared to Nakori because of their comparative location and proximity to Wa. Data from the Valuation Division of the Lands Commission (2016) on land prices in other peri-urban areas of Wa showed a similar range.

Table 7. 1: Trend of Land Prices in Peri-urban Wa

Year	Community	Land Price (GHS)	Mid-year (30th June) Exchange Rate (USD to GHS)	Land Price (USD)
2015	Bamahu	4,000 – 5,000	4.41	907 – 1,134
2016	Bamahu	7,500	3.93	1,908
2016	Sombo	2,500 – 10,000	3.93	636 –2,545
2016	Nakori	2,500 – 4,000	3.93	636 – 907

Source: Valuation Division of Lands Commission (2016); FGDs and In-depth Interviews with Tendamba (2015/2016); Participant Observation (2015/2016).

Source of Exchange Rate: OANDA. Available at: https://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/

Once the land purchaser makes the necessary payments for the land, he/she then proceeds to the Lands Commission and the Town and Country Planning Department to obtain a site plan, and register his/her transactions (Deed). In the course of the documentation, most Tendamba demand a fee from their clients before they sign the indenture [lease document]. The fee is not fixed but is on average GHS 100 per plot. Once the deed is signed and registered at the Lands Commission, the Tendaana who gave the land [the lessor] is entitled to an annual ground rent[41] payable by the land purchaser (the lessee). Many land purchasers, however, do not complete the documentation, and thus the Tendamba do not get the ground rents from these leases. Overall, the commodification of land in peri-urban Wa produces three main yields. In addition to the lump sum payment [land price], the Tendamba obtain a signing fee and ground rent.

[41] The amount is a token charge based on the size and value of the land, and collected by the Lands Commission for Tendamba, based on a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with them [Tendamba]. By this MoU, the rent is shared between three parties – the Lands Commission takes 10% for administrative purposes. The remaining amount is shared 45% and 55% respectively between the Municipal Assembly and the Land owner family. By Law (Article 267 of the 1992 Constitution, the Office of the Administrator of Stool Land is responsible for land revenue collection and management. However, this management is limited to stool/skin land in the Rorthern Region and most parts of southern Ghana. As lands in the Upper West Region are family lands, the Lands Commission assists the Tendamba in this direction based on a memorandum of understanding (MoU).

In the land commodification enterprise, when landowners exhaust the sale of residential plots, or when they realise that areas reserved on the local plan for public uses (e.g. education, health, civic, sanitation, and open spaces) have acquired higher values over time, and are not being used, some of them [Tendamba], in collaboration mostly with the private land practitioners, re-demarcate and sell out these public lands. This practice is widespread and is reported in all the study communities (IIC_19, 06.03.2016; IIC_56, 23.03.2016; FGD_16, 21.10.2015). For instance, during an in-depth interview with a youth in one of the communities, he confirmed this, saying:

> Provision is made for these uses [public land uses] in the land use plans, but sometimes, Tendamba usually ask the land technocrats to convert them for residential uses… Some [public land uses] are on our plan… "sanitation", "market", "OS" [open space] …For instance, this area [pointing] was zoned as "civic and culture, CC". But later, my father said: "…this is the only open area that belongs to me, and if it is used as zoned, where will my children build their houses?" So, he met the surveyors and they re-demarcated it into plots. That is where we have built our houses. There are still others [public land uses] outskirts, but we have not touched them yet (IIC_56, 23.03.2016).

In another community, a Tendaana reports that public land uses were zoned,

> "but due to ignorance…all the lands have been sold…There was a market but it has been "killed" [re-zoned]and sold out to people…Up there [showing location] was also a Day Care Center, but that has also been sold. Even places zoned for toilets, I doubt if they are still there…All these uses were provided and they can be found in the layout" (IIC_19, 06.03.2016).

A Town Planning Officer confirmed the above activities, recounting an instance where a Tendaana applied for a change of land use from civic and education to residential uses. The application was rejected by the Strategic Planning Committee in charge of considering such requests. Later, a visit to the subject site revealed that some re-demarcation and pillaring had been done the previous day by a state land official transacting on private basis (IIL_02, 20.11.2015). Unauthorised alterations and illegal commodification of public spaces are widespread in peri-urban Ghana, and is blamed on ineffective coordination and harmonization between customary land holders and state planning authorities (Yeboah & Obeng-Odoom, 2010, p. 83).

To sum up, the foregoing discussion centers on the interactions among major players in the commodification of land in peri-urban Wa, and the processes and practices in the land commodification enterprise. Three main actors are identified, namely the Tendamba, the land purchaser, and supported by the land technocrats, both private and public. The land commodification starts with the preparation of local plans which is facilitated by the land technocrats. Then the actual

land sale takes place after negotiations on land plots and prices between the landowner and the purchaser, and ends with registration of the transaction by the land purchaser at the Lands Commission.

Within the land commodification processes and practices, various forces of globalisation can be found. Ideas, institutions, terms and concepts such as leases, land use planning, local plans, and survey and mapping, have become part and parcel of the everyday transactions in land in peri-urban Wa and for that matter, Ghana. The local plan, for instance, is used by the Tendamba to achieve three important things in their land commodification: first, as a portfolio of commodities for the market: second, as land value addition, since land purchasers are willing to pay higher prices for lands that are covered by local plans, than for unplanned areas. Finally, as a source of ground rent, as registered land leases attract annual ground rents from the lessees [land purchasers]. Besides these, the local plan also facilitates the payment for land survey and land use planning services in kind [plots of land] by the Tendamba to especially the private land technocrats. The concept of the land use planning is therefore vernacularized and used by landowners and their partner land technocrats to meet their interests of accumulating wealth through land commodification. The land technocrats are the key translators of these cultural materials, facilitated by the media and modern communication networks and transport. As argued by Merry, translators of ideas act as brokers in the field of power and opportunity. Their positioning, loyalties and commitments, and their knowledge of both settings of the interchange, shape the vernacularisation process (Merry, 2006, pp. 42–48). The argument that travelling models – in this case, modern land use planning - may be improved, subverted, appropriated, and annexed in their new environments (Rottenburg, Park and Behrends, 2014:20) remains relevant here. Thus, in peri-urban Wa, the concept of land use plans aimed at achieving sustainable land allocation and land use development has been subverted in the process of land commodification for immediate cash and kind benefits. Within the last two decades, the commodification of land in the study area has produced significant outcomes, and these constitute the subject of the following section.

7.3 The Outcome of the Commodification of Land in Peri-Urban Wa

Sources from the Tendamba and the Lands Commission indicate that the land commodification in the study communities started in the 1990s. According to the Tendamba, land commodification begun in 1992, 1996 and 1999 respectively in Sombo, Nakori and Bamahu. However, based on records of registered leases from the Upper West Regional Lands Commission, the earliest formalized land leases

in these communities were recorded in later years: 1998 in Sombo, 2000 in Bamahu, and 2005 in Nakori. It is worth noting that the leases registered with the Lands Commission may not fully reflect the commencement and extent of land commodification in the study area because not all land transactions are [properly] registered. Indeed, up to the year 2000, only ten percent of land acquirers in Northern Ghana approached the Lands Commission to document their transactions, and many of them did not even complete the documentation process (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001, p. 20). This is possible because most of Northern Ghana was rural [and still is], and most people only turn to the Lands Commission to document and protect their interests in land in areas of increasing urbanisation and active land markets (Bugri, 2012, p. 5). With increasing urbanisation and developments in Wa and surrounding areas, the need to document land transactions at the Lands Commission is increasingly becoming important for the Tendamba and land purchasers. Based on documentary evidence and interactions with the Tendamba and land purchasers, the land transactions in the study area are mainly freeholds[42] and leaseholds. The leaseholds are more widespread, and usually registered for a maximum term of 99 years. In this study, the records of registered leases from the Upper West Regional Lands Commission are used to give an idea of the extent of land commodification in the study area. It is, however, important to note that some leases cover more than one plot of land. Thus, in addition to the fact that not all leases are registered, the extent of land sold or bought is beyond the number of registered leases.

Land lease records from the Lands Commission show that in the early 1990s, there were very few lease registrations in the UWR. From 1998 to 2012, there were 4,238 land leases registered in the Region, with over one-half (55%) of the land transactions taking place between 2008 and 2012. In the study communities (Bamahu, Nakori and Sombo), the records from the UWR Lands Commission show that from 1998 to 2012, a total of 517 leases were registered. Within the first half decade (1998-2002), registered land transactions were minimal, accounting for only 2% of the total transactions for the 15-year period. Registered land transactions, however, increased rapidly thereafter to peak in 2011. Two-thirds (67%) of all the registered transactions over the 15-year period were recorded in the last five years (2008 -2012) (see Figure 7.1 below).

[42] Whilst the laws of Ghana prohibit the creation of freehold interests in land in stool/skin lands, it is silent on clan/family lands (see Article 267 (5), 1992 Constitution of Ghana).

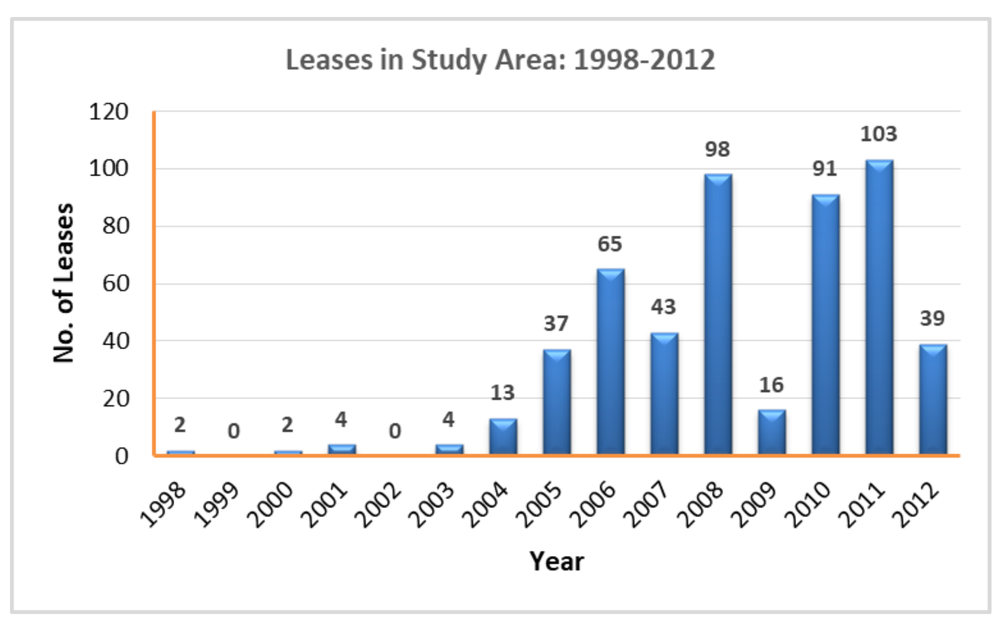
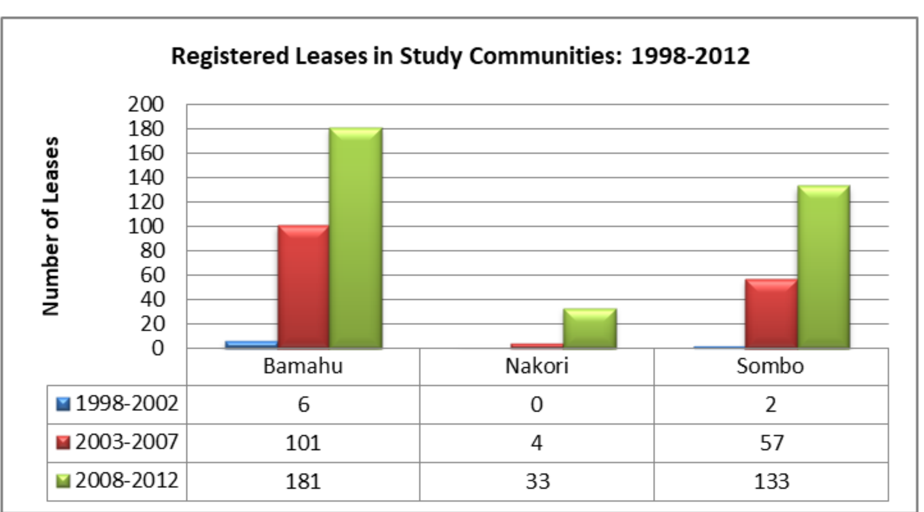


Figure 7. 1: Registered Leases in the Study Communities on Annual Basis from 1998 to 2012
Source: Designed by Darius T. Mwingyine based on data from Regional Lands Commission, Wa (2015).

The high number of leases registered between 2008 and 2012 and by implication, the increased commodification of land, can be attributed to the impact of the expansion of the programmes and facilities of University for Development Studies (UDS) to its permanent site in Bamahu in 2008, increased student enrolment in the UDS and Wa Polytechnic within this period (cf: 6.1 Population Increase, Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl in Wa).

Focusing on the commodification of land on individual community basis, Bamahu and Sombo have much more active land transactions than Nakori. Within the 15-year period, there were 288 and 192 registered leases in Bamahu and Sombo respectively, with just 37 registered leases in Nakori. As noted above, greater land transactions occurred in the period 2008 – 2012 in all the communities as can be seen in Figure 7.2 below. The impact of the UDS is important in the more vibrant land transactions in Bamahu and Sombo. In Sombo, aside the proximity of the Business School of the UDS, the location of the State Affordable Housing Project, and the Lands Commission Residential lots, are also key influencing factors to the activity of land commodification.



	Bamahu	Nakori	Sombo
1998-2002	6	0	2
2003-2007	101	4	57
2008-2012	181	33	133

Figure 7. 2: Proportion of Registered Leases in Study Communities in Three Periods: 1998-2002; 2003-2007; 2008-2012
Source: Designed by Darius T. Mwingyine based on data from Regional Lands Commission, Wa (2015).

To sum up, the forgoing shows that over 500 leases were registered over a 15-year period from 1998 to 2012 in the study communities. However, based on the fact that not all land transactions are registered, that some leases cover multiple plots, and that some freehold interests are also transacted in the area, the amount of land commodified in the study area goes beyond this statistic. The statistics also show that land commodification and the use of state institutions in land transactions are increasing as evidenced by the high registrations of leases in the recent times (2008-2012), attributed to the intensification of the forces of globalisation – increasing population, urbanisation, higher education development, and new land institutions. It is also evident from the above that there is more vibrant land commodification in Bamahu and Sombo as compared to Nakori. These differences in the intensity of transactions, confirm the argument that global flows impact communities and people differently, with some areas witnessing more rapid transformation than others (Trask, 2010, p. 3).

7.3 Summary and Conclusion of the Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification

In the previous chapter, the driving forces of globalisation behind societal transformation in Wa were discussed. These are increasing population, urbanisation and urban sprawl, modern information, communication and transport technology, religion, the development of formal education, and western institutional frameworks for land administration. This chapter discusses in which ways these forces of globalisation alongside travelling ideas influence the commodification of land in peri-urban Wa, and

how the Tendamba and land technocrats take advantage of these forces in the land commodification process. The discussions in this chapter indicate that though the Tendamba had prior knowledge about land as a tradable commodity dating back to the 1960s, the practice of land commodification in their communities begun in the 1990s, largely influenced and precipitated by the impact of the forces of globalization on the lifeworld of the local people.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Wa and the peri-urban areas in the last two-three decades experienced various forces of globalistaion which resulted in increased demand for housing and other infrastructural developments, emergence of new businesses and sources of livelihoods, changing architecture and the built-environment, and the acquisition of new ideas, aspirations and lifestyles by the local citizenry. In the face of these transformations, the Tendamba responded by giving out part of their land to outsiders for various uses. But in doing this, agriculture, their main source of livelihoods is disrupted, and in order to sustain their livelihoods, the best option is to take money in exchange for the lands they give out. Thus, the Tendamba used the land sale proceeds to purchase foodstuff, meet health needs as well as other social activities. In Northwestern Ghana, most farmers do not only depend on their agricultural produce for their food needs, but also sell part of the farm produce to finance other socio-economic needs.

The Tendamba did not only rely on the money received from the direct sale of land for their livelihoods. They also took advantage of the varied business opportunities that emerged such as rental accommodation and trading activities, and the profits used to finance their basic needs. But the initial capital for these investments had to be raised from land sales. The Tendamba adapted the new business ideas – as travelling models - to fit into their local circumstance – financial and managerial capabilities, and their environment and social structure. In this regard, they did not aim at the huge hostels and trading outlets operated by the mostly outsider investors, but renovated family houses and built few additional rooms within family compounds as student hostels. Also, small stores, metal containers and tables were constructed for trading activities.

With respect to their aspirations such as formal education for children and building modern houses, the Tendamba either directly relied on land sales money, or indirectly from the returns on their investments. Other social and religious activities such as marriage, funerals, and the Hajj, as well as modern means of transport and communication devices were also financed through land sales. The

ownership and use of the motor bikes, mobile phones, and TV sets raises the social status of the owners, but also make them [users] part of the modern world.

In the face of the forces of globalisation, rising land values, increasing benefits from the commodification of land, competition for land became intense, especially between land owning groups, resulting in land litigations. With the influence of modern religions which do not condone traditional rituals, litigating parties turn away from the traditional rituals in resolving their land disputes. Instead, they turn to the modern state courts for adjudication, which also come with costs including land surveys, lawyers' fees, court charges, travels and accommodation expenses. In most cases, the Tendamba are unable to finance these costs through family contributions, and are thus compelled to sell part of their lands to meet these costs. The commodification of land in this regard can thus be described as a double-edged sword in the sense that it is a source of land conflicts, but also the source of financing the costs of the litigations.

The entire process as well as practice of land commodification is based on modern institutional frameworks for land administration. For instance, the use of the Land Use Plans, land surveys and documentations, and even the interests granted in the land [e.g. leaseholds] are all colonial influences and programmes promoted by international donors such as the World Bank. Some Tendamba take advantage of these modern institutions to obtain higher land prices because land purchasers prefer lands that are covered by genuine local plans. At the same time, others, assisted by some land technocrats twist the institutions – using unapproved local plans, and altering genuine land use plans - to accumulate wealth at the expense of the larger family and society. Figure 7.3 below shows a summary of the influences of the forces of globalisation on land commodification in the study area.

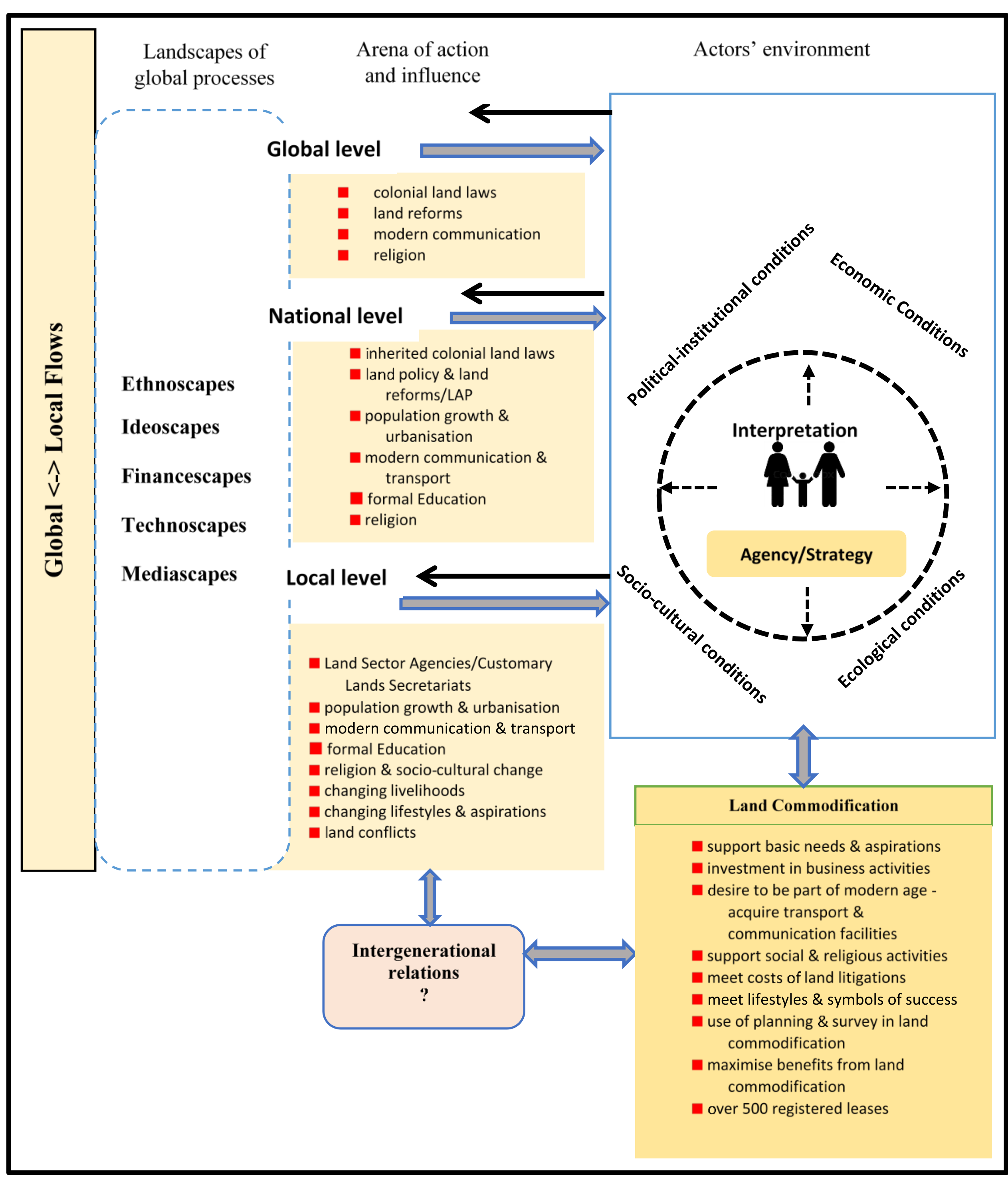


Figure 7. 3: The Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa
Concept by Darius T. Mwingyine, after Troeger (2016), after Rauch (2003).

From the Figure above, the forces of globalisation impact on the local society and families – transforming their economic, socio-cultural, politico-institutional, and ecological conditions - as discussed in the previous chapter. The result is that the Tendamba families have to sustain their basic livelihood needs and meet changing aspirations, take advantage of new business opportunities, support social and religious activities, be part of the modern technological age through the acquisition of modern means of transport, information and communication devices, and protect their land against trespassers. To do all these, the Tendamba allocate part of their lands in exchange for money – land commodification.

The commodification of land is facilitated by modern institutional frameworks for land administration. The outcome of this commodification is that large expanse of family land – an intergenerational communal resource - is given out to outsiders. This commodification of family land and the outcomes have interconnected implications for intergenerational family relations. The key question that arises is that, in which ways are the processes and outcomes of land commodification intertwined with intergenerational relations in land owner families? This is the question to answer in the next chapter – The commodification of land and changing intergenerational relations in peri-urban Wa.

8. THE COMMODIFICATION OF LAND AND CHANGING INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN PERI-URBAN WA

It is established in the preceding chapters that the forces of globalisation impact on the local society and families, transforming their economic, socio-cultural, politico-institutional, and ecological conditions. In response to the influences of these forces, Tendamba families allocate part of their land - an intergenerational communal resource - to outsiders in exchange for money which is used for various purposes. This chapter discusses in which ways the processes and outcomes of the land commodification are intertwined with intergenerational relations in land owner families in the study area. The discussion is done within the context of the intergenerational family solidarities constructs (cf: Table 3.1: Dimensions of the Intergenerational Solidarities Model), highlighting the dynamics in the various traditional family clusters - *buurii, yir, and jaga* of the Waala. To lay a foundation for the discussion, the chapter begins with a brief description of the nature of family relations and solidarities in the study area prior to the emergence of land commodification in the study area.

8.1 Family Solidarity and Land Relations Prior to the Emergence of Land Commodification in Peri-Urban Wa

Family relations among the Waala transcend beyond the biological parent or child, or the *jaga* to the wider patriclan – the *yir* and *buurii* (for details of family structure, see 5.4 The Socio-Political Structure, Land Ownership, and the Traditional Perspectives about Land among the Waala). In the patrilineage, no cousins and uncles exist. Brothers and their children regard each other as one family and as such are responsible for each other. All cousins are regarded as brothers and sisters, and uncles as fathers (*bamine*/*saamine*) - elder father/younger father [*ba bile/ba kpong*] (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 367–368; Kpiebaya, 2016, pp. 48–49). Just as observed by Kpiebaya among the Dagaaba, "there is no first, second or third degree of relationship" among the Waala, and as such there is no limit to relationship (Kpiebaya, 2016, p. 49). It is within the context of this wider family relationship that intergenerational family solidarity takes place.

In the Waala society [and Ghana in general], the concept of intergenerational relations is summed up in the metaphor that *"parents look after their children to grow teeth*[43]*, and when the children have grown strong enough teeth, they in turn, look after their elderly parents to lose their teeth"*. This

[43] Among the Waala, the metaphor of the "growing of teeth" is likened to the period and process of physical, economic, emotional, cultural and indeed, integral development of a person. A person who has fully grown teeth is said to be able to "bite and chew", and thus has attained adulthood capable of managing a home. "Losing teeth" thus denotes the physically weak and economically inactive stage of a person's life.

metaphor describes the implicit contract between parents and children, where parents look after their children to grow, and the grown-up children in turn look after their aged parents. These intergenerational relations include important elements of family solidarities such as meeting family obligations, sharing of resources including land, knowledge and skill, association or joint activities, consensus, affection, and the opportunity structure for family interaction (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002; Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein, Bengtson, & Lawton, 1997) (cf: 3.4 Conceptualising Intergenerational Relations).

On the whole, the traditional family structure of the Waala places importance on intergenerational responsibilities and social security, as well as the respect for authority. Within this family structure, the concerns of one member are the concerns of everyone, and as such, the welfare of all members is guaranteed. Care, support, knowledge transfer, family activities, and decision-making all transcend biological as well as generational lines. This kind of family solidarity was very strong in the fringe communities of Wa many decades ago.

In the study area prior to the last three-four decades, the living arrangement of the people was more communal in nature, mostly at the *yir* level. Information gathered during focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews with Tendamba elders (men), the youth and women in all the communities showed that the living arrangement in these communities was similar (FGD_16, 21.10.2015; FGD_17, 07.11.2015; FGD_07, 02.10.2015; FGD_10, 08.11.2015; FGD_23, 02.10.2015; FGD_women, 02.02.2016). In the accounts of the Tendamba, all brothers and cousins who descended from the same grandfather, with their wives and children, lived together in clustered houses as one household under the headship of the *yir ninkpong* [extended family head]. All the family resources including land, farm produce, and livestock were in the custody of the *yir ninkpong* who managed them for and on behalf of the family. Summed up in other words by an elder in Bamahu, "*if the yir ninkpong acquired a fowl, it belonged to the entire family, if he acquired a goat or a cow, they were family property*" (FGD_07, 02.10.2015). With the family resources under his control, the *yir ninkpong* was thus responsible for the general welfare of the family – food, shelter, health, marriage, funeral and religious rites. Under his headship, the family together undertook their economic activities which were mainly crop and livestock production, and their social and religious activities. Even where nuclear families [*jagahi*] cultivated separate plots of land, they contributed or pooled the food crop under the custodianship of the *yir ninkpong*. The families also shared the same catering arrangements where the wives of brothers

and sons drew foodstuff from the same barn and cooked in turns for the entire family, and the members ate together as one household.

The families did not share only material resources. Intergenerational transfer of knowledge was also very important in those days. The elders schooled the children and youth on all aspects of life, including the history of their family and community, customary and religious values, norms, morals, taboos, music and dance, as well as work skills. Aside the informal education, children were enrolled in Arabic schools and a few in the Western type formal education system. The youth also understudied the elders on their custom and occupation to ensure continuity of the family custom and occupation. The apex responsibility of the parent was to support the sons in finding a wife and paying the bride wealth, and arranging the marriage of their daughters.

At the time of marriage, the sons were mostly allocated land for cultivation and for housing. Despite these allocations, the lands and sometimes, the crop still belonged to the larger family [*yir*], and thus regulated by the *yir ninkpong* (family head). The youth gradually took over the responsibilities of the elders as they [elders] grew old and weak, and catered for their [elders'] needs. The final duty of the adult child towards parents was to offer them befitting burial upon their death. The intergenerational family relations were a lifelong affair in that even as children - "still growing teeth"-, they run errands for the family [elders] and showed respect to them. In the same vein, the aged or "toothless parents" still carried out advisory responsibilities towards the family. When families (*yie*) expanded so much, some brothers or sons could move a little distance from the main house and establish semi-independent house (*yir* or *jaga*). These were semi-independent in the sense that some social, religious and economic activities and decisions were still jointly undertaken with members of the main house where the *buurii* or *yir* ninkpong resided. This was especially important where the activities or decisions involved land relations.

Major decision-making, especially on economic activities, ritual and marriage issues in the family were dominated by the older generation who were considered as the repository of knowledge. Decisions on food menus and preparation were, however, dominated by the women and adult girls. The women also wield great influence on issues concerning the marriage of their daughters and were thus part of the decision making on such matters. Beyond these, women were expected to respect the decisions of their husbands, and any woman who stood up against the decision of her husband was

labelled *pog gandau,* that is, an arrogant woman (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 373–374). Describing the decision making and trust relations in his youthful days, an elder in Nakori noted that the elders in those days could even contract marriage for their sons without the involvement of the sons and "*whatever decisions and actions our elders took on our behalf, we believed it was for our good*" (FGD_17, 07.11.2015). This means that despite the fact that the younger generation did not have a voice in family decisions including those that directly affected them, they [youth] still reposed some trust in the elders and their views.

Three fundamental strengths can be learned from the living arrangement of the Tendamba in those days. These are joint activities, resource sharing among members, and strength of obligation felt towards one another in the family, and therefore the commitment to carry out familial roles. These attributes thus portray a strong sense of family integration, functional and normative solidarities in the Tendamba families. Notwithstanding these positive solidarities, the views of the younger generation and women were not captured in major decisions and as such intergenerational consensus did not seem to be important in family decision-making. That the younger generation was not involved even in issues that concerned them raises concerns about intergenerational trust and respect. Matters of importance and decision-making in the family were especially critical when they involved land.

The land resource was at the center stage of the communal living of the Tendamba, since the identity, livelihood, and security of the Tendamba family were inextricably linked to the land. Due to the importance of land to the Tendamba, land relations, that is, the complex of interrelationships between people on the one hand, and between people and the land on the other hand (Kunbuor, 2002, p. 9), were managed by the clan head (*buurii ninkpong*) and assisted by the extended Family Heads [*yie nimbera*, plural form of *yir ninkpong]*), especially where it involved land allocations to non-family members or strangers. Discussions with the Tendamba in the study area showed that land relations between the Tendamba and strangers [*saana,* singular*; saamba,* plural], just like the socio-economic arrangement of the people, were similar in all the study communities (FGD_02, 13.09.2015; FGD_17, 07.11.2015; FGD_23, 02.10.2015).

Before the 1990s, land commodification was virtually non-existent in peri-urban Wa, and strangers acquired lands either free of charge, on share cropping tenancy, or for some token (Benneh, Kasanga, & Amoyaw, 1995, pp. 62-63). If a *Saana* wanted land, he approached the chief of the community or

the Tendaana [*buurii or yir ninkpong*]. During a focus group discussion with elders and the youth in Nakori, an elder summarized the land allocation process at the time as follows:

> If a *saana* wanted to settle in our community, he approached the chief of the community or the Tendaana. If the *saana* approached the chief first, the chief directed him to the Tendaana. If it was the Tendanaa that was first approached, he asked the *saana* to introduce himself and his mission to the chief. When the *saana* declared his intention, the Tendaana asked the *saana* to provide two fowls and a drink [pito]. These were offered to the ancestors, requesting the ancestors to advise on the genuineness of the *saana*. If the outcome of the consultation was that the *saana* was a good person, the offices of the chief and the Tendaana welcomed him and the Tendaana then granted him the land to settle (FGD_15, 13.10.2015).

The grant of land to settle included a plot to build a house and a farmland. In order to start the construction of the new house, as well as the cultivation of the farmland, the Tendamba requested the *saana* to provide some items for the necessary customary rites for intergration into the community. These items included cola nuts, fowls, goats, and pito (a locally brewed alcoholic drink). During the customary rites, the Tendamba called upon their ancestors for successful construction of the house and peaceful habitation, for protection of the *saana* against any harm, and for good farm yield (FGD_15, 13.10.2015). In all these rites, the youth are involved, understudying the process, and sometimes they are asked to lead the *saana* to their farmlands.

The extent of land grants in terms of physical size and rights or interest was usually wide. The lands were usually granted by hand stretch, and the grantee [*saana*] could cultivate as much land as his strength could allow, and the interest in the land was potentially forever. These grants are transferable to the descendants of the *saana* forever as long as the *saana* does not infringe upon the customary rules of the community (FGD_15, 13.10.2015). All these land transactions were kept in a form of "oral land registry", that is, documented in the minds of the people and orally handed down the generations (Lentz, 2013, p. 4). As part of gratitude to the Tendamba and their ancestors, but also for peaceful enjoyment of the land, the *saana* rendered some customary services to the Tendamba. These services included giving a portion of the farm produce to the Tendaana annually, and sometimes, labour support to the chief or the Tendamba on the farm, and the provision of fowls for annual pacification of their [*saana*] farmlands in order to ensure continuous fertility of the land and protection against any evil on the farm.

Land disputes between neighbour communities were adjudicated in the traditional way. By the traditional court procedure, each disputant brought one fowl to the land or land boundary in

contention. At the site, one fowl was sacrificed to the ancestors, and the other fowl was used for the oath, each party swearing as the true owner of the land. In the process of swearing, both disputants held the fowl, one disputant holding the head, and the other holding the legs of the fowl, and they pulled it until it broke into two. Each party threw the piece of the fowl onto his side of the land. After a few days, the party that falsely claimed ownership to the land would begin to experience calamities in the family. The calamity was mostly death of family members. The death would continue until the family confessed falsely claiming ownership to the land, and appealed for a reversal of the calamity. Another form of resolution involved parties to a dispute eating the soil from the part of the land in dispute. The consequences for the false claimant are death of family members.

Generally, in the past, the land resource was mainly used for farming and family housing. Land relations were mainly managed by the head of family at the *buuri* and *yir* levels for and on behalf of the entire family. The younger generations had access to farm and building land when they attained the age of majority [at marriage], and any land allocations outside the family were authorised by the *buurii* or *yir nimbera* in consultation with the ancestors.

In summary, before the 1990s, that is, prior to the emergence of land commodification in the study communities, the living arrangement of the Tendamba was communal in nature. The traditional structure of the Waala family ensured solidarity among family members beyond the biological child, parent, and siblings. Resources including land, food, and knowledge were shared in common, and both the older and younger generations were committed to their filial obligations and responsibilities. The association of family members through joint livelihood or economic, social and cultural activities further ensured the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skill. Despite the positive nature of these aspects of family solidarity, the elders had greater control and power over land and cultural resources including knowledge, and thus, over decision-making and general family life. In this respect, intergenerational consensus building was weak, as the views and perspectives of the younger generation and women were not captured in major family relations including land relations. But overall, the nature of family relations ensured a high sense of emotional closeness, intimacy, welfare and social security for all members.

The Waala society, like other societies, is dynamic and therefore susceptible to changes (Bin Salih, 2009, p. 267). Accordingly, intergenerational relations and family solidarities among the Waala as

described above are changing in the face of globalizing ideas. The ensuing sections show how the emergence of land commodification in peri-urban Wa has influenced intergenerational relations among Tendamba families in recent times.

8.2 Land Commodification and Intergenerational Land Relations at the *Buurii* Level

From the previous section, it is shown that in the past, land administration in the study area was spearheaded by the *buurii nimbera* [Clan Heads], and assisted by the *yir nimbera* [Extended Family Heads]. At the emergence of land commodification in the study communities in the 1990s, land issues were still administered by these Family Heads - *buurii* and *yie nimbera* in all the study communities.

In Sombo, the earliest land sales undertaken by the community occurred in about 1992. This was to obtain some money to support the construction of a school (St. Cecilia Primary School), which was being undertaken jointly with the Catholic Church (IIC_42, 12.02.2016). When land was sold, for instance, the *buurii ninkpong* assembled the *yie nimbera* and shared the proceeds with them. The *yie nimbera* then sent their share to their families for internal management (IIC_42, Sombo, 12.02.2016). In Nakori, the first land sales were triggered by land boundary litigation between the community and their neighbor, Kambali, around 1998. The community, led by the clan head was compelled to sell some land to pay for the court related charges. The commodification of land in Bamahu was also a communal affair under the Clan Head. The earliest land allocations, in exchange for money, took place about 1999, to support the construction of a mosque (FGD_05, 18.09.2015; IIC_21, 03.03.2016).

In the early to mid-2000s there was increasing demand for land from outsiders, and the need for money by families and individuals to meet various needs, desires and aspirations (cf: Chapters 6 and 7). At the same time, concerns about trust and transparency in land transactions started emerging in some communities. These precipitated the emergence of land sales by the individual *yie* and *jaghi*, who started commodifying their farmlands. In Sombo, for instance, prompted by these concerns, *the buurii ninkpong* also thought that "*the way our population was growing, if we were not careful, we could fight among ourselves. So, I decided that each section should manage the lands that their direct grandparents had cultivated before them*" (IIC_42, 12.02.2016). So, by the early 2000s, land commodification under the auspices of the *buurii ninkpong* had collapsed in Sombo, and was then handled at the *yie* and *jaghi* levels. In Nakori and Bamahu, however, the commodification of land was taking place at all three family levels. Whilst individual *yie* and *jaghi* were transacting their own farmlands independently, the *buurii ninkpong* was still in charge of the communal lands in these two

communities. From this time, only Bamahu and Nakori transacted land at the *buuri* level. The followings sections thus focus on the commodification of land and family relations in two communities – Bamahu and Nakori.

Towards the late 2000s, new dynamics emerged in the land relations in these communities. Key among these were that: the University for Development Studies (UDS) had expanded and taken possession of their lands in Bamahu; and land commodification had intensified, characterized by indiscriminate and multiple land sales, and land litigations. In Bamahu, for instance, a land boundary dispute arose between the Bamahu Tendamba and the Kabanye family of Wa, and there were also "*rising cases of multiple sales of land which were giving the community a bad name* (KII_10, 26.02.2016). Also, some families lost their sources of livelihoods as most of their farmlands were taken for the construction of the UDS infrastructure. Faced with these challenges, the clan decided that in order to ensure that the land resource is used for the benefit of all the members, all the lands should fall back under the management of the *buurii ninkpong* (Clan Head). The re-centralisation of the lands was also to reassert the solidarity of the clan as one family with communal ownership, and as such those families whose farmlands were not part of the UDS acquisition should share the lands with the families that were expropriated. In like manner, any future compensation payable on the expropriated lands also belongs to the entire clan. So, from the late 2000s, all land sales by the *yie* and *jaghi* in Bamahu ceased. In Nakori, the major challenges were persistent land litigations and indiscriminate sale of communal lands. According to the *buurii ninkpong*, aside the litigation with the Kambali Tendamba which started about 1998, litigation with Dolinbo, another neighbouring community, also arose (IIC_25, 13.02.2016). Also, the incidence of secret and indiscriminate land sales was on the rise in the community, as the youth were secretly allocating the communal land in exchange for motor bikes (IIC_25, 13.02.2016).

During this period, the Tendamba in these communities realised that there was the need to re-strategise in order to ensure effective and sustainable management of their lands. Intergenerational solidarity concerns were the underlying reasons. In both communities, the need to safeguard or defend their lands in the law court for themselves and their posterity was very important. Again, both communities needed to arrest the menace of the indiscriminate land sales in order to ensure that the communal resource was fairly enjoyed by all. Aside these, the Tendamba in Bamahu needed to ensure that both the current and future generations have a fair share of the land, whether the land resource now or the

future compensation for the UDS land. Encouraged by the sensitization programmes of the state and customary land agencies (cf: 6.5 Institutional and Organisational Frameworks and Land Reforms), the Tendamba decided to use Land Management Committees (LMCs) as a vehicle to ensuring sustainable management of their lands for the common benefit. So, LMCs were established at the *buurii* level, headed by the *buurii ninkpong*.

In selecting the members of the LMC, certain characteristics or qualities were considered. These include: different generations, knowledge of the culture and community history, bravery, availability in the community and participation in family and community issues, and formal education (KII_10, 26.02.2016). The mix of generations was important because the elders were much knowledgeable in the history of the community and land, and the youth were stronger and had the capability to handle most of the land transactions that involved movements. As noted by an elder, *"the youth are our feet. They can walk around and discharge the assignments relating to the land*" (IIC-08, 19.02.2016). Also, the youth had better formal education. During an in-depth interview with the *buurii ninkpong* in Bamahu for instance, he noted that *"the nature of our land issues today is such that if one does not speak or understand English, one cannot manage some land issues"* (IIC_13, 20.02.2016).

The actual selection of the LMC members was, however, done by the elders. The Nakori LMC comprised of two sons and two fathers, with two each from the two main sections that make up the Tendamba clan (IIC_25, 13.02.2016; IIC_39, 16.04.2016). The Bamahu LMC members were selected by the *buurii ninkpong*, from different *yie*, and approved by the entire clan at a clan meeting. During an in-depth interview with the *buurii ninkpong*, he noted that "*we all gathered here [his house] - both elders and youth - and I selected the people [LMC members], and the entire family accepted them to be in charge of the lands"* (IIC_13, 20.02.2016). The five-member LMC was composed of two sons and three fathers. Aside this standing committee, other family members were co-opted whenever the situation demanded. For instance, a relation (grandson) who lives in the ancestral village of the Somborli *buurii*[44] was coopted to assist in the court proceedings because he is knowledgeable in the history of the clan and the land issues. In terms of the level of education of the LMC members, it was found that apart from two youth in Bamahu who had attained secondary education, and one youth in

[44] The Somborli buurii is refers to the clan of the Tendamba. They originated from Biihee, a village about 10 km east of Bamahu

Nakori with basic education, the rest of the committee members, who were mostly elders, had no formal education.

The duties of the LMC are basically, to take all major decisions and carry out all transactions relating to land commodification, land allocations to family members, and land litigations. Each generation [fathers, and sons or grandsons] is responsible for specific tasks albeit complimentary. The sons or youth on the committee liaise with the State Land Agencies and spearhead the preparation of layouts, search for land buyers and show them around the lands (sale plots), allocate land to purchasers and family members and maintain surveillance on land boundaries. The youth also spearhead the land litigation process in the Law Courts. They also take custody of all land records and documents including the layout, indentures, and court documents. The elders on the committee mainly decide on the merits of requests for land sales or land allocations to family members, and collect ground rents due from the Lands Commission. In Bamahu, the Head of Clan presides over the ritual pacification of the land money before it is shared. Land prices are jointly decided on by the entire LMC and the lease documents are signed by both generations - the *buurii ninkpong* as the principal grantor, and the sons and grandsons as witnesses.

Handling of land sale moneys is also an important part of the responsibilities of the LMC. In Bamahu, all land sales are receipted, but not in Nakori. In both communities, bank accounts are kept for the land sale proceeds but are seldom used. Discussions with a key informant in Bamahu revealed that "*the LMC opened a 'dry account'…they are not putting the money into the account*" (KII_10, 28.02.2016). In Nakori, an elder and LMC member noted that "*we do not put in money regularly, so most times, the account is empty*" (IIC_39, 16.04.2016). In most cases, the money received from land sales is immediately expended on the reason for the sale or kept by the LMC.

In terms of the process and the involvement of family members in the benefits of the land commodification, the following were observed. When money is required for any purpose and cannot be provided through levies, land is sold. But first, the *buurii ninkpong* is informed, he consults with his brothers [includes cousins], and if they agree on the land sale, the LMC is asked to advise on which land to allocate. If the decided land is a farm land, the farmer-occupant is informed. In the case of Bamahu, when family members at the *yir* and *jaga* levels have emergencies and wish to sell part of their own farmland to solve the issues, the LMC still carries out the transactions on their behalf. To

effect the sale, the LMC looks for the buyer, and negotiates the transactions. The money obtained from the transaction is brought before the *buurii ninkpong* for accountability reasons, and in Bamahu, the ancestors are duly informed of the land allocation through some rituals performed by the *buurii ninkpong*, before the money is used for the intended purpose.

Land sale proceeds are used for the common benefit of the entire *buurii.* In both communities, the major communal benefit derived from the land sales is meeting the costs of land litigation, which otherwise would have been born by individuals or families through levies (cf: 7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: "Using the Monkey's Tail to Tie the Monkey"). There are however concerns, mostly from the youth, that land sales moneys are going into personal pockets under the guise of financing land litigation cases in court. This was a major issue during a FGD with the youth at Nakori. One of the participants claimed that "*when the LMC is asked to sell for instance four plots of land for a court hearing, they sell six plots instead. They do not only keep the money for the extra two plots to themselves, but they also take part of the money from the four authorised plots sold"* (FGD_18, 30.11.2015). Similar concerns were raised by another youth during an in-depth interview. He added that anytime land is sold for the court case and there is any left-over money after settling the court bills, the money is kept for the personal use of the LMC (IIC_26, 13.02.2016). The elders are aware of these complaints by the youth, but they dispute them, rather blaming the youth for secret land sales. During a FGD with the elders in Nakori, they noted that, based on these perceptions or suspicions, some of these sons secretly sell the land for their personal needs "in the name of the land belongs to us all" (FGD_17, 07.11.2015). The concerns are not different in Bamahu. In the words of a key informant, *"...the court case to me is by name. It is a channel for squandering our money... and wasting our land resources*" (KII_10, 26.02.2016). These concerns show strained trust relations between the generations, each generation blaming the other for appropriating communal resources for selfish gains. The youth in particular generally feel disappointed in the elders, but also, in their brothers and cousins who are part of the LMC.

Aside the commodification of communal land resources to defend the clan land in court, there are other uses to which the land moneys are put for the communal benefits. These include: funerals, provision of sanitary facilities, maintenance of a borehole, as well as reception of community visitors (e.g. government officials, University authorities), and the construction of a mosque. These uses are particularly common in Bamahu because all the lands are centralized under the *buurii*. Beyond the

communal benefits in Bamahu, the needs of the various *yie, jaghi* and even individuals are met from the clan lands, unlike in Nakori where the specific needs of *yie, jaghi* and individuals are catered for from the sale of their allocated family lands. During in-depth interviews with participants in Bamahu, a number of them expressed satisfaction, but also, dissatisfactions in accessing land and money from the clan resources. Some of the benefits enjoyed by families and individuals include: payment for school fees, health bills, foodstuff, building materials for houses and shops, marriage ceremonies, and acquisition of motor bikes. During an in-depth interview with a son, he confirmed the support given to his nephew for education. According to the interviewee:

> The boy had admission to a nursing training college and the fees amounted to GHS 2,100. I informed one of the LMC members and they gave me money from the sale of land which enabled me to make full payment of the school fees. Another nephew also gained admission to the teacher training college and a plot of land was sold to pay the fees (IIC_21, 03.03.2016).

(Also see: 7.1.1 Changing Livelihood Sources and Aspirations: Selling Land for Basic Needs and Aspirations).

With regard to dissatisfaction in accessing the communal resource, a youth, during an in-depth interview, lamented that it has become difficult for the youth to get a share of the family land for their own purposes, because of the commodification of land. He said some youth including him, requested for land several times and were turned down on the excuse that there was no more land, but which was not the case. He expected his biological father to lead him to the elders on his request, but his father was not supportive. According to him, it took persistence and the intervention of one of his uncles before he could get a plot of land to establish his business (IIC_06, 18.02.2016). Just like this youngster, other family members are worried that the LMC prioritises land allocations to outsiders in exchange for money, over allocations to family members for their own use. The views of an elderly woman - a daughter to the Tendamba – corroborated this concern. She noted that the rapid rate of transfer of the family land to outsiders had deprived the youth of land, and rendered some men jobless, thus shifting the responsibilities of household maintenance to the women (IIC_10, 19.02.2016). Observation and discussions in the field show that many wives and daughters of the Tendamba do petty trading and stone gathering in order to earn some income to support their households. The intergenerational transfer of land resources is in question here. But an elder argued that, it is mainly for the future of their children that they commodify the land, especially for their education. He further argued that, even the

houses they are building, will be left behind for their children when they [elders] are gone, and that their unborn generations have reversionary interest in the land based on the terms of the leases granted to the outsiders (FGD_06, 29.09.2015).

In the Waala custom, the clan land resource belongs to all family members and for that matter, the benefits of the commodification of the land and land allocations should be available to all, including family members living outside the community. The stories of an elder in one of the communities, and a youth in the other, however, show that distance is a limitation to obtaining the needed family solidarity. In one of the communities, an elder in his mid-70s, with an assigned pseudonym, Ali Baba, returned to the community recently, after having lived outside the community for 30 years. He recounted his experience in trying to access land and money to build a living place for himself and his family. *"When I wanted to come back home, I asked him (head of family) to sell a piece of land so that I will be able to build a house when I return. I followed up on the request for about three years to no avail, and so I decided to come home".* So, when Ali Baba retuned, the family gave him one plot of land to build his house. They also gave him GHS 1000 from the sale of land. One plot was given to each of Ali's three wives for their children (who were still away from the community). Asked whether he was satisfied with what he was given by his family, Ali said *"a moving cow does not heap up dung".* This means that for Ali Baba, his absence from home puts him at a disadvantage, and makes it impossible for him to benefit from the family land resources as much as his home-based brothers (IIC_08, 19.02.2016).

In the second case in the other community, a son of the Tendamba nick-named as Doodi, is a head of a four-member household, and had lived in the southern part of Ghana for over 30 years. Doodi returned to the community from southern Ghana five years ago. Back in the community, Doodi had no land of his own to farm. He was relying on the elders of the clan for a land. It took two years before the clan eventually allocated two acres [8 plots] of land to him. Doodi decided to sell 5 plots to enable him build a house and to bring home his wife and children, who were still living in southern Ghana. The family elders took a third of the money from the sale. Doodi then lamented as follows: *"In fact master, it is not everything I can say…God has given me the patience…Otherwise, I wanted to fight the elders in the family".* At the time of the interview, Doodi was still cultivating the land he sold, as the purchaser had not commenced any developments on the land. Doodi felt embittered that even his younger brothers [includes cousins] have acquired properties from the sale of land. He recounted: –

"*one has his own self-contained house, another, also a house, and yet another a car, but I do not even have a proper motor bike, let alone a house. Am I also part of this family?"* he questioned (IIC_30, 23.02.2016). Just like Ali Baba (above), Doodi is bitter and feels less a family member than his kin.

The two stories show a weakening of the traditional norm of communal ownership of property, in this case, land. Absence from home diminishes the entitlement of family members to shared resources and social security from the family. The decline in family solidarity is intragenerational [the case of Ali Baba] as well as intergenerational [in the case of Ali Baba's children and Doodi]. In such situations, absentee family members are unable to properly re-integrate in their own home, and risk being "strangers" all their life.

The family land relations are generally not all smooth as concerns are raised by both the elders and the youth, especially about fairness, transparency and accountability in the management and allocation of the communal lands and the proceeds of the commodification of the land. A youth leader and a key informant in one of the communities had observed a general disappointment among the youth. According to him,

> Some of the youth feel that the committee members are using the land sale proceeds for their personal benefits more than the community benefits. The youth see changes in them [committee members]; changes that show that they are getting money…but none of them [committee members] is employed, none of them is doing any extraordinary work. They engage in the same menial jobs like any other youth, yet they [committee members] own properties such as houses and vehicles… so they [the youth] are asking questions 'where from the money' that is used to acquire these properties?...it must be from the sales of the land (KII_10, 26.02.2016).

My informant noted that it is not only the youth who are dissatisfied about the management of the land. He said though some elders are also dissatisfied, they are generally silent (KII_10, 26.02.2016). This apathy can be inferred from the statement of one of the elders when he noted that *"no matter how clean the ground is, when a white shirt falls on it, it [shirt] picks up some dirt/stain"* (IIC_01, 17.02.2016), meaning that he does not expect perfection from the LMC on the management of the lands. This statement may be interpreted as an admittance or endorsement of the inefficiencies in the management of the communal lands. Indeed, the LMC members, supported by some elders, argue that the clan does not pay them for their troubles and time in the services they render, and as such, it is not inappropriate for the LMC to take part of the fruits of the land commodification for themselves. One of the elders, for instance, argued that it is unfair for the family to demand strict accountability, in the

Waali language, "*Ba ba lugro tuntuna kpantiru*" (IIC_13, 20.02.2016). A LMC member further argued that *"it is normal to lick one's fingers whilst feeding a child",* also indicating that it is not wrong to take part of the communal resources to themselves because they work for the clan. Whilst there are genuine concerns about remuneration for the LMC, these arguments all the same affirm the concerns that individuals are "milking the communal cow", and expect that it should be regarded as normal.

The forgoing account shows how the commodification of land in the study communities affected inter- but also intra-generational relations at the wider clan level within the Tendamba families. From the account, just like the pre-land commodification era, land management decisions and activities at the early stages of the commodification of land in the 1990s were handled mainly by the elder generation. The management of the land was for the general good of the clan, and this is evidenced by the uses of the moneys received from the first land commodification in all the communities. With increasing land commodification, however, the smaller families in all the communities started commodifying their *yie* and *jaghi* farmlands. Whilst in Bamahu and Nakori, the commodification of land at the *buurii* (clan) level continued, in Sombo, it ceased.

The management of the commodification of land at the *buurii* level is based on the customary norm of family solidarity. Within this context, are joint activities or association, consensus building in decision-making and agreement on values, resource sharing, and the normative obligations of care for one another. With regards to joint activities by family members, especially by the elder and younger generations, the major decisions and activities associated with the land commodification and other land-related issues are reposed on the Land Management Committees (LMCs) with intergenerational composition, in both communities – Bamahu and Nakori. The committees comprised of representatives of the elders and the youth. The members of the LMC come from different sections and *yie*, albeit the individual members are hand-picked by the elders alone, and not the independent choice of the elder and youth generations. In Bamahu however, it can be said that the approval of the Head of Clan's nominations by the entire clan at a general meeting draws the process closer to a consensus. All the same, in a strict sense, the separate generations, especially the youth, were not given the opportunity by the Clan Heads to independently and for that matter fully participate in the formation of the LMC. At the level of the LMC, land commodification process and transactions, as well as the sharing of the benefits, are jointly managed, albeit some decisions and actions are carried out by the elders and youth separately.

Resource sharing, both knowledge and material, is a very important element of intergenerational family solidarities. The joint actions by the LMC allowed for exchange of ideas – customary and modern - between and among generations. Most importantly, it provided an appropriate platform for the transfer of the history and customs related to the land by the elder or father's generation to the youth generation. The moneys obtained from land sales are used for the benefit of all. In the two communities, most land sale moneys are used for the defense of their lands in the law courts. This action is to ensure that the clan land is protected for the living today and the generations yet unborn. Beyond this and other community projects, *yie, jaghi* and individuals have shared in the moneys obtained from the land sales, as well as in land allocations. This is particularly important in Bamahu where all the lands are centralised under the trusteeship of the Clan Head. Also, the sharing of the remaining clan land after part of the land was acquired for the UDS affirms that the clan stays together and feels obligated towards every member. This act also ensures that the future compensation[45] for the expropriated land is not only shared by the entire clan, but also the future generations.

The favourable intergenerational land relations notwithstanding, there are some concerns about fairness in the land resource sharing. The youth in particular, are worried that the elders prefer to give out land to the outsider in exchange for money, to allocating the land to their sons and grandsons. Without transfer of resources including land to the younger generation, their ability to take up their care duties is limited. The youth further accuses the LMC, especially their representatives on the committee, of amassing wealth from the communal resource. Indeed, despite the fact that the ultimate power to sell or not to sell land rests with the elders, the position of the youth [in the LMC] as the liaison between the clan and the outsiders – surveyors and land purchasers - offers them the power and opportunity to determine how much land is ultimately sold, and what personal benefits they can earn. The stories of Ali Baba and Doodi show that land commodification can weaken the [inter and intra generational] family solidarity between the home-based and migrant or migrant returnee family members. Thus, family structure determined among other factors, by geographical distance, affects intergenerational family relations.

[45] The compensation is usually a lump sum of money, but could also be spread over several decades. Other forms of the compensation are: granting of alternative land, educational scholarships or admission concessions into the University, or employment opportunities for the Tendamba in the University. These benefit the present as well as the future generations.

In sum, land commodification in Bamahu and Nakori managed at the *buurii* level has both positive and negative effects on intergenerational, but also intragenerational relations in Tendamba families. Benefits sharing are largely at the communal level, except in Bamahu where individuals as well share in the benefits of the land commodification. The relations between the elder and youth generations are facilitated by the clan embracing "modern" models of land administration such as statutory institutions and land management committees. The traditional structure where elders wield power over decision-making is however still present in the family relations in these communities.

Beyond the *buurii* level, land commodification and intergenerational relations pertain at smaller family group levels – the *yir* and *jaga* - in Sombo and Nakori. The focus of the next section is land relations at the *yir* level.

8.3 Land Commodification and Intergenerational Land Relations at the *yir* Level

The commodification of land at the *yir* level pertains in both Sombo and Nakori, and is managed by either a Land Management Committee (LMC) or by the *yir ninkpong* [the Family Head]. Three cases are presented below to illustrate the land relations at the *yir* level. The first case is that of Dakura *yir*, where the family land is managed with the aid of a Land Management Committee (LMC).

8.3.1 Case 1: Family Land Relations in Dakura *yir*

The land commodification in Dakura *yir* is managed by a Land Management Committee (LMC), headed by Dakura, the Head of Family. Dakura *yir* is comprised of a number of brothers in their 60s and 70s, and a total membership of about 50. These brothers and their families shared a common land, which they inherited as one unit from their late father. This land, which is close to the homestead, constitutes the subject of commodification. They, however, have their individual farmlands where commodification has not reached. The living generations in the helm of affairs in terms of land management are the first and second generations (fathers and sons), but also supported by the third generation (grandsons). Land commodification in this *yir* is managed by a four-member Land Management Committee (LMC), constituted by Dakura, the *yir ninkpong*, and guided by a layout. This Committee was constituted in about 2008, at a time some of Dakura's brothers were "*in the bush"* [had migrated outside the community].

The LMC cuts across three generations, comprising the *yir ninkpong* [Dakura], two sons, and a grandson. Dakura said the composition of the LMC is in accordance with custom, for the purpose of

oneness and family cohesion. Giving a reason for the involvement of his grandson for instance, Dakura stated, *"when your son gives you a son, it is not appropriate to put all family issues or property in the hands of only your son. Your grandson must be part"* (In-depth Interview with Dakura, 12.02.2016). Aside this, the grandson comes to the committee with literacy, which is important for the effective transactions of land. The committee carries out all land transactions, signs the lease documents, and keeps all documents relating to the land, including the local plan. One of Dakura's younger brothers is also a signatory to the lease documents. Dakura takes responsibility for all land transactions and any consequences that arise therefrom.

Land commodification takes place under any of the following conditions: when the family has a pressing issue, and cannot immediately find money to solve the issue; when a land purchaser makes a request for land; and when family member(s) require money for personal needs – subject to the approval by Dakura, the Head of Family. For any of these reasons, "*the old man (referring to Dakura) then determines which areas are to be sold out. There are some areas he reserves for family members for their own housing"* (In-depth interview with LMC member, 23.04.2016). The entire LMC decides on the land price, and the youth LMC members look for the land buyer, carry out the sale transactions, and bring the money to Dakura. The elders and all adult married males [women are not invited] are then assembled. Dakura first makes libation, to inform God and the ancestors that part of the family land has been given to strangers. After this ritual, the money is then shared.

Regarding the distribution of the money, a LMC member noted: *"family matters first [funerals, marriage etc]. If there are family issues that require money, the needed amount is taken out. The remainder is then shared among all the family members, all those who are married. Everyone gets the same amount"* (LMC member, 23.04.2016*)*. However, as the *yir ninkpong*, Dakura gets a little more, for his upkeep and other expenses he incurs as the Family Head (Dakura, 12.02.2016; LMC member, 23.04.2016). Women and young unmarried men do not directly share in these land moneys. They only benefit from the share of their husbands [for the women] and when the money is used for general family matters. During an interview with a 21-year old son, he said "*I, for instance, if I ask for a plot of land or money from the sale of land, the elders will tell me that I am not married*" (IIC_63, 17.03.2016). Marriage is regarded as taking up responsibilities of caring for a family, and thus requires financial support. Those who are not married are regarded as "responsibilities" themselves, whose needs are catered for by the Family Head. Families thus believe that the married men [and not the

unmarried] should have greater entitlement to the family land resources. The practice of holding regular family meetings to share land sale moneys, and agreeing to put the general family welfare ahead of individual benefits in the benefit distribution, show positive consensual and functional solidarities between and among the elders and the youth of the family.

Individuals use their share of the land money for various activities including construction of houses, hostels, shops, purchase of motor bikes, acquiring foodstuff, pursuing education and other basic needs. As part of his normative obligation of supporting his children and family at large, Dakura has used the land sale proceeds to finance the dowry of the wives of seven sons/grandsons, purchased [or exchanged land for] motor bikes for his sons/grandsons, and paid school fees (In-depth Interview with Dakura, 12.02.2016). In the face of the land commodification, Dakura believes that he owes his progeny a transfer of land for their own use. In this regard, Dakura ensures that enough land, within the homestead, is retained for family members. In this respect, he gave plots of land to all male adult children of the family for their personal houses, and reserved land for the little ones and the yet unborn. In sharing the plots, he makes provision for his *ahimine* and *yaahi,* that is, the male children of the daughters and sisters of the family (nephews). Dakura is satisfied with the performance of his responsibilities as *yir ninkpong*, and he already imagines that his children and grandchildren will reciprocate his care, by paying the last care debt - a befitting funeral - when he joins his ancestors. Though Dakura and his brothers are old, they still keep farms. Responding to their obligations of caring for their aged parents whilst they are still alive, the children support their parents on the farm, and provide for their needs.

Notwithstanding the above positive relations in the face of the land commodification in Dakura yir, some family members have expressed some concerns. Some family members argued that the LMC is not transparent in their deals. For instance, one member said that sometimes, the LMC sells the land and under-declares the amount obtained from the sale (IIC_54, 17.03.2016). Some members complained that they have no idea how much land had been sold and how much is left. They mostly get to know that a plot of land is sold when they are invited by the *yir ninkpong* to share in land sale money (IIC_43, 20.01.2016; IIC_54, 17.03.2016). The brothers of Dakura, with their children, who are returnee migrants, are not happy that the *yir ninkpong* has refused to involve them and their children on family land transactions especially in the LMC. But one of their sons noted that "*all these are happening because we were not born here [home]. If we were born and lived here at home, they*

[yir ninkpong and sons] would not have left us out of the land management" (IIC_63, 17.03.2016). The displeasure of family members about the management of the family land resource is also based on the feeling that the LMC members are enriching themselves with the communal resource. This is because, a son noted that, "*knowing the kind of jobs they have, if not for land sales, they cannot own the kind of properties or businesses they have"* (IIC_63, 17.03.2016). One of the LMC members, however, lamented that some family members had this perception, adding that "s*ometimes, we sell plots and bring the money and some family members complain that the sale price is too low…They think that we usually sell and keep part of the money to ourselves"* (In-depth interview, LMC member, 23.04.2016). These situations sometimes resulted in arguments within the family.

The above case shows how intergenerational family relations are interwoven with land commodification at the *yir* level. In Dakura *yir*, the belief is that decision-making and the general management of family resources, and in particular, land, must be handled jointly by the elders and the younger generations because it ensures family cohesion. The intergenerational land management committee in place, shows that there is a positive intergenerational association in the Dakura *yir*.

The sharing of land sale proceeds - putting the general family welfare ahead of individual benefits -, as well as the transfer of land to the younger generations, show commitment on the part of the elder generation, to their normative obligations of providing for, and thus committing the land resources to the needs of the family. This demonstrates some consensual and functional intergenerational solidarities in the family. In a similar vein, sons and grandsons reciprocate this gesture by helping with farm work and allowing extra money for the Head of Family for his welfare and upkeep.

Whilst there are favourable intergenerational family solidarities in the Dakura *yir*, some inter-[intra]generational disagreements exist. Transparency, accountability and equity are the major concerns. The composition of the LMC is based on the decision of Dakura, the Head of Family, without the input of other family members. Some family members thus feel excluded in the management of the land commodification, and their views to involve them are not taken. Family solidarities in terms of consensus and association are thus negatively affected in this regard. These relations are partly influenced by the family structure such as availability at or absence from home. Dakura, with his biological sons who is based at home [community] tends to command greater control over the family land resources than his brothers and their sons who are recent returnee migrants.

Functional solidarity is also negatively affected in terms of sharing land sale benefits, where unmarried sons are left out. The intergenerational land relations in Dakura *yir* largely show positive normative, associational, functional and consensual intergenerational solidarities, albeit some instances of dissatisfaction and disagreements arise, tilted towards nuclear family lines.

In the intergenerational family relations in Dakura *yir*, whilst some modern land institutions such as survey and planning, and land management committees are embraced, some typical cultural practices such as ritual communication with the ancestors about the allocation of land to non-family members, are maintained.

The next section focuses on family land relations in Bayor *yir* where the commodification of land is managed by the Head of Family, with the support of the younger generations.

8.3.2 Case 2: Land Commodification and Land Relations in Bayor *yir*

Bayor *yir* is constituted by five brothers (including cousins) and their families, with Bayor being the second eldest of these brothers. Bayor's elder and two younger brothers, with their families, lived outside the community for several decades. The last brother died over a decade ago, but his children live in the community. Being the only one among his brothers living in the community (home) at the dawn of land commodification, Bayor manages all the land transactions, but often consults his absentee brothers (IIC_53, 17.03.2016). In the early 2010s, Bayor's elder and younger brothers returned to the community. Bayor gave them land to settle and farm. Despite the presence of Bayor's elder brother [de jure Head of Family], the family came to a consensus that Bayor should continue to manage the family land commodification, because of his better knowledge of the land issues in the community. Though each family unit (*jaga*) independently cultivates on part of the family land, Bayor manages the entire family land on issues of commodification. He does this with the support, mostly, of his biological sons who mostly stand as witnesses to the transactions and documentations. Hassan is one of the sons who is very close to the father and knows so much about the family land resource management issues. During an in-depth interview with Hassan, he said *"my father has never sold a land without the notice of all his children…he is someone who fears irresponsibility: He is accountable, plain"* (IIC_55, 21.03.2016). Bayor's first wife also confirmed this consultative approach, and added that sometimes, the sons are the ones that look for the land buyers for the family (IIC_48, 08.03.2016).

Land sales are transacted mainly to meet family needs. According to Bayor,

> "*whenever there is an important issue in the family that demands money and the family does not have the wherewithal, we sell some plots of land to meet the particular need…for instance, school fees…Family members who have any issue and need money, come to me with their requests. I consult with my brothers and children, and if the request is found meritorious, land is sold. If the issue is not a necessity, we advise them to find alternative means"* (IIC_53, 17.03.2016).

The family uses a local plan to guide the sales and allocations of the land, any time a plot is sold, the surveyors are invited to carve out the plot for the purchaser, and the plot number is crossed out on the local plan, as having been sold.

Land sale proceeds have been used for various family needs including: education, improvements in family housing, purchases of motor bikes, a tractor, and two vehicles for businesses (In-depth interview with Bayor and Hassan: IIC_53, 17.03.2016; IIC_55, 21.03.2016). The two vehicles were later disposed of because the business was mismanaged by Bayor's children. Of all the reasons for the land sales, investments in education is the most important. As expressed by Bayor, *"my major aspiration is to secure good education for my children so that they can get good jobs, and be able to care for us [parents] as well as their younger siblings"* (IIC_53, 18.03.2016). Commenting on the investment in education, Bayor's wives argued that though the most prudent thing for parents is to transfer family land to the future generations, it is not wise to keep the land whilst their children go uneducated. They noted that the family has no other sources of financing the education of their many children but to resort to commodifying the family lands (IIC_47, 07.03.2016; IIC_48, 08.03.2016). Still with respect to financing the costs of education, Hassan (son) is satisfied, admitting that "*my father has invested so much in me…so when I look at [reflect on] the land he sold, it gives me peace*" (IIC_55, 21.03.2016). He, however, believes that the continuous sale of land to finance education is not a sustainable approach, and "*we must not lose the whole [family] land to have education…we can have an alternative [to financing education]"* (IIC_55, 21.03.2016). Hassan was of the view that a substantial size of land can be sold at a go, and the proceeds invested in real estate development and other businesses, which will in turn generate income to finance education and other family needs, "*but he [father] is not seeing what I am seeing…He is also skeptical about the success of the business"* because of the past experience of the failure of the transport business (IIC_55, 21.03.2016). Aside their displeasure about the mismanagement of the transport business by the children, Bayor and his wives are generally

satisfied that the children are doing well in their education, and supporting them [parents] in their upkeep and welfare. They see this as a sign that they [parents] have done and are doing well in their parental obligations towards their children.

A few years ago, Bayor allocated part of the family land to his nephews [Abu and Hakim]. *My deceased brother's sons came to me asking for their own share of the family land...so I gave them a large portion of land bordered by a major road",* Bayor noted (IIC_53, 17.03.2016). This portion included the farmland of their deceased father, which was then being cultivated by Abu and their mother Aminata. Later, Abu and Hakim asked their uncle, Bayor, for the local plan to facilitate the sale of some plots. When Bayor tried to advice against the sale of the farmland, his nephews argued that, once he [the *yir ninkpong*] had given them their share of the land, he should not be bothered about how they transact their business (IIC_53, 17.03.2016). The two boys went ahead and sold almost all the land, even their mother's farmland, against the advice of their uncle. Bayor said, upon hearing about the sale,

> "I called one of the boys [Abu] – who was farming on the land - to inquire why they sold the farm land, as well as the prime area bordering the main road, which is good for their own housing. He told me that he does not care. That even if the entire land is sold, he would go to the nearest village to build his house" (IIC_53, 17.03.2016).

During a walk around some farmlands that had been sold, I met Aminata, the mother of Abu and Hakim, producing charcoal from trees that have been cleared to pave way for building construction on her farmland. The old woman [in her 60s], blamed the elders for the sale of the land – not knowing it was rather her children who sold the land. During an interview with Abu on his farm [already sold], the following conversation ensued:

> Researcher: how did the family arrive at the sale of the land?
>
> Abu: There was no discussion. My brother only told me that he wanted to sell the land. I cannot object to his decision. Once he is my elder brother, I cannot argue with him on this matter. If the land is finished [sold out], it is finished.
>
> Researcher: But when the land is finished you will all be affected.
>
> Abu: Yes, but what can I do? If the land is all sold out, whatever we would do to survive, we will.

Abu noted that even if he objected to the sale, his brother will go ahead anyway to sell the land. To Abu, it was better not to object to the sale, so that he could get part of the money obtained from the

sale (IIC_62, 15.03.2016). The behaviour of these boys, especially, the elder one, amounts to appropriating family resource as personal property, without regard to the rights of other family members. Even their mother, who had used, probably, the same land resource to care for them, was neither consulted, nor was she given part of the money from the land sale. With the farmland gone, "*we no longer have any land of our own for food production*", Abu's mother [Aminata] lamented (IIC_61, 15.03.2016). Aminata does not receive any support from his sons since they did not have any stable employment, but only engaged in seasonal menial jobs. She thus had to rely on stone gathering, charcoal and fuelwood sale to enable her feed her three younger children and pay their school fees.

The above case exemplifies both positive and negative intergenerational family solidarities. The activities and decision-making of land commodification, as well as land allocations to family members are managed by Bayor, in consultation with his brothers, and, with the active involvement of his [Bayor's] biological sons. Whilst the family structure, based on geographical distance did not prevent Bayor's brothers from participating in decision making at home, it created an opportunity for Bayor to be the de facto Head of Family based on his better customary and current knowledge about the family matters. All these show that some intergenerational consensus, association and sharing of ideas pertain in Bayor *yir* in their land relations.

Functional solidarity is also exemplified through the sharing of land and sale proceeds. In this respect, Bayor shows some commitment to his normative obligations by providing and thus committing land resources to the needs of the family – education, housing, transport, and personal needs. The younger generation, particularly, Bayor's children, reciprocate their parents care by providing for their welfare and upkeep. The consultative approach of Bayor, as well as being transparent and open in his land deals with his family, show some level of family cohesion in Bayor *yir*. Despite these positive elements, of solidarities in the Bayor *yir*, there are some unfavourable intergenerational relations.

The ill-management of the family transport business by the younger generations is a cause for concern for the elder generation and thus affects trust relations between the two generations. Beyond this, Bayor and his *jaga* appear to control the *yir* land transactions as well as the benefits therefrom, as much of the consultations are between Bayor and his biological sons. This could possibly account for the demand for their share of land by Bayor's nephews [deceased brother's sons]. Whilst Bayor performs his normative role by ensuring that part of the family land is transferred to his nephews, this

access to the land resources by the youth rather results in dissenting views and disaffection between Bayor and his nephews over the commodification of the land. This commodification further deprives the older generation, in this case, Aminata the old woman, of her major livelihood source. Abu and Hakim did not only neglect their normative obligation of caring for their aged mother, they rather deprived her of her major source of livelihood for their selfish benefits. This shows that the value and interests that the youth attach to land differ from those of the elder generations in today's commodified society. Whilst the older generation prefers retaining part of the family land for housing and food production, the younger generation is interested in immediate benefits from the land sales. The unfavourable intergenerational solidarities in Bayor *yir* also result from the impact of the family structure, characterized by geographic distance, and mortality. Just like in Dakura *yir*, Bayor *yir* also exhibits signs of skewed intergenerational solidarities towards biological lines and for that matter, along the *jaga* levels. The next sub-section discusses the intergenerational family relations at Salifu *yir*.

8.3.3 Case 3: The Story of Adams and Land Relations in Salifu *yir*

This section tells the story of Adams, 'an orphan', with regard to his relations with his fathers [uncles] in the face of the commodification of family land. Salifu *yir* is comprised of two living fathers, and many children and grandchildren, including children of deceased brothers. Adams is one of them. Adams is in his late 40s, and married with children. Adams' father died when he [Adams] was still a child. At the age of majority, Adams, with the permission of the family elders, took possession of part of the family land [about 5 acres], which, he cultivates to feed his family. At the onset of intense land commodification in the late 2000s-early 2010s, conflicts arose between Adams on the one hand, and his uncles and cousins on the other hand. According to Adams, his uncles started selling the lands, and encroached on his farmland. He noted that "*sometimes, I go to the farm and find plot pillars*" indicating that the land has been sold. *Even my younger brothers [cousins] sold part of my farmland, with the support of their fathers* [my uncles] (IIC_51, 11.03.2016; 15.03.2016). Apparently, Adams' farmland attracted a higher value because it was easily accessible by a major road. Access to good road network and utility services such as electricity and water, are major determinants of land values, and the choice by land purchasers. Adams' uncles and cousins thus take advantage of the prime location to reap benefits at the expense of Adams.

Adams recounted a recent incident that transpired between him and his uncles. He said sometime in 2012, he went to his farm and saw that some survey work had taken place and boundary marks (pillars) had been planted for four plots of land [one acre]. Upon enquiry, he found that one of his uncles had sold the land. Adams felt that it was completely unfair that the uncles sold his farm land and not their lands or the lands being cultivated by their sons. He thus objected to the sale. His uncles asked him to find an alternative land for the purchaser. "*So, I agreed, and I sent the purchaser to the farmland of my cousin [son of the uncle who sold my land]. My cousin did not agree, and the land purchaser also said he did not like that land because it was not in a prime area*" (IIC_51, 15.03.2016). Unsatisfied with the alternative land, the land purchaser asked for a refund of the land price. Adams uncles asked him to either refund the money (purchase price) to the land purchaser or have nothing to do with the said land. So, Adams opted to buy back the land by refunding the purchase price (plus interest demanded) to the purchaser. Adams concluded:

> My father was the eldest of his brothers and if he was alive, he would have been the Head of the Family, and I would not have been treated by my uncles and cousins the way they did…I am helpless…but if I bring this case before the elders at the clan level, they will ask me one question: 'who are these people [my uncles] to you'? If I say they are my fathers, they will ask me why I do not respect their views…Though I am not happy, I have to bear it like that. (IIC_51, 11.03.2016).

For fear that his uncles will eventually sell the whole of his farm land, Adams decided to sell part of the land and used the money to pay his children's school fees and to invest in a business. This act was also to secure the future of his children. Since he could not guarantee the availability of the land for the future use of his children, it was only wise to convert it into a secured education for his children. Indeed, at the time of the interview (March 2016), Adams was still farming on the land which he had sold, as the purchaser had not started developing the land.

Corroborating the story of Adams, Ajara, a younger sister of Adams, lamented over the mismanagement of the family land resources. During an in-depth interview, she noted that, though she and her brother are the eldest among the children in the family, they have "*become children among the children"* in the family, and denied fair access to family land. According to Ajara, her uncles control all family lands, and by extension, their children have greater stake in the family land than her brother [Adams]. This power has made them [uncles and cousins] to sell virtually all the family land. Though she lives in her patri-home, she has no access to a farmland nor proceeds from land sales. Just like her

brother, Ajara was cultivating part of the family land which had been sold, and gathering stones as well, to enable her feed and educate her children (IIC_45, 07.03.2016).

Both Ajara and his brother noted that the family, Salifu *yir*, is divided and conflictual, with the emergence of the commodification of land in the community, unlike the past when the family members jointly made decisions and undertook activities. Because of the disagreement within the family, when Adams sells land, he signs the lease documents as the Head of Family, instead of his uncles, and asks any of his cousins within the clan to witness.

Adams has stated that the dispossession of the younger generation of their inheritance in the face of land commodification is a general problem in the community. He noted that some elders in the community transact land as if it were okro that they harvest anytime they wish. He observed that "*those who had fathers and strong family support wielded so much power that they even sold lands that belonged to the fatherless [orphans] and the weak"* (in-depth interview, IIC_51, 11.03.2016; 15.03.2016).

The story of Adams and his uncles show negative intergenerational relations. The elders control the land resources and the commodification activities. There is equally no consensus on the sharing of the land resource, and the commodification of the land. The poor intergenerational relations between Adams and his uncles, show how family structure, influenced by death of a parent, impacts on family solidarity. The orphaned position of Adams and his sister Ajara makes them powerless even before their younger cousins, and are deprived of a fair share of the family land resource. The customary norm of the Waala, that, family relations have no limit, that is, no distinction between biological parents and children, is lacking in Salifu *yir.* Further, under situations of conflict at the *yir* level, the clan elders are supposed to adjudicate and resolve the issues. Adams' fear of obtaining fair adjudication from the clan elders, however, reveals some bias in favour of the elder generation, and a lack of trust by the younger generation for the elders.

Adams story is not an isolated case at the *yir* level. In similar situations of dispossession of farmland by uncles, Bayong, an orphan, had to fence off the remaining of his farmland (IIC_07.03.2016). Also, Der could only have peaceable enjoyment of his land, after dragging his Family Heads [uncles] to the Head of Clan, demanding that the elders should prove to him [Der] that he does not belong to the

Tendamba family. In his case, his father was alive, but had little say because he is the youngest of his brothers (IIC_52, 16.03.2016).

8.4 Land Relations at the *jaga* Level

This section discusses the commodification of land and intergenerational relations at the *jaga* level where all land transactions are led by Family Heads. In these cases, intergenerational reciprocity, consensus, and association, generally characterize the land relations both negative and positive, but with different dynamics.

8.4.1 Case 4: Land Relations in Yahaya *jaga*

Yahaya is a retired craftsman and a *jaga ninkpong* of a six-member family. He owns a large farmland as his share of the family land. Through land sales, Yahaya supports his family with their basic needs such as education, health, and marriage costs. With land sale proceeds, but also sale of farm produce, he supported three of his sons to establish their businesses. Besides the support to get established in business, each son is entitled to a one-acre land [four plots] for their personal use. Yahaya believes that family land resources must be used for productive ventures for the benefit of the family. He observed that many Tendamba have, however, misused their land resources, saying that with the emergence of land commodification "*some Tendamba, who, used to take GHS 1.00 worth of bread for breakfast, now took GHS 2.00, and those who drank tea without milk, now added milk to their breakfast budget…many had no plans, and spent the land sale monies on unproductive activities*" (IIC_50, 08.03.2016).

In his 70s, Yahaya is no longer strong enough to work, but he cultivates a small farm to keep himself a little active. From land sales, Yahaya built a five-room house for rentals, and established other businesses that generate income. The income from these businesses supports his livelihood (In-depth Interview, IIC_50, 08.03.2016). Yahaya, however, still expects support from his sons for his upkeep as well as in his farm work. Only one [Yaro] however provides for him, and the other two sons do not remit anything, "*not even tea*", the old man lamented (IIC_50, 08.03.2016). At the time of this field research, one of these sons was out of business and had to rely on menial jobs at construction sites. His father, Yahaya, said he was not ready to ever spend a cedi from family resources to put the son back in business.

During an in-depth interview with Yaro, one of Yahaya's sons (IIC_52, 16.03.2016), he expressed appreciation for the support his father had given him in life. He, however, believed that his father, though capable, did not offer him enough support to enable him attain greater success in life – education and finding a good job. In respect of his education for instance, Yaro lamented that he could not attain tertiary education because of lack of financial support. He said:

> When I completed senior high school and failed in some of my subjects, I asked my father to support me with money to resit the examinations, but he did not agree. Instead, he asked me to end my education at that level, so that he would rather channel the resources to supporting my younger siblings in their education…telling me that he himself did not even attain my level of education, yet he was able to achieve a lot in life…Eventually, none of my younger siblings was able to complete the senior high school (In-depth interview: IIC_52, 16.03.2016).

Yaro believes that if his father had supported him to attain higher education, he would have been a source of motivation, as well as support for his younger siblings to do better in their education. With regard to his business, Yaro acknowledged the support of his father in paying the training fee and buying some equipment. He, however, expected a greater support from his father especially in setting up his business "*observing how he [father] sold land and knowing that he could sell some plots to support me*", Yaro noted. Responding to the issue of reciprocating his father's support, Yaro retorted "*but if you have not supported your child to find a job, how can the child care for you*". Despite initial dissatisfaction about his father's insufficient support in his education and business, Yaro thinks he still owes him [father] the responsibilities of care. In this regard, he usually supports his father with foodstuff, with money for farm inputs and labour, and special provisions during the Islamic fasting period. Commending himself, Yaro said: "*if you ask him [father], he would tell you that among his [father] sons, I am the most supportive*" (In-depth interview: IIC_52, 16.03.2016). Because of the reciprocity of Yaro, he is more a friend to the father than his other brothers, and the two [Yaro and father] discuss their needs and activities, albeit with disagreements sometimes. "*Sometimes, he calls me to seek my views on issues. One instance is when he wanted to marry another wife. Though I advised against his plans, he went ahead to marry*" Yaro said (IIC_52, 16.03.2016). Regarding the management of the family lands, Yahaya handles most of the transactions, but involves Yaro in some of the activities including the signing of the lease documents. Yaro has plans to expand his business, and his father has pledged to sell some lands in order to support him.

Like the other families, intergenerational reciprocity is a major concern for Yahaya's family. Both the older and younger generations believe that they owe the other generation some obligations. In this regard, Yahaya ensures that the family land resources are used for the needs of his children, to enable them secure good jobs and pay back their care debt. Disappointed, however, by the failure of two of his sons to reciprocate his support, Yahaya [father] decides to withhold any further benefits of the land resources from them. Yaro, the third son, though initially dissatisfied with the support of his father, keeps his obligations towards the father's upkeep. This reciprocity enriches the relations between Yaro and his father, which manifests in their sharing of ideas and activities including land transactions.

8.4.2 Case 5: Land Relations in Mahama *jaga*

Intergenerational reciprocity and issues of consensus emerge more strongly in Mahama *jaga*, resulting in a generally negative intergenerational family solidarity. In this family, Mahama, the Head of Family, holds the family land, transacting same as a personal property and not as an intergenerational resource. Mahama said he inherited his land from his father, and "*I have owned it [the land] till today. I do not share it with anybody*", he noted (In-depth interview: IIC_40, 17.04.2016). He felt that any benefits from the land resource that he extends to the younger generation are privileges and not of right.

Mahama is 70 and the head of a 14-member *jaga*. Mahama, together with his sons, prepared a local plan for the land which covers about 80 plots (approximately 20 acres). Mahama handles the land transactions single handedly, and involves his sons only when he wants them to endorse a lease document after every land sale. Mahama sells land to provide for his needs including foodstuff, funeral and other social and religious commitments, because his children do not support him with any foodstuff or money, he claimed. He, for instance, noted that, "*I struggled in poverty to raise my eldest son, but he has not been supportive…this has discouraged me from further committing resources to the care of the younger ones"* (IIC_40, 17.04.2016). Besides these needs, Mahama felt it was necessary to fulfil an important religious commitment. Accordingly, a few years earlier, he sold land worth over GHS 10,000 which supported him to perform *Hajj* [pilgrimage to Mecca] and also to build a new house as part of the local practice associated with the performance of the *Hajj*. At the time of this interview, Mahama had advanced plans to sell more land and invest the proceeds in cattle rearing (IIC_40, 17.04.2016).

Mahama noted that despite the neglect of his sons to provide for his needs, "*I have still allocated land to each of them*" (IIC_40, 17.04.2016). By this allocation, Mahama gave one acre [four plots] of land to each of his first two wives for their sons. Each of the wives has three sons. A third wife who has no son, is not allocated any land. Mahama then told his sons that if any of them has an issue that requires more than GHS[46] 2,000 (USD 513) to settle, his [son's] share of the land would be sold to cover the cost. In line with this decree, he recently sold one plot of land to pay the school fees of one of his sons for tertiary education, and informed him [son] that the fees came from his share of the land. Another son needed GHS 3,000 to process some documents for a job, and his share of the land was sold to cover the cost (in-depth interview, IIC_40, 17.04.2016; IIC_41, 27.04.2016). Mahama was careful not to exhaust the plots of land to the detriment of his livelihood, "*otherwise, I will not live long*" he said. Mahama's views and priorities appear to be different from those of his eldest son.

During an in-depth interview with Kassim, Mahama's eldest son, he lamented that his father often sell land without consulting him. That, the father does not tell him how much land is sold, at what price, or the reasons for the sale, but only brings the lease documents for him to endorse. He continued: *"I am not against the land sales, but I should know what is happening…you [father] cannot take decisions alone, about the sale of land without my knowledge, and when it comes to signing the lease documents, you then ask for my support, because you are unable to execute that alone. That is not right"* (In-depth interview: IIC_41, 27.04.2016). Kassim said he has observed that his father sells land for petty issues such as celebrations at festive occasions and even buying of foodstuff, meanwhile,

> we provide for his food needs…When he does not have foodstuff, he comes to us, and we give him food…but because there is land, he sometimes sells the land, even without telling us. Recently, he sold land, and I got to know about it through a friend… So, when he gets such money, he does not share with us, and he does not even come to us (In-depth interview: IIC_41, 27.04.2016).

Upon questioning his father on the unilateral management and non-accountability on the family land resources, Kassim was suspended by his father from endorsing land documents, and his younger brother was instead engaged (In-depth interview: IIC_40, 17.04.2016; IIC_41, 27.04.2016). This is a strategy by the father to keep information from his eldest son in respect of the land sales, so that he does not demand any accountability or raise any questions.

[46] Exchange rate by OANDA as 01.03.2016: 1 Dollar = 3.90 Ghana cedis.

Kassim complained that his father's land management behavior is not an isolated case. According to him, many Tendamba in the community and surrounding areas dissipate family land resources to the extent that some sell land to perform their children's naming ceremony [*jupong*] - "*and what resources will be left for caring for these children"*? he questions. Kassim argues that "*land is not like a goat that produces offspring such that the mother goat can be sent to the market, whilst the kid goats grow and reproduce*". He said, once a plot of land is allocated outside the family, the family loses out. He believes that land sales can only be beneficial for the family and thus justifiable, if the proceeds are invested in productive ventures. In this respect, Kassim suggested that education should be the main reason for land sales, unless there is an emergency for which there is no alternative to finance except through land sales. Kassim believed that the priorities of Waala elders in general are not right. According to him, parents withdraw support to their children at critical stages in life, telling them [children] to manage on their own whilst they [parents] support the younger siblings to come up. This is mostly at the stage that children require more support to attain higher education, set up a business, or find a job. He has been a victim of this culture, and at the moment, he is mobilizing funds to support two of his siblings to enable them access higher education, as his father is not willing to sell family land for this purpose. Kassim regrets that the relations between them [children] and their father are rapidly waning. He concluded: *"when land was not a commodity for sale, we were a very united family, but with land sales, the family is divided, because there is no consensus on how the land should be managed"* (In-depth interview, IIC_41, 27.04.2016).

The above case of Mahama *jaga* generally shows three issues of intergenerational relations. First, communal activity or association: the younger generation believes that the land is a family intergenerational property and should be managed as such – by both older and younger generations. On the contrary, the older generation does not feel or think so. For example, Mahama treats the land as personal property, and unilaterally deals with it the way he wants, without any consultation with, and accounting to the younger generation. Per the custom of the community and Northwestern Ghana in general, Mahama, by virtue of his position as Head of Family, only holds the land for and on behalf of his family, and should thus be accountable to the family on all land transactions.

Reciprocity is the second intergenerational issue that emerges in this family relation. Mahama feels he has cared for his children, especially his eldest son, and thus deserves their care in return. He is disappointed that the care is not given him back and decides to relent on his support for his younger

children. Kassim, however, denies the father's claim of neglect, also accusing him of not giving him and his siblings the needed support. The issues of common family land transactions and reciprocity bring in the third element of family relations – consensus. Mahama and his son do not seem to have the same view as to how much support is sufficient – as both parties claim to render support, whilst denying receiving sufficient support from the other. Also, they do not agree on how the family land should be managed especially on issues of land sales. The items of value and thus, priorities of the elder generation differ from those of the younger generation, which create varied views about the sale of family land. Whilst the elder regards foodstuff, social and religious commitments as sufficient grounds to sell land, the youth rather see education as more critical.

The following section discusses the intergenerational relations – positive and negative - that emerge from the various cases discussed above. The discussion is in line with the Family Solidarities Model, highlighting how they are interconnected and influence each other.

8.5 Discussion of Intergenerational Land Relations in Tendamba Families

The above cases discussed land commodification and intergenerational land relations in peri-urban Wa at the three family levels in place in the study area – the *buurii*, *yir* and *jaga*. In family relations, there are key ingredients that enhance or constrain relationships between members. The intergenerational solidarities model identified six aspects: the strength of family norms, resource sharing, association, consensus, the opportunity structure for interaction, and affection, that are crucial for intergenerational relations. In the face of the general transformation of the local society and land commodification in peri-urban Wa, these aspects of the intergenerational relations have been changing, as is also reflected in the intergenerational land relations. This is the focus of the following discussion.

In the family relations, joint activities and decision-making in [land] transactions, especially, involving both the elder and younger generations, are common at all family levels. At the *buurii* and *yie* levels, land commodification and transactions are undertaken using Land Management Committees (LMCs). The LMCs are the link between families on the one hand, and the [state] land sector agencies and land purchasers on the other hand. These LMCs are intergenerational in composition – comprising both elders and youth. The nature of contemporary land transactions requires not only knowledge of customary land institutions, but also statutory institutions. Since illiteracy is a hindrance to understanding technical and legal issues including land institutions (Cotula et al., 2004, p. 20), the need for literates in LMCs is important. In the study area, as most of the elders do not have formal

education, joint land transactions involving the elders and their more educated sons and grandsons provide a platform for better discussion, sharing of ideas, and efficient family land management.

Within the wider functions of the LMCs, there is consensus on what and how the land management should be handled through joint, but also generational roles. Jointly, the LMC decides on the prices of land and signs the land leases or documents. The Heads of Family who are the principal grantors of land, take responsibility for all land transactions and any consequences that arise thereof. They decide on the merits of requests for land sales and lead ritual pacifications of land sale money (see 8.2 Land Commodification and Intergenerational Relations at the *Buurii* Level; 8.3.1 Case 1: Family Land Relations in Dakura *yir*). The youth are responsible for assisting in land survey and registration activities, as well as showing land purchasers around land sites. They also lead court processes in land litigation (e.g Bamahu). As some of these activities are physically demanding, and others require literacy, they are better handled by the youth.

At the *yie* and *jaghi* levels where Family Heads handle land commodification (and not LMCs), there are also examples of favouable intergenerational collaborations (Bayor *yir* and Yahaya *jaga*). Family Heads involve their sons in decision-making on land transactions, in finding land buyers, and signing lease documents, as well as in the management of investments made from land sale proceeds. These collaborations between the elders who are generally more knowledgeable in the custom, and the youth who possess better literacy abilities ensure intergenerational exchange of knowledge and better land commodification, and produce positive associational, consensual, and functional family solidarities.

Normative obligations and functional solidarities are central to intergenerational relations. These refer to the strength of obligation felt towards other family members; commitment to performance of familial roles and to meeting familial obligations; the sharing or exchange of support and resources among family members. In this regard, both the elder and younger generations believe that they owe some obligations and deserve some benefits at one or other stage of their lives, and thus express their need for exchange or sharing within the family. In the spirit of these normative and functional solidarities, Family Heads and elders in the study area use land sale proceeds for the needs and welfare of their families. Land sale proceeds are used for both communal and personal benefits. One of the major communal intergenerational benefits obtained from land commodification is the use of land sale money to cover the costs of land litigations in the law courts. This is particularly the case at the *buurii*

level. The defense of the clan lands does not only protect the livelihoods of the elder and younger living generations, but as well, the past and yet un-born generations, since the identity of the clan is tied to the ownership of the land.

Related to the land ownership by the clan, is the change in the structure of family obligations and resource flows at Bamahu. At the expropriation of some lands of the people of Bamahu for the use of the University for Developments Studies, some families lost their farm lands, and for that matter, their major traditional livelihood source. This resulted in a renewed family structure, and favourable inter [intra]-generational solidarities. Families that still had land agreed to share their lands and the benefits of the commodification thereof, with those that lost their lands through the expropriation. This consensus resulted in the dissolution of the *yie* and *jaghi* as land resource management units, and a return to the *buurii* level. By this consensus and association, the future generation of the entire clan shares in the compensation package for the expropriated lands, when it is eventually granted.

Further, on the obligation to provide for, and share resources with each other – both elders and youth -, land sale money is used for educational, religious, and social purposes at all family levels. At all the family levels, land is sold to meet the cost of education for the youth (Bamahu *buurii*, Dakura *yir*, Bayor *jaga*, Yahaya *jaga*). This is because, education is identified as a major aspiration of the Tendamba, and thus, a big driver for the commodification of land in the study area. As variously expressed by the elders, investing in their children's education is to offer them a bright future that enables them care for themselves and care for their parents (cf: 7.1.1 Changing Livelihood Sources and Aspirations: Selling Land for Basic Needs and Aspirations). The words of a woman in Nakori, during an in-depth interview, are revealing on this intergenerational path. She said: *"Now, 'our eyes are open'…people have seen their neighbour enroll a child in school. Years later, the child completes school and provides food for the parents, builds a house for them, and cares for all their needs. These observations have been motivation for us to invest in the education of our children"* (IIC_33, 24.02.2016).

In the midst of the commodification of land for various purposes, elders reserve lands for the younger generation (Dakura *yir*, Yahaya *jaga*). This concern for the future is in line with the belief among the people of Northwestern Ghana, especially the Dagara and Sissala, that, in giving out land to outsiders, families must reserve sufficient land for the future generations (Lentz, 2013, p. 153). In the case of

Adams, however, he could not reserve land for his children for fear that his uncles would sell the land, and decides to convert it into cash for the education of his children. Similar cultural and intergenerational changes are reported in Kenya. In the Nyeri District of Kenya, parents have a cultural obligation to bequeath land to their children. However, as family land diminishes in size, and there is less land to pass onto future generations, parents have decided to have fewer children, and offer them formal education as an acceptable alternative to land inheritance (Shreffler & Dodoo, 2009, p. 88).

As noted earlier in this chapter, one major obligation of the father is to find a wife for his son. In this regard, elders sell land to pay for the dowry for their sons at marriage (Dakura *yir*). The provision of means of transport, for both elders and youth, is common in nearly every family, across all family levels. To reciprocate the care and support by their parents, the youth also supports the elders with farm labour, foodstuff and general welfare (e.g. Dakura *yir*, Yahaya *jaga*).

Notwithstanding the positive family solidarities as discussed above, some negative relations are also present in the land relations within the Tendamba families at all the levels. With regard to associational and consensual solidarities, there are examples of family activities and transactions with limited or no consultation and involvement of other family members at all the family levels, especially in the *yie* and *jaghi*. In families where committees are used, even the selection of the committee members is dictated by the Family Heads, which is criticised as skewed towards biological lines (e.g Dakura *yir*). With regard to the manner, occasions or reasons for land sales, there are disagreements in some families, especially between the elders and the youth. Reasons for which land should be sold and how much land should be sold are mostly decided on or approved by the Heads of Family (e.g Bamahu and Nakori *buurii*, Dakura *yir*, Mahama *jaga*). Observing these kinds of practices by the elders, the women think it is not the best. During a FGD with women groups from three communities [Bamahu, Napogbakole, Sombo], they argued that the youth have innovative ideas that can make land sales more profitable, but that the elders neither involve the youth nor respect their ideas (FGD with Women, ISTC-Wa, 02.02.2016). The argument of the women falls in line with the concerns of Hassan (in Bayor *jaga*) whose ideas for the use of land sale proceeds for sustainable investment ventures are not getting approval from his father. In this respect, the elders are also concerned about the security of investments in the hands of their children. The experiences of poor management of investments by the

children (e.g. Bayor *jaga*, Yahaya *jaga*) have weakened the trust that parents have in these children, and parents are skeptical committing more land sale proceeds to business proposals by their children.

Generally, the priorities and needs of the elder generation differ from those of the younger generation, and this creates varied views about the sale of family land. A typical example is in Mahama *jaga* where there is a total disagreement on reasons for the sale of land. For instance, whilst the elder (Mahama) sees foodstuff and social and religious commitments as sufficient reasons to sell land, his son, Kassim regards these as irrelevant, rather arguing that education and long-term investments are more critical, which are not the priorities of Mahama. Regarding the investments in education, for instance, discussions with school teachers in Nakori and Bamahu basic schools revealed that, though the cost of education at the basic level is very little, most parents delay and even default in meeting their financial commitments, and some children are unable to continue their education beyond the Junior High School due to lack of funds (Interview with Teachers: Bamahu, KII_07, 22.02.2016; Nakori, KII_08 & KII_09, 23.02.2016).

A youth key informant in Bamahu community argued, that, there is a lack of appreciation by each generation, on the items of value or priorities of the other generation. He observed that the elders have peculiar needs such as cola nuts, tobacco, and drink, which the youth do not provide because they [the youth] do not see them as necessities. My informant noted that in the past, the extended family support system was very effective and catered for such needs (KII_10, 28.02.2016), but today, the family support system is broken down to the extent that "*even the hand refuses to feed the mouth*" (Elderly Woman, FGD_20, 01.02.2016). So, whilst these items may be part of the elders' portfolio of expenditure from land sale proceeds, they are not considered by the younger generation as such. Indeed, the view of the younger generation is that land must be retained for the future generation. However, if land must be sold, then it must be sold for reasons that produce fruits for the family, fruits that will last into the future.

In some families, sons try to resist the land resource decisions and management style of the Heads of Family, and this result in further disaffection between the generations (see Dakura *yir*, Salifu *yir*, Mahama *jaga*). In Mahama *jaga* for instance, the resistance of the son to the father's unilateral land transactions resulted in the father's refusal ever to involve him even in the signing of land documents. In Salifu *yir*, the resistance of a nephew to the sale of his farmland by his uncles earned him a debt – a

refund to the land purchaser albeit he never enjoyed a cedi of that money. In another family, when a land purchaser asked for endorsement of his lease document, the son declined to sign the lease document because the father did not involve him in the details of the land sale. According to the land purchaser, the son angrily told the father, "*go ahead and sell all the plots of land, spend the money and die. I know people who did not depend on their fathers' land but are successful in life"* (Informal Discussion, Land Purchaser, Wa, 01.2016). These examples show that the culture of silence by the youth, that, the era when children could not question the action of elders, are giving way to a new era, when the younger generation is ready to assert their rights.

Unfavourable normative and functional intergenerational solidarities are also reported at all family levels in the study area. At the *buurii* and *yie* levels, the concerns are more about the lack of equity, transparency, and accountability in land transactions and sharing of land proceeds. Land Management Committees and elders are blamed for secret land sales, under declaring land sale proceeds, not accounting for the state of family lands sold and unsold, diverting land benefits for their personal and biological family interests (e.g. *buurii* level in Bamahu and Nakori, Bayor *yir*).

Non-family members, observing from outside, have also criticised the intergenerational relations in the Tendamba families. For instance, an Agricultural Extension Officer has observed that Family Heads and their biological children are the primary beneficiaries of family land transactions (In-depth Interview, MoFA Wa, 02.03.2016). Also, a former Lands Officer, whilst blaming the youth for secret land sales, quickly added: "*but the elders are not also transparent*" in the land transactions (KII_12, 12.03.2016). Again, another Lands Officer described the family elders as non-transparent and selfish, having observed that, during the disbursement of ground rents by the Lands Commission to the Family Heads, "*those who come to take the cheque, cash it and do not send the money to the family*" (In-depth Interview, Lands Officer, Lands Commission, Wa, 13.04.2016).

Still in respect of the normative and functional solidarities, gender roles are at the core of intergenerational family relations. The obligation to care, support and to provide for the general welfare of the family, especially for the aged parents, in many African societies, was believed to be the responsibilities of boys [men], and they were thus involved in family affairs and given more attention for their future development than the girls and women (Abdul-Korah, 2011, p. 396). In recent times however, women are also increasingly taking up the care duties, exchanging and sharing resources,

and providing for the needs of family members, especially, the aged parents. In the Dagaaba society in Northwestern Ghana, for instance, some parents see the women [daughters] as more supportive in caring for their [parents] welfare than the sons, and some even say that "now, if you have only sons, you are dead" (Abdul-Korah, 2011, p. 396). In the study communities, the supportive role of the women or daughters is acknowledged. For instance, during a FGD in one of the study communities, the elders noted that the ladies [women], compared to the men, have greater affection for their parents, and for that matter, are always ready to support their aged parents. One of the elders added "*look at this man [pointing to another elder], his daughter sponsored his pilgrimage to Mecca, and now we call him Alhaji. Meanwhile, he has sons*" (FGD_8, 03.10.2015) who do not support their parents. Despite the recognition of the valuable role of women in family solidarity, they [women] are still not accorded equitable share in family resources in these societies. In the study area, whilst land commodification has resulted in women losing not only farmlands, but also economic trees such as the shea, dawadawa, and wild edible leaves, the decisions and benefits of land commodification are male dominated, to the exclusion of the women (e.g. Dakura *yir*, Ajara in Salifu *yir*, Aminata in Bayor *yir*). Though women are guarantees for men in accessing family land resources (see for instance 8.3.1 in Dakura yir), they [women] are excluded in participating in decision making, land transactions, and benefit sharing relating to land commodification. During a FGD with women from three communities, namely Bamahu, Sombo and Napogbakole, an elderly woman claimed that, "*many husbands spend the land sale money outside the home on gyekuong [light soup]*", leaving the responsibility of feeding the children to the women (Joint-Women FGD, Wa, 02.02.2016). Despite this, the women, from their meager group savings, still support the men to cover the costs of land litigations (cf: 7.1.5 Litigations and the Commodification of Land: "Using the Monkey's Tail to Tie the Monkey"). The women noted that the current situation where they [women] get to know about land sales only when they go to the farm and see boundary pillars, heaps of sand or stones, or excavations of foundation on the land, is unfair, and they deserve information, to ask the least (FGD with Women, ISTC-Wa, 02.02.2016). Like Aminata in Bayor *yir*, and Ajara in Salifu *yir*, many women have to resort to stone gathering or quarrying to enable them care for their families, including paying of children's school fees. Reflecting on the loss of their sources of livelihoods, and some unsustainable uses of the land sale moneys, the women see a very gloomy future. In the words of one of the women, "*only hardships! hardships await our future generations…If us, women, had the power, we would tell our husbands to cease land sales,*

for the sake of our future generations…Land owners will become strangers tomorrow" (FGD_20, 01.02.2016).

Obligations to filial roles and resource sharing entail reciprocity for the care and support received. In the family relations, as discussed in the various cases above, using family land resources, parents have invested in their children's education, businesses, marriage, and general welfare, and thus expect a return of care and support from these children. Implicit in the concept of reciprocity, are conditionality and morality. In terms of the issue of conditionality, it is argued that, if parents have willingly neglected any part of their care duty for the children, then, the children have no duty to them in return. In respect of the value of morality however, some argue that children are bound to care for their parents by virtue of the fact that they are parents, they, brought forth the children into the world, and raised them. The amount of support that parents offered the children does not matter here (Aboderin, 2006, pp. 90–91). Intergenerational relations in the study area are punctuated with these two thoughts or values – morality and conditionality. For instance, in Yahaya *jaga* and Mahama *jaga,* the respective sons, Yaro and Kassim, still support the welfare of their fathers, as a moral obligation, despite the inadequate support given by their fathers in their [sons'] education and business. What constitutes adequate support is however, contested by the generations. Whilst Mahama for instance said he offered his son the needed care and support, he denies receiving adequate care and support in return. Generally, sons who fail to reciprocate the care of their parents, or provide adequate support, are not only denied further benefits from the family lands, but also their involvement in land transactions is cut off. The cases of Mahama *jaga* and Yahaya *jaga* exemplify this where the elders assert that their sons do not provide for their welfare, and for that matter, these sons would no longer benefit from the family land resources. Similar findings were observed by Amanor in Southeastern Ghana: Within the context of agricultural commercialization, failure of children to support the upkeep of their parents with foodstuff, resulted in family heads taking away farmlands from their children, and giving them out to migrants on sharecropping basis (Amanor, 2010, pp. 117–118).

In the intergenerational relations in the study area, family structure has a significant influence on family land relations in terms of participation or involvement in decision-making, land transactions, and sharing in land sale benefits. The structural solidarity element of the intergenerational solidarities model posits that the opportunity structure for family interactions is influenced by factors including geographic proximity, fecundity and mortality of family members (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991, p. 857).

In the study communities, geographic proximity and mortality play a role in family land relations. In respect of geographic proximity, some family members who migrated to distant destinations are naturally excluded from direct involvement in the family land transactions (e.g Bayor *yir*). Those who returned in the late 2000s and early 2010s, a time when land commodification was intense, explicitly demanded involvement in the family land matters through a reconstitution of land management committees or partitioning of the family land. These challenges become sources of disagreement and conflict. In Dakura *yir*, the request by Dakura's brothers for involvement of themselves and their sons in the family transactions result is conflicts and apathy. Whilst returnees like Ali Baba, simply accepts whatever benefits are given him and his sons, others, like Doodi, are bitter and threaten to fight for their rights. Family members who are home-based generally have better knowledge of the custom and land issues compared to their absentee kin, and thus tend to control the family resources. Generally, as families move to new places or return home from faraway places, family relationships can become volatile as rights and obligations are negotiated and recalibrated (Appadurai, 1996, p. 43).

Still in respect of the question of family structure, the demise of a member also affects land resource allocations, sharing of land benefits, and general support for family members. The demise of Bayor's brother exemplifies this. It is expected that the widow's grown up sons will cater for their aged mother and younger siblings. But as these boys did not have any meaningful jobs by which they could support their family, their situation could best be described as living in "waithood"[47] (Honwana, 2012, pp. 3–4). The transfer of land from their uncle, in accordance with the intergenerational norms was to enable the younger generation cater for themselves and their aged parents. Unfortunately, access to the family land rather resulted in deprivation of their aged mother and younger siblings, their major source of livelihoods. The widely held belief by women in peri-urban Wa that, given the means and the resources, most children would look after their mothers (Benneh et al., 1995, p. 62) is changing under the process of increasing land commodification. Again, as exemplified in Salifu *yir* and other families, the fatherless or orphans are neither consulted nor involved in family land transactions and benefits. Rather, their uncles and cousins deprive them of the little land they depend on for their livelihoods. The result is loss of trust, conflicts, disaffection, and family break-ups.

[47] Waithood represents a prolonged adolescence or an involuntary delay in reaching adulthood, in which young people are unable to find jobs, support relatives, get married, and establish their own families. In this state, young people are no longer children desiring care, but are not yet considered matured social adults. They are thus suspended between childhood and adulthood, grappling with daily survival challenges (Honwana, 2012, pp 3-4)

In summary, land commodification in peri-urban Wa in the last two decades has influenced, and been influenced by family relations especially between the elder and younger generations. There are both positive and negative intergenerational land relations and thus family solidarities. On the positive relations, there are social contacts and integration between the elders and youth at all family levels - the *buurii*, the *yie* and *jaghi*. Both elders and youth collaborate and jointly undertake family activities such as land transactions and courts cases (associational solidarity). These are done mostly through land management committees at the *buurii* and *yir* levels, or by the active involvement of sons by their fathers, mostly, at the *jaga* level. There are also positive normative and functional solidarities in the families, with reciprocities between generations. Family land resources and proceeds from land commodification are shared among elders and their children, in support of education and marriage, provision of means of transport and other personal needs and general welfare. The youth support the elders in their farm work and provides for their food and other welfare needs. In all family land transactions, there is some level of consensus between the elders and the youth, on the management strategies of land resources, each generation playing a complementary role, and the sharing of land sale proceeds, albeit the elders mostly decide or approve of the land sales. These dimensions of family solidarities are interrelated and influence each other significantly. The normative obligations of family members ensure sharing (functional solidarity) of ideas and land resources. In families where sons reciprocate the support of their parents by providing for their [parents] welfare and upkeep, parents actively involve them [sons] in the management of the family land resources. As generations associate or jointly carry out activities in land transactions, consensus is fostered among family members on how to transact the land and how benefits should be shared. It equally ensures the sharing of ideas and the transmission of knowledge with relation to land and other family issues (functional solidarity). These positive family solidarities thus foster affection – trust, respect, and intimacy among family members.

But land relations among the Tendamba are not without problems. Some unfavourable or negative intergenerational relations are equally found, along the associational, normative, functional, consensual and structural solidarity dimensions. In respect of associational and consensual solidarities, intergenerational relations at the *buurii* and *yie* levels are limited to Land Management Committees, with little involvement and participation by the larger family. The fact that the LMCs are actually formed by the Heads of Family, and the members largely their [Heads of Family] biological relations or close associates, especially at the *yie* level, further affirm the limited involvement and consultation

of the larger family. At the *jaga* level, intergenerational association and consultation is very minimal, and mostly at the discretion of the Head of Family. With regards to the normative and functional solidarities, the land resource managers, be they LMCs or Family Heads, appropriate the family resources to their selfish ends, or skew the support, share and access to the family resources towards biological lines, at both the *buurii* and *yie* levels. At the *jaghi*, there are not only dissatisfactions about the amount of support and reciprocity, but also dissenting views about what is essential to merit a land sale. Despite the complaint of inadequate support received from the elder generation, the younger generation supports the elder generation. But where the younger generation is not reciprocating enough, they are excluded from family land transactions and benefits. Further, family structure, particularly influenced by migration and mortality negatively impacts on family relations. Migrants and migrant-returnees are not fully integrated into the family in terms of participation and sharing of family activities and resources. The land rights of family members, who are orphans, mostly the younger generation, are prone to abuse by their uncles. The exclusion of the youth is possible because the elders still control the land resources, and the major decisions regarding the use. These issues of non-support and non-involvement in family land affairs, as well as differences in value placed on land resources, and thus commodification and uses of the proceeds thereof, influence each other and result in conflicts between the older and younger generations. The negative family soldieries thus produce disaffection – loss of trust and respect, ill sentiments felt about family members, and thus distance between family members.

The negative family solidarities in peri-urban Wa are sources of conflicts within families, resulting in increasing land fragmentation. Though some families still recognise some elders as Family Heads, this recognition does not include decisions and control of land resources and transactions by these elders. The fragmentation of families and land is manifest in the increasing number of Heads of Families or principal signatories to land leases in the records of the Lands Commission. At the time of the field research in 2015-2016, the Lands Commission had 59 Heads of Families in their records (Landlords), whilst the records of the Wa Central Customary Lands Secretariat showed that there were 31 Landlords within the Wa Urban and peri-urban areas. This situation of conflicts within families in relation to land is not peculiar to peri-urban Wa. Discussions with land professionals in Accra show that intra-family land conflicts are very rife in Accra and other parts of the country, with increasing incidence of family break-ups, creating new land management structures with new Family Heads.

These situations further result in multiple land sales, the rising menace of land guards, and litigations in court (In-depth Interview, Lands Officer, PVLMD Accra, 09.05.2016).

It is shown in this chapter that emergent land commodification in the study area in peri-urban Wa has influenced, and been influenced by intergenerational relations within Tendamba families. There are positive intergenerational relations such as joint activities and decision making, sharing and exchange of support in the family. Negative intergenerational relations also exist including limited or non-involvement, or exclusion of mostly the younger generation, and women, in decision-making, activities, and benefits relating to the family land resources. In the pre-land-commodification fringes of Wa, land resources were managed largely at the *buurii* and *yie* levels for the benefit of all family members devoid of any biological lines. With the emergence of land commodification, however, the communal land resource management and family relations have become weak, and skewed towards biological lines. Among the three family levels, inter-[intra] generational family relations are more negative at the *yie* levels compared to the other family levels.

9. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This chapter presents a summary of the major findings from the research, and then draws conclusion based on the findings. Recommendations are then made for further research on the subject.

9.2 The Forces of Globalisation, Land Commodification and the Intergenerational Land Relations Nexus

This research was undertaken in the peri-urban area of Wa in Northwestern Ghana. It sought to understand how societal transformation manifests in peri-urban Wa, and which shape this process takes, mirrored by emerging land commodification intertwined with and answering to intergenerational land relations in landowner families. Within this context, the research sought to understand: which are the driving forces behind societal transformation in Wa and its fringe communities; in which ways the forces of globalisation and alongside travelling ideas of modernity have influenced land commodification, and how landowners and land sector actors take advantage of global to local flows on the processes of the land commodification; and lastly, to understand in which ways the processes and outcomes of the land commodification are intertwined with intergenerational relations in landowner families.

Land commodification and intergenerational relations do not occur in vacuum, but within a society which is increasingly subject to global forces – ideational, institutional, financial, technological, media - as differentiated in chapter three of this work. In the last three decades, Wa and its fringe communities have witnessed rapid societal transformation through various global and local forces. From the research, the main driving forces behind the rapid societal transformation are: increasing urbanisation and urban sprawl, modern communication and transport networks, religious and socio-cultural changes, formal education, especially higher education development, and changing institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land. These forces serve as landscapes along which ideas, images, belief systems, experiences, practices, technology, finance, businesses, livelihood opportunities, education, land administration, communication, and transport services, are carried into Wa and its environs.

The local people are, however, neither just mere objects of global influences, nor are they subjects which act only in response to these influences. They are also actors who have the potential to rework some of these influences or convert them to their own local purposes, and in the process, maintaining the local identity (Kasanga & Woodman, 2004, p. 185; Trask, 2010, p. 18). In this regard, local

individuals, families as well as state actors, in different ways, embraced, promoted, adopted, and adapted these cultural materials - as travelling models. People took on new livelihood opportunities, especially, in trade and real estate. Others lost their traditional livelihoods, including agriculture. Local aspirations and lifestyles are eventually affected. Local people now aspire for better life through formal education, modern housing, and religious fulfilments, and others look in the direction of "modern goods" or symbols of success. Also, local perceptions about land and how to deal with land are reshaped, and competing interests in land become intense resulting in conflicts. Ultimately, globalization, as observed by Wanitzek and Woodman (2004, p. 2) has shaped the local environment - local events, local social relations, local social structure, local institutions, and local norms of behavior in Wa and its fringe communities. But in which ways have these forces of globalisation and alongside travelling ideas of modernity influenced land commodification, and how did landowners and land sector actors take advantage of these forces on the processes of the land commodification?

In the course of globalizing ideals of individual economic gains and ownership, the interpretation of 'land' and access to land have been transformed. The old order, when "land was mostly conceived of as an unbounded resource to be used; not as a commodity to be measured, plotted, sub-divided, leased, pawned or sold" (Pottier, 2005, p. 57), is disappearing, and land now becomes a commodity. The impact of the forces of globalsiation as identified above, are the major factors influencing the commodification of land in peri-urabn Wa.

With the increasing urbanization and urban sprawl, accelerating demand for land for residential and commercial uses, the Tendamba responded by giving out their farmlands in exchange for money, to support various and changing socio-economic needs. The Tendamba also took advantage of the diverse livelihood and business opportunities created by the various global and local forces, to sell more land. They especially embraced the trading and rental housing businesses, and resorted to land sales as a source of capital to invest in these areas. The commodification of land was also a means to achieving their aspirations in education, modern housing, and religious fulfilments. The desire to be part of the modern global order, and to attain higher social status and better lifestyles, spurred the Tendamba to sell land to acquire modern technology, communication, and transport devices and facilities. In the face of the increasing demand for land, the commodification of land for various activities, competition and contestation over land arise among landowners thereby leading to conflicts

and legal battles. This situation further fuels the commodification of land in order to finance the cost of the litigation in the law courts.

In the process of the commodification of land in the study area, the Tendamba and land sector actors make use of modern institutional frameworks for land administration, including the use of survey and planning institutions and organisations. These institutions are especially embraced and adapted to achieve four important things in their land commodification: first, as a portfolio of commodities for the market: second, as land value addition, since land purchasers are willing to pay higher prices for lands that are covered by local plans, than for unplanned areas. Third, the use of the planning and survey technology and ideas facilitate the re-demarcations of public zoned lands for sale. Finally, the lands that are allocated by the Tendamba based on an approved local plan, and are properly registered as leases, attract annual ground rents from the lessees [land purchasers] – another major source of income from the commodification of land. Besides these, the local plan also facilitates the payment for land survey and land use planning services in kind [plots of land] by the Tendamba to especially the private land technocrats.

The concept of the land use planning is therefore vernacularized and used by landowners and their partner land technocrats to meet their own interests, sometimes at the expense of the family or public good. The argument that travelling models – in this case, modern land use planning - may be improved, subverted, appropriated, and annexed in their new environments (Behrends, Park, & Rottenburg, 2014, p. 20) remains relevant here. Thus, in peri-urban Wa, the concept of land use plans aimed at achieving sustainable land allocation and land use development has been subverted in the process of land commodification for immediate cash and kind benefits. The commodification of land in the study area has produced significant outcomes. The outcome of this commodification, within the last two decades, is that, large expanse of family land – an intergenerational communal resource - is given out to outsiders. The intergenerational transfer of communal land is gradually being truncated. As a consequence of the commodification of land, family relations bound to the question of land have transformed.

Land has ever been at the center of all family affairs in northwestern Ghana – socio-cultural and economic decisions and activities - and thus plays a vital role in family solidarity. The emergence of the commodification of land in peri-urban Wa, influenced by the forces of globalisation, is intertwined

with family relations. In the processes and outcome of the land commodification in the study area, there are positive and negative intergenerational land relations and thus family solidarities within the Tendamba families.

On the positive relations, there are social contacts and integration between the elders and youth at all family levels - the *buurii*, the *yie* and *jaghi*. The elders and youth collaborate and jointly undertake family activities such as land transactions and court cases (associational solidarity). These are done mostly through land management committees at the *buurii* and *yir* levels, or by the active involvement of sons by their fathers, mostly, at the *jaga* level. There are also positive normative and functional solidarities in the families, with reciprocities between generations. Family land resources and proceeds from land commodification are shared among elders and their children, in support of education, marriage, means of transport and other personal needs and general welfare. The youth support the elders in their farm work and provides for their food and other welfare needs. In the family land transactions, there is some level of consensus between the elders and the youth. The dimensions of family solidarities are interrelated and influence each other significantly. It is found that where there is intergenerational support, there is sharing (functional solidarity) of ideas and land resources, and intergenerational participation and consensus in the management of the family land resources. These positive family solidarities thus foster affection – trust, respect, and intimacy among family members.

The research also found that negative intergenerational relations pertain at all the three family levels. With regard to associational and consensual solidarities, intergenerational relations at the *buurii* and *yir* levels are limited to Land Management Committees (LMCs), with little involvement and participation by the larger family. This is mainly because, the LMC members are mostly hand-picked by the Heads of Family, and are largely biological relations or close associates, and not the decided representatives of the generations. Their allegiance is therefore towards the Heads of Family, and they are less transparent and accountable to the larger family. At the *jaga* level, intergenerational association and consultation are very minimal, and mostly at the discretion of the Head of Family. With regard to the obligations to support family members and share resources, the land resource managers, be they LMCs or Family Heads, and their biological kin, are the main beneficiaries of the family land resources at the *buurii* and *yir* levels. At the *jaga level*, there are not only dissatisfactions about the amount of support and reciprocity, but also dissenting views about what is essential to merit a land sale.

Further, family structure, particularly influenced by migration and mortality, negatively impacts on family land relations mainly at the *buurii* and *yie* levels. Migrants and migrant-returnees are not fully integrated in the family in terms of participation and sharing of family activities and resources. The land rights of orphans, mostly the younger generation, and widows, are abused, as they are deprived and excluded from the family land resource management and benefits. The negative family relations further result in conflicts between the older and younger generations, thus producing disaffection – loss of trust and respect, and ill sentiments felt about family members. Although conflict situations cannot be totally avoided in the processes of land commodification, and "generation is about connections & contrasts - and often conflicts - in a temporal perspective" (Whyte et al., 2008, p. 1), the situation in Tendamba families in peri-urban Wa has implications for land fragmentation and sustainable land use planning and development.

The intergenerational family relations in the pre-land-commodification era and the relations today differ significantly. In the pre-land-commodification fringes of Wa, land resources were largely managed at the *buurii and yie* levels for the benefit of all family members devoid of any biological lines. Whilst the *buurii* mainly presided over the allocations of land to outsiders, the *yie* were the main socio-economic units, where the land resource was central to the family solidarity - social support, joint activities, and resource sharing. With the emergence of land commodification, however, the land resource, and the management are fragmented at the *buurii*, *yie*, and *jaghi* levels. Whilst concerns about exclusion, transparency and accountability cut across all family levels in the family resource management, further concerns about biological favoritism are predominant at the *yie* levels. Though the land resources are still largely under the control of the elder generation, like the former days, the elder generations now manage these family resources, largely for their selfish interests or the interests of their biological family. Among the three family levels, there are more negative inter-[intra] generational family relations at the *yie* levels, compared to the other family levels. As far as land relations are concerned, the cultural norm, that, among the Waala, there are no cousins and uncles, that there are no degrees of relationship, and that the needs of each family member are the responsibility of the other (Bin Salih, 2009, pp. 367–368; Kpiebaya, 2016, pp. 48–49), can no longer be held as accurate. The interrelationships between the forces of globalisation, land commodification and the intergenerational land relations within the Tendamba families in the peri-uban Wa are summarised in the Figure 9.1 below.

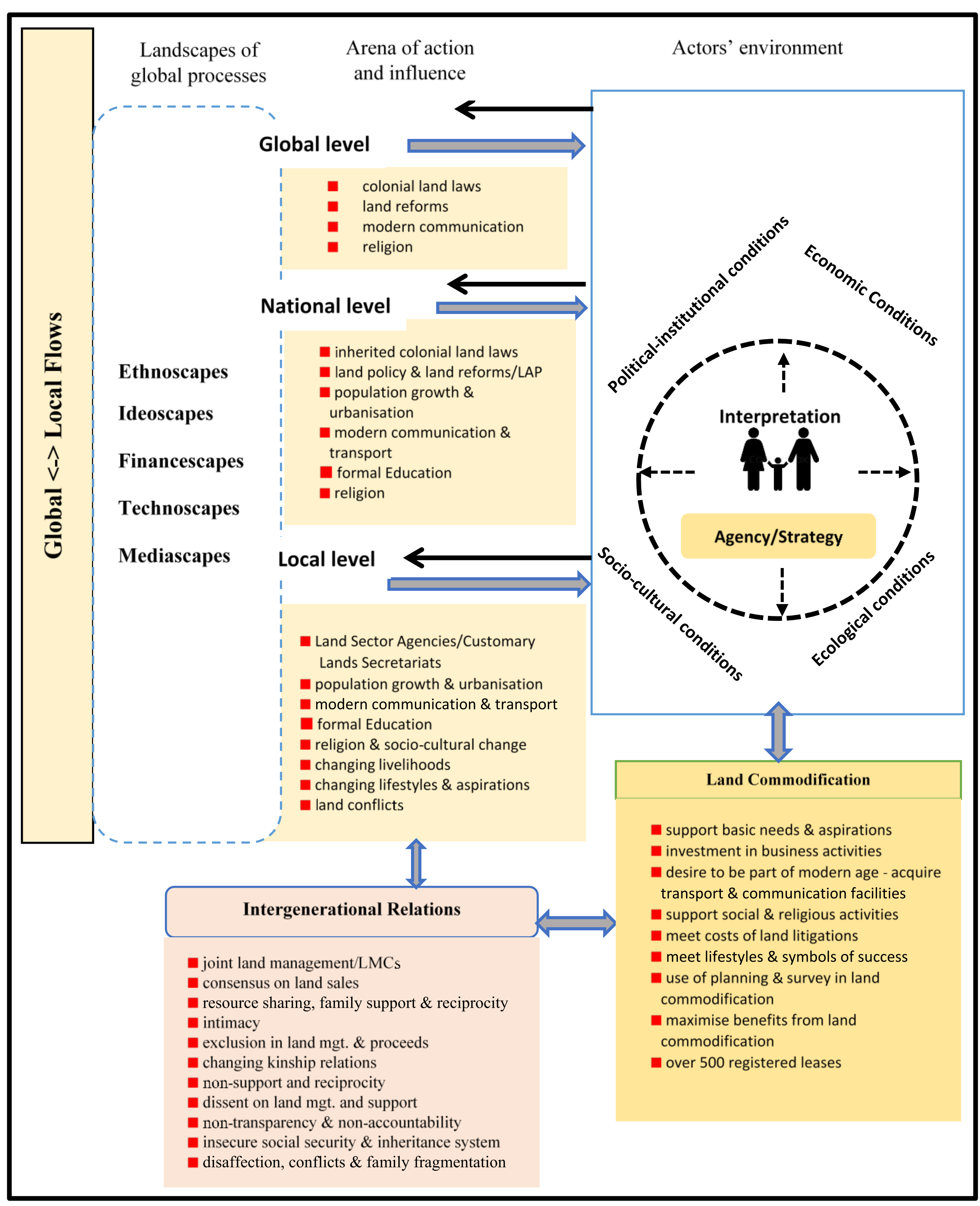


Figure 9. 1: The Influences of the Forces of Globalisation on Land Commodification and Intergenerational Relations in Peri-Urban Wa
Concept by Darius T. Mwingyine, after Troeger (2016), after Rauch (2003).

From Figure 9.1, the global cultural flows such as ideas, images, belief systems, experiences, practices, technology, and finance, are carried into Wa and its peri-urban environment, along various landscapes. These landscapes are: population increase, urbanization and urban sprawl, modern technology in information and tele-communication, transport development, religion, formal education development, and institutional and organisational frameworks regarding land. These landscapes operate at various levels – global, national and local – and interact differently to influence the local economic, socio-cultural, and politico-institutional life of the Waala society. Individuals and families, and state actors not only act in response to these global forces, but also rework them to suit their needs and purposes. In support of changing livelihood needs and aspirations, business opportunities, social and religious activities, modern transport and communication facilities, and also meeting the costs of land litigations, the Tendamba resort to land commodification. The commodification of the land not only produced favourable benefits and family relations, but also negative and conflictual relations. These family relations – positive and negative – again feed into both the local and global forces thus influencing land commodification in a cyclical manner.

Overall, the future relations look bright for families that embark on proper land transactions and documentations, as well as appropriate investments of land proceeds, including education, real estate, and trading ventures. On the contrary, in families where lands are allocated without any documentation, and the money received is spent on immediate consumption, the inheritance of the younger and the future generations, as well as the future welfare of the elder generations are not secured. There are, however, opportunities for better intergenerational family relations within Tendamba families if the key managers of the land – Heads of Family and Land Management Committees - heed to the call for the active involvement of the youth and women, and for transparency and accountability in the management of the family land resource.

This research goes beyond biological family relations, or parent-child relations, to embrace the intergenerational land relations within the wider patri-clan, involving the three-level family types in place – *buurii, yir,* and *jaga*. The findings are thus useful for the Tendamba families in strengthening or re-organising their land management decisions for utmost benefits for all generations. The nature of the intergenerational relations in the Tendamba families has implications on the land tenure security of land purchasers, and on sustainable land use planning and development in general. The findings of this

research thus inform the state land sector agencies, on the best policy options in the management of family lands and land governance in general, in Northwestern Ghana in particular, and the country at large. Land purchasers can also be guided in their transactions with the Tendamba, to ensure that they obtain land under secured tenure, devoid of any negative family relations.

9.3 Further Research

Beyond this, further research can be conducted on the impact of the intergenerational land relations on the land tenure security of land purchasers, and on sustainable land governance in Northwestern Ghana in general. Also, as land is at the center of the livelihoods and social security of families, and remains traditionally a communal resource within families in Northwestern Ghana, further research on the impact of land commodification on the food security of Tendamba families will be useful for policy direction on communal land resource management and food security.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Participants of the Research (Focus Group Discussions and In-depth Interviews)

Participants Focus Group Discussions

S/N	Groups in Community	New Code	Date of Interview
1	Elders & Youth	FGD_01	11.09.2015
2	Elders & Youth	FGD_02	13.09.2015
3	Elders & Youth	FGD_03	15.09.2015
4	Elders & Youth	FGD_04	16.09.2015
5	Elders & Youth	FGD_05	18.09.2015
6	Elders	FGD_06	29.09.2015
7	Elders	FGD_07	02.10.2015
8	Elders	FGD_08	03.10.2015
9	Elders	FGD_09	05.10.2015
10	Youth	FGD_10	08.11.2015
11	Youth	FGD_11	04.12.2015
12	Women	FGD_12	02.02.2016
13	Elders & Youth	FGD_13	26.03.2016
14	Elders & youth	FGD_14	20.04.2016
15	Elders & Youth	FGD_15	13.10.2015
16	Elders & Youth	FGD_16	21.10.2015
17	Elders	FGD_17	07.11.2015
18	Youth	FGD_18	30.11.2015
19	Elders & Youth	FGD_19	11.12.2015
20	Women	FGD_20	01.02.2016
21	Elders & Youth	FGD_21	16.04.2016
22	Elders	FGD_22	21.04.2016
23	Elders	FGD_23	02.10.2015
24	Elders & Youth	FGD_24	09.10.2016
25	Women	FGD_25	08.11.2015
26	Women	FGD_26	19.11.2015
27	Elders	FGD_27	20.11.2015
28	Elders & Youth	FGD_28	10.12.2015
29	Elders & Youth	FGD_29	
30	Women	FGD_30	02.02.2016
31	Elders & Youth	FGD_31	22.04.2016
32	Elders	FGD_32	24.08.2017
33	Youth	FGD_33	25.08.2017
34	Elders	FGD_34	25.08.2017
35	Youth	FGD_35	27.08.2017
36	Elders	FGD_36	25.08.2017
37	Youth	FGD_37	25.08.2017

Community Participants at In-depth Interviews

S/N	Respondent Designation	New Code	Date of Interview
1	Father	IIC_01	17/02/2016
2	Father	IIC_02	18/02/2016
3	Son	IIC_03	18/02/2016
4	Son	IIC_04	18/02/2016
5	Father	IIC_05	18/02/2016
6	Son	IIC_06	18/02/2016
7	Son	IIC_07	18/02/2016
8	Father	IIC_08	19/02/2016
9	Wife	IIC_09	19/02/2016
10	Daughter	IIC_10	19/02/2016
11	Wife	IIC_11	20/02/2016
12	Wife	IIC_12	20/02/2016
13	Father	IIC_13	20/02/2016
14	Grandson	IIC_14	20/02/2016
15	Father	IIC_15	20/02/2016
16	Wife 2	IIC_16	20/02/2016
17	Wife 1	IIC_17	20/02/2016
18	Grandson	IIC_18	22/02/2016
19	Son	IIC_19a IIC_19b	22/02/2016 06/03/2016
20	Daughter	IIC_20	22/02/2016
21	Son	IIC_21	03/03/2016
22	Son	IIC_22	03/03/2016
23	Father	IIC_23	04/03/2016
24	Son	IIC_24	05/03/2016
25	Father	IIC_25	13/02/2016
26	Son	IIC_26	13/02/2016
27	Father	IIC_27a IIC_27b	23/02/2016 24/02/2016
28	Wife	IIC_28	23/02/2016
29	Son	IIC_29	23/02/2016
30	Father	IIC_30	23/02/2016
31	Father	IIC_31	23/02/2016
32	Father	IIC_32	24/02/2016
33	Wife	IIC_33	24/02/2016
34	Wife	IIC_34	24/02/2016
35	Son	IIC_35	24/02/2016
36	Father	IIC_36	24/02/2016
37	Son	IIC_37	24/02/2016
38	Son	IIC_38	14/04/2016
39	Son	IIC_39	16/04/2016
40	Father	IIC_40	17/04/2016
41	Son	IIC_41	27/04/2016
42	Father	IIC_42	20/11/2015 12/02/2016

43	Father	IIC_43	20/01/2016
44	Wife	IIC_44	07/03/2016
45	Daughter	IIC_45	07/03/2016
46	Son	IIC_46	07/03/2016
47	Wife	IIC_47	07/03/2016
48	Wife	IIC_48	08/03/2016
49	Son/Father	IIC_49	08/03/2016
50	Son	IIC_50	08/03/2016
51	Son	IIC_51a IIC_51b	11/03/2016 15/03/2016
52	Son	IIC_52	16/03/2016
53	Father	IIC_53a IIC_53b	17/03/2016 18/03/2016
54	Father	IIC_54	17/03/2016
55	Son	IIC_55	21/03/2016
56	Son	IIC_56	23/03/2016
57	Son	IIC_57	24/03/2016
58	Grandson	IIC_58	23/04/2016
59	Father	IIC_59	23/04/2016
60	Son	IIC_60	25/04/2016
61	Wife	IIC_61	15.03.2016
62	Son	IIC_62	15.03.2016
63	Son	IIC_63	17.03.2016

Participants at Land Related Organisations

S/N	Officer & Organisation	Code	Date of Interview	Place
1	Regional Town Planning Officer	IIL_01	18.11.2015	Wa
2	Municipal Town Planning Officer	IIL_02	20.11.2015	Wa
3	Regional Lands Officer	IIL_03	24.11.2015	Wa
4	Lands Officer I/C, PVLMD	IIL_04a IIL_04b	24.11.2015 23/24.03.2016	Wa
5	Senior Officer, Administration & Planning, LAPU	IIL_05	22.01.2016	Accra
6	Lands Officer I/C LVD	IIL_06a, IIL_06b	28.01.2016 09.03.2016	Wa
7	Agricultural Extension Agents, Wa Municipal	IIL_07, IIL_08, IIL_09, IIL_10	02.03.2016	Wa
8	Land Surveyor, SMD	IIL_11	11.03.2016	Wa
9	Technical Staff, TCPPD	IIL_12	11.03.2016	Wa
10	Principal Surveyor, SMD	IIL_13	14.03.2016	WA
11	Rent Control Officers	IIL_14	17.03.2016	Wa

12	Lands Officer, PVLMD	IIL_15	13.04.2016	Wa
13	Lands Officer, PVLMD,	IIL_16	09.05.2016	Accra
14	National Lands Commission Chairman	IIL_17	10.05.2016	Accra
15	Customary Lands Secretariat, Wa Central	CLS_01; CLS_02; CLS_03 CLS_04	14.10.2015; 17.11.2015; 01.04.2016; 08.04.2016	Wa
16	Customary Lands Secretariat, Sagmaalu	CLS_06; CLS_07	19.04.2016; 23.04.2016	Wa

Participants at Key Informants/Expert Interviews

KEY INFORMANTS/EXPERT INTERVIEWS			
S/N	**Position/Officer**	**Code**	**Date of Interview**
1	Early Settler	**KII_01**	04.10.2015
2	Early Settler	**KII_02**	11.10.2015
3	Early Settler	**KII_03**	18.10.2015
4	Early Settler	**KII_04**	24.10.2015
5	Lecturer, UDS	**KII_05**	16.11.2015
6	UDS, Student & Tenant	**KII_06**	19.02.2016
7	School Teachers (3)	**KII_07**	22.02.2016
8	Teacher 1	**KII_08**	23.02.2016
9	Teacher 2	**KII_09**	23.02.2016
10	Youth opinion leader	**KII_10**	26.02.2016 28.02.2016
11	UDS Student, rented store	**KII_11**	03.03.2016
12	Former Lands Officer	**KII_12**	12.03.2016 13.03.2016
13	Early Settler	**KII_14**	23.03.2016
14	Retired Agriculture Officer,	**KII_15**	28.03.2016
15	Former Regional Minister	**KII_16**	29.03.2016
16	Head of Balume Tendamba Clan	**KII_17**	10.04.2016
17	Youth opinion leader	**KII_18**	11.04.2016 12.04.2016
18	URDECO former staff 1	**KII_19**	13.04.2016
19	URDECO former staff 2	**KII_20**	13.04.2016
20	Family Head, Early Settler	**KII_21**	28.04.2016

Appendix B: Pairwise Ranking of Reasons/Uses of land sale proceeds by Elders and Youth in study communities

Bamahu Community

Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale money by **Elders** in **Bamahu**									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CC	CC	BN	CC	CC	T	CC	5	2nd
Community Dev (CD)			I	BN	SR	CD	T	CD	2	6th
Investments (I)				BN	I	I	I	I	5	2nd
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	BN	BN	7	1st
Social & Religious (SR)						SR	T	SR	3	5th
ICT/Electronics							T	ICT	1	7th
Transport (T)								T	5	2nd
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									0	8th

Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale proceeds by **Youth** in **Bamahu**										
Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for /Uses of land sale money									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	7	1st
Community Dev (CD)			CD	BN	SR	CD	CD	FF	3	4th
Investments (I)				BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	0	8th
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	BN	BN	6	2nd
Social & Religious (SR)						SR	T	SR	4	3rd
ICT/Electronics							ICT	FF	2	7th
Transport (T)								T	3	4th
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									3	4th

Nakori Community

Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale proceeds by **Elders** in **Nakori**										
Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for/Uses of land sale money									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	7	1st
Community Dev (CD)			CD	BN	CD	CD	CD	CD	5	3rd
Investments (I)				BN	SR	ICT	T	I	1	7th
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	BN	BN	6	2nd
Social & Religious (SR)						SR	T	SR	3	5th
ICT/Electronics							T	ICT	2	6th
Transport (T)								T	4	4th
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									0	8th

Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale proceeds by **youth** in **Nakori**										
Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for /Uses of land sale money									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CD	I	BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	0	8th
Community Dev (CD)			I	BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	1	7th
Investments (I)				I	I	I	T	I	6	2nd
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	T	BN	5	3rd
Social & Religious (SR)						SR	T	SR	4	4th
ICT/Electronics							T	ICT	3	5th
Transport (T)								T	7	1st
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									2	6th

Sombo Community

Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale proceeds by **Elders** in **Sombo**										
Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for /Uses of land sale money									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CD	I	BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	0	8th
Community Dev (CD)			I	BN	CD	CD	T	CD	4	4th
Investments (I)				BN	I	I	T	I	5	2nd
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	BN	BN	7	1st
Social & Religious (SR)						SR	SR	SR	4	4th
ICT/Electronics							T	ICT	2	6th
Transport (T)								T	5	2nd
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									1	7th

Reasons for land sale & Uses of land sale proceeds by **Youth** in **Sombo**										
Reasons/Uses of land sale money	Reasons for /Uses of land sale money									
	CC	**CD**	**I**	**BN**	**SR**	**ICT**	**T**	**FF**	**Score**	**Rank**
Court Cases (CC)		CD	I	BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	0	8th
Community Dev (CD)			I	BN	SR	ICT	T	FF	1	7th
Investments (I)				BN	I	ICT	T	FF	3	5th
Basic Needs (BN)					BN	BN	BN/T	BN	6.5	1st
Social & Religious (SR)						ICT	T	FF	2	6th
ICT/Electronics							T	ICT	5	3rd
Transport (T)								T	6.5	1st
Furniture & Fashion (FF)									4	4th