

NATURAL RESOURCE GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY RIGHTS.

A CASE OF THE AKOSOMBO RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

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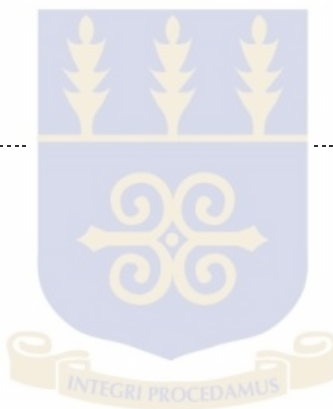
DECLARATION

I **FRANCIS BOATENG** do hereby declare that this work is the result of my own research and has not been presented by anyone for any academic award in this University or any other university. All references used in the work have been dully acknowledged. I bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings.

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DEDICATION

I would want to first and foremost dedicate this piece of work to the Almighty God who through His mercies, grace, and love has seen me through this period and even gave me the needed strength to complete this research work. Secondly I would want to dedicate this work to my wife and lovely children for their sacrifices and their constant encouragement up to this point.

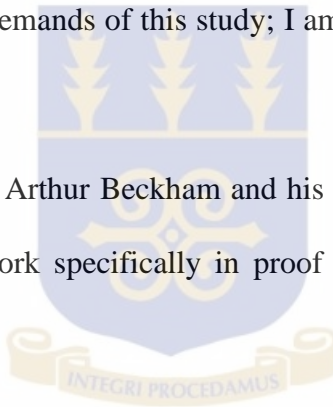


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ABSTRACT

Natural resource governance simply refers to the managing the use of natural resources such as land, water, soil, plants and animals, with a particular focus on managing or governing how the identified natural resource affects the quality of life for both present and future generations of a people (Starik, 1995). In the process of managing these resources, often than not certain aspects of community interests in the natural resource are affected.

In Ghana, the construction of the Akosombo Dam on the River Volta, brought about issues regarding natural resource governance and its interplay with community rights. In this instance, communities within the lower Volta Basin were resettled from their original habitation, consequent to the construction of the Akosombo Dam across the Lower Volta and a hydro-electric installation to generate cheap electricity for the country (Jackson, 1970).

To this point, this study attempted to study the interplay of the governance strategy and the community rights adopting a qualitative approach using a case study approach to examine the phenomenon using the community of Agyena.

The study found out that the natural resource governance processes and procedures regarding the Volta Lake is effectively enforced and it is also been proactively managed. In relation to its impact on community rights of the people in Agyena, the study concludes that the social rights, the economic rights, the cultural rights and the natural rights of the people of Agyena has been adversely affected due to prohibition and restrictions in the use of the Volta Lakes and its ancillary natural resources.

The study further recommends that future studies should consider studying the phenomenon in other communities that were affected alongside the community of Agyena to see if similar results are likely to be obtained.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Natural Resources Governance refers to the sustainable utilization of major natural resources, such as land, water, air, minerals forests, fisheries, wild flora and fauna. (The World Bank Group, 2000). Natural resource governance has a particular focus on how the management of these resources affects the quality of life for both the present and future generation. For primary producers, natural resource management means taking into consideration the climate, soil, water, vegetation and organisms when making decisions about the land they manage. The objective is sustainability which is to ensure that generations after can equally benefit from our natural resources through economic (money and jobs) and environmental factors such as land, water, air and living things.

Grasslands, wetlands and forests provide resources directly to billions of poor people living in rural areas, including timber, fuel wood, fibre, medicine and food. Forests and wetlands also regulate floods by absorbing rain. Siltation, facilitation by upstream deforestation affects dams and reservoirs, rendering many of them useless before they can pay for themselves and contribute to poverty and displacement (The World Bank Group, 2000).

Natural resource management and governance comprises multiple actors, including human stakeholders, organizations, legislation, policy documents, agreements and components of the natural world (such as biophysical entities) interacting in different places (Davidson et al., 2006).

By governance; the impression presented is ‘the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say in relation to the natural resource in question’ (Graham, Amos and Plumpre, 2003). These heterogeneous actors hold differing forms of individual or collective agency, defined by their capacity to effect environmental change through the exercise of authority, power and influence.

Power and influence on natural resources and its management is often determined by the states in most cases than in the communities where these resources are situated. Significantly, natural resource laws and regulations in the view of Freyfogle (2011); performs three basic functions: it specifies the parts of nature that can be owned and the basic terms of use rights, it facilitates resource-related transactions, and it provides mechanisms to coordinate uses and resolve inevitable disputes. In performing these legal and regulatory mandates, often, much power over such resources are legally vested in the state by the state. And for that matter, community rights over such resources as well as participation in managing such resources are curtailed or relinquished, irrespective of the various roles community participation or upholding community rights presents to the country as a whole.

Refusal of the inherent and undisputable rights and privileges to these traditional lands and natural resources is often at the root of rights violations. Which in most instances gives rise to intra-state tensions and laying the foundation for emerging and ongoing conflicts (Suksi, 1998). Full enjoyment of land rights, including access to and control over the lands and their natural resources, is likely to imbue indigenous peoples with the economic independence they need to preserve their distinct cultures and determine their futures (Paradies, 2006).

In Ghana, there are several natural resources, which includes extractive resources such as: gold, diamond, bauxite: forestry resources such as: timber and water resources.

According to Ghana laws all natural resources are entrusted to be governed by the President, in which case there are established state institutions that acts on behalf of the government to ensure their management. (Article 257 Clause (6) of the constitution of Ghana, 1992)

Putting in perspective, these natural resources provide foreign income and development to Ghana as a country. Measures are therefore put in place to manage and govern these natural resources for the good of the communities. This study aims to explore and report on the interplay between the governance of these natural resources and the extent to which they affect the rights of the inhabitants.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Over the years, there have been studies on the effect of natural resources on mankind and environment as well as ecological sustainability. These issues have also focused on natural resource governance, stakeholder participation and conflicts (Lockwood et al, 2010: McKay, 2009: Burnley, 2011) and legal issues as well as other policy implications (FordFoundation, 2010; Taylor, 1998: Freyfogle, 2011: Doh and Andoh, 2014).

Taylor (1998) expressed views on the fact that, interest in returning governance of natural resources to local communities has been strong; especially in countries such as India. In India, efforts have been going on for decades in several thousands of villages, to move from unsuccessful top-down state control of the nation's forests. There is also a joint management arrangements in which the local communities of forest users play an important part. Doh and Andoh (2014) also reported that successfully engaging all stakeholders to a natural resource and

its governance processes and procedures provides a strong case for policy formulation and monitoring of natural resources. This finds expression into the development of the communities in particular and the country as a whole.

Additionally, Hirons (2013) reported on decentralising natural resource governance in Ghana. But then the author's focus was on presenting a critical reflections on the artisanal and small-scale mining sector, which predominantly is in the extractive natural resource environment. In that study the author found out that re-distributing decision-making authority leads to a more responsive, transparent and efficient natural resource management.

In Ghana, the construction of the Akosombo Dam on the River Volta, brought about issues regarding natural resource governance and its interplay with community rights. In this instance, communities within the lower Volta Basin were resettled from their original habitation. This was as a result of the construction of the Akosombo Dam across the Lower Volta to generate cheap electricity for the country (Jackson, 1970).

Having constructed the Dam and the hydro-electric installation, legislative decrees were made to entirely place the management and development of the Volta Lake and all its auxiliary and related natural resources to the state agency which emerged during the process: The Volta River Authority (VRA). The legislative instrument that provides the Volta River Authority with the legal authority over the River Volta in Ghana is the Volta River Development Act of 1961 (Act 46). In this act, provisions have been made for the authority to make regulations prohibiting or restricting the use of the lake side area.

Prior to the construction of the Volta Lake, communities that were to be affected were assured of being adequately compensated as well as participating in the management of the lake resources. However, that seemed not to have been the case with the communities affected (Obosu-Mensah, 1996). In that context, Obosu-Mensah (1996) in exploring Ghana's Volta Resettlement Scheme, the long-term consequences of post-colonial state planning; reported that the resettlement scheme brought untold hardships to the resettlers. It could neither lead the country as whole to enormous development, nor the communities that were resettled in particular, for instance Agyena.

With the promulgation of the Volta River Development Act of 1961 (Act 46), the communities which were predominantly rural inhabitants and depended heavily on the natural resource base, were all restricted from the usage of the Volta Lake and its other ancillary resources that emerged (IDRC, 2004). This brings about a concern on how natural resource governance affects the rights of communities situated near these resources.

It is therefore the focus of this study to explore the interplay between natural resource governance and community rights within the context of the Akosombo Resettlement Project in Ghana.

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. In the context of natural resource governance, how have community rights been considered in the Akosombo Resettlement Project?

- ii. What are the key issues regarding the Volta Lake as a natural resource from the perspective of key stakeholders to the Akosombo Resettlement Project in relation to community rights?
- iii. What lessons are there from the Akosombo Resettlement Project for future natural resource governance arrangement?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

It is the main objective of the study to achieve the following listed below at the end of this study:

- To examine how community rights have been incorporated in the Akosombo resettlement scheme.
- To examine community participation in the governance of natural resources under the Akosombo Dam Project.
- To investigate outstanding issues relating to resettlement and compensation.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study serves as an added contribution to existing work of other authors that have discussed issues relating to natural resource governance in Ghana. The study albeit an academic study, examined the extent to which community rights to the use of natural resources are affected by its governance and the subsequent repercussions it has had on such communities involved.

As a matter of fact, the consequences from the governance procedures in dealing with natural resources tends to have some sort of negative impact on the rights of people living in communities where such natural resources are situated. This has become a topical issue attracting diverse concepts in the international community. The remedy many practitioners and governing

bodies postulate for resolving such consequences has to do with the involvement of communities and authorities as well as stakeholder participation in the governance processes.

This study provides a lead by highlighting the extent to which community rights have been affected by the governance procedures on the Volta Lake. It also examines how outstanding issues regarding the resettlement programme related to the Akosombo Dam Project could be addressed. This study is also significant in terms of providing recommendations (if any) that will seek to inform management of the Volta River Authority, how to ensure that necessary compensations for restricting the use of the Volta River and any other related resources are duly taken into consideration to resolve any conflicts that may be lurking around.

Generally, the findings of this study provide an added credible and substantial literature to the current ongoing debate on natural resource governance and community rights, specifically, within the Ghanaian context. The findings will also create public awareness more especially the community selected for this case study, the extent to which the Volta River Authority is planning to help solve the resulting impact arising from the resettlement programme.

Finally, these findings will also provide a veritable base for policy advocacy on issues related to natural resource governance as well as community rights, in relation to natural resource governance. It will also draw further attention to other natural resources in other communities and how its governance can be taken care of as a critical social policy subject area. Lastly, this study also makes recommendations for future studies in the subject area.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1.6 below shows the basic elements of a local or community level framework for natural resource governance. This includes eight governing principles described by Lockwood et al., (2010). The aiding elements include a policy and institutional environment, capacity enhancement and resource transfers for local development. Together, these elements seemingly constitute the foundations for achieving sustainable development impacts at community levels.

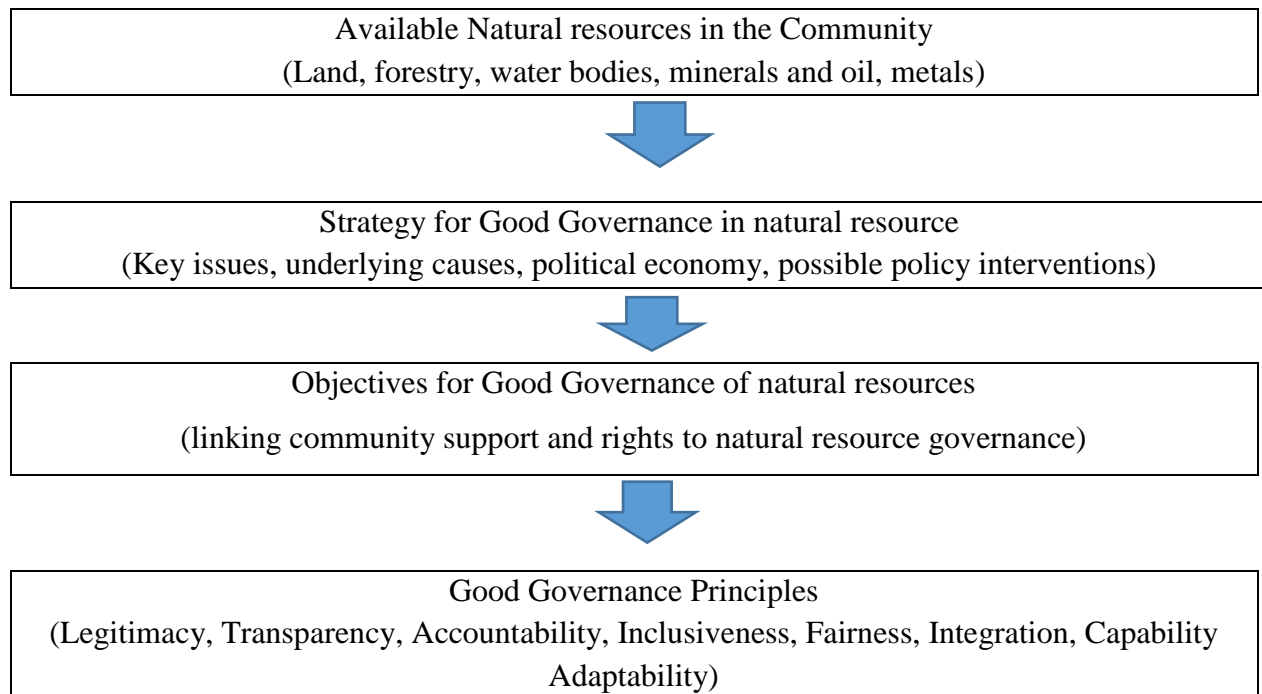
The stages as discussed in this framework revolves around identifying the objectives for good governance of natural resources. Some of these objectives include but are not limited to social legitimate rights that are legally recognized by governing authorities and can be recorded for the benefits of generations to come.

This framework adopted for this study is appropriate in terms of helping the study to first identify the availability of a natural resource in the community. Not only is the framework interested in identifying the availability of natural resources, but also to determine the importance or usability of the natural resource to the community and the nation at large.

Additionally, this adopted framework provides a lead for the study to examine the strategies put in place by governing authorities to manage the natural resource identified in the community. Regarding the strategies, the framework suggests an examination of the key issues that underlie the importance of the natural resource to the community. It also considers the nation and then the possible policy interventions necessary for the governance of the natural resources to benefit the intended targets.

The framework also provides the study with insights to examine the main objectives of the governance strategies put in place for the management of the natural resource. Key among the concerns of this stage in the framework is the availability of a strategic link in the governance procedure of the natural resource to community concerns; community support; community rights and upholding community interests in the natural resource. Lastly, the framework elaborates on the underlying principles of the governance structure in place for the natural resource management, and its ability to ensure that natural resource policies are in line with the principle of good governance.

Figure 1.6: Approach to Natural Resource Governance



Source: Author

Natural resource governance does not occur independently without considering the decentralization of administrative hierarchy. There is therefore the need to enforce community rights in the course of natural resource governance as it helps in avoiding natural resource conflicts, and provide a platform for promoting peace and stability within the community and nation.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This dissertation is structured into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the background to the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and a conceptual framework.

Chapter two addresses in detail reviews of significant literature on natural resource governance and community rights from various jurisdictions. It also highlights the research objectives outlined to be accomplished in this study. The chapter also reviews a series of theoretical approaches in explaining the theme and empirical works that reports what has been done to that effect.

Chapter three concentrates on the methodology adopted for the study. This section discusses the research design, study area, target population, case selection, data collection, community entry, data analysis and ethical issues.

Chapter four presents alongside literature analysis, interpretation and discussions of findings of the study. Finally chapter five presents a summary and draws inferences from findings to arrive at a conclusions for the research work and proceeds to make recommendations for future studies into the study area.

1.8 Definition of Key Concepts

Natural resources: Natural resources occur naturally within environments that exist relatively undisturbed by humanity, in a natural form. A natural resource is often characterized by amounts of biodiversity and geodiversity existent in various ecosystems. Natural resources are derived from the environment. Some of them are essential for survival while most are used for satisfying our needs. Natural resources may be further classified in different ways.

Natural resources are materials and components (something that can be used) that can be found within the environment. Every man-made product is composed of natural resources at its fundamental level.

Natural resource governance: Natural resource governance simply refers to the planning, organising, coordinating, and controlling the use of natural resources such as land, water, soil, plants and animals, with a particular focus on managing or governing how the identified natural resource affects the quality of life for both present and future generations of a people (Starik, 1995).

In other words, Natural resource governance deals with planning, organising, coordinating, and controlling the way in which people and natural landscapes interact. It conveys together land use planning, water body monitoring, biodiversity conservation, and future sustainability of industries like agriculture, mining, tourism, fisheries and forestry. It recognises that people and their livelihoods rely on the health and productivity of our landscapes, and their actions as stewards of the land play a critical role in maintaining this health and productivity (Bartley, Andersson, Jager and Van, 2008). Natural resource governance specifically focuses on a

scientific and technical understanding of resources and ecology and the life-supporting capacity of those resources (Holling and Meffe, 2002).

Community rights: Community rights simply refers to the legal, social, or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement that accrue to members living in clearly defined geographical jurisdiction either collectively or on individual basis. In other words, they are the fundamental normative rules about what is allowed of people or owed to people according to some legal systems, social convention, or ethical theory (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2014).

Rights for people living in a community or collectively for the community as a unit may include but not limited to the following listed below. In most cases constitutions of a country or conventions of a country define and regulate these community rights (Anderson, 2010).

Community Rights:

- The right to its own identity
- The right to participate within the wider community
- The right to access skills and resources within the wider community
- The right to support its members within the wider community
- The right to protect its members from influences that disadvantage its members
- The right to refuse entry to members that do not fit into the community
- The right to evict members that do not accept the agenda, practices and traditional institutions of the community
- The right to refuse skills and resources to the wider community, where its members are disadvantaged
- The right to determine its own destiny

Community resettlement project: Community resettlement usually involves the movement and relocation of people. Community resettlement can be effected as a result of famine, soil conservation, rainstorms, unemployment, dam construction, etc... in many cases the land settled is uncultivated forests, and in some cases the land is already cleared and developed before resettlement (Obosu-Mensah, 1996).

A community resettlement project was described by Thomi (1981) as the evacuation of people from an endangered area to a new place, thereby providing a basic shelter for the settlers. Community resettlement is not only the evacuation of people and providing them with accommodation at a new destination. Resettlement as an action of planned change includes also the creation of possibilities for earning a livelihood for the settlers (Thomi, 1981).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an in-depth review of related research into natural resource governance through the effects of the various factors associated with community rights. Thematically, the study reviews literature in relation to the concept of natural resource governance with much emphasis on the natural resource governance construct of Lockwood et al., (2010). The chapter also discusses the intuitions behind the focus of human rights and community rights in the governance processes of natural resources, as well as, natural resources governance and conflicts.

Discussing community rights, this chapter draws inferences from related works in the context of geographical attributes. The chapter proceeds to expound on the concept of natural resource governance and community rights with specific interest in how the concept relates in a Ghanaian context. Finally, the chapter provides a review of the Ghana Dams Dialogue and natural resource governance.

2.1 The Concept of Natural Resource Governance

Conservation and management of natural resources is a major concern towards sustained development by the society and the government at large. Organizations and governments are concerned with the implementation of public policies and strategies on sustainable use of natural resources. Africa is well known for its bounty resources. The African continent possesses a generous endowment of natural resources which is mostly underutilized due to political

instability, inadequate infrastructure or lack of investment in the sector (Alden and Alves, 2009; Peters 2004).

Raikes (2000) emphasized on the abundant rich lands in Africa stating that “on the average, land is more abundant in Africa than in any other continent...” Not only is Africa considered to have rich lands but other natural resources as well. Globally from a regional perspective in the year 2007, Middle East was recorded to have had the largest oil reserve of about 61% followed by the North America (11.6%) then Africa (9.5%). Africa has records of having the third largest oil reserves. The fourth was Central America with oil reserve of 8.5%. Most importantly is the fact that Africa currently is recorded to have the fastest growth rate in its oil reserves, which doubled in the past two decades (1997 to 2007).

The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (2010) views natural resource governance as one needed for sustainable development. Thus the absence of any good governance mechanism can lead to unsustainable use of natural resources. Inadequate governance mechanisms often heightens conflicts that arise over the use of natural resource. This is so because different sets of actors seek to utilize resources based on their specific needs or priorities (Oviedo 2010). Surkin (2011) also acknowledged that, very often there arises confusion or misunderstanding of governance and how it is applied in natural resource context.

Lockwood et al., (2010) also explained eight principles needed for good natural resource governance. According to the authors, these principles include: Legitimacy; Transparency; Accountability; Inclusiveness; Fairness; Integration; Capability; and Adaptability.

In the view of the authors, Legitimacy refers to how governing bodies exercise their authority with integrity. Thus these governing bodies need not seek to manipulate outcomes to their

personal advantage, they need to declare any conflict of interest that may arise. In support of this view was Habermas (1981) who also expounded on legitimacy as “a communication modality that makes judgment about the quality of communication using criteria such as honesty, clarity and sincerity as well as lack of distortion, manipulation and deception”.

Transparency according to Lockwood et al., (2010) requires that decision on natural resource governance must be clearly stated and readily available. Davidson and Stratford (2000) demonstrated that transparency can be seen in situation where for example some local community groups may want to access information on the state of certain privileges regarding the management of some natural resources through verbal communication rather than any other form of communication (written). The accountability principle still conferring for Lockwood et al., (2010) may take the form of either upwards (accountability to government the nation or the state) or downwards (accountability to the local and regional community). One other aspect of accountability is compliance with regulatory requirement.

Natural resource governance is regarded as inclusive when all stakeholder in the governance process engage with each other on equal basis. Inclusiveness requires participation and contribution from a wide range of stakeholders. Stakeholders also need to be given respect and attention on a fair bases. Very often there arise a problem as to which stakeholder should have access to and be responsible for the governance of the use of natural resource (Lockwood et al., 2010; Dovers 2005). The sixth principle of natural resource governance is: Integration. Integration covers the connection between different government levels as well as the connection between the same government levels, policy sectors and regions (Lockwood et al., 2010; Dovers

2005). In order to ensure the efficient and effective use of natural resources and to avoid duplication, integration needs to be enforced.

Further the authors explained that in order to enable individuals and organizations to effectively deliver their responsibility in governing the use of the natural resources available, there is the need to acquire leadership skills and plans. This they termed; the Capability Principle. It was explained that in a decentralized structure of natural resource governance, there are risks that, responsibilities might be allocated to lower levels without adequate and sufficient resources to equip them in their governance responsibilities. Thus the capacity of governance bodies to deliver effective outcomes is compromised by insufficient financial self-government and flexibility (Lockwood et al., 2010; Lawrence, 2005).

Finally the last principle suggested by Lockwood et al., (2010) is adaptability. Adaptability demands that bodies responsible for governing natural resources should be able to rearrange its internal processes and procedures in response to changing internal or external conditions. The eight principles explained above usually serves as a guidance for establishing good-practice, multilevel (government to communities) natural resource governance. This is summarized in the table below.

Table 2.1: Tabular Summary of Lockwood et al., (2010)'s Natural Resource Governance Principle

<i>PRINCIPLE</i>	<i>EXPLANATION OF PRINCIPLE</i>
<i>Legitimacy</i>	Integrity and commitment of all governing bodies. These governing bodies need to exercise their mandated authority and also need to have a long standing cultural attachment to the area they govern.
<i>Transparency</i>	Information, decisions and processes must be clearly stated and readily available in a form that is easily understood by the end users.
<i>Accountability</i>	This has to do with governing bodies' compliance with regulatory requirement. All decision makers from the top to the lower level need to be accountable to each other.
<i>Inclusiveness</i>	Participation and contribution by all stakeholders.
<i>Fairness</i>	These cover the aspect of maintaining respect and trust among all stakeholders.
<i>Integration</i>	The interconnectedness between all governing bodies in order to avoid duplication of resources needed in the governing process. This ensures effectiveness and efficient use of the natural resources available
<i>Capability</i>	Governing bodies need to acquire the skills needed for the governance of natural resources
<i>Adaptability</i>	Ensuring that the external processes and procedures conform to the changing environment.

Source: Researcher's Review of Lockwood et al., (2010).

Surkin (2011) also explained the governance principles using six principles rather than the eight principles elaborated by Lockwood et al., (2010). In the view of Surkin (2011), there is the

direction principle and the performance principle. The Direction principle looks at the strategic vision of good governance and also covers areas similar to the integration principle described by Lockwood et al., (2010). The performance principle has elements like responsiveness which ensures that the needs of all stakeholders are taken into account. Another element under the performance principle is the effectiveness and efficient use of resources available which was illustrated by Lockwood et al., (2010) as the Integration Principle.

Putting to use the governing principles formulated by Lockwood et al., (2010) and Surkin (2011) effectively, governing bodies need to be able to integrate human rights principles in the process. Although there are many questions that surround the best way to achieve the realisation of integrating the processes involved. Some of the questions raised concern about the practical implications for the design and implementation of governing strategies across a wide range of areas. Additionally other key questions include: the conflicts between different rights and rights holders, and the conflicts within the governing objectives. There is also the question on the kinds of policies, capacities and systems that are needed to enable conservation or governing organizations to implement and monitor their human rights commitments (Lankford and Hepworth, 2010).

2.2 Why a Focus on Human Rights in Natural Resource Governance?

The Conservation Initiative on Human Rights (CIHR) according to FordFoundation (2010) has recognized that there exist a strong economic and cultural relationship between communities attachment to natural resources, and thus the actions of governing bodies have a way of significantly affecting the lives of these people (FordFoundation, 2010).

This suggests that responsible actions of these governing bodies affects the rights of others, the obligation to respect, promote and protect those rights, all contribute towards the building of a more transparent and accountable governance. This also contributes to the enhancement of opportunities for these communities in which natural resources are situated.

From an ethical point of view, organizations or governing bodies involved in regulating the use of natural resources share a responsibility to understand and address potential negative impacts on people whose rights or livelihoods may be affected by them. On the contrary if these governing bodies are not clearly aware of the existing human rights of the people in the community, there is the tendency for conflicts to arise and this can undermine the efforts of the governing body (Springer, Campese and Painter, 2011; Fordfoundation 2010; United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG), 2006). Some of the main importance of focusing on human rights in the management of natural resources is to avoid what most social researchers refer to as the natural resource curse (Hirschman, 1958; Behrman, 1987; Cuddington, 1992; and Fosu, 1996). Andersen (2011) posits that current literature on the discussion of natural resource governance tends to focus on issues related to commons, and resource curse among other issues surrounding the political economy of sustainable development.

2.3 Natural Resource Curse

Natural resource curse can be explained as a contradictory state of affairs, in which nations with the abundance of mostly non-renewable resources experience either retrogressive or stagnant growth in their economy (Palley, 2003); in the sense that, such nations tend to focus all of its efforts and energies on such resources to the neglect of other sectors (Auty, 2001). Broadly emphasising, the Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partnerships (BRSP) (2006) explained the

‘resource curse’ as a phenomena in which countries with an export-driven, natural resources sector, generating large revenues for government, leads puzzlingly to economic stagnation, retrogression and political instability (BRSP, 2006).

Commonly cited examples of resource curse is the Dutch Disease. The Dutch Disease is a situation where a nation finds ample natural resource reserves, and economically begins to focus on such sectors, as they may be able to fetch higher revenues. Additionally, skilled workers from other sectors tend to migrate to such sectors, and that compels the industry to pay higher wages in that particular industry, resulting mostly in the national currency becoming less competitive; and the entire economy begins to suffer (Fearon and Laitin, 2003). In a more comprehensive elaboration, the Dutch Disease is the economic phenomenon in which the discovery and exploitation of natural resources deindustrialises a nation's economy. . In essence, ‘both’ the value of a country's currency rises and domestic spending patterns and other internal resource allocation effects make tradable manufactured goods and other tradable sectors such as parts of the agricultural sector less competitive. Imports increase, exports decrease, productivity falls and there is a shift away from the tradable sector to the non-tradable, such as construction. In its simplest, most narrow sense, the Dutch disease is the ‘contraction of the tradable sector’ (Pedro, 2004).

Studies (Sachs and Warner, 1999; Ascher, 1999; and Auty, 1993) have reported that, countries with strong natural resources sector have economically and socially under-performed compared to countries that are resource-deficient. The consequences usually associated with countries experiencing a natural resource curse include, but are not limited to: worsened income inequality

(Leamer, et al., 1998; and Spilimbergo, et al., 1999); poor performance in poverty alleviation; high debt obligations (Auty, 1997); economic policy failure (Sachs and Warner, 1999); trade regime failure; slow skill accumulation (Auty, 1997); unfulfilled public expectations (Auty, 2001); decline in administrative and fiscal efficiency; intergenerational inequality (Atkinson, et al., 1997) and corruption (Ross, 2003).

Having identified some of the problems associated with natural resource curse, within the context of Ghana, and particularly the importance of the Akosombo Lake, it could be argued that the natural resource curse has not been manifested. However, issues related to natural resource curse cannot be left 'un-reviewed' when discussing the management of natural resources.

2.4 Common-Pool Resource

Literature on common pool resources and common property has gained prominence over time regarding the discourse on natural resource governance (Ostrom, et al., 2002). Globally pervasive concerns about environmental degradation and resource depletion have stimulated this growth (Agrawal, 2003). Failures recognised with state management and market-oriented policies have made community attractive to many policymakers as an alternative actor to govern forests, pastures, water, and fisheries. Insight on common property has found widespread expressions as policy innovations, with many governments decentralising environmental management and promoting community based conservation (Li, 1996). Agrawal (2003) indicates that in many instances, these policy shifts are redefining communities, resource management, and local arrangements to govern the commons.

Concerns on commons shows variations in forms of property rights; and this makes differences in resource management outcomes (Katz, 2000). Such variations affect outcomes by shaping incentives of users and managers. Allied arguments by policymakers concerning commons have been to demonstrate that markets or private property arrangements and public ownership or state management do not exhaust the range of plausible institutional mechanisms to govern natural resource use.

The impact of different institutional structures on resource management, as argued by commons theorists have also shown the importance of both formal and informal institutions as an influence on human behaviour. They have drawn and built upon the works of other property rights theorists and institutionalists (Knight, 1992; North, 1990) but have produced additional evidence on the role of informal norms in influencing human actions. Because they conceptualise institutions deliberately in an abstract manner, as sets of enforceable rules that facilitate and constrain human action, their conclusions about property rights, a subset of institutions, possess significant generalisability. For commons theorists, property rights institutions are best seen as sets of rules that define access, use, exclusion, management, monitoring, sanctioning, and arbitration behaviour of users with respect to specific resources (Schlager and Ostrom 1992). At the same time as such rules are significant in governing patterns of use, they are also the principal mechanisms through which policies regarding resource management work (Agrawal, 2003).

Emphases have also been on the political nature of institutions. Institutions come into being as consequences of actions of humans and allow specific individuals and groups to reap advantages

from altered social circumstances rather than allowing societies as a whole to capture efficiency gains (Agrawal, 2003). All these efforts are aimed at reducing conflicts surrounding the uses of natural resources and its governance.

2.5 Natural Resource Governance and Conflicts

In most developing countries, governing bodies put to use revenues generated from the exploration of natural resource for developmental purposes. These revenues in some cases are used for supporting armies and also for personal gains and political support. When this occurs, the peace and stability of such countries are threatened (Burnley 2012). Additionally, leaders who find themselves in such acts are unwilling to give up their power and control of these resources and this results in conflicts (Corrigan, 2014).

In the absence of conflict, the control and governance of resources and revenues generated therein remain in the hands of the few elite and is not used for the broader development of the country (UNEG 2006; Burnley 2012; Alden and Alves 2009). The control of natural resource use thus have been shown to play a key role in most of the conflicts that have occurred in a number of African countries.

The record of increase in competition and conflicts surrounding the ownership of land and other natural resources across Africa and other parts of the world is concentrated on the assumption that land and other natural resource ownership do not guarantee access, let alone equal access. Also natural resources ownership — mostly the ownership of land — can be said to be one of the major causes of conflict in Africa.

Governing bodies of natural resources in Africa contribute towards the ambiguous claims and counter-claims to the same lands which brings about fierce conflicts. Recent studies (Peters 2004) from many parts of Africa suggest that the transfer of land ownership and other resources is quite problematic. The most formal way of such transfers is the written records where both the seller/owner and the buyer signs a written record.

2.6 Natural Resource Rights

Peoples' legitimate access to natural resources is a necessary precondition to meeting a broad range of human rights, such as the right to food, to property, shelter and the right to life, all of which are protected in international human rights instruments. The nature of peoples' right to natural resources shapes their access to basic physical survival needs (food, water, shelter, and fuel), economic opportunities, and resilience to shocks, as well as their social status, political power, and decision-making within their communities. Power, economics, politics, culture and the impacts of environmental degradation and climate change all shape the context in which such rights can be achieved (Pritchard, et al., 2013).

In the context of resource rights, legal systems and institutions in a country requires three essential elements to work well. These systems in a way may seem synonymous to legal frameworks. However, there are significant differences. To work well, a legal system relating to the use of natural resources needs a substantive right, procedural right and institutional responsibility. Regarding substantive right, systems require the right to own, use, access, control, transfer, exclude, inherit and otherwise make decisions about land and related resources. The procedural rights include rights to obtain information about decisions that might impact on land

or resource rights; the right to participate in a process to determine land ownership or the right to be consulted and to give or withhold free, prior and informed consent before action is taken that will impact on resource rights, and the right to complain and to have it heard and resolved fairly.

Lastly, institutional responsibilities refer to the procedures and institutions to settle disputes regarding the use of natural resources. For example courts or customary law tribunals. Such institutions define, secure and uphold the resource rights. Additionally, they ensure the long-term, enforceable, and appropriately transferable legal and socially legitimate rights to the use of natural resources in general (Landesa, 2012). The enforceability of natural resource rights feeds into the establishment of frameworks that will ensure the utmost governance of resources in general, hence, the need for appropriate workable legal frameworks.

2.7 Legal Framework of Natural Resources Governance

Natural resources law in general, performs three basic tasks. It specifies the parts of nature that can be owned and defines the terms of the legal rights (use rights) that users acquire. It also facilitates resource related transactions, and it provides mechanisms to co-ordinate uses and resolve inevitable disputes (Freyfogle, 2011). This explains why natural resources law should be applied to ensure the control and uses of mineral, forestry and water in our society.

A landowner, for instance, may have rights to engage in ‘hard rock’ mining (removing stone and metals) but have no right to remove oil and gas in British law. However, provided stone and metals are not vested in the state, such precious metals and minerals remains the property of the state, or government no matter where it was located (Northcott, 2012; Freyfogle, 2011).

Often natural resource legal frameworks emphasizes that, the natural resources of the country should benefit everyone irrespective of whether one's home District, or Region is endowed with natural resource of some kind or the other. Taxes from these natural resources that are extracted, logged and sold serve as revenue to the state, and through government policies the revenue generated are used to improve the quality of the citizens (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Broderick, 2005; Lane and McDonald, 2005; Selman, 2004).

In Ghana, the power of government to regulate resource uses is interwoven with constitutional provisions. In article 257 clause (6) of the constitution of Ghana, it states that:

‘Every mineral in its natural state, in, under or upon any land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water course throughout Ghana, the exclusive economic zone and any area covered by the territorial sea or continental shelf is the property of the Republic of Ghana and shall be vested in the President on behalf of, and in trust for people of Ghana’

(The constitution of Ghana, 1992).

For proper management of the natural resources in Ghana, article 269 clause (1) of the Republic of Ghana constitution provides that, “the Parliament of Ghana shall by or under an Act of Parliament, cause to be established within six (6) months after Parliament first meets after coming into force of this constitution of natural resources commissions to be responsible to regulate, manage the utilization of natural resources concerned and also to coordinate the policies related to them”. These commissions are the water resource commission, mineral, forestry and fisheries commissions.

Furthermore, clause (2) of article 269 of Ghana Constitution also empowers Parliament upon the recommendation of any of the commissions established to authorize any other agency of government to approve the grant of rights, concessions or contracts in respect of the extraction or

exploitation of any of the water, mineral or other natural resources of Ghana (The Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

The legal framework in Ghana gives the various natural resource commissions the constitution backing to formulate, regulate and manage the utilization of the natural resources of Ghana as well as the implementation of policies relating to mining, forestry, water resources, fisheries. In Ghana, one can only deal in the various natural resources upon the grant of a valid license by the various commissions, (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

The Volta River Development Act of 1961, (Act 46) section 33 also provides that Volta River Authority (VRA) has the power to make regulations prohibiting, restricting or regulating the use of the lake side area. This means that apart from the water being used for domestic purposes by the villages and households along the lakeside it could not be used for any other purpose without obtaining permission from the VRA.

2.8 Community Rights

In order for the local communities to engage in natural resource governance, they need to be aware of their rights as defined in laws and regulations. It is quite unfortunate that communities and local authorities are often not aware of these rights. There has therefore been efforts to always raise the awareness of these communities and local authorities in order to enable them participate in natural resource governance. For example, in some countries like Bangladesh, Benin and Nepal, the communities are encouraged to engage in natural resource governance by creating the platform (Multi stakeholder platforms) for them to be aware of their rights and to

encourage them to have a voice when it comes to the governance of natural resources (Surkin 2011).

In Ghana too, the Ghana Dams Dialogue presented several frameworks within which communities can ensure that their rights are not neglected.

The implementation of natural resource governance requires that one understands how rights are defined in the various legislation and policies in a country or community where those rights are exercised. Different countries have different community rights when it comes to natural resource governance. For instance, Latin America, among developing countries, tends to have the highest level of recognition of community rights in the natural resource governance process (Surkin 2010; Larson and Soto 2008).

It is now a popular thing for communities to exercise their rights when it comes to natural resource governance. Also the control, management and governance of natural resources are more effective when left in the hands of the local population and communities (Larson and Soto 2008). This is in part true because when government through ministries manage the natural resources, they may not take into consideration the broader democracy goals of decentralization (Torri, 2010).

In Africa, traditional or customary authority is associated with the use of force language. The local authority, chiefs exerts their power over lands, forest and other natural resources. This depicts that those in control of the natural resources are feared rather than respected by the community (Ntsebeza, 2005). Nevertheless, in some cases chiefs or local authorities can be capable leaders who exercise progressive forces; it is also observed that in order to ensure

sustainable natural resource use, democratic and equitable governance processes need to be put in place.

This practice is often paramount in areas where there is high poverty (Adeniyi, 2014). If these democratic and equitable governance processes are not put in place, the people will lose interest in governance. Community rights are therefore required for sustainable natural resources that benefits the local communities too (Himley, 2013).

One of the most important economic asset of communities can be said to be the natural resources available to them. However despite this, very often communities with the presence of natural resources in their environment typically have limited rights to use these natural resources. As mentioned above powerful interest groups, government and local chiefs often have an upper hand in the use and access of these resources.

Another problem associated with this is the issue of corruption and mismanagement (FordFoundation 2010). In developing countries and in some developed countries, many attempts made to protect the environment by restricting resource use have adverse effects on poor families as well as the resources themselves. These policies have had adverse effect of affecting the members of the communities involved.

In some instances, according to FordFoundation (2010), the best solution may be to award formal property rights to communities or households; or better still, iron out the agreements between government agencies and communities to manage resources together, or change regulations to allow communities to use the resources they depend on, regardless of the disposition of formal property rights.

The Conservation Initiative on Human Rights (CIHR) (2010) came out with stepwise approach for rights based conservation which to them is applicable throughout the world. This approach enforces the rights and culture of communities in natural resource governance (Sikor and Stahl, 2012). The main steps include:

- Undertake a situation analysis
- Provide information
- Ensure participation
- Take reasonable decisions
- Monitor and evaluate application of the Rights Based Approaches
- Enforce rights

Governing of natural resources and the rights of people to secure their livelihood is closely related. The pursuit of conservation goals can positively contribute towards the understanding of many fundamental human rights (Sikor, 2013). In situations where issues surrounding human rights and wellbeing are not fully understood or attended to, governing and conservation actions by governing bodies can give rise to negative impacts (Springer et al., 2011) such as conflicts.

2.9 Natural Resource Governance and Community Rights in Ghana

The governing of natural resources in past years have been in the hands of the state. Thus the state controls the natural resources available. An alternative to this form of centralized way of governing the natural resources is the Community– Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). CBNRM seeks to encourage the participation of communities and other users of natural resources in the governing and decision making process. This is in response to the

limitation of the centralized way of managing resources which is characterized by western forms of science and bureaucracy (Cuba, Bebbington, Rogan and Millones, 2014; Armitage, 2005).

There has been a wide range of case studies on community based resource management and covers areas like water resource, wildlife, fisheries, forest and coastal areas (Colchester 1991; Lane 2001; Weitzner and Manseau, 2001). The role of natural resources in the economics and environmental stability of countries, especially Ghana, is expanding. Also, current understanding of natural resource management and its relationship with the environment is far more sophisticated than has been in past decades.

Resource management is again faced with wider stakeholder interests and more challenging demands especially at times where resource deposits and ecosystems are collectively experiencing decline in both cover and quality at rates higher than any other period in history (Ntiamoah and Afrane, 2008).

These developments have transformed the work of natural resource governing bodies from that of only managing ecosystems and extraction, to one of applying a wide range of skills to respond to these diversified interests and expectations of stakeholders. It is also considered as competing claims on the resources and the environmental consequences of their use (Weitzner and Manseau, 2001).

2.10 The Ghana Dams Dialogue and Natural Resource Governance

The Ghana Dam Dialogue was established in 2006, inspired by the processes and findings of the World Commission on Dams (WCD), with financial support from GTZ (now GIZ). The Ghana Dam Dialogue was designed as a national dialogue process, following international and global

examples of such processes. It is the first inclusive planning tool for the development of dams in the West African Region, providing multiple stakeholders with opportunities to hold discussions on irreconcilable differences and contributed to the development of equitable solutions.

The Ghana Dams Dialogue in keeping with the beliefs of the WCD has equity, sustainability, efficiency, participatory and accountability as the core values of future development of large dams (Nelson and Selby 2009; GDD 2010a). Since its establishment, the Ghana Dams Dialogue has functioned in three phases. The first phase of the project focused on the establishment of the dialogue; the second sought to strengthen the processes; while the third phase aimed to consolidate its achievement. The Ghana Dams Dialogue has clarified the institutional setting and decision-making processes and pathways for hydropower dams in Ghana.

The Ghana Dams Dialogue primarily strived to reconcile national government issues with local level issues, as well as strengthened interactions between various sectors. It also assisted in shaping the context of dams-related issues by playing a key role in negotiations and resolving conflicts between stakeholder groups; knowledge-sharing and awareness creation (Nelson and Selby 2009) as mediators. The Ghana Dams Dialogue also sought to learn from Kpong and Akosombo by involving the Dam Affected Communities (DACs) and Volta River Authority (VRA).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with sources of data for the study, the case selection technique and a description of the observations in the case study. The chapter also presents the data collection method and how data gathered was evaluated and interpreted. Finally, the chapter presents the ethical considerations that were observed in the course of this dissertation.

3.1 Research Design

This is a single case research design using qualitative approach to data collection and data analysis.

A case in the view of Gerring (2007) may be created out of any phenomenon so long as it has identifiable boundaries and comprises the primary object of an inference. In a similar manner, a case study may be understood as the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is at least in part to shed light on a larger class of cases or a population.

Case studies often include in-depth interviews with participants and collaterals (e.g., friends, family members, and colleagues), review of medical records, observation, and excerpts from participants' personal writings and diaries. Case studies have a practical function in that they can be immediately applicable to the participant's diagnosis or treatment (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger, 2005). The strength of a case study approach is its depth, rather than its breadth. The researcher tries to discover all the variables that are important in the history or development of his subject (Gall et al., 2003).

Qualitative research investigates the quality of relationships, activities, situations or materials (Frankael and Wallen, 2003). The features of qualitative research have been explained to include: it having the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument; it is descriptive which means that it dwells on words and pictures rather than numbers; qualitative researchers are concerned with processes rather than sampling with outcomes or products; qualitative researchers tend to analyse data inductively and finally meaning is essential to qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklin, 1992).

Additionally in this study, an interview guide is designed and administered to the various categories of respondents to the study; first to the focus group and second to a respondent from the Volta River Authority. Responses recorded were analysed narratively and descriptively. Descriptive narrative aims predominantly at describing, observing and documenting aspects of a situation as it naturally occurs rather than explaining them (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Gall, Gall, and Borg, (2003) argued that generally, interview guide approach is more structured than the informal conversational interview although there appears to be a bit of flexibility in its composition.

On the other hand, focus groups are formally organized, structured groups of individuals brought together to discuss a topic or series of topics to obtain individuals' impressions and concerns about certain issues, services, or products during a specific period of time (Marczyk et al., 2005).

3.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in the Agyena community because of convenience, accessibility, proximity and finally as one of the communities that was seriously affected by the Akosombo

Dam Project and had to resettle to their present day location. The community is located in the Eastern region of Ghana and is situated within the gorge areas of Akosombo and Gyeketi. Traditionally, they were located at the current place where the Akosombo Dam is situated (Obosu-Mensah, 1996; Brokensha, 1962).

Owing to the resettlement project as a consequence of the Akosombo Dam Project, they were resettled to their present day location within the gorge area of the Volta Lake, between Gyeketi to the west and Akosombo Township to the east. Currently there are approximately about 30,000 inhabitants in the Agyena community as at 2010. Although development in the community is nothing to write home about, there are facilities such as schools, health posts, market centres, and some few other facilities. A greater part of the Agyena Township is without electricity. In all there are about 15 communities in the Agyena Township. The main occupations of the people are subsistence farming and fishing; only a few are into trading of merchandised goods and services.

3.3 Target Population

The population of this study comprise all the elements or respondents to this study. The elements that were observed included: inhabitants in the community of Agyena and some respondents from the Volta River Authority. The population constituted people who have lived in the community of Agyena for more than 20 years.

Of those members who participated in the focus group discussions of the study, most of them were people who have lived in the community for a period over 20 years. In all, the study considered a maximum of 30 people randomly selected from the community and have lived in the community for more than 20 years to be part of the focus group; this was constituted

irrespective of the gender distribution of respondents provided in the researcher's opinion can proffer the necessary information or data to be used to analyse the findings.

In addition, four (4) Directors of Volta River Authority were also interviewed to serve as a back-up information to buttress the data that had already been collected from the community level.

3.4 Case Selection

In order for a case study to provide insight into a broader phenomenon, it must be representative of a broader set of cases. Hence, a typical case study exemplifies what is considered to be a typical set of values, given some general understanding of a phenomenon (Yin, 1994; Gerring, 2007). The case selected for the purposes of this study is the community of Agyena. Agyena is one of the communities that were affected due to the construction of the Akosombo Dam. This case was settled on because in the view of Obosu-Mensah (1996), a greater proportion of the entire stretch of land that the dam covers were lands and farm lands of the people of Agyena.

Additionally, the study did not require statistical inferences about the characteristics of the population as well as convenience to the researcher in acquiring the required data for the successful completion of this study. Although generalization may not be possible, it is however expected that, Agyena would be a good representation for most of the communities that were affected during the construction of the dam, and that; findings and recommendations can apply to the other communities that were affected.

Purposive sampling technique was used in recruiting participants for this study. Participants for the research were selected with the help of a community focal person who was informed about the natural resource governance and the community rights of the people of Agyena with respect to the Akosombo Dam.

The officials from the Volta River Authority were also contacted to be part of this study in view of their respective roles or functions they play in relation to the Akosombo Dam operations. An initial visit was paid to the participants to seek permission for their participation in the in-depth interviews. The date and time for the interviews were scheduled after permissions were granted by the participants.

According to Sekaran (1984) instead of obtaining information from those who are most conveniently available, it might sometimes become necessary to obtain information from specific targets, that is specific types of people who will be able to provide the relevant information, either because they are the only ones who can give the needed information, or because they conform to some criteria set by the researcher. Thirty-four (34) participants were obtained as the sample size of the study.

3.5 Data Collection

In-depth interview was identified and used as the best tool to collect data from the participants. In all, three (3) focus group discussions were held. The research considered details of the people i.e., gender, age, education and social status.

At the community level, 10 members of the traditional authority of Agyena were selected for the Focus Group Discussions. They were made up of six (6) men, comprising the Secretary to the traditional authority, the Benkumehene, the Nifahene, Chief linguist, Stool father and the Nkosuohene; and four (4) women comprising the Queen mother, Obaapanyin and two (2) members of king makers. They were of ages 65 years and 75 years old. Their selection was based on the fact that they represented the royal family and the leadership of the Agyena community.

The second focus group discussion constituted six (6) elderly men and four (4) elderly women aged between 60 years and 70 years. They were selected based on their knowledge of the community before, during and after the construction of the Akosombo Dam. The third focus group discussion was held with a group made up of five (5) young men and five (5) young women of ages between 20 years and 30 years. This group represented the youth of Agyena, who are aggrieved because they lack jobs and cannot gain access to the lake and their ancestral lands to farm because of the restrictions imposed by the compulsory acquisition of their land at Agyena. At the Volta River Authority (VRA) level, four (4) officials from the Real Estate and Security Department, Legal Services Department, Hydro Generation Department and the Environmental, Sustainable Development Department were all engaged in-depth interviews. These officials were selected in view of their respective roles and knowledge about the Akosombo Dam operations. Interviews were conducted both in English and Akan language which were most convenient for the participants depending on one's preference.

Respondent's answers or comments were probed for deeper insight and comprehension of the situation in question. The guides were used for key informants who included the Directors of the four (4) departments of the VRA and four (4) opinion leaders of Agyena.

The interviews with the community members and key informants shed light on complex issues about resettlement and compensation, community rights and the use of natural resources in general.

3.5.1 Community Entry

Prior to entering the community, the researcher first obtained a letter of introduction from the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS) which is the institute that is coordinating this research in the University of Ghana, Legon. This letter is made available to anybody who wanted to verify the status of the researcher before granting the researcher data. Secondly, the researcher contacted the District Assembly Office in the community, opinion leaders, among others and sought their permission after the purpose of the study had been made known to them. Thirdly, after the purpose of the study was explained to them the researcher was granted the permission to go ahead with the composition of the focus group discussion. Arrangements were made with them prior to the researcher's return for the engagements. With regard to the researcher's entry into the Volta River Authority, similar steps that were used to enter the study area was replicated.

3.6 Data Analysis

In order to carry out a detailed analysis to achieve the stated objectives of the study, responses gathered from the respondents to the face-to-face interviews and the focus group discussion was transcribed to generate the data for the analysis and discussions. The data gathered from the interviews were done using a voice recorder. The researcher played and listened to it several times before the actual transcription was done. Also, because most of the in-depth interviews were conducted in Twi language (local language) the data were translated into English language by the researcher who is fluent in the Twi language.

The raw data was analysed inductively because it enabled the dominant or significant themes to emerge without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies (Thomas, 2003). The transcribed data was categorized into themes by looking for fits and recurring patterns in the

data. The researcher analysed specific statements and searched for possible meanings that made the information more meaningful (Creswell, 1998). The most illustrative quotations were extracted and used to support important points that emerged from the data gathered from the respondents.

3.7 Ethical Issues

Clearly noting the demands of the conventional ethical standards in academic research, the researcher tried to adhere to the standards by seeing to it that issues of privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of all respondents are not compromised, but wholly protected. Since the study involved collection of information about people and also a corporate entity with a national interest in terms of politics and economic affairs, the value of confidentiality was of great importance. Therefore, the information gathered from each respondent was held in complete confidence and presented in the state of anonymity.

Furthermore, the researcher ensured that participation in the research was purely voluntary and all participants were informed of the purpose and nature of the research both verbally and in writing where necessary. No statements were attributed to personalities or names. Also, at the Authorities premises, all rules and regulations of the Authority and Community of study were rigorously observed. Additionally, no unauthorized persons were engaged for data collection in any way. Finally, all informed consent were sought before any form of voice recording of interviews or discussions were done.

In summary, all ethical issues were taken into serious consideration in the process of planning, designing, conducting, analysing and reporting on this study. Responding participant were

therefore informed of the purpose of this study and assured that, responses to questions posed will be treated confidentially.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of analysis and discussion of the findings from the study. The chapter is organised based on the key objectives of this study. Significant themes such as the Volta Lake and natural resource governance; community as well as the Volta River Authority's perception of participation in the governance of the Volta Lake and other related natural resources; and the key human and community rights that have been affected owing to the governance strategies in place to manage the natural resources and the Volta Lake.

Additionally, the chapter discusses the interplay of natural resource governance and community right, specifically highlighting the missing gaps in the Akosombo Resettlement Project. Lastly, the chapter discusses the perceived impact of the resettlement project on the communities affected especially regarding Agyena the study area.

4.1 The Volta Lake and Natural Resource Governance

This study examined issues of natural resource governance as it relates to the Volta Lake. The Volta Lake is the largest reservoir by surface area in the world, and the fourth largest by water volume. Contained behind the Akosombo Dam which begun in 1961 and completed in 1965, it is located completely within Ghana, and it has a surface area of about 250 miles (400 km) long and covers 3,283 square miles (8,502 square km), or 3.6 percent of Ghana's area. It came about as a result of damming the Volta River just south of Agyena, creating a lake extending upstream from

the Akosombo Dam to Yapei, beyond the former confluence of the Black Volta and White Volta rivers which formerly converged where the middle of the reservoir now lies, to form the single Volta River; with a storage capacity of about 124,000,000 acre-feet (153,000,000,000 cubic m) of water (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014; Volta River Authority, 1969).

The lake's creation involved the inundation of 15,000 homes and of 740 villages and the resettlement of 78,000 people, along with about 200,000 animals belonging to these inhabitants at the time of constructing the dam. About 120 buildings were destroyed, not including small residences, which covered approximately over 3,000 square miles (7,800 km²) of land area. The lake is navigable and provides a cheap route linking Ghana's northern savannah with the coast. It also is a major fishing ground and provides irrigation water for farmland in the dry Accra Plains lying immediately below the dam site (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014; Volta River Authority, 1969).

On the Volta Lake is a hydro-electric power generation installation with a generating capacity of about 912 megawatts of electricity which is used not only within the boundaries of Ghana, but extends to other neighboring countries such as Togo, Benin, some parts of Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire (Volta River Authority, 2014).

Having provided the study with a synopsis of the profile of Akosombo Dam and the Volta Lake, the study sought to establish from the respondent to the interview from the Volta River Authority the natural resource governance structure and modalities regarding the Volta Lake and any other ancillary natural resources such as the forest belts along the banks of the lake.

Responding to this prompt from the researcher, it was gathered from the key informant from the Volta River Authority that, due to the enormous benefits that accrue to the nation and even on the international stage, the governance structure regarding the Volta Lake is well designed to ensure the sustainability and effective use of the resource by the Ghana and the other countries that rely on it.

In line with governance principles proposed by Lockwood et al., (2010), and the conceptual framework proposed, it is observed that, there exists the availability of a natural resource in a particular community although it spans across several other communities, which for the purposes of this study is not discussed. Additionally, it is also observed that considering the enormous benefits derived from the resource, the state has through an act of parliament promulgated a law that will ensure an effective management of the natural resource and any other ancillary natural resource consequent to the construction of the Volta Lake.

The objectives of the governance strategy as was thematically gathered from the key informant within the Volta River Authority is what happens to be a little complicated relating it to one of the key phenomenon being discussed in the course of this study which is community rights. From the responses that were transcribed and further analysed for discussion in this work, it was observed that communities that were inundated owing to the construction of the dam and the resulting lake have been inappropriately misplaced and mismanaged by the State of Ghana acting through the Volta River Authority.

Key among the concerns raised by the informant within the Volta River Authority were the compensations to the families that had to resettle from their ancestral and traditional homes to make way for the construction of the dam at Agyena.

Relating the issues raised by the key informant within the Volta River Authority to this study to the governing principles proposed by Lockwood et al., (2010), the study observed that the principles as was elaborated on by respondent had legitimacy. This means that the integrity and commitment of regarding exercising mandated authority and having a long standing cultural attachment to the natural resource, the Volta River Authority and its operative apparatus tend to have absolute control over the Volta Lake and any other natural resource consequent to the formation of the lake.

In addition, the governing principles appear transparent. This was observed to be so in the course of the study because the Volta River Authority Act (Act 46), clearly outlines the overriding strategies to be in place in the governance procedures of the Volta Lake, and this act of parliament is available for public consumption.

Regarding the accountability principle in the framework to the governance processes of the Volta Lake, it was also observed that because the Volta River Authority was set up by an act of parliament, the act ensures that the authority accounts for the usage of Volta Lake and any other natural resource to the Ministry of Energy who also in turn reports to the president and parliament of Ghana.

This makes the accountability principle more robust and effective. For fairness, it is observed that the governance procedures of the Volta River Authority for the Volta Lake appears fair to majority of Ghanaians except for the few communities that were resettled as a result of constructing the dam. In addition, inclusiveness of all contributory stakeholders to the

management of the Volta Lake appears to be effective except for the seemingly marginalisation of the Agyena community.

In relation to the other principles in the framework i.e. Integration, capability, and adaptability, it was gathered from the key informant that the governance procedures of the Volta Lake all appear effective and are efficiently being managed to ensure an optimised usage of the Volta Lake and any other related natural resources following from the construction of the dam.

The themes deduced from the transcribed responses gathered from the face-to-face interview with respondent within the Volta River Authority regarding the Volta Lake and natural resource governance are presented below in the citations.

Some of the excerpts are captured below:

“Not only to Ghana, but then to some other countries within West Africa, the Volta Lake and the Akosombo Dam is a great and very essential resource. This natural resource provides them with the driving force behind their economic development and growth agenda as it supplies them with electricity.... The main thing about the Akosombo Dam and the Volta Lake is that, it was originally planned by the British Colonial government by the then governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Gordon Guggisberg in 1915. Due to the world war which had begun in those days, the project couldn't take place, until between 1962 and 1965 when it was successfully completed by the Nkrumah government. During the process, some communities had to be relocated to make way for the construction, and the first to be relocated were those living in Agyena which happens to be your primary focus in this study...”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Regarding responses that were captured in relation to the governance processes of the Volta Lake, the following excerpts were captured:

“..., after the construction of the Akosombo Dam and the resulting Volta Lake, the state through the parliament of Ghana promulgated the Volta River Authority

Act 1961 (Act 46) which confers on the authority the mandate of managing the Volta Lake.

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Having mentioned that, the study quotes from the introductory sections of the act:

‘An act to provide for the establishment of an Authority charged with the duties of generating electricity by means of the water power of the Volta River, and by any other means, and of supplying electricity through a transmission system; for the construction of a dam and power station near Akosombo, and for the creation of a lake by the damming of the River; for giving the Authority power to administer certain lands liable to be inundated and lands adjacent thereto, and for dealing with the resettlement of people living in the lands to be inundated; for charging the Authority with certain incidental responsibilities and for related matters’.

The key informant went further to indicate that, gathering from the provisions in the Volta River Act 1961, (Act, 46):

“The Volta River Authority has all the legal rights to determine the modalities regarding the use of the lake and any other lands, forests, soil, water, and so on that is in relation to the effective management of the lake and dam”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Adding up, the key informant from the Volta River Authority indicated that, the act prescribes the level of transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, legitimacy, and all other management procedures in light of good governance that will readily come to mind.

Quoting the key informant to the study the following below is cited:

“As a matter of fact, the Act provides the blue print for managing the Volta Lake and all other natural resources that are related to it... except the fact that, there are some lapses in the act that are being addressed by a legislative instrument to make some amendments to address those lapses. For instance, the Act does not allow for strict community participation in the governance process”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

4.2 Community Perception of Participation in the Governance of the Volta Lake and other Natural Resources

In the course of granting the interviews and discussing the governance of the Volta Lake and the ancillary natural resources along the banks of the lake, members in the focus group discussion had the perception that the governance processes and procedures of the Volta Lake is hostile to dwellers, and settlers generally within the gorge area of the lake site.

Furthermore, discussants were generally of the view that, regarding the management of the Volta Lake, communities that were resettled to make way for the construction of the dam and the resulting lake, especially Agyena, have all been ignored. Adding to ignoring these communities, discussants indicated that, the Volta River Authority and for that matter the government of Ghana have not been fair to them as Ghanaians in the first place, and have also succeeded in erasing their history and traditions as a people.

Observing the thematic responses gathered during the discussion sessions, there was an affirmation of the essence of the suggestions postulated by Springer et al., (2011) as well as the FordFoundation, (2010). These suggestions were that, from the ethical points of view, organisations or governing bodies involved in regulating the use of natural resources share a responsibility to understand and address potential negative impacts regarding perceptions, behaviour, and acts of the people who may perceive some level of unfairness and injustice to them regarding the use of a natural resource (FordFoundation, 2010).

Springer et al., (2011) on the other hand indicates that contrary to the suggestions by FordFoundation (2010), if these governing bodies are not clearly aware of the existing grievances and bitterness of the communities where the natural resource is situated, there are tendencies for conflicts which can undermine the efforts of the governing body and the benefits that accrues from the usage of the identified natural resources.

Some of the main issues that came up during the focus group discussion are summarised and paraphrased below:

A discussant emphasised by stating that:

“We (as in our forefathers, and even our children) are fishermen, we used to fish on the Volta River, our wives and daughters used to smoke these fishes and then we sold them in exchange of money for our livelihoods. Owing to the construction of the Dam, we were relocated to our present settlements; now our wives have lost their smokers, and now we do not have full access to the use of the river anymore. Anywhere at all on the lake you pass, there are signs of no fishing here and there. Worse of it all, the lake has been given to some others because they have money to cultivate fish farms on the lake”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Another discussant too was of a similar view and lamented that:

“...recently, the Volta River Authority came up with a project to protect the gorge area of the Lake by protecting the trees and forest zone along the banks of the lake, as well as planting more trees to serve as a cover for the lake bed. To our surprise as people who live close to the lake in this portion of the land, the Volta River Authority had to employ people from Juapong, Gyeketi¹ and other surrounding communities to come and guard the gorge area at the side of this Township. Whereas, there are high rate of unemployment issues in this community, which is mainly as a result of the resettlement programme”.

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

¹ Juapong and Gyeketi are surrounding towns closer to the Agyena Township

The last but not the least of the responses cited in the summary on views on the perception of participating in the governance processes and procedures of the Volta Lake stated that:

“...government between the years 1961 to 1966 and even beyond, having constructed the Akosombo Dam which subsequently inundated our lands and our ancestral homes, no compensation has been made to us. We still have not received the monies we were promised by the then government to pay us for our loss. In instances where the youth feel so embittered and resort to carry out demonstrations, the authority arrests them, or inflicts pain on them”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Flowing from the perceptions of the people in the community as presented above, the study in the following section sought to establish some of the key human rights issues as well as community rights issues that have been either overlooked or ignored in the course of the natural resource governance process of the Volta Lake and the related natural resources.

4.3 Key Human and Community Rights affected owing to the Natural Resource Governance

Anderson (2010) in his publication, indicated that community rights refers to the legal, social, or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement that accrue to members living in a clearly defined geographical jurisdiction either collectively or on individual basis. Inferably, human rights per this definition would be the unit rights that cumulate to form community rights.

In this rights, Anderson (2010) lists sample rights of the community to include, the community's ability to own its own identity, the right to participate in the wider community, right to access skills and resources within the wider community, and so some other similar rights.

Additionally, in Ghana, the State Lands Act 1962 (Act 125) strictly asserts that:

“where it appears to the President in the public interest so to do, the President may, by executive instrument, declare the land specified in the instrument, other than land subject to the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123), as land required in the public interest”

(State Lands Act 1962 (Act 125))

Analysing the community rights suggested above in the view of Anderson (2010) against the pronouncements quoted from Act 125, it appears to be that, since preliminary studies regarding the construction of the Akosombo Dam indicated the old Agyena community to be the dam site for the project, the community’s interest in the land ceased to exist. However, in the event where a land is declared to be of interest to the public, Act 125 provides for compensation to be made to such individuals. At this point the key informant from the Volta River Authority who responded to this study mentioned that:

“... when the then government of the day expressed interest in the land of Agyena for the construction of the dam, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the then Prime Minister of Ghana stressed that, government would ensure that as part of the compensations to be made to the community of Agyena and other communities affected by the damming process, no one was to be made worse off in relation to standards of living and living conditions as a result of the creation of the lake. Hence, a resettlement project was launched to see to the compensation proceedings...”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Following from the quotes from the key informant from the Volta River Authority, it suggests that plans were put in place to compensate the affected communities. However inferring from the responses that were gathered from the focus group discussion, it was observed that the compensation which was promised with a primary aim of appeasing the communities affected for their losses, had since not been settled.

In addition, the place where they were resettled have all been ignored and isolated in issues regarding developmental projects such as availability of social amenities like health posts, schools, market centres, electricity and several others. Furthermore, some other rights that have been affected by the resource governance structure in place for the Volta Lake is the individuals' legal and natural rights to own lands have all been lost, some social and cultural rights they formally enjoyed as a community have all been lost as a result of moving away from their ancestral homes.

Rights to use the lake as a main source of fishing which served as a source of employment too have all been lost due to the several restriction and prohibitions to the use of the lake at some portions. Forest lands for cultivating food crops and rearing animals for subsistence according to the discussants have all been lost. Hence, the community of Agyena feeling every right for the community has been scraped off the table for them, leaving them either partly or totally marginalised. Below are some of the comments that were raised from discussants summarised in the discussions above.

Regarding the loss of rights which is related to the social needs of the community one discussant in the focus group discussion indicated that:

“... we as a community have been totally ignored in terms of social amenities such as schools, clinics, health posts, police stations, good roads, better drinking water, availability of electricity, the list is inexhaustible. The sad thing is that, electricity is generated just some few miles away from this town, but the irony is that, we don't have lights in this town. On the contrary, Akosombo Township has lights and we don't have. But then from this community to Akosombo is only some few minutes' drive down the hill. The roads leading to Akosombo from the Agyena is not tarred and in a very deplorable state, whereas, the whole township of Akosombo is tarred and well demarcated for vehicular mobility. In short, the

social needs rights of the community has been strongly violated owing to the construction of the dam and the resulting lake”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

From the commentary cited above, it could also be inferred from the responses that, not only are the rights mentioned above, related to social needs, they are also concerned with the rights to have development as a community from the state. In other words the developmental rights of the Agyena Township seems to have been ignored both by the Volta River Authority and the country as a whole. Although, the Volta River Authority as an institution has the mandate to act on behalf of the government in regards to matters concerning the Volta Lake.

Another discussant also indicated with regards to social needs right that was affected as the following cited below:

“My family in those days was very wealthy, according to sources in the community, my grandparents were affluent and had lots of properties in terms of land, farmlands, livestock, and other merchandising avenues. In addition we had a very large family as well. Owing to the resettlement project which was as a result of the dam construction, my grandparents lost everything. During the resettlement process, attempts to provide my grandparents with a compensatory token, they were given just two two-bedroom houses and some few acreages of farmlands. As a matter of fact this could not effectively support the family size, as well as sustain the social status of the family. Now my family is very poor with the social fibre of my family also broken. My family members are now scattered all over, because my grandparents couldn’t mobilise us again after the resettlement”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Another discussant who commented on the rights that relates to legally owing land indicated that:

“..., we used to have abundance of land at our former settlement where we have flooded now. The resettlement programme which saw us moving to our new lands took away all those rights from us. Now we don’t have any land of our own in this

new place. The sad thing is that, even if I die and I have plantations on a piece of land it cannot be willed to my children or family. On my death, any interest I had in the land ceases, regardless of all my efforts to cultivate the land for food”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Elaborating on the way the natural resource governance had affected the human and community rights of the people in relation to the culture, history and traditions of the people of Agyena, another discussant mentioned that:

“When the people of Agyena resettled here at this new place, we couldn’t come along with our shrines, alters, and our sacred monuments. We also came in to settle on a land where the owners had different customs and traditions, as a matter of fact, there were acts and deeds they performed which we the people of Agyena finds abominable and very offensive”.

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Inferring from the discussions, it suggested that there were some specific days in the week that each community observed as sacred; and for that reason, inhabitants are not allowed to farm or fish. It is also inferred from the discussions that there were punishments for such behaviours and are considered abominable by the community. This differences in such traditions brought about some misunderstandings between the re-settlers and the owners of the land on which the people of Agyena were being resettled. Gathering from another discussant to the study, the following below is quoted:

“... because of the differences in some traditional practises we have; we have some misunderstandings with the people of Gyeketi. This misunderstanding nearly brought about conflicts between these two groups of people. With the intervention of the state in resolving the conflict, the people of Agyena had to compromise and live without some of our traditions. Now we also don’t go to our farms or fishing on the days they don’t. The people of Agyena does not have any history anymore. We don’t have anything to show to our generations after us. We are now foreigners on this land without any sense of identity as a people”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Commenting on the loss in economic rights another discussant to the study also mentioned that:

“The river used to be a key source of food and means to make money for most of the people living in this community. We used some of the fish for food and then we sold the rest for money. We also used to farm along the banks of the river; it had good and rich soils when we used to be at our old settlement where the dam is sited now. As a people, we had free access to the river, the forests around, the soils, quarrying stones for sale and other related activities”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

The discussion above reinforces the concerns of the community regarding the loss in their ability to freely have access to the Volta Lake for their economic and other related activities. It was also mentioned that; with the construction of the dam and the resulting lake, the Volta River Authority have placed all manner of restrictions and prohibitions regarding the use of the lake at certain portions. This means that, the sections on which individuals in the community are allowed to fish, there is bound to be depletion. In relation to that, another discussant pointed out the quotation below:

“..., now the number of people fishing on the lake have reduced significantly, adding to that the volume of fishes we used to have, is also reduced significantly. We don't have enough for food let alone have some for sale. This has marginalised almost everyone in this community economically. Worse of all, there are no other jobs here that people can do to earn a living”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

As observed from the responses cited above, it appears that the state acting through the Volta River Authority in providing a governance structure for the Volta Lake and any other natural resource closely associated to the lake, several human rights and community rights have been

affected, and key among those rights is the cultural, historic and traditional rights of the people, social rights, economic rights, natural rights, etc... and others.

Having discussed the key human rights issues resulting from the natural resource governance processes and procedures of the Volta Lake, the study proceeds to examine the missing gaps between the interplay of the human and community rights issues raised and the natural resource governance processes in the subsequent section of this chapter.

4.4 The Interplay of Natural Resource Governance and Community Rights: The Missing Gaps in the Akosombo Resettlement Project

Having discussed the key rights affected in the previous section, this section attempts to draw inferences from the responses provided above to establish the missing gaps in the resettlement project as a result of constructing the Akosombo Dam.

From the responses, it is observed discussants were of the view that regarding social needs rights, the community lacks some social amenities such as electricity; worse of all, they are some few miles away from the power generation house. Adding to that, the Akosombo Township which is some few minutes' drive from the current Agyena Township has electricity which they do not even pay for. In Ghana, usually remote areas like the resettlement townships do not have the opportunity to use electric power.

The demand for electricity at these resettlement townships would therefore sound unusual. However, regarding the people of Agyena, having given out their land for the construction of the dam, their main source of fuel supply i.e. firewood had been flooded, and so it may have become

very difficult for them to acquire firewood for cooking purposes. In addition, since their situation is a result of the construction of the dam to provide hydro-electric power, it would have been fairly thoughtful if the state could have seen it needful to supply the community with electric power.

Regarding other amenities such as schools, clinics, community centres etc..., the missing gap is that the state could have ensured that such amenities were all present before the resettlement procedures were carried out, as the lack of such amenities in the Agyena community has rendered the community unattractive even to the youth of the town resulting in a rapid migration of most persons in their youthful ages from the town.

The governance structure and processes in place for the Volta Lake and other natural resources along it has resulted in the loss of the economic rights of the people. Considering the interplay of the governance structure and this particular community right to use the Volta Lake for economic gains, the Authority could have provided avenues where perhaps the seemingly menial jobs within the power house, and even the guards policing the gorge area from deforestation, and unauthorised fishing at some points on the lake, could have been reserved for people within the Agyena community. This would have provided means by which alternative incomes could be earned without having to feel embittered for their inability to have money to meet their economic needs.

With respect to the cultural, traditional and historic rights, the missing gap identified in the Akosombo Resettlement Project is that, during the initial stages of the project, the state and perhaps the Volta River Authority could have carried out an extensive search into the cultural

and historic compatibility of the owners of the land on which the Agyena community was to be resettled. The resulting consequences owing to the interplay of the identified community rights and the natural resource governance procedure and processes is the community feeling they have been cheated off their identity as a people. Where the community feels they have no story to tell generations unborn about the Agyena Township.

On the other hand if the cultural integration was properly carried out, it could have formed part of the rich history the Agyena community would have passed on to their generations unborn. If the resettlement project was properly carried out and managed, the Agyena community could have relocated their shrines, and sacred altars to their present location so as to preserve their traditions, aside ensuring that, cultural and traditional differences between the people of Agyena and Gyeketi could have been solved before the resettlement was carried out.

Another major gap resulting from the natural resource governance of the Volta Lake and its ancillary natural resources in relation to the community rights of the people of Agyena, is what this study shall refer to as the participation gap. For the purposes of this study, participation gap shall be explained as ‘the gap that exists as a result of excluding community interest in the governance structure of a natural resource. The consequences of this gap is that, it led to the unfair misalignments of certain key community rights that are core to the existence of the community’.

The participation gap in this context is that, during the resettlement phase of the Akosombo Dam Project, inhabitants within the old Agyena community and other communities that were affected by the dam construction could have been invited to be part of the resettlement scheme. In that

case they could have indicated the cultural relationship that exists between their communities and other surrounding communities which were likely places where these communities were to resettle.

Adding to that, participation of the community in the resettlement process would have given the communities especially the community of Agyena for the purposes of this study, to extensively explain the petty details of the project to their own town folks in a way and manner that would have expressly convinced them not to feel embittered for the loss of their ancestral home and land.

Another focus of the participation gap is that, re-settlers especially those in the Agyena community were resettled in a rush. That is to say, the resettlement scheme was carried out in a rush. Owing to that, existing family structures and power relations were not carefully taken into consideration during the planning processes. During the process, family structures, family sizes, economic disposition of the family, political clout and such qualities were all ignored in the process. This act of omission in way succeeded in killing the productivity of the most industrious re-settlers aside threatening family stability.

The last but not the least gap this study elaborates on is the compensation gap. This gap pertains to the monetary compensations that are due to people living in the Agyena community as a results of losing their lands to the state for the construction of the Akosombo Dam. The monetary compensation was primarily serving as a trade-off between the people who were in the communities that were resettled and the state. This compensation if had been promptly paid for

or provided these re-settlers, would have served as enough motivation to forget about their lands which were inundated by the damming process.

Additionally, the state could have compensated these new communities that came up owing to the resettlement programme with adequate social amenities such as toilet facilities, schools, water and other basic facilities to appease the re-settlers in a way. This gap if had been worked on, would have made the people of Agyena feel they had given up their ancestral homes for the greater good of the country and have also been adequately compensated with an improved way of life as was the vision of Kwame Nkrumah for them.

4.5 Perceptions of Impact/Outcome of the Resettlement Project

The study sought to ascertain some of the perceptions of the respondents in relation to the impact or outcome of the resettlement project which is consequent to the construction of the Akosombo Dam and the formation of the Volta Lake as well as the natural resource governance procedures and strategies that were put in place to see to the planning, organising, directing, coordinating, controlling of the Volta Lake and any other related ancillary natural resources.

Responding to this, it was gathered from discussants to the focus group that, the impact of the Akosombo Resettlement Project was poorly planned and executed. From the point of view of Obosu-Mensah (1996) in providing a conclusion to his book Ghana's Volta Resettlement Scheme; The Long-Term Consequences of Post-Colonial State Planning, concluded that, the Akosombo Resettlement Project was poorly carried out and that it has led to no economic development and economic growth in the lives of the people living in the communities that were directly affected by the resettlement project, and consequently in the economic development

lives of Ghanaians in general especially as the state would have to make provisions for extra compensatory packages to appease these re-settlers in communities like Agyena.

In relation to achieving the main objectives of an effectively managed resettlement scheme as a result of a natural resource governance strategy, Thomi (1981) suggested that, authorities should ensure that not only basic shelters are provided for re-settlers, but then, should include planned changes to create possibilities for earning a livelihood for settlers. On the contrary, the perceived impact of the resettlement project owing to the strategies put in place for the effective management of the Volta Lake resources did not positively affect the living standards and conditions of the re-settlers. In a strict sense, the resettlement project made a negative impact on the lives of the people living in the Agyena community.

Some of the negative impacts in the views of discussants as was summarised for the purposes of this study is in relation to the destruction of family structures of the people in Agyena; the disintegration of social fibres that existed among the people prior to the construction of the dam leading to the formation of the Volta Lake, making way for the resettlement project.

Also some of the negative impacts is the dissolution and extinction cultural and traditional values that provided the people of Agyena with a unique sense of identity as a people. Not only are these aspects of the lives of these inhabitants affected, but then the economic and political stronghold of the people of Agyena which was predominantly directed by the Volta River has also been tampered with, which seemingly leaves the Agyena community either partially in most cases or totally in some other few cases marginalised.

Presenting quotes from discussants in the focus group's discussions in relation to the impact of the resettlement project the following response are presented below:

Responding to the impact of the resettlement project on family structure one discussant had this to say:

“Some of our family members as a result of the resettlement project had to relocate from us to go and live elsewhere far from where the nucleus of their families are. This impacted both primary and secondary socialisation process of most families living within the Agyena community. This was as a result of the inability of the house provided us on resettling in the new land to accommodate all the family members of a particular family as well as their servants, maidens, livestock etc...”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Commenting on the disintegration of the social fibre of people in the Agyena community, another discussant had this to mention:

“If you were rich during the days we were in our old settlement, or perhaps you were a ruler or leader, owing to the resettlement project, we all had to abandon our societal standings, since the project did not take into consideration such social clouts of people in the community. Additionally, due to the resettlement project some basic amenities we had in our old settlement like boreholes for drinking water, market centres, community centres etc..., we lost all, and worse of all is that, the resettlement project did not factor in the provision of such amenities. And this has even affected the health of some people living in the community”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Another respondent also made the following comments in relation to the dissolution and extinction of the cultural and traditional values of the people of Agyena.

“The impact of the resettlement project on the cultural and traditional values of the people of Agyena is that, our deities have all been submerged in the lake, our shrines and sacred places are no more available to us. And as a result living on the lands of the people of Gyeketi, we have had to allow their gods to be our gods. Taboos and rites which we held dear to our tradition, are no longer observed. As a

matter of fact, some of these rites according to the people of Gyeketi are taboos, and as such, if we peacefully want to live on the land we have been resettled on, then we have to heed in to the traditions of the owners of the land”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Lastly for the purposes of this analysis, the last but not the least of the responses provided by a discussant in the focus group discussion in relation to the impact of the resettlement on the economic rights is cited below:

“Having given up our lands and livelihoods for the interest of the nation and even some other neighbouring countries as well, monies to be paid us as compensatory allocations have still not been made available to us. And this means that, as a people, we have lost our economic power which was mainly from the fishing activities carried out on the river and now the monies which are supposed to be paid us for losing those economic rights which in itself would have given us another form of economic power have all being denied us. This has led to a rapid spread of abject poverty among most of the people living in the Agyena community. In short there are no jobs for people to do in this community”

(Discussant in the Focus Group, Agyena, 14th June, 2014)

Having clearly enumerated the impact of the resettlement project which is as a result of the construction of the Akosombo Dam and the formation of the Volta Lake, the study went further to enquire from the key informant to the study from the Volta River Authority their perception of the Akosombo Resettlement Project. Being honest with the researcher, the key informant indicated that, since the Akosombo Resettlement Project was virtually the very first of its kind in the country, it was plagued with so many challenges, and for that matter could warrant the possibility of being classified as a failed project to an extent.

Considering the challenges that nearly rendered the resettlement project to be classified as a failed project, the Government of Ghana actively spearheaded the converging of the forum that

saw to the formulation of the road map for such future projects, which is the Ghana Dams Dialogue. With this dialogue it is expected that in carrying out any project of such magnitude, an inclusive planning from multiple stakeholders will be considered to ensure a successful interplay of all interest at stake in the project especially if the project would involve resettlement of people.

Indicating means and measures the Volta River Authority intends to deal with the consequent issues from the resettlement project, the key informant to the study point to the establishment of a Volta Trust Fund which is intended to annually provide some of the basic amenities to the communities in general who were affected by the construction of the dam. Adding to that the key informant mentioned that the Volta River Authority has also stepped up their interest in remaining highly ethical and responsible to the communities that were generally affected by the construction of the dam. This means that the authority has increased their commitments to remain socially responsible to these communities of which Agyena is no exception.

Presented below are some of the quotes that were transcribed from face-to-face interview that took place in the course of carrying out the study.

Commenting on the impact of the governance structure on the community as well as the perceived impact of the resettlement project on the communities especially Agyena, the key informant had this to say:

“This is actually not to provide an excuse for perhaps the complete failure of the resettlement project, but then on the whole, I think the resettlement project in terms of making the lives of re-settlers better off, had turned contrary. And if you should enquire my candid opinion, I will tell you it was because it was somehow the very first of its kind in the country coupled with the political unrest that plagued the country in those days, the scheme lacked some sort of consistency. For that matter, when the youth of those communities resort to demonstrations

and riots, as an authority, we tend to sympathise with them, although we don't support it."

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

From the quote presented above from the key informant within the Volta River Authority, it reveals that, due to the manner in which the youth in the resettled communities like Agyena are embittered, they have resorted to the use of behaviours which have tendencies of igniting conflicts; which in the long run can impede the developmental agenda of the country and the other neighbouring countries that rely on the Volta Lake for their developmental agenda.

Having indicated, the tendencies of the youth in the affected communities resorting to violent means of having their grievances addressed, the study enquired of the possible means to address the issue. And with that prompt the key informant within the Volta River Authority had this to say:

"Moving forward to now, the Akosombo Dam has really served the country enormously and because of these benefits, the authority continues to remain very strict when it comes to formulating strategies to manage the Volta Lake and the other related natural resources, to the extent of ignoring certain issues that may seem ethical and not necessarily bothering on competencies and professionalism. For instance ignoring the people living in Agyena when it comes to policing the gorge area"

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Responding to the measures put in place by the Volta River Authority to address the resulting consequences, the key informant to the study indicated that:

"Witnessing the difficulty and challenges the people in communities like Agyena are going through owing to the construction of the Akosombo Dam, the authority has increased its commitment to being socially responsible. As a matter of fact as part of the authority's commitment to improve the living conditions of these

people, the authority has increased its corporate social responsibility activities to the communities that were affected by the resettlement project.”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

Following from the quote above, it presents a case in favour of the Volta River Authority in the sense that, as a government agency, they have gone beyond what is ideally required of them to provide such socially acceptable deeds such as being socially responsible.

The key informant went further to indicate that:

“Adding up to that, the authority has also come up with a development trust fund which is basically going to be used to provide on annual basis some of these social amenities to the communities that were affected of which Agyena is of key and paramount interest to the authority. Furthermore, the authority in the interim has allowed members in the Agyena community to have access to the VRA Hospital and several other well improved amenities at Akosombo. Plans are also far advanced to ensure that especially the community of Agyena would be added to the electric grid of Akosombo, although it may not be entirely free to these people living in those communities”

(Key Informant, Volta River Authority, Thursday 12th June, 2014)

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

Having come this far from understanding the concept of natural resource governance, community rights, community resettlement, and the interplay between the community rights of the people of Agyena and the natural resource governance strategy in place with regards to the Volta Lake, this chapter presents the summaries of findings of the analysis made in the previous chapter, as well as presenting the conclusion to the study. This chapter ends with some recommendations for the community, management of the Volta River Authority, as well as recommendation for future studies into the subject matter discussed in this study.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study aimed to investigate issues regarding natural resource governance; the strategies involved in setting up natural resource governance frameworks, as well as issues regarding community rights and its interplay with the strategies that are put in place to govern the identified natural resource, especially relating it to the Akosombo Dam Project and the formation of the Volta Lake.

This study adopted a single case study approach, using qualitative data; this study designed an interview guide, aside seeking the consents of the Volta River Authority in a face-to-face interview, and a focus discussion with discussants who were inhabitants of the Agyena Community; a key town that was adversely affected by the Akosombo Dam Project and the formation of the Volta Lake.

In summary the study found that, key issues regarding governance process of the Volta Lake from the perspective of communities primarily affected by its construction include: the usage of the lake as a main source of food and income for subsistence.

Additionally, the community used some portions of the lake and the forest reserves around as shrines, and sacred places which enhanced their rights to worship and identity as a community.

On the other hand, the Volta Lake, is a main resource that powers the generation of hydro-electric power for the entire country. As a result of the importance of the Hydro-Electric power to the country, Togo and Benin for example also by special arrangement import from Ghana.

The Environmental management plan of the gorge area is key to the survival of the lake, that is, the forest that protects the lake bed at the banks and the checking of siltation.

Regarding the issue of participation in the management of the Volta Lake, perceptions of the people is that they have been grossly marginalised if not ignored out rightly. However, from the point of view of management of the Volta River Authority, issues regarding participation is strictly provided by the Volta River Authority Act 1961 (Act 46).

Additionally, given that there were no act of parliament regulating its governance, the authority is of the view that, regarding the enormous benefits of the Volta Lake to the nation, in some instances, they are compelled to ignore acts which are purely motivated only on ethical basis to the disregard of professional and internationally accepted standards.

Relating to the key human and community rights that were affected owing to the natural resource governance strategy that is in place for the management of the Volta Lake and the ancillary natural resources, the study found out that, though it may seem the rights of these

people were infringed on by the State of Ghana, some constitutional promulgations and parliamentary declarations rendered the interests in the lands of those communities that were affected unenforceable and transferred to the state. By which means the state would have to provide them with some forms of compensation for their loss.

However, the management of the compensation due the communities was poorly planned and badly executed. As a result these communities feel embittered for the loss of their lands and easy access to the Volta River which gave them natural rights; their sacred altars and shrines of worship which gave them some cultural, traditional and historic rights indicating their unique identity as a people; their main source of occupation for food and income which is their economic and political rights; as well as the disintegration of the social fibres and family structures of the people which is their social rights.

The interplay of these community rights and the natural resource governance strategy has created some missing gaps. The gaps were summarised as developmental rights gap, economic rights gap, cultural rights gap, participation rights gap, and the compensation gap.

Considering the perceived impact of the gaps and the overall outcome of the resettlement project, the study concludes that from both divides of the responses generated for analysis, the common theme that run through the responses observed was that, the perceived impact of the gaps and the overall resettlement project was negative and could not lead to the development of the communities that were resettled especially the community of Agyena.

Providing measures to deal with the resulting consequences as a result of the poorly managed resettlement scheme, the study found out the Volta River Authority had increased their

commitments in corporate socially responsible activities towards the communities that were affected especially the community of Agyena.

Adding to the increased ethical and social responsibility towards these communities, the Volta River Authority had set up a developmental trust fund to provide on an annual basis development projects in the affected communities of which the Agyena community is included. And lastly, the authority aims to consider employing some of the members of the affected communities to help with the policing of the gorge area against deforestation, and other related activities which may turn to be harmful to the health of the lake.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion the study found that the natural resource governance processes and procedures regarding the Volta Lake are effectively enforced and proactively managed. In relation to the impact on community rights of the people in Agyena, the study concludes that the social rights, the economic rights, the cultural rights and the natural rights of the people of Agyena has been adversely affected due to prohibition and restrictions in the use of the Volta Lakes and its ancillary natural resources.

Although compensation for the infringement of these community rights of the people of Agyena has not been adequate, strides made by Volta River Authority in its quest to manage the resulting consequences such as riots, demonstration, and communal agitations has been commendable; as the authority has set up developmental trust funds for these communities of which Agyena is included; as well as, an increased commitment in corporate social responsibility activities to the communities in the provisions of basic social amenities.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends the following to management and future studies in the subject area.

To management; the study recommends that the following.

- Payment of outstanding compensations should be made to individuals and households in the Agyena community to appease them for the loss in their individual rights and collective community rights.
- Management should actively involve the communities (such as the people at Agyena) in the governance and monitoring process of the Volta Lake. This in a way serve as motivation to the people and also make them feel they still have some rights over the Volta Lake although in actual sense. It may seem as a responsibility for them to guard the Volta Lake and the ancillary resources.
- Management should consider taking a clue from the Ghana Dams Dialogue Protocols to see to the best ways of handling the compensatory and governance processes of the communities involved.

To the community at Agyena and other communities who were also resettled owing to the construction of the Akosombo Dam, as well as for future studies into the subject area. The study recommends the following:

- Future studies should consider studying the phenomenon in other communities that were affected alongside the community of Agyena to see if similar results are likely to be obtained.

- To the community, the study recommends that they would remain patient and constantly be in dialogue with management and with other stakeholders to find lasting solutions to the prevailing challenges.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE VRA RESPONDENTS

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES (CSPS).

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW GUIDE.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW).

INTRODUCTION.

Please, my name is I am from the centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana. As part of the requirement for my course of study, I am conducting a research on Natural Resource Governance and Community Rights using the Akosombo Resettlement Project as a case study. The research is mostly about the issues regarding the natural resource governance strategies and how it has affected the communal rights of the towns that were resettled as a result.

You have been selected as a respondent in the research and I would be glad if you will spare some of your time to answer some questions related to your experiences with Akosombo Resettlement Project. If I have your consent, I will proceed by asking the following questions. Thank you.

1. Please can you provide this study with responses relating to yourself?
 - Name?
 - Age?
 - Educational Background?
 - Marital Status
 - Total number of years worked as well as number of years worked in current position?
2. What are the concerns of the Volta River Authority with regards to the use of the Volta Lake and its ancillary resources?
3. How has these concerns impacted on the communities involved?
4. Regarding the impact placed on the communities due to the concerns raised, how has the Volta River Authority dealt with and continues to deal with the consequent issues in the resettled communities?
5. Regarding the impact of the concerns raised, what is the way forward for the Volta River Authority and the communities involved?

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES (CSPS)

(FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION)

Introduction

Hello, welcome to all of you for coming here for this discussion. My name is

..... I am a student of the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS) in the University of Ghana. As part of the requirement for my course of study, I am conducting a research on Natural Resource Governance and Community Rights using the Akosombo Resettlement Project as a case study. The research is mostly about the issues regarding the natural resource governance strategies and how it has affected the communal rights of the towns that were resettled as a result. This study is purely for an academic purposes.

I can assure you that any information you would give me will be held in absolute confidentiality.

Your name or no other identity of you would be mentioned in any apart of the report that will be generated.

Consent Note:

Having explained the purpose of this study to me and assuring me of absolute confidentiality, I hereby give my consent to take part in this survey. You can go ahead and interview me:

.....Signature

.....Thumbprint

Themes for the Discussion

1. Please can you provide this study with responses relating to yourself?
 - Gender?
 - Age?
 - Family Size including you?
 - Educational Background?
 - Marital Status
 - Number of years of dwelling in the community
 - Occupation and current employment status
2. What are your concerns with regards to the use of the Volta Lake and its ancillary resources?
3. How would you describe your usage of the Volta Lake resource before and after the resettlement project?
4. What has changed in your mode of usage with the Volta Lake resources?
5. How would you describe the changes? (Good or Bad and why?)
6. How has these changes affected your life?
7. How would you want the issues and concerns raised solved?

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE AGYENA RESPONDENTS

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES (CSPS).

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW GUIDE.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW).

INTRODUCTION.

Please, my name is I am from the centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana. As part of the requirement for my course of study, I am conducting a research on Natural Resource Governance and Community Rights using the Akosombo Resettlement Project as a case study. The research is mostly about the issues regarding the natural resource governance strategies and how it has affected the communal rights of the towns that were resettled as a result.

You have been selected as a respondent in the research and I would be glad if you will spare some of your time to answer some questions related to your experiences with Akosombo Resettlement Project. If I have your consent, I will proceed by asking the following questions.

Thank you.

1. Please can you provide this study with responses relating to yourself?
 - Gender?
 - Age?

- Family Size including you?
 - Educational Background?
 - Marital Status
 - Number of years of dwelling in the community
 - Occupation and current employment status
2. What are your concerns with regards to the use of the Volta Lake and its ancillary resources?
 3. How would you describe your usage of the Volta Lake resource before and after the resettlement project?
 4. What has changed in your mode of usage with the Volta Lake resources?
 5. How would you describe the changes? (Good or Bad and why?)
 6. How has these changes affected your life?
 7. How would you want the issues and concerns raised solved?

THANK YOU.