Enhancing land administration in Ghana through the decentralized local government system

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Abstract

This paper critically examined the new model for land administration in Ghana and brought out its limitations and challenges. An alternative framework that is deeply rooted in the decentralized local government structure in Ghana was explored. Three districts in the Ashanti Region of Ghana formed the study area. Structured Interview and observation were the main data collection instruments used. Principal sources from whom data were obtained were the offices of the District Coordinating Directors, paramount chiefs in the study communities, private land users and the Kumasi office of the Lands Commission. Data collected were qualitatively processed using a combination of the thematic and comparative methods. Results from the analysis showed that the administration of lands was still being faced with the same age-old problems of poor coordination between land owners and the Lands Commission; poor resource needs (financial, human and logistics) by the Lands Commission and allocation of lands without reference to layout plans of communities. It was found that District Assemblies when resourced and empowered, shall be more effective and efficient in solving challenges confronting the management of lands in Ghana. The paper concludes with a recommendation to make District Assemblies play a central role in the administration and management of lands in Ghana.

Keywords: Ghana, Land administration, Lands commission, Traditional authorities, Decentralization

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1. Introduction

Land has served as a source of livelihood to man since antiquity, Genesis 3:17-19, I Kings 21:1-3. The land resource is a crucial factor in production and development of all kinds (physical, social, economic, financial, etc). In that manner, the land resource must be wisely used to benefit both present and future generations (Beatly, 1991).

Because of the fixed nature of the land resource and the rapid world population increase that is currently estimated to be 7 billion, countries, mainly in the developing world, have adopted measures to judiciously use the land resource. Countries like Malawi, Rwanda, Mozambique and East Timor have since the beginning of the 21st Century adopted land reforms or land administration programmes geared toward effective management of the land resource in their respective countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, Wily-Alden (2003) has estimated that twenty countries in the sub region have begun land reforms. Indeed, according to Adams (2004), with the exception of Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, all countries in eastern and southern Africa have reviewed their land policies and laws since the beginning of the 21st Century, all geared toward making the most judicious use of the land resource. Land reforms have become very critical in the national development agendas of these countries because the beauty of a city that culminates from spatial arrangement of structures depends on the system of land management and administration. Also, the sustainability of the natural environment depends largely on the spatial development policy of a country.

In Ghana, the government with the assistance of her foreign development partners established the Land Administration Project (LAP) in 2003. The project was charged with the mandate of coordinating and harmonizing the various components of the land administration process (Ghana, 2006). The first phase of the project ended in December 2010 and the major achievement of this phase was the passing of a new Lands Act 2008, Act 767 that has unified four out of the six government institutions that were responsible for the administration of lands. Since 2009, the Lands Commission which is the embodiment of the new structure has been largely responsible for the administration of lands in Ghana.

In this paper, the researchers examined this structure of land administration in Ghana and explored the possibility of enhancing the administration using the decentralized local government system. The motivation for this investigation comes from the complicated land-tenure system that exists in Ghana and the inability of authorities to find the right strategy to contain the challenges that culminate in the complex tenure system.

2. Land administration and decentralized local government system explained

Land Administration has been variously defined (Zaney, 2007; Aryeetey et al., 2007). The emphasis in all these definitions is that the structure of administration should create the institutional framework that should establish the policies, guidelines and operational path-ways for the management of lands in any community. For the purpose of this research, land administration should be considered from the perspective of Wily-Alden (2003), that 'land administration covers institutions and processes associated with land rights, regulations among which the recording of rights is prominent'.
Decentralization, although has been variously defined (Turner and Hulme, 1997; Rondinelli et al., 1984), it generally connotes dispersing decision making and governance closer to the people at the grass-root with the intention of giving the grassroot population a voice in governance and issues affecting them. As explained by Rondinelli et al. (1984), this concept of political governance can take the form of Deconcentration, Delegation, Devolution and Privatization.

According to Kasanga, (2006) and Kyei, (2008), administration of lands and the practice of the concept of decentralization have a chequered history in Ghana.

3. Land administration in Ghana

The administration of lands in Ghana has evolved through ambiguous processes over the years. Kasanga (2006) was therefore right to have described the administration of lands in Ghana as having a chequered history. Tracing the administration of lands before the colonial and through the colonial days to the end of the 20th century leads to a conclusion that the administration of lands was fragmented with complex processes during these periods.

Land administration and management before the colonial period was the responsibility of occupants of stools and skins who were the administrative and political heads of the various groups, clans or tribes (Busia, 1951). Such individuals, traditionally called chiefs, administered the lands in the interest of their subjects in accordance with laid-down procedures contained in the customary laws (Josiah-Aryeh and Armah, 2005). Though there were no written laws on land during this era, the laws were imprinted in the minds of the natives like other customary laws (Josiah-Aryeh and Armah, 2005). It is also worth noting that the demand for lands during this period was basically for subsistence farming and documentation of land transactions was virtually absent.

With the onset of colonization in the mid-1870s (Dickson and Benneh, 1988), attempts were made by the British in terms of laws and building infrastructure to streamline the processes of land administration. Bills like the Public Lands Ordinance (CAP 134) to vest and regulate the acquisition of lands in the then Gold Coast in the British Crown and the land bill of 1897 to declare all unoccupied lands in Ghana as public lands were passed (Kasanga, 2006). Again, institutions like the Lands Department, Survey Department and the Town and Country Planning Department were established by the colonial rulers to perform specific aspects of the land administration process. At the close of the colonial period in 1957, traditional authorities still maintained their strong hold on lands in Ghana in terms of ownership and allocation of lands.

Under the 1969 constitutional review, the Lands Department was changed into a Lands Commission under the Lands Commission Act of 1971 (Act 362), (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001). With the exception of the allocation of lands, land use planning and surveying and mapping, the Lands Commission performed all the other component responsibilities [recording, documentation, valuation, and revenue mobilization] of land administration. This continued till the mid-1980s and early 1990s, when three land institutions were established to reduce the functions of the Lands Commission and also to make the Commission function effectively. The newly established institutions were the Land Title Registry and the Lands Valuation Board.
both established in 1986 and the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands established in 1994. This brought the number of government land institutions to six, all of which were performing specific aspects of the administration process. It is important to note that whereas the government portion of land administration was fragmented among six institutions, the traditional authorities since the colonial period, or even beyond, maintained their unity with respect to their hold on lands as owners and the principal institution that allocates lands to developers including the government in some cases. This made them strong, powerful and more focused. To this end, Kasanga (2000) described the traditional sector as “strong, seems more open, more responsible and equitable to the silent majority.”

It is important to point out that because all the six government land institutions were established by different Acts until December 2008, they existed as autonomous institutions with weak coordination among the various institutions (Forkuor, 2009). The weak coordination and autonomous status of the land institutions resulted in problems in the land market which included tenure insecurity, haphazard spatial development, land disputes and litigation, encroachment of government lands, deficit in human resource, financial and logistical challenges to the institutions themselves (Bortei-Doku et al., 2007).

It was out of these problems that the Ghana Land Administration Project proposed and pushed for the passage of a Lands Commission Act 2008, Act 767 that brought together four of the six government land institutions under one Commission (Figure 1). The integrated institutions were the old Lands Commission, Survey Department, Lands Valuation Board and the Land Title Registry. The major objective of this initiative was to integrate the activities of the government land institutions in order to attain a holistic and coordinated structure of administration.

The existing framework for the administration of lands in Ghana as shown in Figure 1 is headed by a Commission with its Chairman appointed by the President of the Republic. A secretariat of the Commission has been created and it is responsible for the day-to-day administration of four core departments. There are ten other units that provide various supporting services to assist the secretariat in its day-to-day supervision of the four departments. This new structure still allows traditional authorities to be responsible for the allocation of lands. But to make the traditional authorities effective in performing their role in the administration process, the Commission provides professional and technical assistance to interested traditional authorities to establish Customary Land Secretariats. At the time of writing this paper, there were thirty-eight (38) of such secretariats nationwide (Land Administration Project, 2010).

A critical assessment of this framework for land administration reveals a problematic situation. First, the model excludes units or departments that should be responsible for spatial planning, monitoring of spatial development and revenue mobilization. Rather, the District Assemblies have been made responsible for the spatial planning and monitoring aspects of land administration process. Likewise, revenue mobilization has been left to the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands to perform. These two bodies perform the above functions outside the formal structure as spelt out by the Lands Commission.

But spatial planning, monitoring of spatial development and revenue from lands are critical aspects of land administration especially in sub-Saharan Africa and therefore must of necessity be an integral part of any model of land administration. Also, land owners (traditional authorities) who allocate lands to
developers are not represented in the framework of administration as shown in Figure 1. The exclusion of these four (spatial planning, monitoring, revenue mobilization and land allocation) critical aspects of land administration in the framework (Figure 1) means that the head of the Lands Secretariat does not have direct and total command and control over these functions of land administration and therefore, to a large extent, it defeats the objectives of the new structure of land administration as stated above.

Figure 1. Existing Land Administration Structure in Ghana (Source: Authors Derivative from Act 767)

Furthermore, in terms of decentralization of activities within itself, the structure adopts the deconcentration type of decentralization. This is because all the Regional and District offices depend on the Head Office in Accra for personnel, logistics, finance, instructions and direction. In this respect, the model is not too new from the old structure of land administration. Theoretically therefore, it can be asserted that the new structure of land administration in Ghana is a re-clothing of the old system of land administration and may not offer an answer to the problems (power play, multiple sale of lands, haphazard allocation and spatial...
development, financial and logistics difficulties, etc) in the land market of Ghana. It is out of these limitations that the researchers want to explore an alternative structure for the administration of lands whereby the districts shall be directly responsible for the administration of lands as it is being practiced in some African countries. As it stands in Ghana, the District Assemblies play a passive role in the administration of lands. Their principal role is to prepare layout plans and enforce the plans. Major aspects of the administration and management processes [allocation, records keeping, revenue mobilization, and management of state lands among others] are outside the domain of the District Assemblies.

However, reforms to empower local governments to directly be involved in land management is emerging in Africa and this paradigm shift is stronger in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and some Sahelian countries of Africa (Toulmin et. al. as cited in Wily-Alden, 2003). In urban cities in Rwanda, local authorities are responsible for the demarcation and registration of plots for spatial development. Chiefs in cities have no active role in the management of lands and this system has been in operation in the country since 1998 (Rurangwa, 2004). Botswana has since 1968 devolved land administration to local boards that have been responsible for land use planning, allocating lands for development and adjudicating over land disputes. Though there are chiefs (traditional authorities) in Botswana, they do not have any role in the administration of lands even though 70% of lands in Botswana are held under customary tenure. According to Jacobs and Chavunduka 2003, the structure of land administration in Botswana was developed to circumvent the powers of traditional chiefs who hitherto were creating problems for the smooth administration of lands. This system of land administration has worked perfectly for the southern Africa country since 1968 and it is perceived to be the most successful land administration structure in Africa (Jacobs & Chavunduka, 2003). In Tanzania as explained by Jacobs and Chavunduka, land is a state property and chiefs or traditional authorities do not own land, and the central government is solely responsible for the administration and management of lands in the country.

4. The decentralized local government system in Ghana

Though political decentralization as a concept in West Africa has been practiced continuously since the 1970s, the application of the concept in Ghana’s political and administrative structure dates back to the late 1940s when the concept took the form of de-concentration of central administrative structure (Kyei, 2008). Post-independence governments through recommendations by Commissions and Committees improved on the local government system by creating 65 distinct districts in 1974 (Ohene-Konadu, 2002). Since 1988 however, Ghana has been practicing the modified version of devolution where some level of autonomy has been given to the sub-national level. The autonomy includes the power to raise its revenue and also appoint most of the local government workers. The autonomous local areas (districts) increased from 65 to 110 in 1988. At the time of writing this paper, the number had increased to 215 legally recognized local areas with each local area headed by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The CEO is appointed by the President of Ghana, but he/she must get approval from not less than two-thirds of local legislature present and voting (Songsore, 2003). A local area in the context of this paper refers to a District, Municipal or Metropolis. Each local area
maintains its own legislature; made up of both elected and appointed members. The legislators together with the CEO and other civil servants like the District Coordinating Director (collectively known as the assembly) are the administrative and political authorities in the local areas and are therefore responsible for the administration and socio-economic development of their areas of jurisdiction. This includes making by-laws in respect of land use (Kasanga, 2000). In performing these functions, the assembly coordinates with the decentralized departments of central government ministries such as education, health, agriculture, information, lands commission etc. It should be noted that the assembly has no direct control over the operations and activities of these decentralized departments and agencies of the government but rather cooperates with them in meeting the needs and aspirations of the local people.

To make the local areas function effectively, 7.5% of the national revenue is allocated to the Districts/Municipal/Metropolis and each of them has the mandate to raise additional funds internally to supplement funds from the central government. Expenditures of the local areas are made with very little government control. In summary, under Ghana’s decentralized local government system, specific powers of the central government are devolved to the local areas with limited powers over the operations and activities of some decentralized departments.

The specific objectives of this research therefore are to critically examine:

1. The effectiveness of the present framework of land administration in solving the challenges in the land market in Ghana.
2. How the decentralized local government system as existing and operating in Ghana can be adopted to enhance administration of lands in the country.

5. Study area

Ghana is a West African nation that gained Republican status from the British on July 1, 1960. For effective political administration, the country has been divided into ten regions. The research concentrated on the Asante Region where three semi-autonomous local areas (districts) were carefully selected for study (Figure 2). These were the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly, Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly and the Adanse North District Assembly.

5.1. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly

Kumasi is one of the first local districts to be created in 1974 and a second order city next only to Accra, the national capital. It attained a metropolitan status in 1988 and currently has an estimated population of 2,035,064 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The city is the seat of residence for the King of the Asantes who wields so much traditional power and authority in the metropolis. Customarily, the King is the owner and custodian of lands in the metropolis which covers an area of 254 kilometer square (Adarkwa, 2011). Due to his political influence and traditional power, his opinion is sought with regard to any policy or decision that affects the city.
5.2. Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly

This local area is located to the east of the Kumasi metropolis and shares border with it. The district covers an area of 637.2 km² and has a population of 143,762 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The community attained a municipal status in 2004. The district is one of the most popular districts because of the famous Yaa Asantewaa (the queen mother of Ejisu in the first decade of the 20th century) who led the Asante army to fight the British in 1901. The district is also popular because of the Kente-weaving industry at Bonwire. Ejisu is the capital of the municipality.

The municipal lands are owned and partially controlled by two allodial owners – The Ejisu and Juaben paramount chiefs.

5.3. Adansi North District

The district was created by Legislative Instrument 1758 in 2004. It was carved from the then Adansi East and West districts. The district covers an area of 828 square kilometers and has 15 towns containing a population of 107,091 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Fomena is the district capital. The Fomena chief who also doubles as the Adansehene is the allodial owner of the Adansi lands that cut across three districts – Obuasi municipality, Adansi south and Adansi north districts.
It should be noted from the study communities that whereas Kumasi metropolis has one allodial owner of lands, Ejsu-Juabeng has two allodial chiefs owning the lands in the districts. The Fomena chief however, owns lands that cut across three different districts. These districts were selected to examine whether such situations that are common in the other districts in Ghana have complexities in the management of lands.

6. Methodology

The research was purely qualitative in nature. The structured interview guide and observations were the main methods for gathering data for the research. The interview guide sought information on the operations and coordination among land administrators, challenges they are confronted with in administering lands, the potentials of the Lands Commission in solving the land issues in Ghana among others. Institutions from which information or data was obtained were the Kumasi office of the Lands Commission, offices of District Coordinating Directors, allodial land owners and land users (individuals and Estate Agencies).

A combination of the thematic and comparative methods of the qualitative technique was used to analyse the data obtained. With these methods, the themes that emerged from the data review were identified and grouped. Similarities and differences that emerged were analyzed. Analysis concentrated on effectiveness of the existing model for the administration of lands, challenges the model posses to spatial development, the potential of the District Assemblies to manage lands, land users and administrators’ opinion on the direction of future land administration, among others.

7. Results and discussion

7.1. Operation of the lands commission in the Asante region

Apart from the regional office in Kumasi, the Lands Commission (LC) maintains another office in Obuasi to serve land users within the Obuasi municipality. According to the respondent from the Lands Commission, the location of the Obuasi office was because of the mining activities that go on in the area. However, the office did not have a resident or permanent Lands Officer, but an officer from Kumasi visits the facility once a week to attend to clients’ needs. With the other districts within the region, the Commission depends on their representative on the District Statutory Planning Committee to obtain information on what goes on in the district and also provide urgent advice or information to either the District Assembly or a land user when the need arises. In this regard, all Stool-land transactions must be brought to the regional office of the Lands Commission in Kumasi for concurrence. Also, other land documents that require the attention of the Commission have to be brought to Kumasi for processing or to verify the authenticity or otherwise of the document. The Lands Commission justified this system of land management in the region on the grounds that the rate of land transaction at the district levels were not so high and that it would be a disincentive and unprofitable to establish a Lands Office in each district within the region.
This argument is however problematic in the sense that once land transactions go on, a system must be in place to regulate the market. Also, the distance land users have to travel before coming to Kumasi may deter most land users from processing their lands with respect to their proper documentation. Interaction with six land users at Fomena who were seeking permits for their property showed that they had not visited Kumasi to check the genuineness of their land transaction. It is also worth noting that the absence of the Lands Commission at the other districts in the region shall make it easier for public and vested lands to be encroached on. Encroachment of public and vested lands has been and is still a problem in Ghana. Both the Ejisu and Fomena District Assemblies admitted that the absence of the Lands Commission in their areas of jurisdiction makes it difficult to rapidly administer land and the system paves way for distortions to occur in the land management process.

Again, the regional office of the Lands Commission has no powers to employ or acquire properties without the knowledge or express permission from the national office. Indeed, its functions and operations are to a large extent dictated to by the headquarters in Accra. There was zero retention of internally generated funds and its expenditures are made strictly according to the approved budget. Funds for expenditure by the regional office were released on quarterly basis. The researchers were reliably informed that the release of the funds was highly irregular and the office operated under tight and strict financial arrangement. At the time of collecting information, the whole commission had one cleaner responsible for cleaning all the offices and toilets of the Commission. Land officers at times had to do the cleaning of their offices themselves.

7.2. Bottlenecks in the allocation of lands

Land owners were found to allocate lands without or with minimal consultation with the District Assemblies (DA). The officers at the three study districts complained bitterly about the harm that such practice of the landowners poses to the management of lands in their districts. In most cases, the district assembly gets to know about the allocation of a parcel of land only when the buyer applies to the District Assembly for documentation on the acquired property. By implication, the District Assembly may never have knowledge about lands allocated whose owners may not seek for documentation. According to the District Assemblies, the practice makes them unable to react promptly to allocations that violate or are inconsistent with the layout plan and therefore, it serves as a recipe for haphazard development.

Other difficulties in the allocation of lands were the complaints by the landowners about the absence of information, aids and documents that are to help them effectively perform their allocation function. These difficulties included:

- The absence of layout plans that should be supplied to them by the DA. In most cases, they had to hire at their own cost surveyors and planners to prepare layouts of their lands.
- Their inability to keep proper records on land transactions. Also, land records kept by the LC are not readily available to them.
- Inability to get information and participate in training programmes on lands organized by the LC or the Land Administration Project of Ghana.
• Lack of respect by the officials of the District Assembly. Land owners complained that the District officers perceive them as uneducated and do not respect transactions made by them.

The land owners attributed the causes of these difficulties to three factors. These were the bureaucracy and complexities involved in the processing of lands by the government, insufficient assistance in the form of training and logistics to land owners and poor understanding by the DA of the traditional structure and procedure of land administration by the land owners.

Contrary to the complaints by the land owners in Adansi North and the Ejisu-Juaben areas, the Asantehene’s Lands Secretariat in Kumasi enjoyed co-operation from the LC, Metropolitan Assembly and other allied government land institutions.

7.3. Challenges confronting the District Assemblies

Under the current structure of land administration, the DA through the TCPD and the Statutory Planning Committee (SPC) is responsible for the spatial planning and spatial development of the districts. In performing this duty, the DA interacts with the stakeholder groups including the land owners, LC and the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands. The study districts admitted that it has been confronted with a number of challenges most of which are external and therefore they are unable to control. The districts admitted that the challenges confronting them are thwarting their efforts in executing their role in the land administration efficiently. The challenges include among others financial, human and logistical resources required to prepare layout plans for towns in the district and also monitor spatial development, difficulties in liaising with land owners and the LC on matters that required a unified front and irregular meetings of the SPC.

It is worth noting that these are age-old challenges that have bedeviled the administration of lands at the local level (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001). That is to say the LC has not brought significant changes in the administration of lands in the districts. The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly compared with the other two districts were experiencing less difficulties.

7.4. Relationship between the DA and land owners

With the exception of the Ejisu Municipal Assembly, the researchers found good relationship between the land owners and the DAs. At the Adansi north district for example, the Traditional Council (land owners) in consultation with the DA had prescribed a specified procedure for the acquisition of lands. Also, at the time the researchers were interviewing the Regent of Fomena, he was to have a meeting with the DCE. The Regent sent message to the DCE to rather come to the palace because he was engaged. The DCE responded positively and in no time he came to the palace with his entourage. The atmosphere within which the meeting was held indicated that both institutions collaborated in the administration of the district.

However, the same situation could not be said of the Ejisu Municipal Assembly where the Assembly and the Council during their respective interviews accused each other of interfering in the operation of the other.
8. Conclusion

Analysis of the information obtained suggests that the current structure of land administration and management does not hold the potential of solving land administration problems in the study areas. A respondent from one of the study Districts remarked: “I must confess that the new Lands Commission has not improved land administration in this district. In fact, I do not feel their presence.” Respondents from the other districts expressed similar sentiments. For a sustained discipline in the land market of Ghana, there is the need to reconsider the structure of the administration of lands. Though the Ejisu Stool Lands Secretariat and the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly were doubtful about the success of the District Assemblies should they be made to play key role in the administration, the Regent of Fomena and the Ejisu-Juaben and Adansi North District Assemblies strongly thought otherwise. They believed that making the Districts administer and manage lands is possible giving the needed resources and that would further deepen the decentralization process and avoid waste.

9. Recommendation

Based on the literature review on land administration and the findings of the researchers, it is recommended that the administration of lands should be decentralized and limited at the district level. A department of lands should be created in the District Assemblies that shall be responsible for the administration and management of lands.

![Figure 3. Proposed Land Administration Structure for Ghana](image-url)
In Figure 3, a lands department should be created in the DAs and the department should manage five units. The SMU should be responsible for surveying and mapping of lands. The output from these activities should serve as the input for the SPMU that would prepare a layout plan in consultation with the land owners in the districts. The layout should be given to the SMU for interpretation on the ground. In addition to the preparation of layout plans, the SPMU should manage government lands in the districts and monitor spatial development to ensure that spatial development conforms to layout plans. The LTRU and the LVU are to be responsible for registering customers’ interest in lands and value lands and land related properties respectively. The CLRU should keep customary land records and also collect land rent, property rate and other land related revenues. This unit is to develop appropriate modalities or formula for sharing the land revenue between the government (District Assembly) and the land owners.

In this model, land owners should continue to allocate lands in close relation with the SPMU. Immediately a layout is prepared and approved, a copy must be sent to the land owners for concurrence and once agreed on lands can be allocated according to the layout.

Adopting the above model of land administration in Ghana implies that the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development shall take oversight responsibility of land matters. Furthermore, the model would require subsuming the national Lands Commission, Town and Country Planning Department and the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands.

The benefits in implementing the model are farfetched. First of all, the current Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Natural Resources would have much concentration on the management of the forest resources that are far being depleted (Edusa, 2011). Similarly, much attention shall be given to the mineral resources that create a lot of environmental, health and managerial challenges to the government. Forest and mining issues are issues that adversely affect the ecological zones of Ghana and proper attention needs to be giving to that.

Second, based on the premise that decentralization brings governance closer to people and gives voice to the voiceless, reducing the administration of lands to the district level shall speed up consultations between the government represented by the DA and land owners and bring sanity into the spatial development of Ghana.

References


