

# **Ghana's Millennium Challenge Account and the Land Component: A Holistic Approach**

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**Key words:** Ghana's Millennium Challenge Account (MCA); Access to land; Land Tenure Security; Land Administration

## **SUMMARY**

Ghana is about to access a \$500million grant for an agricultural transformation programme under the US-supported Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). This is to ensure increased agricultural production and productivity of high-value cash and food crops in three designated areas of Ghana (Northern Agricultural Belt, Southern Horticultural Area and the Afram Basin), with a view to enhancing competitiveness of such crops on the local and international markets.

In Ghana, customary rights in land are prevalent and are offered strong legal protections. At the same time, the government of Ghana has acquired the authority to manage large tracts of land on behalf of communities or for public goods purposes. The indigenous land tenure and management system provides land for many people and purposes, with access being based primarily on membership of a landholding community. Investors and local farmers, who seek to acquire land use rights, can do so under long-term lease arrangements, other tenancy arrangements, and in some cases, through purchase. In this context, expanding secure access to land for commercial activity while maintaining secure tenure for local communities is possible.

This possibility will be demonstrated through a series of activities in the rural areas where the MCA land project will operate. The approaches used will be consistent with the national-level Land Administration Programme (LAP) which is being supported by several donors.

The paper provides a background to Ghana's MCA programme, examines the design of the land component, and provides recommendations (based on lessons learnt) on its sustainability.

# Ghana's Millennium Challenge Account and the Land Component: A Holistic Approach

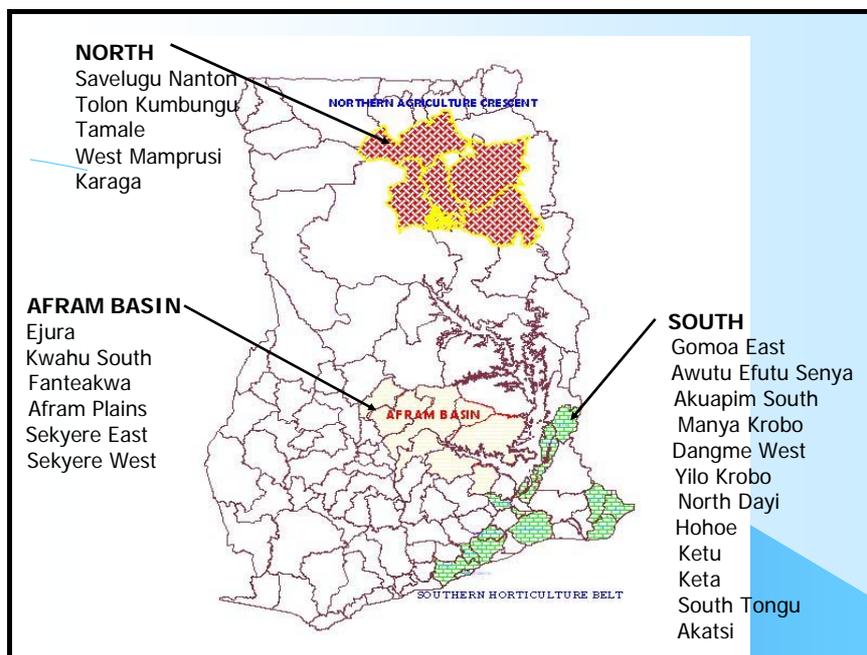
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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2002, President Bush proposed the creation of the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) calling for “a new compact for global development” to link greater contributions from developed nations to greater responsibility from developing nations (Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 2005 Annual Report, p. 11).

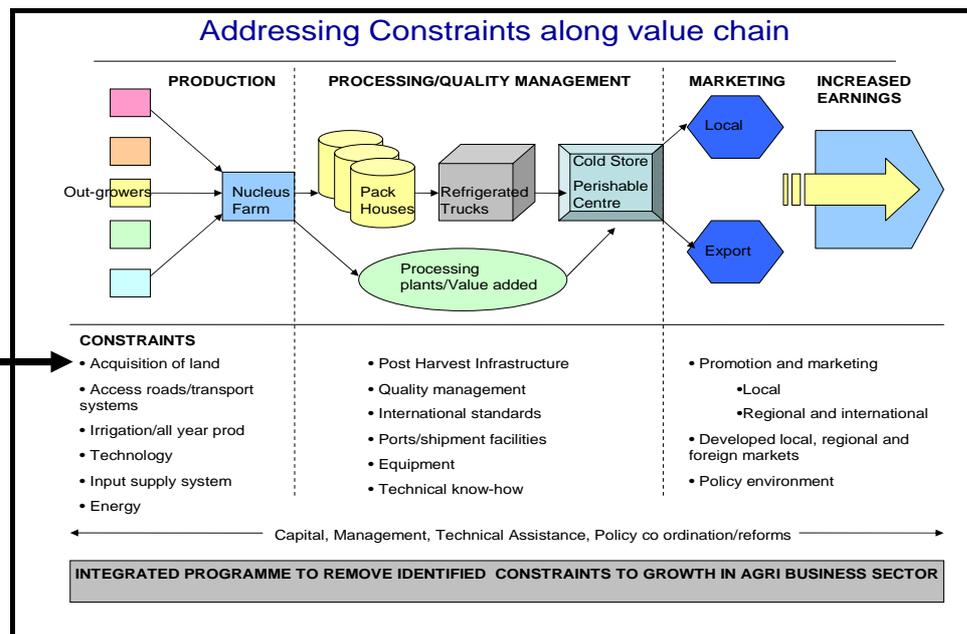
Congress formally created the MCA in 2004 and established the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), providing \$1billion in initial funding for financial year 2004 with bi-partisan support. MCCs mission is to reduce poverty by supporting sustainable, transformative economic growth in developing countries which create and maintain sound policy environments (Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 2005 Annual Report, p. 10). Ghana has been selected as one of the eligible countries to access the fund.

The objective of Ghana’s programme is to increase production and productivity of high value cash and food crops in the three selected areas of Ghana (see Figure 1), whilst enhancing the competitiveness of such crops in local and international markets.



**Figure 1:** Areas Selected for Agribusiness Activities under MCA (\* initial pilot districts)

One of the project outcomes is to ‘improve [Ghana’s] Agri-business environment’ by addressing constraints along the value chain (Figure 2).



**Figure 2:** Value Chain in Agribusiness (boldly arrowed - Land acquisition is a constraint)

It is not the intention of this paper to explain in detail the above value-chain process. However, it is pertinent to state from the very outset that the land component is seen as a critical factor for ultimate success of the programme and is positioned within this project outcome. In fact, it has been noted that this ambitious expansion of higher value agribusiness could be slowed by insecure land access and by inefficient land registration processes.

The land component has therefore been designed to ensure that economic and social growth are enhanced within the three selected areas; poverty reduced in those districts by improving access to land through tenure security whilst ensuring the availability of credit facilities to farmers through systematic titling.

The next section will try to do a comparative analysis with only one eligible country (Madagascar) already enjoying the Account and whose programme epitomizes that of Ghana’s, helping to place the paper in its proper ‘global’ context. Thereafter, attention will shift to Ghana’s programme itself, starting with consultations made before the design of the land component is subsequently addressed.

## 2. CONTEXTUAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

How was Ghana selected? Initially 63 low-income countries dubbed *candidate countries* with per capita income of  $\leq$  \$1,465 based on the Internal Development Association’s ceiling for Financial Year 2005 (FY05) were selected (Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 2005, pp.15 - 17).

Out of this number, 16 *eligible countries* emerged for approval to access grants in 2004 with one more added in 2005 to access the fund. The approval was based, among others, on the following criteria:

- performance of governments in governing justly (civil liberties, political rights, voice & accountability, rule of law and control of corruption) – *Good Governance*;
- investment of governments in their citizens (public expenditures on health as % of GDP, immunization rates: e.g. measles, public primary education spending as % of GDP - *Economic Management*; and
- encouragement of economic freedom by governments (1-year consumer price inflation, fiscal policy, trade policy, days to start business) – *Social Investment*.

Examples of eligible countries include: Mali; Benin; Senegal; Madagascar; and **Ghana**.

On the other hand, there are *threshold countries* that are to be helped to meet the above criteria since they are ‘close to qualifying but do not qualify for MCA compact funding’ (Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 2005, p. 19). These include Burkina Faso, the Philippines and Malawi.

If a country was selected for funding, what requirements are to be met? Ghana, like any other country was expected to:

- identify the greatest barriers to her own development;
- ensure civil society participation; and
- develop a multi-year MCC compact (agreement or commitment, i.e. mutual promises between the US Government and a partner country)

For instance, Madagascar’s key goal in removing barriers to her growth was to help the ‘island nation (Gross National Income (per capita) of \$300) move from subsistence to a market driven economy, particularly in agricultural production’. However, unlike Ghana (Gross National Income (per capita) (GDP) of \$380), this is a less complex programme and covers a four-year period. Ghana is expected to have a five-year compact. Again, Madagascar (population of approximately 17.3 million) was to get \$110 million, far below Ghana’s expected \$500 million (population of approximately 20.7 million). Madagascar’s programme is designed to ‘raise incomes in rural areas by providing the rural population with the means to increase investment in their land and raise agricultural productivity’. The key objectives were: enabling better land use; expanding the financial sector; and increasing investment in farms and other rural businesses (Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), 2005, p. 25).

*“If you take a look at our vision and country ownership you will realize why the MCA is so important for us. Here we have an approach which helps us to implement our vision” – Marc Ravalomanana, President of Madagascar.*

It is worthy to note that Ghana’s poverty reduction goals have been set in alignment with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Overall poverty has reduced from 52% in 1992 to 40 % in 1999 and to 35 per cent in 2003. GDP needs to grow at over 7% annually to reduce poverty substantially. GDP has been targeted to grow in real terms at a rate of 5.8 per cent this year.

Interestingly, Ghana is acknowledged to be one of the few countries in sub-Saharan Africa to have a chance of meeting the MDGs, given the country's economic potential and strong social capital base (Ghana MCA, p 7).

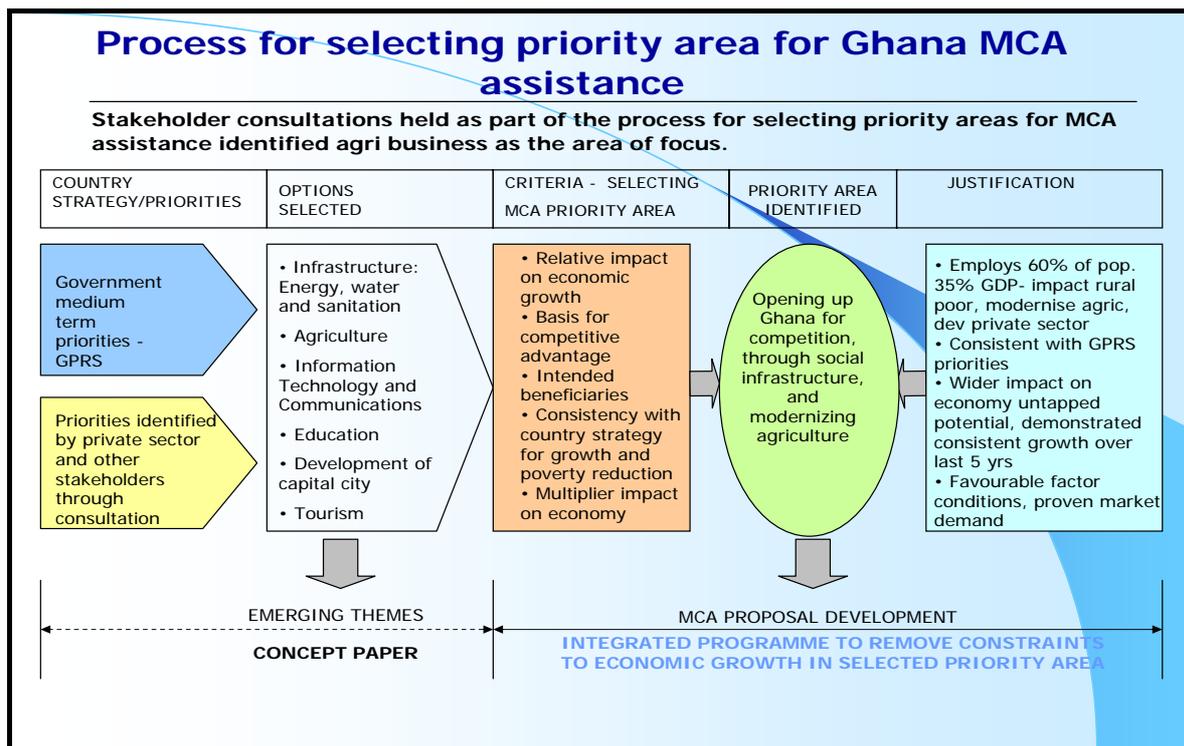
Figure 3 shows the processes Ghana went through in selecting its priority areas for MCA assistance. The country thoroughly examined Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategy and identified certain priorities through extensive consultations with stakeholders as will be seen shortly in the next section of this paper. The options selected for possible MCA implementation included infrastructural development, agricultural transformation, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and education. Based on the relative impact and competitive advantage of these themes on economic growth and poverty reduction, the country opted for *social* infrastructural development and agricultural modernization in 23 Districts of Ghana.

Since the paper is basically on Ghana's programme, attention will now be focussed on that country's programme.

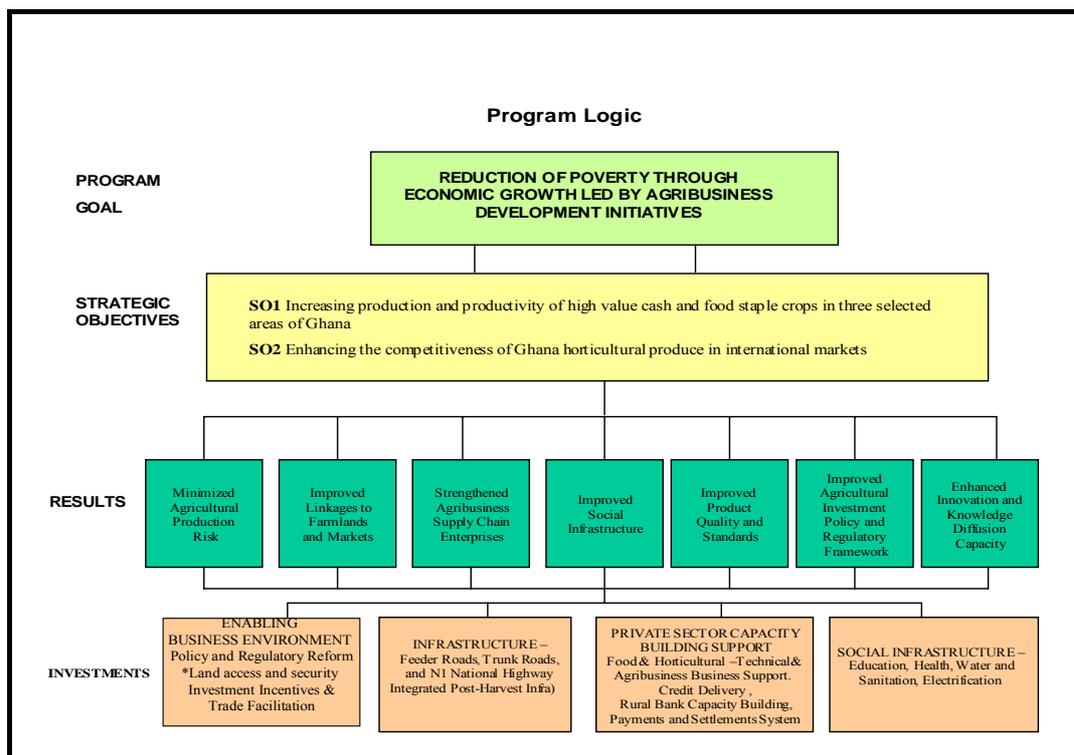
After having met all requirements, Ghana like other eligible countries was expected to:

- develop well-designed programmes with clear objectives;
- have benchmarks to measure expected results;
- have procedures to ensure fiscal accountability; and
- plan an effective monitoring and objective evaluation of results.

Based on the generic goal of economic growth led by modernized agricultural development, Ghana came up with its *programme logic* with two strategic objectives (Figure 4). This required investments in road infrastructure, social infrastructure (e.g. hospitals), private sector capacity development (seen as an engine of growth) and an enabling business investment climate under which the land accessibility and security component is positioned.



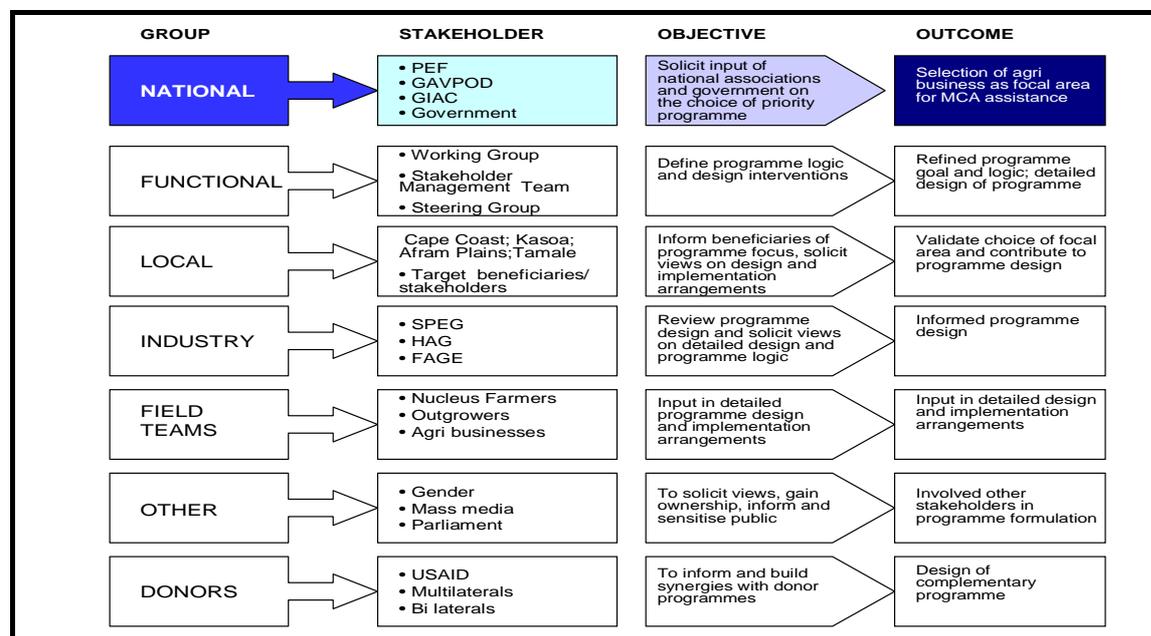
**Figure 3:** Ghana identifies greater barriers through consultation



**Figure 4:** Ghana's Programme logic has two strategic objectives

### 3. CONSULTATIONS

The structure below presents a summary of the consultation process in the development of Ghana's compact proposal.



**Figure 5:** Ghana's Consultation Processes

The *national level consultation* process elicited inputs from national associations such as civil society and non-governmental organizations at which inputs from the Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF) – an umbrella organization whose objective is to exert greater influence on policy initiatives for the creation of an enabling environment in which private sector businesses can thrive as partners in the development – for instance, were received and incorporated into the proposal (see Figure 5). *Local level consultations* at the grass roots level particularly focused on target beneficiaries of the program. One of the most important outcomes of the local level consultations is the formation of the district level field teams whose inputs led to the refining of the program implementation arrangements. *Workshops and stakeholder meetings* were organized in the earmarked locations of the program and its environs (Ghana MCA, p 11).

Furthermore, the team leaders of the components of the proposal comprising the Infrastructure Project; the Private Sector Competitiveness Improvement Project; Policy Reform; and the Public Sector Capacity Building project - organized component-specific meetings and workshops which led to the refined and detailed design of the program. The team also *administered questionnaires* to private sector horticulture producers to solicit their inputs for the proposal. Moreover industry operators already engaged in the agribusiness sector, particularly horticultural production, also organized seminars and workshops whose outcomes and recommendations either provided further inputs or complemented the Ghana MCA program. These meetings addressed specific constraints to growth and the

corresponding interventions that are expected to remove these constraints and increase competitiveness. Consequently, outcomes of these meetings have been incorporated into the MCA program (Ghana MCA, p 11).

With respect to the land component specifically, *field visits* to three core districts of the 23 selected districts were undertaken with a view to *sensitizing* all stakeholders and seeing at first hand some operations of agricultural farming as a prelude to initiating the entire programme. One of the main activities under the compact development process was ‘Due Diligence’. This involved technical and economic analysis and design of all elements of the proposed land component. *Consultations* and *discussion fora* with politicians, technical officials of requisite Government Ministries, Development Partners, NGOs, University Professors, the Judicial Service, the private sector, including private commercial farm operators/managers, and public land sector agencies were consulted. During due diligence some traditional authorities/personalities were also contacted (Plate 1). Moreover, *Durbars* were held with Farmer Based Organisations (FBOs).



**Plate 1:** Visit to the North: Holding discussions with Nanton Naa’s representatives

There were, therefore, extensive consultations (so very critical for projects of such magnitude) in the design of Ghana’s programme and the land component. Having given some detailed background information, the paper will at this stage zero in into the land component itself, addressing the question: what went into the design of the land project?

#### **4. THE DESIGN OF THE LAND COMPONENT**

To improve tenure security for existing land users and to facilitate expanding access to land for higher value agriculture in Millennium Development Agency (MIDA) implementation districts, MCC funding would be used to implement systematic registration of land in selected Pilot Registration Districts (PRDs), to establish one-stop land market services, to support analysis and stakeholder dialogue and to take measures to allow land disputes to be resolved more effectively.

MIDA is an entity created by Act 702 by Ghana's Parliament to be responsible for the supervision, management and implementation of the compact. PRD is the term used to describe an area that has been formally declared for coverage of systematic registration of title by the Chief Registrar of Titles within the framework of the National Land Administration Project. The area may or may not be synonymous with any particular administrative district or customary authority jurisdiction.

## **5. OBJECTIVES OF THE LAND COMPONENT**

We observed that to date, inadequate policy and regulatory framework; fragmented institutional arrangements, and an underdeveloped land registration system mean that, in practice, land transactions are inefficient and there are many land tenure disputes. There is a general perception that investors/commercial farmers will find it difficult to obtain secure access to land.

Some specific problems currently encountered in respect of agricultural land include lack of formal documentation of customary holdings (it is a fact that the 78% of the land held by the customary sector is not usually formally recorded), indeterminate boundaries of private and other land holdings are a problem; conflicting records of land rights and time delays in negotiating and registering acquisition and transfer of land rights still persist.

In addition, a very large backlog of land dispute cases exists - about 40,000 pending before the courts. Of all new cases filed every year, land cases accounts for up to 50% of all cases in the Court. In the Volta Region of Ghana the figure may go up to 70%. Pending land cases also constitute about 50% of all civil cases. This not only clogs the circuit courts, it makes it harder for clear land rights to be accessed.

To change this scenario to one in which land tenure is not an obstacle to investment and customary rights remain secure, the Government of Ghana is implementing, with multi-donor support, an ambitious National Land Administration Project which seeks to remedy the myriad problems within a systematic reform of the policy and institutional framework. However, it will take time for the LAP to become effective and for its impacts to emerge.

In the meantime, the Land Tenure Facilitation Activity seeks to contribute to an environment of more secure tenure in the three MIDA implementation regions (Northern Agricultural Belt, Southern Horticultural Area and the Afram Basin) and addresses the particular problems that its beneficiaries encounter as they seek to expand their land access.

The key objective therefore is to improve access to rural land with secured title within the LAP framework, ensuring a clearer definition of property rights through improved land titling in the three selected areas. This we believe provides a holistic approach in addressing the issues.

The next section will delve into some detail on the various activities of the land component.

## **5. ACTIVITIES OF THE LAND COMPONENT**

We agreed that consistent with the overall policy and methodological framework of LAP, actions will be supported to accelerate achievement of secure land access, expedite land registration, and reduce land disputes in all 23 administrative districts where MIDAs interventions will occur. The Activity will also benefit the national level land reform process by piloting more aggressive strategies in rural areas than has been done to date and providing feedback into the evolving LAP implementation strategy. Support will be made available, in fact, to engage stakeholders in analysis and dialogue about land tenure issues and lessons learned during the Activity implementation. The following four activities were identified.

### **5.1 Facilitate Land Transactions by Providing On-demand Land Services**

The first identified activity under the land component of the MIDA project will help facilitate land transactions by providing on-demand land services. Today in Ghana, there are 6 public agencies that have a role in land administration namely, the Lands Commission, the Survey Department, the Land Valuation Board, the Land Title Registry, and the Office of Administrator of Stool Lands as well as the Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD).

The first five operate in loose coordination within the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines whereas the TCPD is now under the Ministry Local Government, Rural Development and Environment. This institutional fragmentation has meant inefficiency in serving the needs of citizens and other investors and also has limited the ability of the LAP to advance on its reform goals.

Recently, Cabinet endorsed a legal and institutional reform road map that will be aggressively pursued in the next years. Among other things, this will mean transforming the five land sector agencies into an umbrella agency with one CEO and streamlined divisions but with a stronger linkage to the TCPD. The proposed new institutional scheme also promotes a one-window approach to effective, streamlined customer service.

We observed that within the context of the on-going effort to improve the land administration systemically over the medium term, specific short term measures are needed to make land transactions easier and land rights more secure so that the agricultural commercialization process could take-off successfully. This included improved access to land market information, improved private services in preparing land transactions, and greater efficiency of public services to record land transactions in the deeds or title registries nationwide. These measures will reduce the time and transaction costs to clients in making and recording a land transaction, promote a culture of quality customer service delivery and facilitate greater understanding across customary and formal practices.

To accommodate land transactions on an on-demand basis in all the districts benefiting from the Compact, MIDA will assist relevant agencies in each region to provide support services

aiming to improve the quality and pace of formalization of land deals, including ensuring that rights of customary users of land and gender issues are adequately considered.

Specifically, MCC funds will support service providers in each region where MIDA operates to:

- assess the demand for assistance with land transactions and registration in each district in the region;
- based on the assessment, design a locally accessible service strategy, in collaboration with the Lands Commission and other relevant agencies and MIDAs monitoring and evaluation team. This will help facilitate transactions for clients, including getting the needed private sector assistance (e.g., information provision, legal/paralegal services, valuation services, surveying, mediation); and
- offer local land market information (lands available, tenure information, prices/values, contact information, guidance on customary norms, et cetera).

Local land market information will be collected by developing, publicizing and managing a land market information database consistent with development of the LAP-supported land information systems; conducting outreach about the process of land registration and the availability of one stop services in coordination with agricultural extension activities under MIDAs project; producing and circulating user-friendly guides to formal and customary rules and administrative practices regarding land access and registration.

It is worthy to note that based on an action plan approved by MIDA with MCC no objection and consistent with envisaged institutional and modernization effort planned under LAP, MIDA will partner with the Lands Commission and other relevant agencies in each region to process land registration requests more efficiently.

## **5.2 Pilot Systematic Demarcation and Registration of Rural Land Rights**

The second major activity is Piloting Systematic Demarcation and Registration of Rural Land Rights. To create an overall environment of more secure land tenure, MIDA will coordinate the application of a systematic approach to registration of existing rural land rights. Consistent with the LAP methodology, at least one site within each MIDA intervention region will be declared as a 'pilot registration district (PRD)'.

This sub-activity will be implemented in two phases. In the first phase, three locations (Awutu Efutu Senya, Savalugu-Nanton, and Afram Plains) have been selected as the first sites to be declared as PRDs for implementation. These were chosen according to readiness for expansion of commercial agriculture or improved food crops under the Project in each region (Plate 2).



**Plate 2:** Georgefield Farms (pineapple is the main crop), ready for expansion

Based on successful implementation of phase 1 and refinement of the methodological approach as necessary, a second phase will be implemented in six more sites to be identified as PRDs. Determination of success in phase 1 and adjustments that might be needed to the approach will be done through an appraisal of performance led by the MIDA Monitoring and Evaluation team in coordination with the Project and Activity Managers as well as the unit that manages the LAP project. The piloting strategy will allow the process to advance in the most important horticultural expansion areas and (as already indicated) also allow the methodology to be refined especially with regard to ensuring adequate consideration of women's right to land.

As appropriate and within the relevant tasks below, the Lands Commission and other government of Ghana agencies, will work together with any relevant customary land secretariats to more specifically undertake, firstly, some preparatory tasks, namely:

- conduct community sensitization and information gathering;
- provide a preliminary delineation of boundary lines of customary community land holdings and of use rights assigned within its perimeters to ultimately develop composite maps for possible adjudication; and
- conduct an inventory of land rights including formal, customary, and informal ownership as well as any subsidiary use rights

Secondly, there will also be the need to formalize all land rights in each PRD through:

- facilitating dispute resolution as needed (between chiefs, among claimants) using alternative dispute resolution techniques based on the composite plans;
- ensure final demarcation of parcel boundaries; and
- issue and register land titles within the PRDs.

## **6 APPLIED ANALYSIS, TRAINING AND OUTREACH PROGRAMMES**

Thirdly, the project will engage in applied analysis, training and Outreach programmes to contribute to the on-going land policy dialogue at the national level and to help advance innovative solutions to issues that might be encountered in the course of implementing this Project.

The lands project will develop and implement a training action plan to build capacity, specifically in the MIDA areas of operation, for public and private sector land administration services; and to the extent feasible rely on existing training programs and work with the LAP and university partners to provide such training.

The component will support the following two studies on land issues:

- Assess the need for and analyze legal and administrative aspects of possible compensation resulting from ADR; and
- deepen understanding of land banks or land funds as a means to improve ability of the poor to access land and explore alternative operational modalities.

The project seeks also to support a small grant program for applied analysis focused on fostering informed debate and continued learning on land issues, to be administered by a selected institution.

It would also undertake measures that will reinforce the quality of the implementation process through the facilitation of workshops and other fora for dialogue on technical, social or policy issues relevant to land tenure and access; the adoption of a gender strategy for implementation of the sub-activities in this Activity, based on analysis conducted under LAP; the holding of regular coordination meetings with the LAP management unit to ensure consistency and collaboration in implementation; and incorporate as appropriate recommendations from analysis and evaluations conducted for LAP.

## **7. CLEARING THE BACKLOG OF COURT CASES IN THE CIRCUIT COURTS**

Fourthly, the project will aim to improve the ability of the Courts to process land dispute cases. To remove land disputes as an obstacle to land access and to begin to establish systems and procedures to deal expeditiously and at less cost with any future land cases, MIDA will collaborate with the Judicial Service to remove the backlog of land dispute cases in ten circuit courts that serve the 23 Agricultural Transformation Project districts.

Based on an inventory of pending court cases, conducted recently with support from German Development Cooperation (GTZ):

- analyze the types of cases, the pros and cons of different techniques currently proposed by the Judiciary to resolve them;
- propose refinements to these techniques and recommend the types of cases for each of the different ADR practices used in Ghana that are most appropriate e.g., negotiated settlement, arbitration, etc.;

- conduct a census and create an inventory of the current backlog of land dispute cases by number, type, nature and status in the 10 circuit courts included; and
- adopt a final plan of action to remove the backlog; including a calendar of work and protocol for transparency and quality control.

The project envisages taking the following measures to remove the identified case backlog, incorporating as appropriate the refinements and recommendations made under the GTZ-supported study. This will involve the:

- issuance of due notices to be served by bailiffs on all litigants and their lawyers to express their continuing interest or otherwise within a limited time frame;
- appointment of Special Judges to sit and strike out all cases of “non-appearance” and where good cause is not shown within the given time frame;
- commencement of trial of all “defended” cases where cause is shown;
- referral of cases which fall outside this scope or which are suitable to ADR; and
- automation of the 10 selected Circuit Courts and upgrade as necessary to accommodate computer installation and modest improvements to the working conditions in each court to increase staff performance.

Moreover, the project will help introduce Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms into the Circuit Court System by developing a Circuit Court Practice Manual for ADR; applying ADR techniques at the 10 selected Courts; and training local mediators in ADR processes in the selected Courts. Judges and staff of the 10 circuit courts will be trained to enable them carry out their new responsibilities more effectively, including training in ICT applications to judicial work, ADR procedures and in land law and administrative procedures and land litigation.

Finally, on the courts, there will be an awareness creation and information sharing sub-activity on the role of circuit courts and their improved capacity; and making available statistics and information on types of disputes encountered, success in resolving them via different techniques used and lessons learned in the process available for broader public interests e.g. to LAP to inform its broader objectives.

## **8. THE IMPLEMENTATION**

A budget of approximately \$10 million would be used to fund the land activity. As already indicated, implementation of the land component will be in phases. We deemed this incremental approach better and realistic, ensuring that optimum results are obtained in an iterative and workable manner. This approach is also expected to be flexible, allowing the responsible Officers to operate the project intelligently as the project evolves.

Figure 5 indicates a summary of the project, indicating the critical assumptions for successful implementation.

Key Objective	Key Outcomes	Critical Assumptions
<b>Economic and social growth enhanced; poverty reduced by improving access to land; availability of credit facilities and enhanced land tenure security.</b>	– Increased household incomes and reduction in poverty in pilot areas reduced.	– Ghana Government/MIDA/MCC retain poverty alleviation as a key priority.
	– Transparency checks and balances and participation procedures by traditional authorities/land owners adopted.	– MIDA committed to developing participatory processes in all activities.
	– Sustainable land use planning and management practices developed.	– The District Assemblies continue to support MIDA efforts at poverty alleviation and facilitate access to land.
	– Time and transaction costs of processing land documents reduced.	– MIDA committed to facilitating unimpeded access to land, especially to investors.
	– Land titles obtained by farmers increased.	– LAP continues to assist in covering pilot areas with titles.
	– Loans/credit facilities secured through titles in pilot areas increased	– Commercial Farmers, Ministry of Agric. and the formal Banks help farmers secure credit and inputs.
	– Land Information Market System (LIMS) designed and implemented	– LIMS will operate as a strong subset of the OSS.

**Table 1:** Ghana’s land project summary with critical assumptions

## 9. LESSONS LEARNT

A number of lessons were learnt that also provided a basis for recommendations. These are as follows:

- There was a strong tendency to be economical with the truth (on the part of some team members) when it came to analyzing and designing a project of this magnitude. In designing a system that had to be robust, involving partnership with the Americans, transparency became crucial without which the design of the land component could have failed. There was already a strong mistrust (on the part of the Americans) of Ghana’s land market that they knew was chaotic but is actually now being transformed with Donor support under the LAP;
- Despite extensive consultations with colleagues, some stakeholders, perhaps out of a feeling of detachment, feigned non-awareness of the goal and objectives of the exercise. This may suggest that in future their involvement must be total to give them a deeper sense of ownership of the project even at the design stage. Furthermore a committee of experts from supporting government Ministries is preferred to assist such projects rather than a single individual who may be perceived to have his own agenda or may be seen to have ‘hi-jacked the project’;
- Monthly Reports to the Hon. Minister for Lands could have been helpful. This ought to have been submitted regularly from the very outset. Briefings by the land expert to the Hon. Minister could also have been regular. In addition, the Hon. Minister could also

have summoned the expert as when he needed some information. In effect information flow is noted to be vital in such projects, if it is not to run into avoidable problems;

- The Land Facilitation Activity has been designed. The terms of the compact have been negotiated and awaiting approval of the US Congress. Meanwhile, MIDA has been established and recruitment is ongoing to man the Agency. It is required that the Land Administration Project Manager, if recruited, work closely with the Project Director of the LAP and the Land Sector Agencies to iron out or clarify grey areas of implementation so that a parallel system does not emerge.

## **10. A PARADIGM SHIFT?**

Some key questions make themselves amenable for investigation. Are Development Partners (DPs) (funding developmental projects in low-income countries that are mostly agrarian economies) going to be driven solely by agri-business related issues? Is giving developing countries total control over project design and implementation (but working in partnership with DPs as catalysts of change) the panacea to poverty alleviation and economic growth? Could this be sustained with grants and not loans? The successful implementation of Ghana's programme will attest to these.

## **11. CONCLUSION**

The land component is designed to ensure that economic and social growth are enhanced within the three selected regions of 23 districts; poverty reduced in those regions by improving access to land through tenure security whilst ensuring the availability of credit facilities to farmers through systematic titling. These are to occur within the LAP framework to ensure consistency with the wider land reform programme by Government. This will require sustained collaboration with the Lands Commission as with all the agencies under the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines as well as all relevant stakeholders including Traditional Authorities, District Assemblies and Non-Governmental Organisations.

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## CAVEAT

*The opinions expressed in this document are those of the land expert and are not necessarily those of the MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE ACCOUNT/CORPORATION). The import of the information provided in this paper is subject to Ghana signing a compact with the US Government that is expected to occur most probably in early August 2006.*

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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