AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES OF EXPROPRIATION AND COMPENSATION FOR MINING IN GHANA: EVIDENCE FROM CASE STUDIES WITH MULTIPLE PARTICIPANTS

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ABSTRACT

The procedures and the practices of expropriation and compensation for mining remain a source of conflict between mining host communities and mining companies in Ghana. Using best practices from the Food and Agriculture Organisation’s (FAO’s) compulsory acquisition and compensation guidelines and literature, this study assessed the procedures and practices for expropriation and compensation of two gold mining companies in Ghana – Asanko Gold Ghana Limited and Newmont Goldcorp’s Ahafo Mine. The study found that the controversies surrounding the expropriation and compensation practices of the two studied cases were attributable to a triumvirate of factors: the loopholes in the existing laws, the disregard for key legal provisions on expropriation and compensation, and the lax institutional oversight over expropriation practices. For a fair expropriation regime in Ghana’s mining sector, there is the need for a centralised guiding framework to streamline expropriation and compensation practices.

Keywords: Expropriation, compensation, mining host communities, project affected persons, valuation

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is known that when expropriation and compensation procedures are poorly designed and or implemented, land markets are weakened, investment incentives are undermined, affected parties are deprived of legitimate rights in land, the overall outcome of which is the destruction of livelihoods and entire communities (Lindsay, 2012). In view of this, it is advised that although expropriation practices should be placed within the context of national legislation, it is necessary to situate such practices in line with international law, conventions, standards and human rights principles (Verstappen et al., 2016). This is to guard against the deterioration of affected people’s situation and ensure that the burdens on affected persons are proportionate to the value of the public benefit generated by the expropriation (Tagliarino, 2017).

Consequently, multilateral agencies, donors and non-governmental organisations have developed benchmarks, indicators and best practice guidelines that outline how governments, civil society organisations (CSOs) and investors should act to protect people affected by land-based investments and to support sustainable and equitable investments that respect the rights of local communities (Bledsoe et al., 2015). Key among these includes the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement, the African Union Guiding Principles on Large-Scale Land-Based Investment and the Food and Agriculture Organization’s (FAO) guidelines on Compulsory Acquisition and Compensation. Others are the International Finance Corporation’s (IFC) Performance Standards 5 and 7 on Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement (PS5), the World Bank’s Environmental and Social Framework (ESS), the Land Governance Assessment Framework prepared by the World Bank and the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure (VGGT) developed by the Committee on World Food Security.

In Ghana, the greatest challenge facing successive governments in exercising the powers of eminent domain to expropriate private interests in property is the ability to pay prompt, fair and adequate compensation (Anim-Odame, 2011). The challenges associated with compensating mining-impacted persons have persistently featured in national policy discussion even though the 1992 Constitution, the National Land Policy and other legal instruments on compulsory acquisition call for prompt, fair and adequate compensation. The challenges incidental to land acquisition are further exacerbated in situations where the state grants the rights to mineral extraction to mining companies through the issuance of concessions and mining permits. Since the permits are in respect of mineral resources on or underneath the land in the allotted concessions, there arise the need to compulsorily acquire surface rights that are either publicly or privately owned (Ayitey et al., 2011).

For years, the exercise of the powers of compulsory acquisition by mining companies has been problematic for mining companies and the government of Ghana. Usually, these challenges stem from disagreements over the procedures for expropriation, the valuation methods applied in assessing the values of impacted properties and the components of compensation awards. Consistently, mine-affected communities have complained that the procedures involved in compensation assessment are unfair, and the amount of compensation paid is inadequate to replace expropriated land and attached assets. There are also concerns regarding the adequacy of compensation paid for the deprivation of land use in lieu of the loss of future income receivable from the ownership and use of expropriated land over the duration of mining leases.

Despite these issues, research has not been clear on the extent to which the expropriation and compensation procedures and practices adopted by mining companies in Ghana comply with international benchmarks and standards. In the past, some researchers have analysed compulsory acquisition practices in Ghana and stressed the need to overhaul existing procedures due to the increasing expropriation related conflicts and social unrest (Larbi et al., 2004; Larbi, 2008; Anim-Odame, 2011; Adu-Gyamfi, 2012; King and Sumbo, 2015). This reinforces the need for studies to examine the procedures and practices for expropriation for mining in Ghana in the context of international best practices. However, further literature searches reveal that there is limited empirical research on the extent to which the expropriation procedures and practices of mining companies operating in Ghana comply with international best practice standards. Against this background, this research undertakes an empirical assessment of the procedures and practices of expropriation and compensation of two gold mining companies in Ghana using good practice criteria formulated from the Food and Agriculture Organization’s (FAO) compulsory acquisition and compensation guidelines and literature. Specifically, the
research assesses the expropriation practices of two gold mining companies in Ghana; Asanko Gold Ghana Limited (AGGL), a mining company operating in the Amansie South, Amansie West and the Atwima Nwabiagya districts of the Ashanti Region; and Newmont Goldcorp's Ahafo Mine (NGAM) a mining company operating in the Asutifi South, Asutifi North and the Tano North districts of the Ahafo region of Ghana.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Defining compulsory acquisition

Termed in some jurisdictions as takings, resumption or compulsory purchase, it is the power of the state to cause, compel or force a person to sell his property to the government at a price deemed as just compensation (Sandefur, 2006). The FAO (2008) defines it as the power of states to dispossess private rights in property without the owner or occupant’s expressed consent for the benefit of the public. It encompasses all forms of takings of private property by a state for public use in times of peace, war or national emergency (Epstein, 1985). According to Larbi (2008), the power vested in governments to compulsorily acquire land and attached property that is not for sale on the open market in the public’s interest where and when it deems appropriate is termed eminent domain.

This study presents the preliminary findings of an ongoing research project on expropriation, valuation and compensation practices of two gold mining companies in Ghana.

Figure 1 Map of Ghana showing the locations of the two studied cases

Source: Muller and Umpire (2014) modified
As defined, under expropriation legislation, the owner of the property under acquisition need not want to dispose of the property as it is taken away from them against their will. Though affected parties are denied their rights to their property for the overriding public interest or public benefit, they are entitled to just and adequate compensation (Kakulu et al., 2009). In most instances, the acquiring authority and the affected persons usually agree on the compensation payable for the resumed rights in the affected property. Otubu (2012) notes that the compulsory acquisition process confirms and recognises the fundamental right to private property as it gives deductive recognition to private property rights.

2.2 A review of selected guidelines and frameworks on compulsory acquisition and compensation

2.2.1 The World Bank's Environmental and Social Framework (ESS)

The Environmental and Social Standards (ESS) framework sets out the mandatory environmental and social obligations borrowers must meet in undertaking projects financed by the World Bank. Comprising ten environmental and social standards, standards 1 to 5 focus on assessing and managing environmental and social risks and impacts; labour and working conditions; resource efficiency and pollution prevention and management; community health and safety; and land acquisition, restrictions on land use and involuntary resettlement (The World Bank, 2016). Standards 6 to 10 address issues relating to biodiversity conservation and sustainable management of living natural resources; indigenous peoples/sub-Saharan African historically underserved traditional local communities; cultural heritage; financial intermediaries; and stakeholder engagement and information disclosure (The World Bank, 2016).

Standard 5, which focuses on expropriation and compensation, involuntary resettlement and land use restrictions sets out best practices for meaningful community consultation and participation, grievance mechanisms and project planning and implementation. It also provides best practice guidance to borrowers on compensation and benefits for permanent, temporal, physical and economic displaced persons and a resettlement framework to address physical or economic displacement depending on the scope of projects and the anticipated impacts on host communities (The World Bank, 2016).

2.2.2 The FAO's Land Tenure Series 10 – Compulsory acquisition and compensation

The FAO prepared the compulsory acquisition and compensation guide with support from bilateral partners, including the World Bank Thematic Group on Land Policy and Administration, the International Federation of Surveyors (FIG) and the UN-Habitat's Land Tenure and Property Administration Section (FAO 2008). Though the FAO guidelines are not formally endorsed globally, they represent what the FAO and its partner organisations consider global best practices for fair compulsory acquisition and compensation (Tagliarino, 2017).

The Land Tenure Series 10 provides detailed guidelines on the necessary steps and procedures required to ensure fair and efficient land acquisition for development. Prepared as an implementation reference handbook, it gives a detailed description of the steps necessary at every phase of the expropriation process, from the project planning stage, through the valuation and compensation processes, to the possessions and the appeals stages. The guide also highlights the fundamental issues requiring priority attention in the planning, development and implementation of laws, policies and practices of expropriation (FAO, 2008). According to Li (2015), comparatively, the FAO's guide presents more comprehensive guidelines on the procedures for expropriation and compensation for planned developmental projects. Besides these, the handbook provides insights on the purposes for which governments can compulsorily acquire property, the limits on such powers and compensation entitlements. In keeping with the objectives of this research, best practices from the FAO's compulsory acquisition and compensation guidelines and other literature on expropriation constitute the basis for assessing the expropriation and compensation procedures for the two studied cases.
2.3 The current situation of expropriation and compensation for mining in Ghana

Article 20 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that:

"No property of any description, or interest in or right over any property shall be compulsorily taken possession of or acquired by the State unless the following conditions are satisfied:

(a) the taking of possession or acquisition is necessary in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning or the development or utilisation of property in such a manner as to promote the public benefit; and

(b) the necessity for the acquisition is clearly stated and is such as to provide reasonable justification for causing any hardship that may result to any person who has an interest in or right over the property”.

These provisions underpin the powers of the government of Ghana to compulsorily acquire land for public purposes subject to prompt, fair and adequate compensation. Whereas the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) empowers the State to acquire stool3 lands, Anim-Odame (2011) notes that the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125) as amended by the State Lands (Amendment) 2005 (Act 568) has been at the centre of the nation's post-independence acquisitions of private interest in real property.

In the context of expropriations for mining, Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703) as amended and its accompanying legislative instrument, the Minerals and Mining (Compensation and Resettlement) Regulations 2012 (L.I 2175) grants the State the authority to cede its powers of eminent domain to mining companies upon issuing mineral concessions and permits. Section 74 (1) of the Act provides that a lawful landowner or occupier may be entitled to claims for compensation for:

i. deprivation of the use or a particular use of the natural surface of the land or part of the land,
ii. loss of or damage to immovable properties,
iii. in the case of land under cultivation, loss of earnings or sustenance suffered by the owner or lawful occupier, having due regard to the nature of their interest in the land,
iv. loss of expected income, depending on the nature of crops on the land and their life expectancy.

Regulation 3(1) of L.I 2175 further expounds on these heads of claim for compensation and specifies the compensation principles that valuers must take into account in assessing compensation for mining-induced expropriations.

Towards ensuring community participation in expropriation and compensation processes, section 73(3) of Act 703 provides that the determination of the amount of compensation payable in respect of losses stemming from the expropriations for mining shall be by agreement between the acquiring mining entity and the dispossessed parties. In response, mining companies have established local committees that negotiate compensation on behalf of mining-impacted communities. These committees include representatives of the mining company, identifiable groups, traditional leaders, farmers’ associations, and key state agencies within the mine impacted area. Although the procedures for the selection of members of these committees appear democratic, representative and participatory, studies conducted by Dolan and Rajak (2016) indicate that Crop Rates Negotiation Committee (CRNC) meetings at Newmont Goldcorp's Ahafo Mine (NGAM) were held without any verbal or audio recordings. This raises issues of transparency and accountability in the operation of the committees. In addition, Adonteng-Kissi (2017) expressed concerns regarding the capacity of local committee members to negotiate fair compensation rates with mining companies. Related studies conducted by the Ghana Chamber of Mines (2008), Ayitey et al. (2011) and Kidido et al. (2015) have reiterated the need for express enactments that outline the procedures for assessing the various compensable entitlements and the rightfully entitled recipients of such entitlements.

3 In the southern parts of Ghana, stools symbolize the traditional authority vested in chiefs as head of the community while skins symbolize the authority vested in chiefs in the Northern parts. Land owned by a group or community is referred to as stool or skin land (Ministry of Land and Forestry 1999).
3.0 METHODOLOGY

This qualitative multiple case study research was conducted from January 2020 to May 2020 in Ghana. Given the nature of the research enquiry, there was the need to select mining companies that were in the process of acquiring new areas for their operations or expanding already acquired mining areas. Based on these criteria, Asanko Gold Ghana Limited (AGGL) and Newmont Goldcorp’s Ahafo Mine (NGAM) were purposefully selected for this research. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary data was collected using semi-structured interviews and through field observations. Gray (2013) stresses the need for researchers to use multiple sources of evidence in case study research. In-depth interviews were used to collect data from 38 farmers, traditional leaders, officials of the studied mining companies and valuers. According to Saunders et al. (2007), interviews are best used in research for which the data collected is analysed qualitatively. Table 1 presents the breakdown of study participants.

### Table 1. List of the categories of interview participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of participant</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional leaders</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farmers’ representatives</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials of the studied mining companies</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private valuers/ researchers involved in expropriation and valuation for compensation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
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A snowball sampling technique was adopted in selecting farmers, landowners and traditional leaders for this study. Saunders et al. (2007) note that non-probability sampling techniques are most appropriate when adopting a case study strategy in research. However, officials of the studied companies, valuers and government officials were purposively selected for the research with due cognisance to their in-depth experience, knowledge and understanding of the expropriation and compensation practices of the studied mining companies. Studies show that key informants provide researchers with information that helps to expand, modify and clarify interpretations to data collected from other sources (Gilchrist and Williams, 1999). Secondary data was collected from published and unpublished sources.

Data sourced from the interviews were categorised according to themes and analysed thematically. This enabled a comparison of opinions and the perceptions of different study participants on the issues examined. To facilitate the data analysis, interview transcripts were coded based on themes using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo version 12. Data analysed were presented using descriptive narratives. Using descriptive narratives enabled the researchers to richly describe and incorporate key participants’ statements supporting the findings (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011).

4.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Minimal community participation in environmental impact assessments

In both studied cases, the research found that community participation in Environmental Impact Assessments is limited to a one-off mandatory public hearing. This implies that besides the mandatory one-off public
hearing, community consultations during the Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) were limited to chiefs and key stakeholders, thereby excluding critical sections of the mining host communities. In the NGAM case study, the exclusion of the Ahafo North mining catchment communities from Environmental Impact Assessments was an issue that featured strongly in the interviews with the Project Affected Persons (PAPs). This is evident in this statement:

"Isn't it absurd that a company will solely undertake Environmental Impact Assessments and draw up the appropriate mitigation measures without our inputs? When we are involved in these processes, we will identify the project's impacts on our livelihoods and the environment. This will also enable us to monitor the implementation of the proposed mitigation measures" – (Assembly member 1 - NGAM Ahafo North Project catchment community)

This indicates that the current EIA process does not serve the needs of mining-impacted communities. In response to these concerns, company officials noted that the chiefs and other stakeholders were consulted during the EIA processes. This was expressed in the following statement:

"We consulted the chiefs throughout the EIA process. We also had constant communication with the key stakeholders. The final stage of the EIA was the public hearing where PAPs could ask questions and receive responses as required by law. These were to ensure that we had the social license necessary to operate smoothly in the communities" – (Company official 3 - NGAM)

It is manifest in this statement that besides the chiefs and selected stakeholders, the participation of the mining host communities in Environmental Impact Assessments is limited to the one-off mandatory public hearings at the tail end of the processes. This means that there are no measures in place to enable the host communities to verify that their concerns have been fully addressed. As previously noted by Arnstein (1969), without mechanisms to ascertain whether community concerns have been fully addressed, public hearings are best described as a mere window-dressing custom. Research has also shown that selective consultation of participants in the mining sector often leads to a misrepresentation of community opinions (Abele et al., 1998). Given the benefits that chiefs and key stakeholders stand to gain from mining projects, this may influence their decisions to accept mining projects at the expense of their communities. PAPs indicated that excluding the NGAM Ahafo North project-affected communities in the EIA was a central sticking point in their acceptance of the impending mining project. On the back of such concerns, the FAO (2008) and the FIG (2010) advise on the need for acquiring entities to ensure that project-affected communities participate in all expropriation processes, especially in impact assessments.

4.2 Fairness and adequacy of compensation values remain in contention

The research noted from the interviews with the valuers representing both studied cases that the compensation due project impacted persons is assessed based on the principle of equivalence. By equivalence, the study refers to compensation where the affected party is not financially weakened. Although the compensation principles under section Act 703 identify the heads of claims for which an owner or lawful occupier may claim compensation, questions on the adequacy of compensation produced mixed reactions from study participants. While the study participants from the mine catchment communities considered the compensation values inadequate, companies' officials, government officials, and valuers held contrary opinions. In response to a question on the adequacy of compensation, a farmer noted that:

"The sums paid are inadequate. The compensation paid does not include the loss of access to game from the farms, snails, mushrooms, water from nearby streams and medicinal plants. Besides these, we can use our cocoa farms to obtain scholarships from the Ghana Cocoa Board for our wards' education. The compensation paid does not account for the loss of these benefits" – (Impacted farmer 7 - NGAM catchment community)
It can be deduced from the statement that the current approaches to valuation for compensation fails to account for the loss of communal and common property resources such as mushrooms, medicinal plants, hunting grounds and African giant snails. Studies have shown that the financial benefits derived from forests constitute a significant contributor to annual household consumption and income for local communities (Batagoda et al., 2000; Godoy et al., 2002). By extension, the loss of earnings from common property resources has significant social and economic ramifications for the mining-impacted communities. On the other hand, officials of both studied companies believed that the compensation values were fair since they were determined based on transparent negotiations between the companies and community representatives. A valuer with extensive experience in compensation for mining-induced expropriations remarked that:

"Generally, the companies try to follow what the law states, but I can say on authority that they are not on the same level in terms of the quantum of compensation paid. Even for a crop like cocoa that the nation prides in so much and for which the Land Valuation Division of the Lands Commission (the government valuation agency) has a rate for, the compensation values vary amongst the mining companies. As the values are the outcome of negotiations between the two parties, they are considered fair". (Private Valuer 3)

It becomes apparent from this statement that the lack of express standards for assessing compensation for PAPs enables the studied mining companies to exercise broad administrative discretion in determining what constitutes fair compensation in their operational communities. This is why the fairness and adequacy of compensation sums remain a contentious issue between catchment communities, valuers and the studied mining companies. Given the way rural communities in Ghana relate to land coupled with the economic significance of land as the primary source of income to most rural dwellers, the lack of clear guidance on compensation has critical socio-economic implications for the mining host communities. Therefore, this research argues that the contestations over the adequacy of compensation are assignable to the definitional vacuum created under the enabling laws.

4.3 Delayed compensation fuels community resentment

The Minerals and Mining (Compensation and Resettlement) Regulations 2012 (L.I 2175) specifies that the mineral right holder must pay compensation to the affected party not later than three months after the amount of compensation payable has been determined. Where the acquiring entity fails to pay the determined compensation within the stipulated three-month duration, regulation 4(2) requires that the acquiring entity pays a ten percent (10%) interest on the outstanding compensation sum for each month that the compensation remains unpaid. Study participants from both NGAM’s catchment communities complained about the delays in compensation payment. In the NGAM case study, our interviews revealed that the period for payment after farm survey and valuation ranged between three (3) to six (6) months. Nevertheless, farmers complained that delayed compensation sums did not attract any interest as stipulated under the law. The situation at AGGL was not different. Whereas PAPs complained about the delays in compensation payments, the company refuted these claims. Nonetheless, a company’s representative confirmed that compensation for crops is as per project demand in the following statement:

"Per our compensation procedures, we first pay the affected farmers the compensation for crops and other landed assets before taking possession. Nonetheless, this is paid per project demand" – (Company official 2 - AGGL)

This confirms the assertion that AGGL expedites compensation payments for affected farms and buildings in priority areas while the compensation for non-priority areas takes a considerable period. Whereas the failure to promptly compensate impacted farmers breaches Article 20 (2) of the 1992 Constitution, Section 74 (2) of Act 703 and other international best practice guidelines that call for prompt compensation payment, authorities are yet to impose sanctions on both companies. The delay in compensating impacted farmers was the basis of a demonstration by twelve AGGL catchment communities on the 14th of February 2019.
4.4 Flawed local redress mechanisms stifle dissent and meaningful community participation

Under the current legal framework for expropriation, an affected party can seek redress when dissatisfied with the amount of compensation offered by a mining company or as determined by the Minister. The responses from the mining catchment communities demonstrated that PAPs were fully aware of the opportunity to seek legal redress when dissatisfied with expropriation procedures and practices. In the NGAM case study, the Resettlement Negotiations Committee sub-committee on Grievances of the Community Consultative Committee and the Grievances and Complaints Unit constitute the core components of the local dispute resolution mechanisms. However, study participants from the host communities indicated their preference for the law courts instead of the comparatively inexpensive and readily accessible locally based Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms. An analysis of NGAM's alternative dispute resolution system revealed that PAPs' preference for the law courts was assignable to the inherent barriers to articulating grievances. This is because the local grievance resolution system is closely affiliated with local chiefs. In response to a question as to why aggrieved parties prefer the court processes to the relatively inexpensive alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, an elected member local assembly asserted that:

"Threats and intimidation from our chiefs characterise resettlement Negotiations Committee and the sub-committee on Resettlement Eligibility and Entitlement meetings. When we challenge their decisions during meeting sessions, the usual chorus is: 'Do you own land in this area? We are the landowners; you are just feeding off the land'. However, they are mere custodians of the land" – (Elected district assembly member 2 - NGAM catchment community)

In the words of Tsikata and Yaro (2011, p. 26), the present rhetoric is "the land belongs to the chief and not the chief takes care of the land for us". This demonstrates the increasing differentiation between landowners and land users (Anaafo and Guba, 2017) in the mining host communities.

In the case of AGGL, the research found that the local dispute resolution system has been able to resolve all compensation-related disputes. Nonetheless, PAPs revealed that the local dispute resolution committee had created a forum for an alliance of chiefs, key community stakeholders and company representatives to stifle dissenting opinions.

These accounts show that the existing power asymmetries stymie PAPs' ability to meaningfully participate and voice their grievances over expropriation and compensation processes. Therefore, it is no surprise that impoverished farmers prefer the expensive court processes against the flexible, comparatively inexpensive, appropriately informal and physically accessible local dispute resolution mechanisms.

5.0 CONCLUSION AND THE WAY FORWARD

This study assessed the practices of expropriation and compensation of two gold mining companies operating in Ghana. From the foregoing discussions, there is the need for specific legal and procedural directives to serve as a uniform framework of reference for expropriation and compensation for mining in Ghana. Given the contributions of mining to Ghana's economy, reforming current practices in line with best practices will ensure a win-win outcome for the Government of Ghana, the mining companies and the mining host communities. On the back of these findings, the research makes the following preliminary recommendations:

i. Limiting community participation in EIAs to the one-off mandatory public hearing can be best described as tokenistic participation (Arnstein, 1969). This necessitates a holistic review of the procedures for environmental impact assessments to enable mining-impacted communities to participate in all processes meaningfully. Including a broader range of identifiable groups and constant community engagement at all stages of impact assessments will address this. It is equally essential to establish accountability mechanisms between the community representatives and the communities they represent.
ii. To address the unanswered question of what constitutes fair and adequate compensation for expropriated rights in land, the Minerals Commission and the Ghana Institution of Surveyors must come up with specific guidelines on valuation for compensation. This will serve as a centralised guiding framework and provide uniform valuation standards for compensation assessments.

iii. Authorities must ensure compliance with the legal provisions on the prompt payment compensation for affected persons. In instances where the period for paying the determined compensation goes beyond the statutorily prescribed 3-month period, the other regulatory agencies must ensure that the acquiring mining company pays the 10% interest calculated on the assessed compensation. Strict enforcement of these legal provisions will address community concerns on delayed payments.

iv. The role of chiefs must be critically reviewed to ensure that the locally available alternative dispute resolution mechanisms are responsive to the needs of the impacted communities. Most essentially, the vast influence of traditional authorities in dispute resolution needs to be curtailed.

The findings in this paper constitute a part of an ongoing research project on expropriation, valuation and compensation procedures and practices of the two studied cases – Asanko Gold Ghana Limited (AGGL) and Newmont Goldcorp’s Ahafo Mine (NGAM).
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