



POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADDRESSING LAND CORRUPTION IN GHANA

Introduction/ Background

Land corruption manifests at multiple areas such as in land administration, customary land tenure system, management of public lands, land use planning and investment, and large-scale land investment¹. It has been identified as manifesting within law and policy, community or customary leaders, local and regional government agencies, high-ranking government officials and their associates, justice system and administrative complaints mechanisms². For example, with discontent in the management of both

customary³ and public⁴ lands in Ghana, the Presidency has over the years specifically expressed grave concerns^{5, 6, 7} about public lands management. Also, public perception

about the Lands Commission as the foremost land agency under the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources ranks it as the number one bribe taking public institution in Ghana⁸. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) concern

¹ Shipley (2021). Shipley, T. (2021). Curbing Corruption in Land: Sector reform experience and strategies

² Knight (2022). Tackling land corruption by political elites – The need for a multi-disciplinary, participatory approach. FAO Legal Papers No. 111. Rome, FAO.

³ Customary land is land managed on the basis of customary laws and traditions of specific traditional and customary areas in the country as recognised under article 11 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana

⁴ Public land is made up of state land and vested and article 257(1) of the 1992 Constitution vests all public

lands in the President on behalf and in trust for the people of Ghana

⁵ End corruption at Lands Commission – Nana Addo to Board. August 27, 2017. Citi 97.3 FM online news

⁶ “Protect airport lands. President charges authorities”. Daily Graphic, Friday August 16, 2019 edition. No. 21064

⁷ Bawumia chases Land Barons. Daily Guide Network. June 24, 2021

⁸ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Corruption in Ghana – People’s Experiences and Views. Vienna (2022).

and call for order have also been heightened^{9,10}.

Identified as a sector characterized by general indiscipline in the National Land Policy of 1999, measures to address the challenges in the land sector such as under the Ghana Land Administration Project (LAP) from 2003 to 2018 have yielded limited results¹¹. Efforts at institutional restructuring and process reengineering for efficient land service delivery have not yielded the desired outcomes as indicated by the political leadership concerns and public perceptions.

Against the preceding background and in line with the Land Corruption in Africa II (LCA II) initiative, Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) the local chapter of Transparency International (TI) has developed concrete policy recommendations for enhancing higher transparency and accountability in the governance of land and effectively tackling land corruption in Ghana. The recommendations are informed by analysis of the adequacy of existing legal and policy framework for detecting, preventing and addressing corruption in the land sector. Based on identified existing gaps in the legal and policy framework and the levels of its implementation/enforcement for dealing with land corruption, recommendations are made to the Cabinet, Parliament and relevant Ministries, Departments, Agencies (MDAs)

for detecting, preventing and addressing land corruption in the country.

Analysis of Existing Legislation and Institutional Framework to Detect, Prevent and Address Corruption in the Land Sector

Corruption in the land sector can occur in several ways. These include government actors changing land use plans to increase property values in areas where they own or intend to own land, buying land at low prices in an area where they know government infrastructure will be soon sited, and land values will rise. It may also include accepting bribes to allocate public lands or amend public land records and records of land ownership, registering land in another person's name. Others may include land valuation whereby land may be over- or undervalued for personal gain and other land agencies operating often without rigorous systems of monitoring and supervision of processes¹².

In Ghana, existing laws on corruption by extension covers corruption in the land sector. The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana provides the overarching legal framework for anti-corruption laws in the country. First, the Constitution in article 216 provides for the establishment of the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) as an

⁹ Corruption Watch Press Release (May 25 2022). Corruption Watch Petitions Office of the Special Prosecutor to Probe Alleged Acquisitions of State Lands by Kwadwo Owusu Afriyie, Former CEO of Forestry Commission

¹⁰ Citi Newsroom online division of the Citi FM and Citi News which is a private based media in Ghana news item on OccupyGhana

¹¹ Yeboah *et. al.* (2018). Women, Land and Corruption in Ghana. Evidence from Selected case Studies. Transparency International and Ghana Integrity Initiative.

¹² Knight (2022). *ibid*

independent anti-corruption agency. The Commission's anti-corruption mandate is stated in article 218 (e)¹³. The enabling Act, Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice Act, 1993 (Act 456) spells its three broad mandates to act as human rights commission, an Ombudsman for all public services and public officials under its remit, and an anti-corruption agency.

CHRAJ's legal framework, policies and processes and operations are, however, fraught with several challenges that are constraining the delivery of its mandate^{14,15}. As part of its anti-corruption framework, CHRAJ has a National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) based on which Annual Progress Reports of MDAs anti-corruption plans and implementation are monitored and reported on. There is low patronage and reporting on the implementation of the NACAP by MDAs and CHRAJ is unable to sanction MDAs for noncompliance except to "name and shame"¹⁶. Also, CHRAJ has no prosecutorial powers over corruption cases and can only investigate and submit its findings to the Attorney General for prosecution.

Second, article 286¹⁷ of the 1992 Constitution demands that Public Office holders should submit their completed Assets Declaration Forms to the Auditor General's office not later than six months after taking office, at the end of every four years and not later than six months at the end of their term in office. This provision is accentuated through the Public Office Holders (Declaration of Asset and Disqualification) Act, 1998, Act 550. This Act this is hardly adhered to by Public Office holders as there is no explicit punishment stated in the law for noncompliance¹⁸. There is also no provision for public disclosure or dissemination of the assets declared as required under the Act. Complimentary anti-corruption laws such as the Illicit Enrichment Law for preventing and addressing corruption has not yet been passed¹⁹.

Third, Article 70(1) (b) of the 1992 Constitution places emphasis on the appointment of the Auditor General (AG). Based on Article 187 (2)²⁰ of the Constitution and the Audit Service Act, 2000 (Act 584), the AG's Office has a specific anti-corruption mandate of auditing all public account and of

¹³ Article 281 (e) mandates CHRAJ to "investigate all instances of alleged or suspected corruption and misappropriation of public moneys by official and to take appropriate steps including reports to the Attorney General and the Auditor General, results from such investigations."

¹⁴CHRAJ Commissioner Joseph Whittal at <https://chraj.gov.gh/news/inadequate-funding-constraining-our-mandate-chraj/>, July 6, 2023

¹⁵ Justice Emile F. Short <https://africaportal.org/wpcontent/uploads/2023/05/Empowering-Ghanas-anti-corruption-Dec.2015-2-2.pdf>

¹⁶ Implementation of Ghana's National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) – Annual Progress Report 2019

¹⁷ Article 286 states a person who holds office must submit to the Auditor General a written declaration of all property and assets owned by him, whether directly or indirectly-

before taking office, at the end of every four years and at the end of his term.

¹⁸ Stephen Azantilow, Director of Anti-Corruption at the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) discloses that CHRAJ is investigating some 428 public office holders for failing to declare their assets. 284 of the cases were through complaints made to the Commission. October 5, 2022, GNA online Report by Benjamin A. Commey

¹⁹ NACAP (2019) *ibid*

²⁰ Article 187 (2) of the Constitution provides that the public accounts of Ghana and of all public offices, including the courts, the central and local government administrations, of the Universities and public institutions of like nature, of any public corporation or other body or organisation established by an Act of Parliament shall be audited and reported on by Auditor-General.

all public offices in Ghana²¹. This mandate helps to prevent corruption by making corruption riskier and more difficult (UNODC) ²² . The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of the Parliament of Ghana as established based on Article 103 of the 1992 Constitution has over the years been responsible for going through the AG's report and then invite public office holders who were mentioned to have been responsible for the misappropriation of funds and did not follow due process. The PAC is effective in “naming and shaming” persons involved in malpractices but have no jurisdiction to prosecute persons it finds to have engaged in financial malfeasance²³.

Fourth, article 21(1)(f) of the 1992 Constitution provides for the right to information and makes the right to information a fundamental human right in Ghana subject to such qualifications and laws as are necessary in a democratic society. The Right to Information Act, 2019 (Act 989) provides the rights to individuals to access information in public institutions and private institutions or organizations that provide public functions or receive public resources and further exempted areas considered to be necessary and consistent with the protection of public interest²⁴. For example, a Citi Newsroom²⁵ news item of March 2, 2023 reported that the Right to Information Commission (RIC) awarded an “administrative fine” of GHS100,000.00 on

the Lands Commission for denying a pressure group, OccupyGhana, information on “returned” state lands, Achimota Forest²⁶ lands, to alleged original owners. The group applied under the Right to Information Act. The implementation and enforcement of the Act is to an appreciable extent effective and contributing to the detection, prevention, and addressing land corruption in Ghana.

Fifth, article 88 of the 1992 Constitution provides that the Attorney-General shall be responsible for the initiation and conduct of all prosecutions of criminal offence and shall be responsible for the institution and conduct of all civil cases on behalf of the State and all civil proceedings against the State shall be instituted against the Attorney-General as defendant. The monopoly of the prosecutorial authority by the AG whose appointment and dismissal are at the mercy of the President has been a major gap in the use of law enforcement and prosecution as a more credible and pragmatic tool to fight corruption ²⁷ . Addressing corruption generally through prosecution is, therefore, fraught with delays and non-prosecution.

Other key legislation and institutional frameworks to detect, prevent and monitor corruption that also relates to the land sector in Ghana include the Internal Audit Agency Act, 2003 (Act 658), Whistleblowers Act, 2006 (Act 720), Economic and Organized Crime Office Act, 2010 (Act 804), Office of

²¹ Pimpong (2020). Addressing Challenges of Supreme Audit Institutions: The Case of the Office of the Auditor-General in Ghana. *International Journal on Governmental Financial Management* - Vol. XX, No 1, 2020, pp. 20 - 28

²² Agbele, F. (2011). *Political Economy Analysis of Corruption in Ghana*. European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building, ERCAS Working Paper No. 28

²³ Agbele, F. (2011) *ibid*

²⁴ Justice Sir Dennis Adjei (2024). *Human Rights for Justice*. *Amicus Curiae*, Series 2, Vol 5, No 2, pp. 189-236

²⁵ Citi Newsroom is the online division of the Citi FM and Citi News which is a private based media in Ghana

²⁶ The forest was gazetted in 1930 with a total land area of 494.95 hectare (1,223 acres) but the current size is 360 hectares (890 acres)

²⁷ Anku-Tsede et al (2023) *ibid*

the Special Prosecutor Act, 2017 (Act 959), and the Land Act, 2020 (Act 1036). The Internal Audit Agency Act, 2003 (Act 658) establishes the Internal Audit Agency to coordinate, monitor, supervise and facilitate internal audit activities within Ministries, Departments and Agencies and Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies in order to ensure quality assurance of internal audit within these institutions of State. A function under section 36 of the Act provides for the Agency to ensure that national resources like land are adequately safeguarded. The Act is, therefore, an instrument to fight administrative corruption and has contributed to the fight against corruption²⁸ but not on public land which is a national resource and its allocation has over the years been of grave concern at the Presidency and pressure groups and public agitation against state and elite capture. Implementation of the Act in the land sector is, therefore, weak.

The Whistleblowers Act provides a legal framework for all issues of whistleblowing in Ghana. The Act provides the way individuals may in the public interest disclose information that relates to unlawful or other illegal conduct or corrupt practices of others; to provide for the protection against victimisation of persons who make these disclosures; to provide for a Fund to reward individuals who make the disclosures and to provide for related matters²⁹. In a politically

polarized environment, citizens' perception of the law is that it does not offer adequate protection from harm, dismissal, proceed on leave, transfer, intimidation, and harassment of the whistleblower³⁰. Nevertheless, individuals and the media have been vocal in recent times in exposing land corruption and deals especially regarding public lands and state capture.

The Economic and Organized Crime Office (EOCO) formally known as the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) was established in 1993 as a specialised anti-corruption agency of the Government to monitor, investigate and on the authority of the Attorney-General, prosecute offences involving serious financial or economic loss to the Republic. In 2010, the SFO was upgraded and renamed the EOCO under the Economic and Organized Crime Office Act, 2010 (Act 804)³¹. Its mandate was also expanded to include anti money laundering, human trafficking and crimes such as cyber fraud and tax fraud. The legal framework subsumes EOCO as an agency under the Ministry of Justice and Attorney General's Department and makes it lack independence in its operations³². Its reputation in the fight against corruption has suffered a setback because of the constant interference of political elites in the activities of the institution. The independence of EOCO has also been questioned because of the selective

²⁸ Asiedu and Deffor (2017). Fighting Corruption by Means of Effective Internal Audit Function: Evidence from the Ghanaian Public Sector: Fighting Corruption by Means of Effective Internal Audit Function. *International Journal of Auditing*, 21: pp. 82–99

²⁹ Antwi-Boasiako, J. (2018). Why People Refuse to Blow the Whistle in Ghana. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, Vol.8, No.4, 2018, pp. 1-7

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ The Act confers on EOCO the powers and immunities of a police officer to request information, summon individuals under investigation, search and remove documents on an "ex parte" (without notice) application to the court, and seize and detain currency and property suspected to be the proceeds of crime under certain circumstances

³² Justice Emile Francis Short *ibid*

way the institution sometimes deals with cases³³. Except in money laundering, it has no investigative and prosecutorial powers over land corruption cases.

Office of the Special Prosecutor Act, 2017 (Act 959) establishes the Office of the Special Prosecutor (OSP), as a specialized agency to investigate specific cases of corruption involving public officers, and politically exposed persons in the performance of their functions as well as individuals in the private sector implicated in the commission of corruption and prosecute these offences on the authority of the AG³⁴. Public perception about the OSP suggests that there is confidence in the Special Prosecutor³⁵ as per its mandate under section 3 of the Act to receive and investigate complains from a person on a matter that involves or relates to corruption. Also, it has the mandate under section 3(h) to receive and act on referrals of investigation of alleged corruption and corruption related offences by Parliament, AG's Office, CHRAJ and EOCO and a public body.

Notwithstanding its powers, the OSP has been described as being ineffective due to challenges it faces in collaborating with other state anti-corruption agencies and its apparent failure to take enough high-profile cases to court. Thus, the OSP has been described as ineffective due to the way it was

set up; that is, an office created for political reasons to satisfy some constituents³⁶. The OSP unless on the authority of the AG, has no power to initiate and prosecute corruption and corruption related case. It is yet to report on any high-profile land corruption case and initiate prosecution.

The Land Act, 2020 (Act 1036) is an Act to revise, harmonise and consolidate the laws on land tenure to ensure sustainable land administration and management and efficient land tenure and to provide for related matters. The Act does not contain provisions to detect, prevent and address land corruption. The Act in section 280, however, empowers the Minister responsible for the land sector to make regulations in various areas of land administration and management that can be explored.

The common gap in the legal and policy framework contributing to ineffectiveness of anti-corruption agencies in preventing and addressing corruption as a deterrent has been the lack of prosecutorial powers by the agencies. Hence, despite the existence of anti-corruption laws, control measures and agencies to detect corruption, corruption continues to have a firm grip on Ghana, particularly, in the public sector³⁷. Also, the land sector has no specific law and relies on the general anti-corruption law and policy

³³ Draman, R. (2017) Parliamentary Oversight and Corruption in Ghana. African Centre for Parliamentary Affairs (ACEPA), Accra, Ghana. Report funded by the British Academy and Department for International Development (DFID) as part of its Anti-Corruption Evidence (ACE) Partnership

³⁴ Anku-Tsede *et al.*, (2023). *Ibid*

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ *Ibid*

³⁷ Owusu-Mensah and Mathapoly-Codjoe (2023).

'Judicialization of corruption' in Ghana: an analysis of how Ghanaians view the Office of the Special Prosecutor. South African Journal of Political Studies, pp. 1-18

framework for dealing with land corruption in the country.

Best Practices and Initiatives in the Land Sector for Detecting, Preventing and Addressing Corruption

Strategies for detecting, preventing, and addressing land corruption generally include broad stakeholder engagement and participation in the land use planning process and land use conversion projects, such as public land redevelopment schemes. An efficient land registration system, as envisaged under the Ghana Land Administration Project (which unfortunately fell short), and publicly accessible data on land values and valuation assessments are also crucial. Specific preventive strategies include laws that mandate competitive and transparent bidding processes for public lands, such as land swap arrangements, codes of conduct for public officials and professional groups, and strict compliance with asset declarations. Legislation that directly criminalizes and sanctions land corruption and laws addressing illicit enrichment, are also essential. To address land corruption, specific strategies include the adoption and enforcement of laws and regulations that explicitly address land corruption, increasing transparency in all aspects of national land administration and management, and utilizing information technology to make land administration services more transparent and efficient^{38,39}.

There are practice directions, strategies and citizen initiatives that have bearing on

corruption in the land sector in Ghana. In terms of practice direction and in line with standards of auditing practice, public lands are national resources and corruption risks need to be identified and monitored and addressed when triggered. Thus, the Lands Commission has Risk Management Policy (2016) as its commitment to maintaining an effective, efficient and transparent system of risk management in accordance with National and International best practice at all times. Also are Risk Management Committee Charter (2016), with primary responsibility to review and report on the Commission-wide risk management practices to assist the Executive Secretary and Management. Also is a Risk Management Guidelines that are not being effectively implemented.

Another practice direction and strategy that has been adopted is the development of Guidelines for Large Scale Land Transactions in Ghana by the Lands Commission (2019) based on statutory enactments, policies, international guidelines, principles and best practices which underpin large-scale land transactions.outlines steps and requirements to ensure transparent and broad public stakeholders engagement and obtaining free prior informed consent of affected persons.

Citizens' initiatives that have bearing on corruption in the land sector in Ghana include CorruptionWatch and OccupyGhana. Corruption Watch Press Release on May 25, 2022 petitioning the Office of the Special Prosecutor to probe alleged acquisitions of state lands by Kwadwo Owusu Afriyie, a former CEO of Forestry Commission. Also is

³⁸ Knight (2022) *ibid*

³⁹ Shipley (2021) *ibid*

OccupyGhana initiative to petition the Right to Information Commission that resulted in the award of “administrative fine” of GHS100,000.00 on the Lands Commission for denying OccupyGhana information on “returned” state lands to alleged original owners.

The King of the Asante Kingdom, Otumfour Osei Tutu II initiative in publicly destooling chiefs involved in land fraud and bribery is a positive signal in the fight against land corruption among his traditional rulers. In August 2023 the King destooled the chief of Abuontem in the Ashanti region, Nana Kwaku Duah III, after he was found guilty of the illegal sale of land by the royal court. The public destoolment of chiefs over land fraud is reported is helping to sanitise land administration and manage land conflicts within the Asante state⁴⁰.

Land issues related Civil Societies Organizations acting as agents of change and watchdog and advocating for more transparent land governance backed by strong media interest and support is critical. In Ghana, the Ghana Integrity Initiative and the Civil Society Coalition on Land (CICOL) are involved in research into land corruption⁴¹, networking with like-minded groups in the public and private sectors, lobbying and advocating for policy reforms, sensitization and public education.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis of the laws, policies and institutional framework and gaps

highlighted in the report, the recommendations largely suggest the need for amendments in relevant laws to close existing gaps that enable land corruption to fester and are aimed at facilitating national and local duty bearers fight against land corruption.

1. The following recommendations are to Cabinet and Parliament on fighting land corruption.

- i. The Public Office Holders (Declaration of Asset and Disqualification) Act, 1998, Act 550 should be amended to provide explicit punishment by the AG for noncompliance by public office holders to declare their assets within the stipulated time and public disclosure of the assets as required under Act 550. This would help in curbing the state and elite capture of public lands and corrupt land deals by public office holders and their associates.
- ii. Article 88 of the 1992 Constitution should be amended with consequential amendments of relevant Acts to take away the monopoly of the prosecutorial authority of the Attorney-General as solely responsible for the initiation and conduct of all prosecutions of criminal offence and for the institution and conduct of all civil cases on behalf of the State to enable

⁴⁰ The Africa Report, November 30, 2023
<https://www.theafricareport.com/329370/ghana-asantehene-cracks-down-on-chiefs-over-land-fraud/>

⁴¹ Yeboah (2016) *ibid*

CHRAJ, EOCO and OSP to initiate and prosecute corruption cases including land corruption. The amendments would help reduce the challenges with delays and non-prosecution of corruption related cases.

- iii. CHRAJ should be empowered with the mandate to ensure strict compliance with the National Anti-Corruption Action Plan based on which Annual Progress Reports of MDAs anti-corruption plans and implementation are monitored and reported on. It should be empowered to sanction MDAs for non-compliance and not only “name and shame”
- iv. The Auditor General should undertake audit of all public lands allocations and beneficiaries and present a report to the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. This would help curb the misallocation of public lands to high-ranking government officials and their associates.
- v. Parliament should pass the Illicit Enrichment Law to compliment general corruption detection and prevention including land corruption by CHRAJ and the OSP.
- vi. The Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice Act, 1993 (Act 456) should be amended to give CHRAJ the mandate to arrest, search,

seize the assets, freeze accounts, of individuals and officials involved in land corruption.

2. The following recommendations are made to the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

- i. The Minister for Lands and Natural Resources should under section 280 of the Land Act, 2020 (Act 1036) make Regulations that criminalizes and sanctions land corruption and require the Lands Commission to adopt competitive and transparent bidding for public land swap arrangements and redevelopments schemes for commercial purposes. The draft regulation is undergoing stakeholders engagement at the moment but without provisions on anti-land corruption.
- ii. The Minister should by policy ensure the Lands Commission conducts a national census of all public lands and ensure the adoption of a blockchain technology and more robust digitized land information system that makes land administration services transparent, efficient and easily accessible to the general public.

3. The following recommendations are made to CSOs, the media and anti-corruption agencies

- i. GII should lead and partner with the Coalition of Civil Society Organizations, the media and the Right to Information Commission,

CHRAJ, EOCO, and OSP to jointly intensify efforts at public awareness of land corruption and demand for accountability, transparency and responsiveness as anti-corruption measures from public officials on land deals.

Case Study

The Asantehene holds the allodial title to all the lands within his jurisdiction in the Kumasi Traditional Council (KTC) with the exception of public lands in trust held by the President. Lands within his jurisdiction are managed and administered by the Asantehene's Lands Secretariat (ALS) alongside the various divisional or caretaker chiefs who are usually the first point of call for prospective land buyers and developers and all land transactions⁴². Following a restructuring in 2011, the ALS has undergone major transformation and being manned by staff with qualifications and expertise in Geomatics, Planning, Land Economy, Archival/Records Management, Paralegal Services, Cartographic Draughting, and Office Administration. There is a tribunal of the Asanteman Traditional Council that sits to adjudicate on issues including land cases at the Manhyia Palace. These have improved service delivery coupled with sanction regime instituted by the Asantehene, Otumfour Osei Tutu II that has seen some

sub-chiefs being destooled mostly related to multiple sale of lands, sale of lands to illegal miners and violation of customary rites⁴³. The sanctions of destooling sub-chiefs over corrupt land practices have helped curb land deals

References

Agbele, F. (2011). Political Economy Analysis of Corruption in Ghana. European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building, ERCAS Working Paper No. 28

Anku-Tsede, O., Arthur, R. & Osafroadu Amankwah, M. (2023) Special prosecutor: Panacea or facade to institutionalised corruption in Ghana? *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9:1, pp. 1-17

Knight, R. (2022). Tackling land corruption by political elites: The need for a multi-disciplinary participatory approach. *FAO Legal Papers No. 111*. Rome, FAO. <https://doi.org/10.4060/cc0079en>

Owusu-Mensah, I. & Mathapoly-Codjoe, E. (2023). 'Judicialization of corruption' in Ghana: an analysis of how Ghanaians view the Office of the Special Prosecutor. *South African Journal of Political Studies*, pp. 1-18

Pimpong, S, (2020). Addressing Challenges of Supreme Audit Institutions: The Case of

⁴² Sam, K. (2018). The Critical Role of Land Sector Professionals in Delivery Cost Effective Solutions for the Management of Customary Lands in Ghana. the Case of the Kumasi Traditional Authority. FIG Congress 2018 Embracing our smart world where the continents connect: enhancing the geospatial maturity of societies Istanbul, Turkey, May 6–11, 2018

⁴³ Otumfuo destools chief of Asante's famous Antoa town. Joy Online, 29 May, 2023. <https://myjoyonline.com/otumfuo-destools-chief-of-asantes-famous-antoa-town/>

the Office of the Auditor-General in Ghana. International Journal on Governmental Financial Management - Vol. XX, No 1, 2020, pp. 20 – 28

Sam, K. (2018). The Critical Role of Land Sector Professionals in Delivery Cost Effective Solutions for the Management of Customary Lands in Ghana. the Case of the Kumasi Traditional Authority. FIG Congress 2018 Embracing our smart world where the continents connect: enhancing the geospatial maturity of societies Istanbul, Turkey, May 6–11, 2018

Shiple, T. (2021). Curbing Corruption in Land: Sector reform experience and strategies.

<https://curbingcorruption.com/sector/land/>

Yeboah, E. (2016). Women, Land and Corruption in Ghana. Evidence from Selected Case Studies. Transparency International and Ghana Integrity Initiative.