

**The Political Economy of Migration and Conflict in Ghana's Cocoa Regions:
enduring peace or deepening cleavages?**

Matthew I. Mitchell

Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Political Studies
Queen's University
Kingston, ON, Canada
matthew.mitchell@queensu.ca

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Abstract

For more than a century, migrant labourers have played a pivotal role in Ghana's cocoa sector. Although this migration constitutes one of the largest movements of labour in sub-Saharan Africa, there is little work that examines the socio-political impact of these flows on indigenous-migrant relations. This is an important oversight, as sub-Saharan Africa has in recent years witnessed an upsurge in conflicts between indigenous and migrant populations. Consequently, a number of important questions have gone largely unanswered. What is the nature of the relationship between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana's cocoa regions? How has this relationship evolved throughout the development of the country's cocoa sector? Finally, what are the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities? In order to answer these questions, this paper explores the historical and contemporary relations between indigenous and migrant communities in the cocoa regions. The paper begins by tracing the development of the cocoa sector from the colonial period to the present while examining the evolution of indigenous-migrant relations throughout this period. It then uses insights from over 100 interviews conducted in Ghana's capital – Accra – and the two leading cocoa producing regions – Western and Ashanti – during the spring and summer of 2011 to examine the prospects for peace and conflict between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions. The overall findings reveal that while relations remain relatively 'cordial' between these groups, there is some indication to suggest that this trend may not hold into the future.

INTRODUCTION

For more than a century, Ghana's cocoa industry has played a leading role in the country's economy. The cocoa sector continues to provide a means of livelihood for millions of Ghanaians who still perceive the crop to be an important source of 'security' as it is long-lived, provides a fixed price set by the government, demonstrates land tenure, confers status upon farmers, and generates yields with minimal labour inputs (MASDAR 1998:xiv). Furthermore, given the growing global demand for cocoa, the lack of an alternative crop and the recognition of the health benefits linked to cocoa, the commodity will likely continue to be a valuable crop into the future (Ruf 2007:3). However, Ghana's cocoa sector faces numerous challenges. The majority of farmers cannot afford to pay for basic inputs such as fertilisers and sprays, leading to under-productivity. This problem is compounded by the old age and poor health of many farmers, and their difficulty in securing labour to assist them on their farms, as the out-migration of youth has led to a serious shortage and increasing cost of labour (MASDAR 1998:viii-ix). Finally, while Ghana's cocoa sector has historically developed through the logic of expansion, whereby farmers abandoned old farms in favour of migrating to virgin forest areas, this option is no longer possible given the exhaustion of virgin forests (MASDAR 1998:viii). Consequently, there is growing recognition that it is only through innovation and intensification that Ghana's cocoa sector will continue to thrive (MASDAR 1998; Teal and Vigneri 2004; Vigneri 2007).

The development of the cocoa sector in Ghana has also had important political and social implications. The economic incentives to cultivate cocoa for cash presented a dilemma throughout the cocoa regions as tree cropping suggests permanent tenure which is not intended on family lands (Awanyo 1998:520). As Amanor (2007:33) notes, "It was only with the emergence of the colonial economy, with its export crop enclaves and its labour reserves, that the categories of migrant farmers, migrant labourers, and land as a commodity in itself (which could be transacted through sale, leasing or sharecropping) came into being as the dominant social relations of production." While 'citizens' have traditionally acquired land through inheritance, 'outsiders' or 'strangers' have had to negotiate the right to land use as they have no customary rights to the land.¹ This usually entails purchasing the land outright or entering into various share-cropping agreements. Although migrants often perceive the 'purchase' of land as signifying ownership, the indigenous communities in Ghana's Akan-dominated cocoa regions make a conceptual separation between land and what grows on it. These communities argue that the land rests with the 'stool' and the landowning group.² Therefore, indigenous communities tend to view cash payments by migrant farmers for acquiring land as a symbolic payment to *use* the land rather than an outright sale. Given the complex and contested nature of land tenure in cocoa farming, conflicts over land frequently occur. These conflicts are often connected to the rise and decline of Ghana's cocoa frontier, as this dynamic affects the availability and cost of both land and labour, heightening tensions and bringing about social conflicts between indigenous and migrants, chiefs and citizens, youth and elders, and between family members (Amanor 2010:106; Knudsen and Fold 2011:380). The relationship between

indigenous and migrant populations is especially important, as many conflicts are often directly or indirectly linked to the issue of migrant labour in cocoa farming.

Interestingly, while migration has played a fundamental role in the development of Ghana's cocoa sector, there has been relatively little work on the political and social implications of these movements. Although this migration constitutes one of the largest movements of labour in sub-Saharan Africa, very few scholars have systematically examined the impact of these flows on indigenous and migrant relations. This is an important oversight, as sub-Saharan Africa has in recent years witnessed an upsurge in conflicts between indigenous and migrant populations (Geschiere and Jackson 2006; Bøås 2009; Dunn 2009; Geschiere 2009; Mitchell 2012). Ghana is by no means impervious to these conflicts, as there have been intractable conflicts between indigenous and migrant communities in the country's northern regions (Tsikata and Seini 2004; Jönsson 2009). Moreover, as illustrated in the eerily similar case in Côte d'Ivoire, migration into the cocoa regions has been an important source of conflict in that country's protracted crisis (Marshall-Fratani 2006; Mitchell 2011; 2012). Consequently, a number of important questions have gone largely unanswered. What is the nature of the relationship between indigenous groups and migrants in Ghana's cocoa regions? How has this relationship been transformed throughout the development of the country's cocoa sector? In light of the high hopes and current challenges facing the country's cocoa sector, how might new developments in Ghana's cocoa industry affect relations between indigenous and migrant populations? Finally, what are the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities?

In order to answer these questions, this paper explores the historical and contemporary relations between indigenous and migrant communities in Ghana's cocoa regions. In so doing, it traces the development of the cocoa sector from the colonial period to the present. The first part of the paper provides an historical overview of the country's cocoa sector and the socio-political implications of the migration flows into the cocoa regions. The second part examines contemporary stakeholder perspectives on indigenous-migrant relations and the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities in the cocoa regions. This section is based on field work that was conducted in Ghana during the spring and summer of 2011. The author conducted over 100 interviews in Ghana's capital – Accra – and the two leading cocoa producing regions – Western and Ashanti. The analysis ultimately reveals that while relations remain 'cordial' between the two communities, there is some indication to suggest that this trend may not necessarily hold into the future. The paper concludes by advancing some policy recommendations to ensure peace between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana's cocoa regions.

COCOA, MIGRATION AND POLITICS IN GHAHA: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The colonial period: migration and the development of the cocoa industry

Due to the rapid development of the cocoa sector throughout southern Ghana, the cocoa frontier shifted westward throughout the colonial period, from Eastern to Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and eventually Western Region. The shift in the cocoa frontier was spearheaded by migrant farmers who reinvested their profits by expanding cocoa production through the purchase of new lands in the forest regions. Although the earliest farmers were the Akwapim, the shifting frontier led to the adoption of cocoa farming by various ethnic groups in Ghana.³ Thus by the late colonial period, the dominant migrant farmers were no longer the Akwapim but rather the Ashanti. As Amanor (2007:37) notes, migrants were socially differentiated throughout the colonial period – and to this day – as the wealthy cocoa farmers from the Ashanti region who migrated to acquire new lands for farming in Brong Ahafo and the Western Region in the 1940s “were worlds apart from the annual labourers who migrated from northern Ghana, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Niger and Mali.”

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the cocoa sector has also greatly benefitted from the migration of labourers from Ghana’s northern regions, such that by 1954 this form of migration involved upwards of 200,000 seasonal labourers (Anarfi et al. 2003:14). Although this migration has been largely dictated by differences in weather and agricultural dynamics between the North and the South, it has its origins in the creation of labour reserves during colonial rule. Many northerners migrated to the export producing cocoa regions in order to gain wages to pay their taxes during the colonial period. While some of the labourers came for less than a year, many worked in the cocoa sector for several years. In response to the influx of these migrants, a variety of new forms of sharecropping arrangements emerged. These arrangements usually served the interests of chiefs, as they were often a disguised land sale that enabled chiefs to continue transacting land with migrants without engaging in legal battles with paramount chiefs and the colonial authority over the right to sell land (Amanor 2010:113). Despite the obvious corruption by chiefs, the colonial authorities feared trying to reform the system as “alienating its African allies was felt to be too serious and even revolutionary a risk to undertake” (Rathbone 2000:15).

With the creation of the Native Authority system, paramount chiefs were granted greater controls over land. Since it was not possible for chiefs to sell land to citizens who had user rights to land, they happily sold lands to migrants to gain revenues. However, as Amanor (2007:37) notes, this often led to increased land shortage for citizens, resulting in large-scale migrations of citizens in search of their own lands for cocoa farming. The land shortage problem resulted in growing frustration on the part of the local peasantry. Yet the citizens blamed the chiefs rather than entering into internecine conflict with migrants (Amanor 2005:104). Some chiefs were even dethroned during the late 19th century because of the excessive sale of lands to migrants. Thus despite the contentious issue of land sales to migrants, the large-scale migration of

farmers into the cocoa regions during the colonial period did not result in widespread political or social conflicts between host and migrant populations.

Post-colonial politics under Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966)

In order to promote economic development and 'modernization', Ghana's founding father, President Kwame Nkrumah, sought to industrialize Ghana. Given the economic importance of the cocoa sector, Nkrumah saw cocoa as a means to promote rapid industrialization. However, Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) clashed with the country's cocoa farmers, as his party suppressed all independent rural unions – with the exception of the CPP dominated United Ghana Farmers' Council (UGFC). Although there were already tensions in the cocoa regions stemming from the previous waves of migration, the politicisation of cocoa further exacerbated the existing ethnic and regional cleavages in these regions (Woods 2004:233). In a related effort to modernize the country, Nkrumah sought to severely weaken the predominant role that chieftaincy enjoyed in Ghanaian society. During the early years of his regime, Nkrumah succeeded in weakening the chieftaincy institution. However, due to political expediency a 'new chieftaincy' now under the control of government emerged (Rathbone 2000:161). This transformation had important implications for the cocoa sector. With the creation of the 1962 Stool Lands Act and the Concessions Act, the government "vested the powers of chiefs to appropriate land and natural resources into the hands of the state" (Amanor 2007:41). This legislation tightened the state's control over the cocoa sector by enabling it to appropriate land and expropriate farmers while further entrenching the rights of chiefs as customary owners of the land.

Although Ghana was a 'bright star of Africa' at the outset of independence in 1957, the country was in economic freefall by the mid-1960s. As Konadu-Agyemang (2000:473) writes, "The growth rate of GDP had fallen to 0.4%; foreign reserves had dried up and the nation was in serious debt (US \$1 billion); real value of the minimum wage had dropped by 45%; and the public sector earnings and industrial earning had fallen by 20% and 25%, respectively." While the cocoa sector was by no means solely to blame for this economic collapse, it was partly responsible for, and greatly affected by, the downturn. Although the issue is often overlooked, Nkrumah's downfall was directly connected to the decline in the cocoa sector, notably the sharp drop in cocoa prices in 1964-65. Moreover, Nkrumah's interventions would have damaging consequences for the cocoa industry, as his government siphoned substantial revenues from the cocoa sector, and stunted growth in the industry by creating state-run collective farms, making it increasingly difficult for cocoa farmers to access land in the virgin forest areas (Woods 2004:233).

Despite the fact that Nkrumah was a leading pan-Africanist, his government also played an instrumental role in politicising migration in Ghana. In 1963, Nkrumah's government passed the Aliens Act which required foreigners to acquire residence permits before they accept employment or engage in any commercial activity. This law would serve to further solidify the

'alien identity' as it signalled the beginning of a legal transition in the status of foreigners in Ghana from 'strangers' to 'aliens' (Kobo 2010:75). Kobo (2010:75-76) highlights the significance of this transformation by stating that "In most pre-colonial West African societies, a 'stranger' was equivalent to a guest, who customarily enjoyed the respect and generosity of the host society" whereas "the word 'alien' derived from the colonial discourse of exclusion from the privileges of citizenship." This word ultimately came to be employed in post-colonial political discourse as a pejorative term implying that the alien was an imposter who only remained in the country at the will of the government. This perception would have important consequences for the country's immigrant population and the entire cocoa sector.

The uncertain years: the downward spiral of Ghanaian economics and politics (1966-1979)

The 1966 overthrow of Nkrumah by the National Liberation Council (NLC) marked the beginning of a long period of political and economic uncertainty in Ghana. It also represented a period of significant decline in the cocoa sector while ushering in a new era in indigenous-migrant relations. In order to gain political support from the *Zongo* community – the inhabitants of predominantly immigrant areas in Ghana's towns – the NLC passed the Nationality Decree of 1967 which granted citizenship to everyone born in Ghana. However, due to the growing anti-immigrant sentiment in the country, the government repealed this law within less than a year. The repeal of this law and the rise in anti-immigrant sentiments led to an 'indigenisation' of citizenship, as 'indigenous' became the defining characteristic of being a 'true Ghanaian', a transformation that was accelerated by the decline of Ghana's economy in the 1960s (Kobo 2010:76-77).

The issue of immigration and citizenship reached new heights in November 1969 when the Busia government issued the Aliens Compliance Order, requiring all aliens without residence permits to either obtain these permits or leave the country within two weeks.⁴ A period of chaos ensued, as the time frame was much too short for the appropriate authorities to produce the necessary paperwork. The actual 'success' of the deportation policy is unclear, as many aliens ignored the order. Many employers – especially cocoa farmers – also ignored the order as they often required the services of these seasonal workers. However, the new policy had a negative impact on the cocoa sector. Although the order was not intended to target workers in the cocoa sector it resulted in a mass exodus of workers, further depriving an already labour-starved industry (Woods 2004:234). Although the National Redemption Council encouraged the return of migrant labourers from the Sahelian zone following the overthrow of the Busia government, these efforts were rejected by the rural youth who strongly opposed the return of these labourers. Moreover, many of these labourers had already relocated to neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire where the cocoa frontier was still expanding and conditions were much better (Amanor 2010:116).

The political and economic situation worsened during the post-Aliens Compliance Order period as the country was plagued by economic crises and a series of coups. To make matters worse,

Ghana's cocoa industry was beset by problems during the 1970s and early 1980s. As the cocoa frontier was in decline, given increasing land and labour shortages, farmers were increasingly forced to turn towards the rehabilitation of old cocoa farms. However, rehabilitation was arduous, expensive and a risky undertaking, and many of the local youth demanded high wages in order to work on these farms (Amanor 2010:117). The political and economic uncertainty during the late 1960s and 1970s further strained relations between indigenous and migrants in the cocoa regions. As the cocoa frontier had exhausted itself, land became increasingly scarce. Due to the growing land shortage, gifts of land became contentious. According to Amanor (2007:48), many of the indigenous youth "began to feel resentment against northern migrant labourers, whose availability for employment gave elders leverage over the youth and created increasing land scarcity for the youth, since the migrants occupied the established plantations as caretakers." Yet despite the growing frustration on the part of these communities, this situation did not result in widespread outbreaks of conflict between indigenous and migrants in the cocoa regions. In fact, the worst confrontations during this period pitted the government against local farming communities, as the government had attempted to appropriate community lands for the creation of state cocoa plantations (Amanor 2005:111).

Reform and rebuilding during the Rawlings era (1979-2001)

Ghana's economy hit rock bottom in 1983 when over a million Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria and returned home to a fragile economy. In order to tackle the economic problems of the day, the government of President Jerry Rawlings put into action an International Monetary Fund-designed economic recovery program in 1983. This program marked the beginning of reform and rebuilding in Ghana.⁵ Along with the new changes in the economic realm, this period also witnessed important political reforms. While Rawlings initially resisted a multiparty political system, arguing that political parties do not represent broad national interests, international pressure resulted in the introduction of a multiparty system in the 1992 national elections (Jeong 1998:221).

The early 1980s also represented a dark chapter for Ghana's cocoa sector. By 1982-83, cocoa output had declined to a record low of 180,000 tonnes (Austin 2003:446). The global drought and plantation fires of 1982-83 had devastated the cocoa sector, while government policies in the early 1980s threatened to destroy the cocoa sector altogether (Mikell 1992; Ruf 2007:2).⁶ The decline of the cocoa sector had a direct impact on migration patterns. In light of the fall in demand for seasonal labourers on the cocoa farms, many migrants from the North shifted towards the informal sector of urban centres or migrated to work on plantations in neighbouring countries like Côte d'Ivoire and Togo (Anarfi et al. 2003:14). However, with the improvement of macroeconomic conditions from the mid-1980s onwards, coupled with the widespread introduction of new cocoa varieties that did not require a long dry period, many farmers migrated to the sparsely populated cocoa frontier in the interior of the Western region and the southern districts of the Brong Ahafo region. These migrations contributed to the

gradual recovery of the cocoa sector beginning in the late 1980s (Van der Geest et al. 2010:118).

A new form of conflict emerged in the cocoa regions during this period of economic decline. Throughout the 1970s the poorly equipped Forestry Department was unable to prevent the encroachment of cocoa farmers on protected forest reserves, as the latter began to establish cocoa plantations on putative 'community lands' (Amanor 2005:107).⁷ In 1992 the Forestry Department launched a campaign to remove illegal cocoa farms in the Western Region and plant timber trees where the cocoa trees had recently been planted. This campaign was immediately challenged by cocoa farmers, who responded by destroying timber saplings and replanting cocoa. The situation deteriorated and resulted in violent conflicts between cocoa farmers and officials from the Forestry Department, requiring the intervention of the police and the military, and eventually resulting in the cessation of the Forestry Department's program (Amanor 2005:107). Despite these tensions, indigenous-migrant relations remained relatively cordial during this period. Yet the issue of immigration was yet again politicised following the alleged remark by the late Adu Boaheen – that if the NPP won the 1996 elections, he would deport migrants. Although there is little evidence to support the claim that Boaheen made such a remark, Rawlings and the NDC capitalized on the issue. The NDC succeeded in mobilizing the widespread political support of the *Zongo*, as they were already suspicious of the NPP given its historical ties to the Progress Party under Busia.⁸

Recent transformations and enduring challenges in Ghana's cocoa sector

Ghana's cocoa sector has begun to show signs of a renaissance as the cocoa sector witnessed impressive growth during the late 1990s, averaging 11 percent growth between 1994 and 1999 and 16 percent between 2000 and 2003. Many experts point to the increase in fertiliser use and the introduction of a government sponsored spraying program to help explain this rapid growth (Teal et al. 2006:12; Vigneri 2007:1). The impressive turnaround of Ghana's cocoa industry has led many in the industry to state that the country would produce over one million tonnes by 2011-12 (Ghana Cocoa Board 2009). The rapid growth in the cocoa sector has clearly had a profound impact on the lives of millions of Ghanaians. Ghana's former President, John Kufour, credited the significant decrease in hunger levels in Ghana during his tenure to the dramatic improvements in the cocoa industry (BBC News 2011).

Yet while Ghana's cocoa sector has witnessed impressive growth in recent years, it is important to note that the increase in production was heavily concentrated in the Northern Western Region (the Sefwi area) (Vigneri 2007:3). Moreover, the means of expanding output has also differed across regions. Whereas increased production in the Brong Ahafo and Ashanti regions has been relatively intensive in nature, as increased use of inputs appears to have increased production levels, the Western Region has been characterized by extensive expansion (Teal et al. 2006:3). The reverse smuggling of cocoa into Ghana from neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire is yet another trend that has had a significant impact on 'production levels' of Ghanaian cocoa. This

smuggling is not a new phenomenon, and is owing to the higher producer prices for cocoa in Ghana and the political instability in Côte d'Ivoire. According to one survey, 80% of farmers were aware of Ivoirians smuggling cocoa into Ghana (Vigneri 2007:3). However, since the 2010-2011 post-election crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, the smuggling has accelerated, with some estimates suggesting that more than two-thirds of Ghana's increase in cocoa output this season comes from cocoa smuggled into the country (Valdmanis 2011).

Notwithstanding this impressive growth, Ghana's cocoa sector faces a number of enduring challenges. One of the main challenges relates to the issue of the increasing average age of farmers, which now stands at 51. The failure to attract youth into this sector casts a dark cloud over the sustainability of the industry. Furthermore, while cocoa farming provides a secure income for the country's farmers, the industry remains a good example of a low input/low output sector. With migration into new cocoa frontiers no longer possible, there are legitimate concerns over the prospects of increasing yields into the future, unless incentives are in place to promote intensification (MASDAR 1998:xvi). These issues have ultimately led some experts to caution against overstating Ghana's cocoa success story of the early 2000s. As Vigneri (2007:4) points out, factors outside of farmers' production choices have been underestimated in the overall contribution to the doubling of production, such as good rainfall and reverse smuggling into the country. Thus while there is reason to celebrate the recent growth of the cocoa sector, a number of concerns must be addressed. One of the most neglected issues relates to the socio-political relations between communities in the cocoa producing regions. If Ghana's cocoa sector is to flourish, indigenous and migrant populations must continue to work peacefully together. I will now therefore examine contemporary stakeholder perspectives on indigenous-migrant relations to consider the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities.

ENDURING PEACE OR DEEPENING CLEAVAGES IN GHANA'S COCOA REGIONS?

The above sections highlight the important transformations and trends in Ghana's cocoa sector, the socio-political implications of large-scale historical migration, and the evolving nature of indigenous-migrant relations in the cocoa regions. Yet despite the important background information presented above, this overview does not shed light on *contemporary* relations between these communities. In other words, while the relationship between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana's cocoa regions has been carefully outlined from an historical perspective, we must also examine the current state of this relationship. Important questions related to this relationship have been largely ignored in the literature as most scholars have neglected to seriously study issues broadly related to ethnicity and citizenship in Ghana (Kobo 2010). This is a major oversight given the continued importance of cocoa in Ghana and the potential for conflict between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions. The following questions must therefore be explored. How do stakeholders in the cocoa regions perceive the relationship between these communities? How might new developments in

Ghana's cocoa industry affect relations between indigenous and migrant populations? Finally, what are the prospects for peace and conflict between these communities?

In order to examine these questions, I conducted over 100 interviews during the spring and summer of 2011 in Ghana's capital – Accra – and the country's leading cocoa regions – Western and Ashanti. These cocoa regions were selected as they are not only the two leading cocoa producing regions, but they also represent Ghana's 'new cocoa frontier' (Western) and the historically dominant cocoa-producing area (Ashanti). Interviews were conducted in five key districts in each region: Western Region (Juabeso, Sefwi Akontombra, Sefwi Wiawso, Wassa Amenfi West, Wassa Amenfi East); Ashanti (Adansi North, Adansi South, Ahafo-Ano South, Atwima Nwanbiagya, Kumasi). In order to gain diverse insights into the relationship between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions, a wide range of stakeholders were interviewed, including: chief farmers, cocoa farmers (migrants and indigenous), district police commanders, farmer associations, Ghana Cocoa Board officials, government officials (district chief executives, district coordinators, civil servants, immigration officers), international governmental organizations, local assemblymen, local court administrators, non-governmental organizations, private cocoa buyers, religious leaders, school teachers, politicians (national and local), sub-chiefs, traditional chiefs and youth leaders. The interviewees were asked a series of questions that touched upon the following issues: the contemporary challenges facing the cocoa sector; the nature and incidence of land disputes in the cocoa regions; the role of migrants in the development of the cocoa sector; the state of indigenous-migrant relations; and the politics of migration and cocoa. In what follows, I present an overview of the results of stakeholder perspectives on these issues. I then examine the prospects for peace and conflict between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions.

Stakeholder perspectives on indigenous-migrant relations in the cocoa sector

When asked to identify the major challenges facing cocoa farmers, respondents provided a long list of answers. Many argued that farmers find it difficult to acquire inputs such as fertilisers, pesticides, insecticides, and spraying machines as these inputs are often costly and difficult to access. Consequently, many cocoa farms are plagued by diseases like black pod and swollen shoot virus. Another common response relates to the poor road networks that make it difficult to bring cocoa to markets. Farmers also complained about 'financial challenges' as their low yields and the low producer price for cocoa make it difficult to provide for their families. Yet perhaps the greatest challenge relates to the difficulty in finding labour. As many farmers are aged and unable to manage their farms alone, they require the assistance of additional labour. However, many farmers do not have the capital to hire labourers, and state that even if you do it is difficult to find workers. Moreover, many argue that the youth are no longer interested in farming cocoa as they 'seek greener pastures' and 'white collared jobs' in urban centres. The general perception is that these youth want 'quick-quick money' and are often 'lazy' and not prepared to put in the hard work to farm cocoa. While farmers used to hire workers from Ghana's northern regions, the increasingly educated northerners are now less interested in

working on the farms. Finally, some farmers brought up the issue of child labour stating that the international and domestic pressure to eradicate child labour from the cocoa sector has compounded the labour shortage as they can no longer use their children as labourers.

The issue of land scarcity is another challenge that is more closely related to indigenous-migrant relations. Although most respondents did not initially cite land scarcity as a major challenge facing the cocoa sector, the vast majority agreed that it is increasingly difficult to acquire land as land is either too expensive to purchase or there is simply none left to cultivate. Consequently, the vast majority of new migrant farmers must now enter into sharecropping arrangements with landowners. Yet despite the land shortage, there does not appear to be an increase in violent conflicts over land. To be sure, land disputes in the cocoa regions frequently occur. One local court administrator noted that approximately 65% of all civil cases in his community involved land disputes.⁹ However, the administrator added that “there is conflict, but the approach is not violent” as these disputes are usually peacefully settled through the courts or by traditional chiefs.¹⁰ Moreover, very few respondents stated that disputes occur between indigenous and migrants, citing instead the salience of land disputes within and between families, often over misunderstandings about boundaries or disagreements over inheritances.

The vast majority of interviewees recognized the fundamental contribution of migration in the development of Ghana’s cocoa sector. Many even attributed Ghana’s success in the cocoa industry to the role of migrant labourers. Although most interviewees in the cocoa regions said that their communities continue to receive migrants, the majority of new migrants are now ‘farm hands’ and seasonal labourers from Ghana’s northern regions. When asked whether or not there were many foreign migrants in the community, most stated that while there were some foreign migrants, they were the minority. Some respondents had no idea if there were foreign migrants, as migrants did not ‘advertise’ their foreign status and sought instead to integrate into the host community. One senior cocoa official said that “there are those who came in the olden days. They have settled and they are now part of us. But they don’t even know their roots. So they are now part of us. So we don’t count them now as foreign migrants”.¹¹ In one interview with two Togolese farmers, both men said that they had lied to the community about their origins, claiming they were from Ghana’s Volta region.¹²

When asked to describe relations between indigenous and migrant populations in their communities, most interviewees stated that relations were ‘cordial’ while none responded that relations were poor. Many noted that ‘we are all Ghanaians’ and that migrants are ‘our brothers’ and so ‘we live peacefully’. Interestingly, those respondents that belonged to the indigenous population did not distinguish between foreign and internal migrants as most of them stated that as long as ‘you are humble’, ‘peace-loving’, and ‘respectful’, there is ‘no problem’. This perception was also shared by nearly all of the migrants that were interviewed – both foreign and internal – as most agreed that they had been welcomed and treated as equal members by the host community. According to one migrant farmer from Niger, “It is the same cordiality for the indigenous and for the migrants. There is no difference.... If we were not

welcome, they wouldn't have given us land, and we wouldn't have stayed.... We are hard workers, and this community likes hard-working people. And most of all, they use strangers to build the community, that is why they are welcoming the migrants."¹³

Despite the historically contentious nature of debates surrounding migration in Ghana, most respondents argued that migration is not a 'political issue'. Aside from a few interviewees who cited the problem of 'reckless Fulani herdsmen', most do not perceive immigration to be an important policy or security concern. In fact, many interviewees argued that Ghana is tolerant of immigrants because the country is itself a nation of migrants. As one of the country's leading political figures pointed out during our interview, "we recognize our own vulnerability, because there is no single country anywhere in the world where you cannot find at least one Ghanaian."¹⁴ Some interviewees also stated that the Economic Community of West African States protocol relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment promotes regional integration and tolerance regarding immigration.¹⁵ However, most agreed that the issue of immigration is often politicised during elections as the NDC continues to re-hash the NPP's putative 'intolerance' towards immigrants, and more specifically, the *Zongo*. Many of the NDC politicians interviewed argued that the NPP are unfriendly towards migrants and northerners. According to one local NDC politician from the Ashanti region, "If you are from Wa, Yendi, Tamale, Salaga, and you're wearing a Muslim outfit, they see you as a foreigner."¹⁶ Yet these perceptions are clearly not shared by all members of the NDC. When asked if a NPP government would ever consider a Busia-like policy to expel immigrants or the *Zongo*, a senior NDC politician replied: "No, no, no. They themselves have regretted that thing. So they will never, never use it as a major policy at all."¹⁷ As most non-partisan respondents pointed out, the NDC simply employs this rhetoric as a political strategy to gain the support of the immigrant and *Zongo* communities.

Finally, interviewees were also questioned about the 'politics of cocoa'. When asked to comment on politics in the cocoa sector, some respondents argued that 'cocoa is the mainstay of the economy and so we don't do politics' while others replied that 'yes, cocoa is extremely political'. Most agreed, however, that the industry is political to the extent that politicians try and please *all* cocoa farmers by promising to increase the producer price of cocoa and subsidize inputs for their farms. While the majority of interviewees said that politicians do not favour certain farmers or cocoa areas over others, some stated that favouritism exists, and recounted stories about certain regions/farmers receiving spraying machines and other inputs because of their political affiliation. Meanwhile, some respondents provided anecdotal evidence of landowners threatening to appropriate land from migrant farmers if they failed to vote for the landowners' party. Ultimately, despite the claims by many that 'we don't do politics in cocoa', it is difficult to imagine how a government organized and managed industry that provides employment and benefits for millions of Ghanaians could escape the realm of politics. As one expert on the political economy of the cocoa sector noted, "I would say that it is one of the most politically significant industries in the country, because of the pricing impact on both our revenue, and on the welfare of a significant number of Ghanaians. So anything that happens on the cocoa front can either change government or maintain government."¹⁸

Prospects for peace and conflict in the cocoa regions

What might these stakeholder responses reveal about the prospects for peace and conflict in the cocoa regions? While these insights merely highlight potential socio-political problems between indigenous and migrants, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. First and foremost, based on the historical analysis of indigenous-migrant relations in the cocoa regions and the extensive field work, the prospects for large-scale violent conflict as witnessed in Côte d'Ivoire are arguably low. Although some of the ingredients for such a conflict are present, as explained in the following paragraphs a number of key elements are missing. Secondly, while large-scale conflict between indigenous and migrant communities is unlikely, pockets of tension exist and could result in episodic outbreaks of violent conflict. Finally, notwithstanding the general trends and overall findings in the above section, it is important to look both across and within regions as there are notable differences with respect to indigenous-migrant relations in Ghana's cocoa regions. The presence of artisanal and small-scale mining (known as 'galamsey') in parts of the cocoa regions highlights some of the unique challenges in certain areas. In the following paragraphs, I examine each of these issues more closely in order to assess the prospects for peace and conflict in the cocoa regions.

A number of factors help to explain the absence of large-scale violent conflict between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana's cocoa regions. Among the leading explanations is the fact that most communities perceive this relationship to be mutually beneficial. Migrants help to develop the host community while the indigenous provide land and employment opportunities for migrants. Without the arrival of large numbers of migrants, many of today's cities in the cocoa regions would have arguably remained small villages with no or few services. Consequently, many indigenous populations are cognizant of the major contributions of migrants towards the development of their communities. Moreover, the indigenous do not tend to view migrants as competition. As one senior politician noted:

“the southern youth are not mostly interested in cocoa farming, but in the north, education is low, and so you have labour that is available. So when the labour migrates to the south, they are not competing with the youth for jobs because the type of work they are coming to do, the youth in the south are not too much interested in. So it's a mutually beneficial sort of arrangement. Farmers, they need the labour, and the people who are coming also need the jobs, so it has not generated conflict at all.”¹⁹

Furthermore, unlike in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire where migrant populations have come to dominate the cocoa sector, the balance of power tends to favour indigenous cocoa farmers in Ghana (Mitchell 2011). In short, most indigenous populations in the cocoa regions are not 'jealous' or 'envious' of migrants as they continue to wield power over the latter. To be sure, tensions periodically exist between indigenous and migrant populations, usually over land tenure disputes. However, chiefs continue to play a crucial role in mitigating and mediating conflicts. As one group of Burkinabe farmers noted, conflicts are largely averted by chiefs as “they are the custodians of the land” and ensure that migrants are treated fairly when there are disagreements.²⁰ Finally, many interviewees argued that inter-marriages between indigenous and migrants foster the integration of migrants into the community. This integration goes a

long way in preventing conflicts as it creates intimate ties between migrant and indigenous members of the community.

While the above explanations illustrate some of the local factors that help to explain the absence of large-scale violent conflict in Ghana's cocoa regions, there are also a number of national-level variables at play. Notwithstanding the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969, Ghana has traditionally been relatively tolerant of immigrants. The vast majority of interviewees are particularly welcoming towards internal migrants, as virtually all of the respondents noted that 'we are all Ghanaians' and so 'there is no problem'. Thus while many countries throughout sub-Saharan Africa have been plagued by ethno-nationalism and ethnic politics targeting both cross-border and internal migrants, Ghana seems to have largely escaped these problems. This is partly owing to the longstanding commitment towards inclusivity embraced by political elites at the national level. As one of the country's leading political figures noted in our interview, "In the first republic, there were very conscious efforts to play down ethnicity in our politics. And so the type of education we grew up with, we came to recognize everybody across Ghana as your brother Ghanaian. And we're even extending it to fellow Africans."²¹ This 'tradition' has undoubtedly resulted in a more inclusive and progressive citizenship regime than in most African countries. Whereas many political elites throughout Africa have instrumentalized the issue of citizenship to divide populations and exclude political opponents, this has not been the case in Ghana (Manby 2009). Interestingly, "despite the resilience of the alien stigma associated with the descendants of the migrant population" Ghana's 1992 Constitution has "made it difficult for popular resentment against the people of foreign ancestry to escalate into a national crisis" (Kobo 2010:91). As Nordås (2007:15) points out, the Constitution "requires the state to actively promote national integration by prohibiting discrimination and prejudice on the grounds of such factors as place of birth, origin, ethnicity, and religion." Given the legacy of relative tolerance of immigrants and the legal protections afforded immigrant populations, it is ultimately not politically expedient to employ anti-immigrant discourses or policies. As many interviewees pointed out, Ghanaians have learned from the mistakes of the Busia regime and other African governments that have adopted antagonistic policies towards immigrants. Consequently, politicians have little to gain from targeting migrants in the cocoa regions as they are well aware of both the political and economic costs involved. In short, the issue of indigenous-migrant relations in the cocoa regions is not on the radar of politicians at the national level.

Despite the generally positive outlook on indigenous-migrant relations in the cocoa regions, there have been some disturbing developments. First and foremost, many indigenous youth are increasingly frustrated by the fact that many migrants now control 'indigenous lands'. As previously mentioned, this is not a new development as indigenous youth have historically criticised elders who transferred indigenous lands to migrants. However, whereas in previous times these youth blamed traditional authorities for selling indigenous land, some youth are now turning against migrants. In the words of one senior government official, "I think the issue that is coming up now has to do with the youth that are coming up, with the problem of land for cocoa cultivation. Some youth are thinking that our fathers, our ancestors did not help by

giving our land out to other people from other regions to farm. So, yes, there are pockets of conflicts here and there.”²² This concern is echoed by a district police commander in the Western Region who noted the following: “You know the story. It is the youth who are almost agitating to have the land under their control.... Some of them use brute force to claim back the land.”²³ Although there has been limited violence accompanying these discourses and attempts to reappropriate the land, the hostile tone of some indigenous youth is nevertheless alarming.²⁴ These tensions are especially prominent in Sefwi Wiawso and Juabeso districts where the balance of power has shifted towards migrant communities.²⁵ Moreover, many indigenous in these regions feel that migrants ‘extract resources’ without reinvesting in the community. Many indigenous argue that migrants simply send their revenues to their home communities in Northern Ghana and the Ashanti regions. As one top political official said, “That is an issue some youth are not happy with. And for me, as an agent for development in this area, I think I also have a problem with that.”²⁶ Once again, although these tensions have not led to widespread violence, they nevertheless highlight a potential source of future conflict.

Interestingly, many migrants are also upset with the status quo in the cocoa regions and their precarious rights to the land. These frustrations are not a new development in the cocoa regions. As early as the mid-1980s, an ‘Association of Stranger Farmers of Wassa Amenfi’ was created to unite migrants in the Wassa Amenfi area in their struggle for land rights (Boone and Duku 2012:678). Although the majority of migrant interviewees argued that indigenous-migrant relations were cordial, they are still well aware of the insecurity they face in their land tenure arrangements. Consequently, a number of respondents lamented their unfair treatment at the hands of indigenous and cautioned that violent conflict between indigenous and migrants was a possibility. In speaking with a group of Burkinabe migrants, one of the respondents stated: “it may happen, just because of scarcity of land. The land, you know, God is not creating land again. And formally, the population is not all that much as today. And people are scrambling for the land. So it may happen. What happened in Côte d’Ivoire may come here.”²⁷ However, this respondent argued that violence would not necessarily be limited to indigenous-migrant conflict as it could also entail migrants attacking migrants. As very few migrants have official documents proving ownership or rights to the land, they are vulnerable to indigenous attempts to reappropriate the land. Although this issue has not led to widespread outbreaks of violent conflict, it also signals yet another potentially explosive issue between indigenous and migrant communities.

While large-scale violence between indigenous and migrant populations in Ghana’s cocoa regions is unlikely, episodic outbreaks of violent conflict could occur in certain areas. Thus while peace cannot be described as precarious in Ghana’s cocoa regions, it is critically important that we examine indigenous-migrant relations at the micro-level as there is significant variation both across regions and districts. This is particularly the case when comparing the Ashanti and Western regions. In the Ashanti region, lands were rarely sold outright to migrants as such sales had to be approved by the *Asantehene* – the ruler of the Ashanti people. Consequently, the vast majority of lands are still controlled by Ashanti family heads. While many migrants farm cocoa in this region, they generally work under the tutelage of the Ashanti under mutually accepted

sharecropping arrangements. Under this system, the indigenous population wields the balance of power and migrants recognize the Ashanti as the rightful landowners. In the Western region, on the other hand, the balance of power has often favored migrant populations. As Boone and Duku (2012:676) point out, individual ownership of lands is much higher in this region than in Ashanti, as since the mid- to late-1980s most of the cocoa farms in the Western region are owned by migrant populations. As the cocoa frontier shifted westward during the post-independence period, many local chiefs bypassed paramount chiefs in order to sell lands directly to migrant populations. However, as Boni's (2005) analysis reveals, under increasing land pressure and scarcity, this region became the site of numerous land conflicts during the 1980s when traditional authorities attempted to reappropriate lands that had previously been sold outright to migrant populations. As Boone and Duku (2012:677) argue, many migrants "have felt that they have been swindled or defrauded by chiefs who have reneged on contracts and demanded increasingly arbitrary extractions." These developments have strained relations between indigenous and migrant populations in the Western cocoa regions. Consequently, the prospects for conflict are much higher in this region than in Ashanti, where there is no controversial renegotiation of land rights pitting indigenous against migrant populations. This phenomenon was indeed observed during the field work, as indigenous-migrant relations were perceived to be much more positive in the Ashanti region than in the Western region.

Finally, another notable difference both across and within regions relates to the issue of 'galamsey' – local artisanal (and often illegal) small-scale gold mining.²⁸ While galamsey can be found throughout most of the cocoa regions, the issue was most pronounced in Wassa Amenfi West and East districts. Many respondents in these districts noted that the youth now forego cocoa farming to work as galamsey which can provide 'quick-quick money'. Moreover, many landowners are pressured into selling their lands to prospective miners. As one member of a local NGO said, "Sometimes, if I have a land or a cocoa farm, some people see that there is gold here. They will just try and buy my land and use it for galamsey, because they've seen a lot of gold here. And this can cause a lot of problems. Maybe I don't want to sell it, but some people, with their money, can do anything to just get the land. And this can be a problem."²⁹ The arrival of large numbers of Chinese miners has added another dimension to the issue of galamsey. When asked to describe relations between the indigenous populations and Chinese miners, the NGO worker stated: "Really, I must confess, they don't like the Chinese at all! They don't like them because some see the Chinese as cheats... And after working, instead of covering the pit they will just leave it and just go back to their country. And children will fall into the pit and die. I've seen some recently, this summer here a young boy fell into a Chinese pit and died."³⁰ The issue of galamsey has also caught the attention of police authorities. According to one chief of police, "The major challenge (in this community) is this illegal mining, galamsey... for me it is the number one problem we have because there are a lot of deaths because of the way they handle their work. They leave the pits; people die by falling in the water or the pits caving on them. They don't protect their workers. That's one of the most serious things. And they steal from each other. You know, gold is money."³¹ Although the issue of galamsey has not led to serious outbreaks of violent conflict between indigenous and migrant populations, it represents

yet another contentious issue in Ghana's cocoa regions given the large numbers of migrants that continue to flock to Ghana's southern regions in the hopes of 'striking it rich'.³²

CONCLUSION

The upsurge in the politics of belonging throughout sub-Saharan Africa has important implications for Ghana's cocoa regions. Although Ghana has not recently been plagued by vitriolic debates surrounding migration, it is not immune to these divisive politics. In recent years, for example, northern Ghana has experienced 'conflicts of autochthony' pitting indigenous against migrants. Despite the absence of such conflicts in Ghana's southern cocoa regions, this paper highlights the strained and potentially explosive relations between indigenous and migrant populations in these regions. In short, while one cannot describe peace as precarious across Ghana's cocoa regions, a closer examination of micro-level dynamics reveals deepening cleavages between indigenous and migrants. To be sure, Ghana's cocoa regions are unlikely to witness the scale of violence that has wracked the cocoa regions in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire. However, it is worth noting that nobody could have predicted the brutal violence that has ravaged the Ivorian cocoa regions. While I do not intend to make any prediction regarding Ghana's future, I do agree with Boone and Duku (2012: 690) that "political judgement on the part of local and national leaders, along with wider conjunctural conditions, will be critical in determining whether social and political tensions over land rights can be managed, and whether the prevailing political and institutional arrangements will be supportive of social stability and economic progress in the future." In the final paragraphs, I provide a number of policy recommendations at the local, national and international levels that should be considered by politicians and other leaders as these measures may ultimately help foster harmonious relations between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions.

At the local level, traditional authorities must play a critical role in mitigating and mediating conflicts between indigenous and migrant populations. The issue of land tenure is arguably at the heart of these conflicts and needs to be addressed in order to resolve indigenous-migrant disputes. As Boone (2007:560) reminds us, "Across the African continent, struggles over land law are finding expression in, or contributing to, political conflict over national citizenship rights, upsurges in xenophobia, or anti-foreigner sentiment both inside and outside the electoral arena." If Ghana is to avoid the perils associated with land laws and reforms, local authorities must work closely with the central government to improve and clarify rights over land ownership. In so doing, it is essential that both state and local authorities be impartial and respect existing migrant property rights. This has not, unfortunately, historically been the case in Ghana. As Boone and Duku (2012:672) point out, local government structures have not provided "a forum in which migrants can overcome the structural political disadvantage that currently leaves them vulnerable to chiefs' and indigenes' efforts to roll back their acquired property rights." Instead, the lack of formal documentation and ambiguous land tenure agreements continue to create insecurity over land rights, particularly amongst migrants. Consequently, the government needs to promote the increased registration of land tenure and

ensure the provision of some legal security for caretakers (MASDAR 1998:xviii). Moreover, these efforts to formalize and revise land tenure agreements should involve *all* stakeholders at the local level, including traditional authorities, government agencies, farmer associations, and indigenous and migrant farmers.

At the national level, politicians must take the lead in tackling the issue of land reform. In writing about land transfers and ownership in sub-Saharan Africa, Stephen Ellis (2011: 88) argues that “How African politicians use their power in regard to the most precious of all productive resources, land, will have enormous consequences for the continent’s future.” This is undoubtedly true for Ghana’s cocoa regions given the need to reform the land tenure system and the potential for conflict in so doing. Once again, government interventions in this sector have proved not only ineffective but even problematic. As Boone and Duku (2012:683) argue, the central government’s wavering support towards migrants during the 1980s heightened tensions between indigenous and migrants as the government initially supported migrants’ land rights vis-à-vis chiefs and indigenes before eventually siding with the latter. The government must therefore avoid playing politics with the issue of land reform and work to develop a new legal framework that recognizes the property rights of all landowners – both indigenous and migrants. Moreover, national politicians must also continue to respect the 1992 Constitution stipulations requiring the state to promote national integration by prohibiting discrimination based on place of birth, origin, ethnicity, and religion. In the same vein, political parties must refrain from engaging in ethnic, regional or religious politics, as outlined in the 2000 Political Parties Act. Failure to do so could lead Ghana down the same path as Côte d’Ivoire, where Constitutional wrangling contributed to the ethnicization of politics, the politicisation of migration, and the heightening of tensions between indigenous and migrant populations in the cocoa regions (Mitchell 2012). Finally, the issue of citizenship is critical. Although the ongoing efforts to provide Ghanaian residents with a national identity card could improve service delivery by government, it could also serve to further politicise the issue of migration. The implications of this identification process must be further explored. Unfortunately, the politics of citizenship in Ghana, and Africa more broadly, have been largely neglected by scholars.³³

At the international level, international organizations and foreign governments need to work to promote democratic consolidation in Ghana. While the international community is quick to congratulate Ghana on its record of good governance and democratization, more work needs to be done to institutionalize democracy. Although Ghana has ‘successfully’ held democratic elections since 1992, the 2008 elections revealed some potentially divisive issues that could resurface in the upcoming elections in 2012 (Jockers et al. 2010). To be sure, the ‘third wave’ of democratization throughout Africa during the 1990s is partly responsible for heightening tensions between indigenous and migrant populations (Geschiere and Jackson 2006; Geschiere 2009). However, the consolidation of democracy in Ghana will arguably provide safeguards against political elites who wish to discriminate against migrants and manipulate citizenship laws to the detriment of migrant populations. Finally, international organizations need to be cognizant of their interventions in the cocoa sector and over land ownership issues. The unintended consequences of seemingly positive initiatives to address issues as far ranging as

the eradication of child labour, land titling and the protection of forest reserves must be carefully considered, as these issues are inextricably linked to indigenous-migrant relations. It is important that we recognize the profound implications of international interventions on socio-political relations at the national and local levels. Fundamentally, policy makers and scholars must therefore continue to explore the impact of policy interventions as the political economy of migration and conflict in Ghana's cocoa regions is heavily influenced by political and economic forces both within and beyond its borders.

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ENDNOTES

¹ 'Citizen' refers here – and throughout the text – to indigenous or autochthons rather than members of the nation-state. In other words, a citizen is a member of the local traditional community. 'Outsiders' and 'strangers' refers here to those who are not indigenous to a given area.

² The 'stool' refers to the royal throne, and the term is often used symbolically to represent the institution of chieftaincy.

³ See Hill's (1961) classic work on the development of the cocoa sector in Ghana.

⁴ See Peil (1971) for an excellent analysis on the Aliens Compliance Order.

⁵ Although Ghana's economic recovery program has been heralded by the Bretton Woods institutions as one of the most successful cases of structural adjustment, the distribution of these 'achievements' have been uneven as the southern export-producing regions have disproportionately benefited. See Konadu-Agyemang (2001) for a comprehensive examination of the legacy of Ghana's structural adjustment programme. Konadu-Agyemang (2000) provides a solid account of the relationship between SAPs and uneven development across Ghana's region.

⁶ Gwendolyn Mikell (1992) presents a detailed account of these policies and their disastrous impact on the country's cocoa sector.

⁷ This issue is highlighted by the following quote from an interview with a senior political administrator: "you see, because we have some chiefs along the forest areas who think that their forefathers lived in this area, they don't have any other place to go, they don't have any other means to leave and all that, so they should be allowed to go into the forest to farm and the laws of this country do not allow for such things, so there are always conflicts" (Interview, Juabeso District, Western Region, July 15, 2011).

⁸ To this day, Busia's Aliens Compliance Order and the alleged remarks by Boaheen continue to haunt the NPP, as the NDC has skilfully played up the issue in national elections since 1996 (Kobo 2010). This issue was brought up on many occasions during the interviews, as many interviewees argue that the NPP continues to struggle to disassociate itself from this policy and the alleged statement of its former leader.

⁹ It is important to note, however, that the vast majority of land disputes are settled outside of the courts either amongst farmers or by the traditional authorities (Boone and Duku 2012:678-679).

¹⁰ Interview with local court administrator, Sefwi Wiawso District, Western Region, July 13, 2011.

¹¹ Interview with senior cocoa official, Ahafo-Ano South District, Ashanti Region, June 29, 2011.

¹² Interview with two Togolese cocoa farmers, Sefwi Akontombra District, Western Region, July 14, 2011. This is a common strategy amongst migrants. As many of Ghana's ethnic groups can also be found in neighbouring countries, foreign migrants often present themselves as Ghanaian nationals from border regions.

¹³ Interview with cocoa farmer from Niger, Wassa Amenfi West District, Western Region, June 9, 2011.

¹⁴ Interview with leading political figure, Accra, August 3, 2011.

¹⁵ See Economic Community of West African States protocol A/P.1/5/79 relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment (1979).

¹⁶ Interview with local NDC politician, Ahafo-Ano South District, Ashanti Region, June 29, 2011.

¹⁷ Interview with senior NDC politician, Accra, August 3, 2011.

¹⁸ Interview with leading expert on the political economy of Ghana's cocoa sector, Accra, August 3, 2011.

¹⁹ Interview with senior NDC politician, Accra, August 3, 2011.

²⁰ Interview with group of Burkinabe cocoa farmers, Wassa Amenfi West District, Western Region, June 12, 2011.

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- ²¹ Interview with leading political figure, Accra, August 3, 2011.
- ²² Interview with top government official, Juabeso District, Western Region, July 15, 2011.
- ²³ Interview with District Police Commander, Western Region, July 15, 2011.
- ²⁴ This is a particularly disturbing trend when one considers the role of disgruntled youth throughout the Ivorian crisis and their efforts to reappropriate land from migrants in Côte d'Ivoire. For an excellent analysis of this phenomenon, see McGovern (2011).
- ²⁵ This dynamic is highlighted in the following quote: "when the migrants started displaying their wealth, you see, buying the vehicles and building the mighty houses and things like that, obviously resentment started building up. And young people being frustrated started questioning some of the land that was allocated to these migrants. So we've got very nasty cases in the Western region in particular, of even migrants being killed and their property being taken over" (Interview with Senior Researcher at Ghana Cocoa Board, Tafo, Eastern Region, May 26, 2011).
- ²⁶ Interview with top political official, Juabeso District, Western Region, July 15, 2011.
- ²⁷ Interview with group of Burkinabe cocoa farmers, Wassa Amenfi West District, Western Region, June 12, 2011.
- ²⁸ There is a vast literature on galamsey in Ghana. See, for example, Hilson (2002); Banchirigah (2008); Tschakert (2009); and Nyame and Blocher (2010).
- ²⁹ Interview with NGO, Wassa Amenfi East District, Western Region, June 16, 2011.
- ³⁰ Interview with NGO, Wassa Amenfi East District, Western Region, June 16, 2011.
- ³¹ Interview with chief of police, Wassa Amenfi East District, Western Region, June 17, 2011.
- ³² See Grant et al. (2011) for an examination of migration-conflict dynamics in Ghana's mineral resource sector.
- ³³ On the absence of scholarship on citizenship and ethnicity in Ghana, see Kobo (2010). For an excellent and comprehensive review of the politics of citizenship in Africa, see Manby (2009) or Herbst (1999; 2000).