

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT – A CASE STUDY OF THE TWIFO-LOWER DENKYIRA DISTRICT (CENTRAL REGION OF GHANA)

Samuel Adams,

PhD,

Ghana Institute of Management and Public
Administration

P.O.Box AH 50 Achimota

Accra – Ghana

Ebenezer Okoampa,

Associate Director,

(Humanitarian and Emergency Affairs)

World Vision International

Accra-Ghana

ABSTRACT

The study examined the relationship between settlement patterns and development in the indigene, settler, and mixed communities in the central region of Ghana. The study used both primary and secondary sources based on 108 respondents from six communities (two each from the three groups) for the data analysis.

The main findings of the study are 1) the indigene-settler divide is real 2) There are leading and lagging communities, the settler communities are more proactive and self supporting, while the indigenes are over reliant on government for development projects. 3) Politicization of resource allocation compromised equity in development projects.

The key recommendation is that rural development is multifaceted and therefore requires an integrated approach from the local, regional and national levels to be successful.

Keywords: Development, Culture, Indigene, Settler, Mixed Communities, settlement Patterns, Ghana

INTRODUCTION:

The discussion of settlement patterns examines the historical flows and migration patterns of the population over time. By observing past and present settlement patterns we can observe the impact of change on different communities. Konseiga (2005) has noted that West Africa is an area with a long tradition of human mobility, which was enhanced particularly during the colonial period. However, after independence, this population mobility turned into labour migration for wage work, weaving a complex grid of relations and inter-dependence over the artificial borders inherited from colonialism. Migration remained very attractive because migrants were not disconnected from their home country.

Ghana has a long history and a tradition of planning national development. According to the 2001 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) publication, pre-independence Gold Coast completed the first development plan in the world – known then as the Guggisberg Plan in 1919. The plan sought to develop the Gold Coast up to 1926. However, 53 years after independence in 1957, the development patterns that have emerged manifest major inequalities among rural communities. The disparities are clearly seen in the rural districts of Ghana of which Twifo-Hemang-Lower Denkyira (THLD) District (focus of this study) is a living example was established by Legislative Instrument (L.I) 1377 in 1988.

The study focuses on six communities in the Twifo-Hemang-Lower Denkyira District in the Central Region of Ghana to examine the development patterns by comparing situations among three distinct groups of settlements namely the indigenes, mixed and settler communities. This is important because the definition of settler and indigene often determines who gets what, and when and how they get it in such communities (Orock, 2005; Danfulani, 2006). Further, we explore how land tenure and possibly politics influence differing personal and community development patterns and to find out the reasons for the low level of development in the district. These are discussed on the basis of the physical growth levels, the people's cultural values and motivations in undertaking community self-help activities, occupational issues and collaboration with external development actors among others. This study is thus a contribution to the importance of migration and its socioeconomic and political implications, particularly in the context of Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA).

The study is an exploratory study that focuses on the perceptions of the residents of the communities under study and seeks to contribute to the literature in terms of how settlement patterns affect development. The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section two presents the literature review, and is followed by the data and methodology in section three. Section four analyses the data and the conclusions and policy implications are presented in the final section.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

The literature review begins with the definition of key concepts, after which we present background of the study area. Finally, we discuss the theoretical and empirical literature on the relationship between settlement patterns and economic development.

DEFINITIONS:

A few concepts which need to be defined here include development, indigenes, settler, and mixed communities. Development means different things to different people. Lewis (1984) defined economic development as the study of economic structure and behaviour of the poor, while Kindleberger (1965), Hirschman (1958), Amartya (1988), and Stiglitz (1998) described economic development as the transformation of society in terms of improvements in health and education, and

an increase in productive capacity as well as an increase in per capita income. Thus, economic development implies changes in both the structure of inputs and in the allocation of those inputs. Atal (1997) and Myers (1999) claim that economic growth does not necessarily lead to social development and therefore a holistic approach to change in life structure in the realm of the material, social, and the spiritual is vital in promoting economic development. Madu (2003) characterizes the essence of rural development as the improvement of the spatial and socioeconomic environment of the rural space, which leads to the enhancement of the individual's ability to care for and sustain his or her well-being. In other words, development must improve all aspects of peoples' lives, what Servaes (1999) and Madu (2003) refer to as multi-dimensional development.

The term indigene has no universal definition. Shah (2007) refers to peculiar characteristics of indigenes as those with historical continuity, self-identification, distinct social, political systems and language. Indigenes are those who belong to the group of people who were the original inhabitants or the first to settle in a particular place and who therefore claim to be its rightful owners. The indigenes enjoy privileges when it comes to development; they are located along the main trunk road, they own the land and are the reference points for any land use by outsiders and external development agencies that might require land to initiate development projects. Even more important is the fact they are more likely to receive government support for development projects (Orock, 2005).

Settlers refer to internal migrants who have travelled from one part of the country to another location and have settled temporarily or permanently. They are described simply as non-indigenes (Human Rights watch, 2006). Konseiga (2005) has recorded the long tradition of human mobility within SSA and makes specific reference to Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Nigeria. Konseiga concluded that the main attractions to the new found lands were the cocoa in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, coffee in Cote d'Ivoire which attracted workforce from Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, the French automobile industry in Senegal and the temporary Nigerian economic strength at the time. In the 1980s, however, the pattern could not be sustained due to the host countries' severe economic crisis that compelled the host countries to implement restrictive migration policies. The economic reasons to which Konseiga (2005) made reference appear not to be the only factor. Issues of security from violent conflicts and chronic drought and disease among others weigh very high on the scale. The greatest challenge a settler community faces is the acquisition of land (land tenure system). Most land in the district (study area) like most parts of the country are stool lands or family owned with a few being privately owned.

Mixed communities are places with a range of households and a blending of people by their social characteristics and behaviour (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006). Deriving clues from the descriptions of indigene and settler communities in this document, mixed communities are basically a fusion of people with earliest historical settlement and the new entrants to the area. It may be that both parties (indigenes and non-indigenes who are usually in the minority) may have started a new settlement together in a location dominated by one ethnic group.

The three groups of settlements may exhibit specific cultural types or behaviours that have an effect on their development patterns. Culture in this sense refers to informal shared values, norms, meanings and behaviours that characterize human societies (Fukuyama, 2001). Understanding the cultural and sub cultural-types of the different communities helps to advance our understanding of not only the differences among people's social relationships, but also the universal nature of human beings, their social relationships with others and their overall development (Takahashi, 2001). In the developing world, a shift in thinking has occurred whereby culture is now widely seen as being more central to the development process, especially where a human-centred rather than a goods-centred view of development is taken (Streeten, 1997; Tabellini, 2005).

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL OVERVIEW:

Speaking to the theoretical underpinnings of culture and development, Welzel, Inglehart, and Klingemann (1999) posited that cultural change is one of the key elements constituting social progress as it links an individual to his community's resources use, values and freedom rights. Development theory, however, is consistent with the perception that culture is not deterministic, thus, the relationship between the two variables is dynamic (Tabellini, 2005). It may be concluded therefore that even though culture matters, it is not an independent variable as it is influenced by other factors like the environment, education, and experience gained from disasters among others. Granholm and Anderson (2005) observed that culture is indeed an important economic resource and that the experiences and products that grow out of our cultural heritage are an essential component of the health of an economy. With respect to the land question, Galor, Moav, and Vollrath (2008) noted that inequality in the distribution of land ownership adversely affected the emergence of human capital promoting institutions and consequently the pace and the nature of the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

Similarly, Orock (2005) sees the indigene-settler divide in the urban space as an emanation of the land question, and hinges on the role modernization has played in the process. Further, Orock noted that the divide is worsened by the fact the government and other community groups have resorted to a politicization of the land question. Berube (2005), for example, describes non-indigenes as 'trapped in worst locations.' In some cases, the new arrivals to a community are subtly made to settle at the periphery of the town. With time when they understand the reasons behind the decision of their host, the feeling of belongingness is eroded and replaced by a sense of solidarity among fellow migrants because of their 'non-citizenship' status. They feel compelled to invest their resources in their hometowns rather than to help develop their new location. The argument here is that economics cannot be discussed without an understanding of the cultural, communal, and societal identities of a particular people (Lloyd and Metzger, 2006). This supports the statement by Danfulani (2006) that the division between indigenes and non-indigenes could be attributed to factors that are primarily economic, social, and political that bother on the issue of access to land, power, and resources.

Winters et al. (2008) claimed that the factors which drive the development process and cause growth experience differ significantly. For example, Galor et al. (2008) in their empirical study of land ownership and development in Japan, Korea, Russia, Taiwan, North and Latin America identified a relationship between land ownership, education reforms and the process of development. It was noted from the study that in societies with scarce land or its ownership distributed equally, the process of development allows the implementation of an optimal education policy and rapid process of development. Also, Akinboye et al.'s (2007) study of indigenes (Yorubas) in Ogun State of Nigeria showed that inappropriate community recognition of the role played by the youth, parental influence, and insufficient assistance from the government at the grassroots level were critical elements that undermined development in most communities in the Ogun State.

In a related study by Brennan and Cooper (2005) on the cultural divide of rural Appalachian Mountain natives and immigrants in United States of America, the findings suggest a marked difference in the attitudes and values of the two groups of inhabitants. The main finding of the study was that the irreconcilable differences between the two groups slowed down the development of the area. Aleksynska (2007) confirmed this in her study on civic participation of immigrants and culture transmission and assimilation. The key finding in the study was that the host culture matters most in generating corresponding higher or lower participation of immigrants in the development activities of the area. On the other hand, Richards (2006) argued that cultural distance between the new destination and home country made young people more tolerant of other cultures, increase their trust of other people and gain wider knowledge to enhance their personal development.

Additionally, Clevoulou (1998) in a study of Talensi in the Upper East Region of Ghana reported a dynamic relationship between culture and development. Clevoulou (1998) noted, for example, that the traditional practice of helping one another in the business of thatching roofs helped in building communal spirit. This contrasts the findings Burchill and Higgins (2005) that implementation of the development projects contributed to the loss of culture among the Aborigines of Australia. Adhikari and Falco (2008) examined the issue of social inequality and collective action regarding the culture of decision making in eight forest communities in Nepal and India indicated that one's status in society was a key element for inclusion or exclusion in village decision making processes of the local commons. Huq (2007) also notes that inequality in land distribution leads to increasing social polarization and plays a discriminating role in deriving benefits accrued from development efforts in agriculture.

In summary, the literature reviewed here indicates that there is a relationship between the settlement patterns and economic development. This study contributes to the literature on settlement patterns and development in the context of six communities in the Central Region of Ghana. The data for the analysis is discussed next.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY (INDICATE HOW MANY KEY FORMANTS FOR EACH GROUP):

A mixed methods approach was adopted for this study to analyse the development patterns in indigene, mixed and settler communities. The use of open ended questionnaire provided greater freedom to respondents to speak their minds and to ask questions. The questions took approximately 45 minutes to complete. The text of all survey materials stressed that participation was voluntary and that individual results would be kept confidential. Survey materials also stressed the investigator's desire to understand challenges to development as it relates to their culture and settlement patterns. Secondary data was obtained from the District Assembly and the Area Development Programme (ADP) office of World Vision Ghana (WVG).

The sample frame was obtained from six communities which form the target population. Initially, 120 respondents were targeted to be part of the study. However, 108 responded to the questionnaires, which represent a response rate of 90%. The respondents are made up of 35 people from the indigene, 40 from the settler, and 33 from the mixed communities.

Three visits were undertaken to each of the target communities. The first visit was basically exploratory to build rapport with the communities. The second visit was devoted to the actual interviews, while the third was for verification of the data and provided space for feedback from the respondents. The survey tools used in this study consisted of two categories of questionnaires, one for key informants and the other for households. It is common knowledge that the people about whom one is studying possess a great deal of information (what is commonly referred to as indigenous knowledge). It makes sense to explore their situation better with their input derived from personal interviews. On the other hand, it is evident that a community is made up of individuals who are from households, whose orientation is important in shaping the perspectives of the community.

The survey questionnaire sought to gather information on the demographic and occupational issues, knowledge about development and causes of lack of development, influence of family and community values, and the leadership factor in community development from both households and key informants. In arriving at the major related questions, the 1997 Ghana Living Standard Survey draft document was taken into consideration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The data collected allowed us to discuss the results under four main headings:

- Demographic information on respondents
- Trend of development
- Values of people
- Causes of lack of development

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS:

In this section, we provide information on the age and gender (Table 1) and occupational mix of the different communities (Table 2). The sample was made up of 77 men and 31 women. For the three different settlement groups, the modal age group is the 41-50 year group; 12 for the indigene group, 15 for the settler, and 12 for the mixed communities. Thus, of the 108 respondents 39 (27%) are in the 41-50 year category, while the 61-70 age group make up only 12% (14) of the population. It is important to note, however, that the number is highest in the indigene communities than in either the mixed or the settler communities. This could also be explained by the fact that many of the settlers go back to their original towns as they age.

OCCUPATIONAL MIX:

Of the 20 people in the indigene group who responded to the question on occupation, only seven (35%) indicated that they were full time farmers. The others were involved in other trades as seen in Table 2. Many of the respondents, however, indicated that though they were not farmers, they had farm lands. This means they hired labourers to work on their farms. Of those who are farmers or are involved in farming, 18 respondents had full title to the Farm land. This privilege enables them to generate adequate rent income to pay for the cost of children's education, family upkeep, investing in family projects like rehabilitating the houses or building new ones, expanding farms, and contributing toward community

Table 1: Gender and age of respondents

Focus Group	Age	Male	Female	Total Respondents
Indigenous	20 – 30	2	0	2
	31 – 40	6	2	8
	41 – 50	9	3	12
	51 – 60	3	2	5
	61 – 70	5	3	8
	Sub-Total	25	10	35
Settler	20 – 30	4	1	5
	31 – 40	7	3	10
	41 – 50	11	4	15
	51 – 60	4	3	7
	61 – 70	2	1	3
	Sub-Total	28	12	40
	20 – 30	2	1	3
	31 – 40	4	2	6

Mixed	41 – 50	9	3	12
	51 – 60	6	3	9
	61 – 70	3	0	3
	Sub-Total	24	9	33
Grand Total		77	31	108

Table 2: Occupational mix of Respondents.

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
	Indigenes		Settler communities		Mixed communities	
Farmers	7	35	19	95%	14	70
Traders	2	10	1	5%	3	15
Artisan	3	15				
Labourer	2	10			2	10
Teacher	3	15			1	5
Draughtsman	1	5				
Driver	1	5				
Local Gin Brewer	1	5				
Total	20	100.0	20	100.0	20	100.0

development. In the mixed communities, 14 (70%) of the respondents are farmers and the rest (30%) are indicated that they are farmers and only one respondent (5%) is a hairdresser but makes time to engage in petty trading. Most of the farmers are also involved in petty trading.

Most of the people in the settler and mixed communities are tenant farmers who do not have title to the land on which they farm. The lease is usually for 5-10 years and is renewable depending on the relationship between the tenant and his landlord. There is universal agreement among the tenant farmers that the existing tenure system is not helpful to them as in most cases the profits or produce from the farm land are always shared equally between the tenant and his landlord. The dissatisfaction on the part of the tenants usually leads to disagreements and sometimes conflict. What worsens the conflict is when a landlord decides unilaterally to change the terms of the agreement. This is especially so when the tenant farmer is perceived to be prospering.

The respondents indicated that they endure the hardships because they had come from far and deprived communities to their present settlement and consequently they have to be able to send something back to their original or home communities as culture demands. The key to survival according to the key informants is that they are very careful as to the way they spend their money. The focus is to maintain their families, support children's education, expand their farms and to be able to undertake personal projects in their respective hometowns.

VALUES OF THE PEOPLE:

The responses to their work ethic led to questions about their value systems. On the subject of values that drive the mission and vision of the respondents, almost all the groups indicated that children's education and wellbeing is a top priority. Indeed, it is the most important element for the indigene communities, while self worth was the most important for the settler communities (Table 3).

Majority of the mixed communities reported that

Table 3: Household values in indigenous communities

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Self-worth	5	25	8	47		
Children's education and well-being	9	45	5	29.4	6	33.3
Family links and values					9	50
Peaceful co-existence	6	30			3	16.7
Hard work to earn a living			2	11.8		
Good Health			2	11.8		
Total	20	100.0	17	100	18	100.0

family links in general was very important to them and thus they did all they could to maintain a relationship with the extended family in their hometowns. This could be attributed to the continual conflict between the two groups especially over land issues, which made the issue of peaceful coexistence an important value for the indigene and mixed communities. Interestingly, the settler communities mentioned two other factors that really define their livelihood; hard work and good health. Obviously, hard work is critical but one needs a sound and a healthy body to be able to work hard. It is not surprising therefore that it is only in the settler and mixed communities (Asensoho and Jukwa-Krobo towns respectively) that have community clinics (See Table 4 for development trends). The important thing to note here is that the settlement groups have different value systems, decision making styles which determine the community pace. The next issue to be discussed then is whether the culture in terms of their occupations, work ethic and value systems of the communities has an effect on the development trend. This is discussed next.

Development trends

Table 4 below summarises the differing development experience during the past 10 years. The indigene communities are more endowed than the settler and the mixed communities. For example, access to electricity and a community centre are available only in the indigene communities. Further, it is only the indigene community (Ntafrewaso) that is tarred and two km of road is to be tarred in the Nyinase (an indigene town). So far, there is no indication of when any of these amenities would be

available to the settler and mixed communities.

Table 4: Development Trend (1998 – 2008)

Completed Projects	Ntafrewaso	Nyinase	Kyeabiso	Asensoho Shed	Jukwa-Krobo	Mintaso
Nursery School Block	2003	2000	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
Boreholes	2005	2003	Not available	2006		
Primary School Block	2004	2005	1999	2004	2003	2008
Junior High School Block	1998	1999	2008	2002	1998 (new block by District Assembly (2008)	2005
Teachers Accommodation	2000	1999	Not available	Not available	Not available	2005
Cocoa Shed	old structure (before 1998)	old structure (before 1998)	2004 (Community initiated)	2001 (Built by Ghana Coco board)	old structure (before 1998)	2001
KVIP Toilets	2002 & 2007 by TOPP	2006	2008 (for school)	2004 (for school)	2004	Not available
Community Clinic	Not available	Not available	Not available	2005	2004	Not available
Initiators of Projects	DA and NGOs	DA and NGOs	Chief and Unit Committee	Chief and Unit Committee	Chief	Chief and Unit Committee
Tarred road	1998	2 kilometres yet to be tarred	(Feeder road)	(Feeder road)	(Feeder road)	(Feeder road)
Private Housing			25 Houses changed roofing from thatch to aluminium sheets	30 Houses changed roofing from thatch to aluminium sheets		
Electricity	1996*	2009	Not available	Not available	2008	Not available
Community Centre	Not available	2006	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
Telecommunication	2007 (MTN,	2008 (MTN)	Not available	Not available	2008 (Tigo,	Not available

	Vodafone, Tigo)				MTN)	
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More importantly, the 18 key informants in the indigene communities did indicate that most of the projects are initiated by external agents like NGOs and government (through the Twifo-Hemang-Lower Denkyira District Assembly).

However, apart from the access roads linking these towns, most of the projects initiated in the settler and mixed communities are initiated by the chiefs and the community leaders or unit committees. The physical development projects found in these communities were undertaken through the communities' own efforts and some support from NGOs. Does this suggest politicization of development projects? The answer is not so simple and straight forward, but some of the settler community members think so. For example, in the words of some settler respondents ".....we receive no government help because they say we do not vote for them during elections." This is consistent with Orock's (2005) research findings regarding impact of government projects in Doula-Cameroon that revealed a dichotomy in the indigene-settler relations. The Central Government's land policy, which for unexplained reasons engendered partisan politics gave privileges to indigenes over settlers that subsequently led not only to social exclusion for some groups in the community life, but also constrained their participation in development. This behavior of the government helps to intensify the perception that there is an indigene-settler divide- the idea that there are two grades of people - "sons of the soil" (indigenes) and 'foreigners' (non-indigenes) within the same geographic location.

The industry of the settler communities is also seen in the availability of cocoa shed to store their produce and also the fact many have changed their thatched roofing to aluminium sheets, which is more modern and an indication of progress or prosperity. This supports the finding of this study that indicates the settlers value self worth. Culturally, it gives a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction especially when their natives from their hometowns come to visit them. These visitors then take the information back home and narrate how well their family members are doing in foreign or non-native towns. The apparent better economic wellbeing of the settlers gives support to Unal's (2007) claim that what matters is operated land and not owned land when it comes to agricultural productivity.

The respondents unanimously did agree that the level of development in their communities is low and something needs to be done it. Consequently, the respondents were asked about what they think contributed to the low level development in their communities. The responses are discussed in the next section.

CAUSES OF LACK OF DEVELOPMENT:

Notwithstanding the comparative 'higher level' of development executed in the indigene communities, 50% respondents attributed their unfulfilled development dreams mainly to weak national economy (Table 5). From their perspective (dependency view), development must come from outside- specifically from government and therefore weak national economy that reduces the government's ability to initiate more projects constrains development. It is important to note that the two other groups did not mention the national economy as a factor of underdevelopment. Like the indigene communities, however, the mixed communities (30% and 18.7% respectively) identified lack of or poor communal spirit as a major cause of underdevelopment. The poor community participation does reflect the communities' attitude towards communal labour or hard work in general. In the settler communities, high illiteracy rate, bad road network and generally poor infrastructural

are identified as causes of underdevelopment. About 24% of the respondents in the settler

Table 5: Causes of lack of development

Causes	Frequency	Percentage (%)		Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
	Indigenes		Settler communities		Mixed communities	
Poor communal spirit	6	30			3	18.7
Poverty	4	20	7	41.2	2	12.5
Weak national Economy	10	50				
High illiteracy rate			2	11.8		
Lack of cooperation between indigenes and settlers					5	31.2
Politics			4	23.5		
Forgotten by Government					2	12.5
Remote location and bad road network			4	23.5		
Over indulgence in cultural celebrations					1	6.3
Inconsistency in NGOs development strategies					1	6.3
Dysfunctional leadership					2	12.5
Total	20	100.0	17	100.0	16	100.0

communities mentioned politics as a major cause of underdevelopment and 12% of the of the mixed communities claim that the lack of development could be attributed to the fact that government has forgotten about them. The mixed communities mentioned other factors like dysfunctional leadership, inconsistency in NGO development strategy and over indulgence of cultural celebrations as major causes of underdevelopment. The only issue the three groups did agree on was the fact that poverty was an impediment to their development.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:

The main findings of the research are as follows:

- Farming is the main source of livelihood and the land tenure system favours the indigenes who are usually the land owners

- The indigene communities exhibit semblance of the culture of dependence
- The settler communities demonstrate a higher sense of self-help. Leadership attributes were found to influence both the direction and the pace of development that generates social change in the communities.
- Mixed communities mirror negative development aspirations due to poor inter-personal relations, which negatively impact on their community development.
- Politicisation of development resource allocations compromised equity in meeting the development needs of the communities.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION:

This study examined the relationship between settlements patterns and economic development in the context of six communities in the central region of Ghana. The results of the study indicate that the indigene-settler divide is not a myth. Consequently, there is the need to understand not only the challenges this reality presents, but more importantly how to overcome these challenges to promote economic development. This study has identified leading and lagging communities in respect of development. While settler communities appear more proactive in initiating self-help projects and attracting NGOs to assist them, the picture is different in the indigene and mixed communities who rely almost entirely on the Central Government to initiate projects. Additionally, the mixed communities were found to be encumbered with disharmony which undermines community efforts at development.

The findings of the study and the literature reviewed provide the following recommendations. First, the results show that the rural community members are unlikely to abandon farming completely. The implication is that there is the need to establish the necessary linkages between non-farm and farm activities to improve the overall productivity of the rural economy. Obviously, the agricultural sector has played a role in providing rural employment but it has been contending with other factors that limit its further potential for generating new jobs in most developing countries (Onchan, 2004). Thompson (2001) and Islam (1997) have all argued that economic development is associated with shifts from agricultural to a more diversified rural economy.

Second, a workable national policy on land tenure system is required to make land tenure less cumbersome and give tenant farmers some security. Across the country, land is either vested in stools or owned by family or private individuals. In rural areas like the sample communities, contractual agreements relating to land use either through sale or lease, is not properly documented and therefore most land owners abuse the privileges they have by exploiting those with whom they enter into tenure agreement. Third, a key issue is the need for serious effort at regional integration as the labour mobility in the region is one of the highest in the world. Konseiga (2005) has noted that inter-regional mobility remains the most efficient mechanism to reduce inequalities and foster economic growth.

Fourth, Development agencies must endeavour to promote community ownership of development through conscious effort to solicit inputs from and active participation of the beneficiary community members throughout the project cycle. The development story belongs to the community and therefore their participation is a pre-requisite for sustainability development. This could be enhanced by the design of inventories of capacities and skills gaps of community leadership and introduce appropriate training programs to make leadership more functional in the development process.

The implications of the study provide some directions for future research, including the need to understand the land problem and how government can intervene to make the relationship indigene and settlers less confrontational. The importance of the rural non-farm activities to the communities

under study suggests that much more research is needed to ascertain how the rural non-farm sector can contribute to economic growth, rural employment, poverty reduction, and more spatially balanced population distribution (Hamza, 2007). Further, since the level of development depends on dynamic processes (physical, economic, and social), it is important to analyze how these factors compositely affect the development process for each of these communities. In concluding, we would want to agree with the Human Rights Watch's statement that what is at stake is who has the power to dictate the pattern of development, politics, and to some extent everything else. What the findings of the study has shown is that rural development is multidimensional and therefore requires an integrated strategy from the local, regional and national levels to be successful.

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