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The New Scope: Forest Policy, Indigenous Involvement and Welfare Considerations.

The Case of Kyirayaso in the Ashanti Region of Ghana

Darku, Philomena Kafui

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DEDICATION

To the blessed memory of my father, Albert Kofi Darku. Hope you are smiling down at me ☺
and to my mother Rose Akosua Kuapah and my family.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana, how it involves the indigenous people of Kyirayaso in the management process of the forest reserve from which they derive their livelihood and how the forest policy takes into consideration the welfare of the people. The objective is to gain insight into the practicalities of managing the reserve based on the stories, views and reflections of the Kyirayaso community who are “used” as a case study. It is also to ascertain the impact of the management process on the welfare of the people. In this regard, the study draws on the mixed method approach, with eight interviews of government and forestry commission officials and 30 open-ended questionnaires of Kyirayaso community members. Selected aspects of co-management theory constitute an analytical framework for highlighting the components of the management process and for reviewing the survival strategies and the overall welfare of the community.

The study points out that; Kyirayaso community members are practically involved in co-managing the forest reserve but they are not assured possibilities of influencing decisions. They are involved more at the implementation stage than in prior planning stages and the nature of management process is more “consultative” than “two-way” communication (active participation). The difference in the extent of involvement is attributed to general education levels of community members due to the technicality of forestry issues. I also discovered that welfare has a non-monetary meaning and significance in Kyirayaso. And while revenue that comes to the community does not trickle down to everyone, there is still good-will and a communal spirit among community members to manage and protect the forest reserve for future generations as well as leave a lasting legacy.

The study brings to bare results of co-management strategies put to analysis and it is proposed that for effective and sustainable management of the forest and proper welfare provision of the community members who devote their lives to protect the reserve, a bottom-up approach needs to be adopted to refocus policy directions and strategies. Technical education should be implemented, to circumvent the inability of primary stakeholders from partaking in decision-making processes that affect their very existence.

Keywords: Forest Policy, welfare, participation and involvement, Indigenous community.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACWGIP	-	African Committee working Group on Indigenous Peoples
AfDB	-	African Development Bank
BSA	-	Benefit Sharing Agreement
CBRAG	-	Community Biodiversity Advisory Group
CFC	-	Community Forest Committee
CFMP	-	Community Forest Management Program
CREMA	-	Community Resource Management Area
DFO	-	District Forest Officer
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organization
FC	-	Forestry Commission
FRMP	-	Forest Reserve Management Plan
FSD	-	Forestry Service Division
GPDP	-	Government Plantation Development Project
HIPC	-	Highly Indebted Poor Country
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
MTS	-	Modified Taungya System
NFPDP	-	National Forest Plantation Development Programme
NTFP	-	Non Timber Forest Products
RMSC	-	Resource Management Support Centre
RUDEYA	-	Rural Development Youth Association
SRA	-	Social Responsibility Agreement
UNCED	-	United Nation Conference on Environmental Development
UNFCCC	-	United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 An Introduction to Ghana, Governance Structure and Forestry

Involving communities in the decision-making process as well as the implementation and evaluation stages of a resource on which their survival depends, has largely evolved as a norm both at the national and international arenas. Policies as well have evolved to buttress and institutionalise this norm of involving communities and taking an interest in their welfare. In line with the national and international institutionalised norms, the forest and wildlife policies of Ghana are probed to consider; how they involve communities in the policy-making processes, stages of implementation and evaluation. This development will also be explored in light of the welfare¹ of the communities.

Ghana, officially known as the Republic of Ghana is a multinational state as well as a unitary presidential constitutional democracy located in the sub-region of West Africa. It is bordered on the north by Burkina Faso, on the east by Togo, on the west by Ivory Coast and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and Atlantic Ocean with a total land mass of 238,535km². It is the first African Nation to attain independence from European colonization as well as a large producer of cocoa, gold, diamond, petroleum and natural gas. With a recorded population of 24,658,823 (Population & Housing Census, 2010), two-fifths (41.2%) of the total population (people aged 15 years and above) are involved in skilled agriculture, forestry and fishery (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

Ghana is a multi-party constitutional democracy governed by the rule of law. The constitution declares Ghana a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people. The system of checks and balances is employed to ensure power sharing between the president, a unicameral parliament, a council of state and an independent judiciary. The office of the government is headed by the executive president who has two, four-year terms and 275 elected members of parliament vested with legislative power. The country is divided into ten administrative regions, each with a regional minister who represents the president in their respective region as well as coordinates and directs administrative responsibilities (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992).

Chieftaincy was the main institution through which the people of Ghana were ruled before

¹ The concept of welfare would be elaborated in section 2.1.3 of Chapter 2.

colonization. Each “chief-dom” consisted of various ethnic groups ruled by chiefs (paramount), sub-chiefs and village chiefs among others. During the colonial era, the colonial master used the chiefs as instruments of indirect rule and as an alternative to elective institutions. Upon attaining independence and founding the republic of Ghana in 1957, it was agreed to maintain and respect the chieftaincy system. Even though the 2010 census placed less emphasis on the cultural and ethnic composition of the population, the 2000 census recorded 92 different ethnic groups, with the Akan group being the predominant. Chiefs under the 1992 constitution are barred or restricted from partaking in active partisan politics. A reason attributed to this is that, because of the strong allegiance the subjects have to the chief, his affiliation to any political party would to a large extent compel his subjects to do the same. It is also on this basis that politicians seek council and advice from chiefs in matters related to their local people.

In modern government, the highest office of the chief is the National House of Chiefs (House of traditional leaders), an assembly with advisory role, providing a collective and public voice of the people it represents. They also share and express a cultural, historic and ethnic point of view on public policies.

In a descending order, the Paramount Chief (Omanhene) is the overlord with enormous power vested in his office. His position is protected by the constitution of Ghana. The Chief (Ohene) who arbitrates and decides political and economic questions in his area is next to the paramount chief. The sub-chief and village-chief (Odekro), a hereditary office compared to the modern day mayor, is next in line in the hierarchy of the Ashanti Chieftaincy, as an example. In dealing with resource utilization and management, the role of the chieftaincy system cannot be over-emphasized, especially due to the strong allegiance the community members have towards their chiefs.²

Forest and wildlife resources have long been a major contributor to Ghana’s economy, a formal and informal employer, a livelihood sustaining medium mainly for “indigenous” and forest dependent communities and also a major export earner for the country. Out of the 11 million people who live in forest areas, 67% of them support their livelihood, with forest activities ranging from small scale carpentry to hunting, illegal chain saw operations, wood-fuel collection and gathering and selling of various non-timber forest products (NTFP) among others (Country Environmental Analysis, 2007).

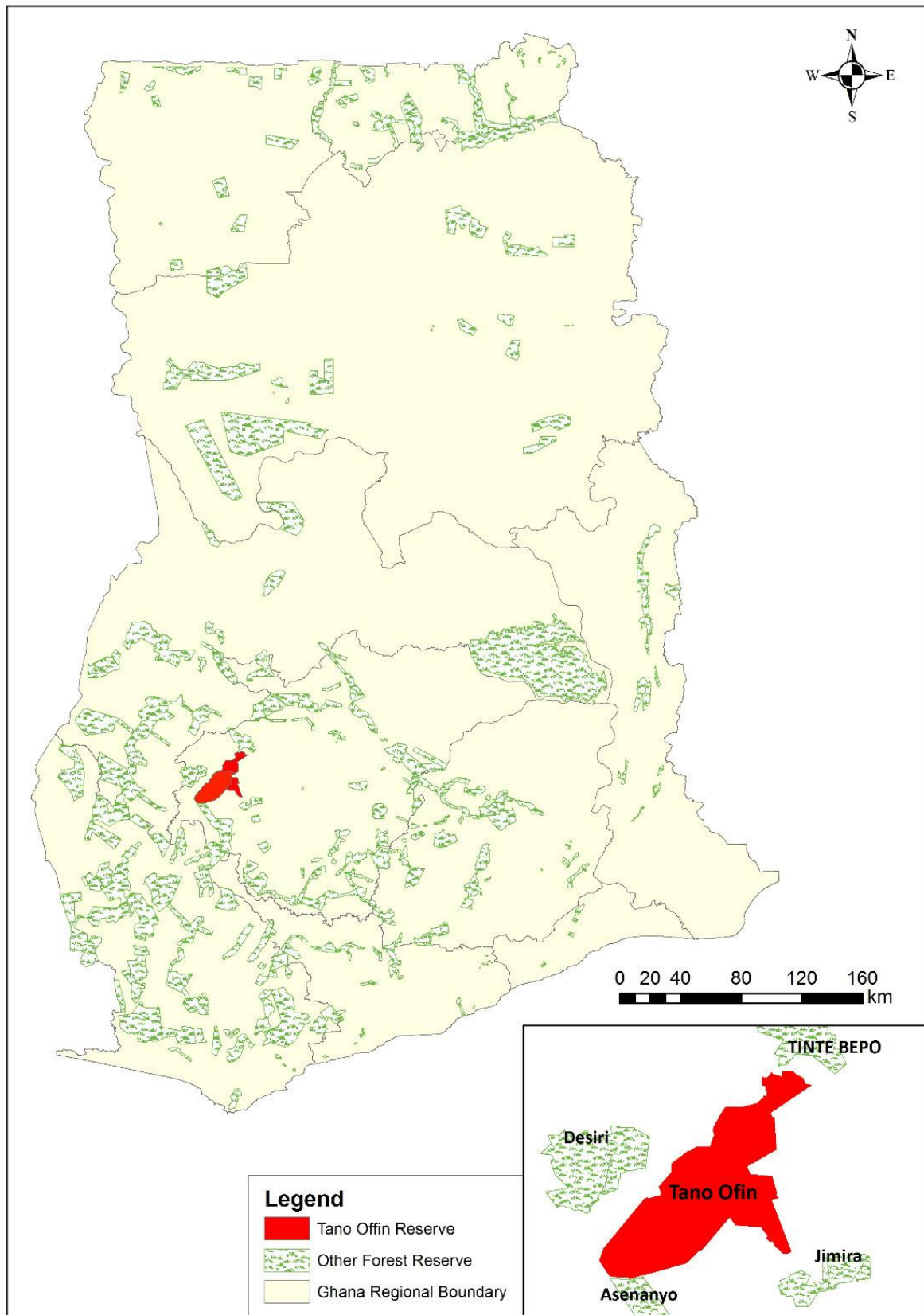
² This would be made evident in section 5.5 of chapter 5.

The forestry commission under the Ministry of lands and natural resources is a statutory body which is supposed to collate all the activities of the stakeholders of the forest including the forest dependent communities and indigenous peoples.

Forest policies have been formulated over the years, with the first being the 1989 policy with its basic aim of conserving and protecting forest reserve estates. The next was the 1994 policy which is normally referred to as the major step and revolution in the forestry institution. Among its priorities were environmental protection, sustainable production and use of forest and wildlife resources, institutional restructuring, involving local people (forest dependent communities) in management and benefit sharing. The implementation of this policy witnessed a lot of structural changes including the formation of the Forestry Commission (then Forestry Department). After two decades of the policy implementation, it was claimed to have failed in curbing over-exploitation of the forest, its resources, being unable to integrate and involve local people in management processes as well as being accused of being export-oriented. The 2012 forest and wildlife policy has been regarded as an “upgrade” of the 1994 policy, also stressing local involvement in its management and implementation processes. The 20-year implementation policy (2012 policy) has set out strategies to materialize its policy goals and objectives, but there is no clear delineation as to where local and indigenous communities fit into the management process.

The questions now concern, how the new policy “rights” the wrongs of the old policies, how the new policy tackles forest management practices and how members of forest dependent communities are involved in this process. Despite all the contributions the forest sector makes to the economy of Ghana, most forest communities are the least developed in the country. An important aspect of this write up is to find out how the forest and its resources benefit these communities (their welfare) and how the revenues from the forest are allocated and used.

A map of Ghana Showing Tano Offin Forest Reserve



Source: Author, 2016.

1.2 Problem Statement

Forests, one of the main sustaining resources of local communities and indigenous peoples across the world, have seen many epochs in their management, use and benefits. The forest sector has seen many paradigms, from market-oriented phases to state control and more recently, joint managements.³ These experiences are not different from that of Ghana since its independence and leading into its current “democratic era”. The forest and wildlife policy of Ghana which moved from state control in the 1980s to market or profit-oriented phase during the 1990s has finally reached a stage where local integration, participation and involvement is paramount in its sectors and processes. Policy documents have stressed better management for sustainable growth with local involvement, even though no such thing is mentioned in the action plan that accompanies these documents much less a mention of plans, policies or strategies that take into consideration the welfare of the over 45% populace (indigenous people) whose basic survival depends on these forest resources.

This research seeks to look at how forest policies in its “democratic” era involves locals in their implementation process, how it affects forest management and most importantly how it takes into consideration the welfare of indigenous/fringe communities (Kyirayaso in this case). It again seeks to probe into how much money comes into the community from the forestry commission⁴ and forest-related activities, and how this money is used or distributed.

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question of the thesis is:

To what extent does the new forest policy involve forest-dependent communities/indigenous communities in its management and implementation process (collaborative management) and take into consideration their welfare?

I approach this main question by probing into the following sub-questions:

³ Joint management is understood as an engagement between state and people, usually communities and NGOs where available, mostly to manage a natural resource (Sundar, 2000). Detailed explanation is given under the theoretical framework section.

⁴ Forestry commission: a statutory body/government agency responsible for coordinating the activities of the forest as well as its resource users.

- How different is the 1994 forest and wildlife policy from the 2012 policy and how has the new policy addressed the limitations of the 1994 policy?
- What strategies have been put in place to ensure the welfare and involvement of forest dependent communities in the management process?
- How much revenue comes into the community from forest resources or the Forestry Commission, and how is this revenue used by the community?

1.4 Rational and Relevance

The survival and livelihood of forest dependent communities in Ghana have predominately been based on their use of the forest and its resources. Their involvement in the management and sustainable development of the forest is more or less a continuity of their survival and existence. This is because without them having any say in the one thing that supports their existence, they would eventually lose their source of livelihood and it would invariably trickle down to the future of the youth in these communities who would seek out other forms of livelihood, such as non-existent white collar jobs in urban areas, illegal logging and chain saw operations which would further deplete the forest.

Empirical studies have focused on the top-down approach, the structural and institutional aspect of involving indigenous communities in management (co-management) without taking into account their welfare by governments and state officials. As an attempt to contribute to the academic debates of bottom-up approaches as a durable solution to resource management (forest) and co-management, this research aims to highlight aspects of local and indigenous involvement, such as the degree of participation, who actually holds power and whose knowledge carries weight and capacity building among others.

1.5 Who is Indigenous in Ghana and who is not?

This section portrays the controversy surrounding the term *indigenous* in Africa and Ghana in this case. A brief history of the colonial rule in Ghana is given to explain why indigeneity in Ghana is controversial as it is in many African countries.

From the arrival of the Portuguese in 1471 on the coast of Ghana through several conquests until it finally came under British rule in the early 1800s, the governing structure of the then Gold Coast went through a lot of transformation (Gocking, 2005). During the British rule, the “divide and rule” policy was very popular. This policy aimed at consolidating British grips on power by creating differences among the various ethnic groups that existed in Ghana. Under this policy the British exploited the ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences of the various ethnic groups, thus creating tension among the groups in order to maintain their grip of power, hence, there was no common grounds for natives to stand against the oppressor. With some ethnic groups favoured and made leaders over others, hatred and constant violence among each other became the result of this system of rule. Upon acquiring independence in 1957, a nation state was formed to merge the different ethnic and tribal groups who, through the divide and rule policy, felt no sense of common identity or nationhood. For instance, with more power and privilege given to some ethnic and native groups over others, most African presidents like Ghana’s at the dawn of independence were left to battle with the construct of a unified, cultural and homogenous state while ineffectively communicating the tribal and ethnic diversity found in the country (Anderson 1991).

The term “indigenous” raises heated debates, not only among scholars and researchers but also among governments. Indigeneity in Africa and Ghana for that matter is a difficult and highly contested issue as well as a political dilemma. Unlike the North, South and Central Americans, the Australians and Canadians who all have a long-standing history of first peoples, that of Africa is quite different because of their long and on-going history of migration, assimilation and conquest (Hodgson, 2002 and Kuper 2003,2005). It is the above colonial history that drives the government of Ghana to forge an image of a homogenous nation state and does not give much preference to the term “indigenous people” as invoked in international law. It has also been argued that recognizing some groups as indigenous over others would imply preferential treatment and an instigation of old and painful colonial sentiments among the current nation state. The position the Ghanaian government finds itself in when adopting the term indigenous can be attributed to the multi-ethnic nature of the country, pressure over land, increased population and the nation-state agenda as well as the legal implication and obligation evoked by the term indigenous. On a broader spectra, many African governments have opposed the concept of “indigenous peoples” and their entitlement to land, arguing that all Africans are indigenous and should have equal access to natural resources (Lutz, 2007). Finally, these governments have pointed out that indigenous peoples’ rights to lands, territories, and

resources contradicts constitutional provisions of African countries where “control over land and natural resources is the responsibility of the State” (African Group, 2007).

With regards to defining indigenous peoples, indigenous peoples at the international level have argued against the adoption of a formal definition, stressing the need for flexibility and for respecting the desire and the right of each indigenous people to define themselves (Dahl, 2012; Saugestad, 2001). Based on this insight, Erica-Irene Daes, the former chairperson rapporteur for the working group on indigenous populations stated that “indigenous peoples have suffered from definitions imposed on them by others” and a consequence of this is the failure to adopt a formal definition of indigenous in international law. Notwithstanding the non-adoption of a formal definition, certain objective and subjective criteria have been put in place. These include the idea self-definition as indigenous and distinctly different, a special attachment to and use of their traditional land and an experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination because their cultures differ from the dominant model (Daes in Saugestad 2001; Dahl 2012)

The most important aspect of the discussion on indigeneity in Ghana is that no ethnic group has self-defined itself as indigenous, a very important criteria under the International Labour Organization (ILO) 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) in determining indigeneity. The case of Ghana again becomes different when issues of reluctance and lack of recognition of indigenous peoples, status or needs on the part of the state governments are discussed by indigenous organizations and in the international arena (Dahl, 2012; Saugestad, 2001, pp. 307-308) . Thus no ethnic or tribal group in Ghana has self-identified as indigenous, let alone been denied recognition or indigenous status by the state. Hence with special reference to self-identification and nation-state recognition according to international law (ILO and UNDRIP), it may be claimed that such groups are difficult to identify/categorize in Ghana.

Since no ethnic group has self-identified as indigenous and there is no clear distinction between dominant-colonialist-settler and marginalised-colonized-natives (blue-water colonialism), who is then indigenous in Ghana and who is not? What criteria could be used in order not to instigate old colonial pains of division among the various tribal and ethnic groups? Hence all Ghanaians are indigenous to Ghana as all Africans are indigenous to Africa.

1.5.1 Definition of Terms

For the sole purpose of this work, *Indigenous people or communities* is defined as “...people whose continuity and survival of a particular way of life depends on their access and rights to their traditional lands and natural resources thereon...” (ACWGIP 2009, p.41). In relation to Saugestad’s (2001) idea of indigenous as a relational term,⁵ the people of the Kyirayaso community are referred to as indigenous in relation to their location (forest fringe community) and dependence on forest resources. Thus their continuity as a fringe community and the survival of their distinct way of life (farming/agriculture) is dependent on their access to and use of traditional lands and natural resources which is the Tano Offin forest reserve in this case. Simply put, the Kyirayaso community would be referred to as an indigenous community *in relation to* their survival and distinct way of life as dependent on a natural resource (forest) which is under the jurisdiction of the state and their traditional land.

Chapter Summary

Included in this chapter is a brief introduction to Ghana, a general overview of the governance system with emphases on the traditional system of governance and a retrospect of the situation and issues in the forestry sector of Ghana including the evolution of Ghana’s forest policy over the years and how involving locals in the implementation process is progressing. The questions this research seeks to probe into are outlined as well as the importance and benefits of the research. Indigeneity in the Ghanaian context is explained and differentiated from the broad “generic” meaning attached to the term indigenous. And finally the term indigenous as used in the work is defined in light of the “relational” concept to Saugestad.

⁵ A group referred to as indigenous in relation to another encompassing group... The meaning thus depends on context and is perhaps best seen as a polythetic classification (Saugestad 2001, pp.306, 308)

CHAPTER 2: Forest Policies and Co-management

INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature on the main epochs of forest policies, how each epoch translated into or impacted forest management and the welfare of the forest communities that depend on the forest for their subsistence and survival. Aspects of co-management theory are explored as an analytical framework. In co-management arrangements, governments play a crucial role as partners with indigenous and local communities regarding sustainable use and management of resources. Because of the broad definitions and enormous literature on co-management, a closer look at the concept is done through the concept of institution building, trust and power-sharing lenses.

2.1 Overview of Forest Policies and Paradigms

Forests in general are complex and contested spaces, not fixed entities whose nature can be stated in an absolute way. The way forests are understood and the way they are valued is inextricably linked with the ideas of the diverse actors who view or lay claim on them. For instance, a conservationist scientist who is chiefly interested in tropical forests because of their rich diversity of species may define it floristically, while a forester who sees forests as a resource defines them by the amount of timber they hold (Adams, 2009). Forest resources are one of the major export earnings of many countries in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Europe. Forest policies have seen a lot of regimes and epochs in their utilization and management, and apart from being one of the controversial resource in terms of its actors and management, in most countries, it is also the survival piece of many people, especially indigenous peoples. Talking about forest policies in a general context is a very difficult thing to do because every country and or continent has its own environmental conditions and situations. Therefore, any specific policy represents a distinct or unique situation, even though they all draw from the experiences of various countries in their drafting process. Issues that have prevailed in the area of forest policies will be highlighted under the following sub-themes.

2.1.1 Policy Paradigms and their Associated Management Practices

Changes in forestry policies and practices reflect a fundamental change in the society and its values (Kankaanpää & Carter, 2004). Changing policies are linked to cultural changes, even if the relationship is mediated through power relations which themselves change over time (Mather 2001, p.262; Helms 2002, p.4). With the publication of the 1987 Brundtland report and the Earth Summit in Rio Janeiro in 1992, issues and interest of national and international environmental groups began to gain political force. Simultaneously, this development favoured indigenous communities inhabiting the forests, as governments began to recognize not only their role as stewards of the resource, but also the need to grant them property rights over these lands if that stewardship were to continue (de Camino, 1999).

The “Market Oriented” Policy Paradigm

Originally, forest policies were designed to serve the interest of timber companies and their associated industries (de Camino, 1999). This phase of forest usage (mid-1900) was geared towards exploitation of timber with the main objective of supplying cheap logs to support the national industrial development at the time, and also to meet growing demand of logs from other countries with little concern for forest protection and resource overexploitation (Démurger, Yuanzhao, & Weiyong, 2009). This included mono-production (timber only), low timber prices, outdated equipment and technology, low and in some cases absent investments in resource regeneration (FAO, 1979). Degradation, agricultural expansion and state management characterised this phase.

Conservationist and Sustainability Oriented Policy Paradigm

This era for most countries, was a re-orientation of existing practices, goals and policies. This re-orientation began in most parts of the world around the early 1990s. In Europe, Asian and Africa it is said to have become more eminent after the enacting of chapter 11 of “Agenda 21” (combating deforestation) by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development’s (UNCED), Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Kankaanpää & Carter, 2004). This policy paradigm is characterized by a shift towards multi-functionality of the forest, thus a shift emphasizing the forest as satisfying a wide diversity of ecological and societal

needs and uses (i.e. the new policy epoch to promote diversification). Also related to this shift was a swing from private profits to public benefits, defined as what the society at large could benefit from the forest like renewable energy, protection of wildlife habitats, carbon sequestration⁶ and ozone protection among others. It was simply more than a shift towards multiple-use forestry, though it might have incorporated that shift, and it included changes in the means of forestry as well as in the ends, and most importantly a change in who decides both means and ends (consultation) (Kankaanpää & Carter, 2004).

In as much as conservation, sustainable forest policy and management are held in very high esteem in this epoch, they came with their own pitfalls. The re-classification of what constitutes forest to include shrub lands to meet set figures or targets is a challenge faced by these policies in some countries like China. Also in a quest to implement sustainable policies, countries like China have found themselves importing all forest products, including unprocessed log and wood chips, to meet their internal demands, thus constituting about 78% of total timber product import value in 2003 (Sun, Katsigris, & White, 2004). Again, this huge import to China takes a great toll on the sustainable management of the exporting country. For instance, in 2004, Katsigris et. al, predicted that Papua New Guinea and Myanmar, two of the leading exporters to China, would experience massive deforestation, biodiversity loss and might completely exhaust their forests in the next 10-15 years if they continued logging at the current rate. This assertion notwithstanding, over ten years down the road after Katsigris's predictions, there have been no follow-ups or literature to buttress the claim in Papua New Guinea and Myanmar.

2.1.2 Associated Management Practices

According to Puustjärvi and Simula (2002), the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) defines forest management as “a system of practice for stewardship and use of forest land aimed at fulfilling relevant ecological (including biological diversity), economic and social functions of the forest in a sustainable manner.” Changes in management arrangements of collective forests associated with the different epochs have resulted in increased roles played by rural households. This new arrangement has subsequently

⁶ A term used to describe the long term storage of carbon dioxide and other forms of carbon to either mitigate or defer global warming and avoid dangerous climate change (Sedjo & Sohngen, 2012).

resulted in new management patterns, some of which are practised in Ghana and others are not (yet). These arrangements include but are not limited to:

Sustainable forest management which is defined by the Canadian Standards Association (CSA) (1995 in Evans 1996) as “management to maintain and enhance the long-term health of forest eco-systems, while providing ecological, economic, social and cultural opportunities” and by the Ministerial Conferences on the Protection of Forests in Europe (MCPFE 2000, p. 80) as “the stewardship and use of forests and forest lands in a way, and at a rate, that maintains their biodiversity, productivity, regeneration capacity, vitality and their potential to fulfil, now and in the future, relevant ecological, economic and social functions, at local, national, and global levels, and which does not cause damage to other ecosystems.” This management practice has been adopted since the 1950s, immediately after the shift from the market-oriented epoch. Ghana adopted this management practice in 1994, following the lead of the Brazil Amazon among others in the 1980s.

The *issuance of property certificates* which resulted in the stabilization of forest tenure was one of the ways the forest was managed. Investments into forestry activities and private participations were some of the benefits of issuing property certificates. From 2002 to 2012, Ghana through this practice established 168.910 hectares of forest plantation with both the public and private sector (forest plantation strategy, 2013). In China, this management practice in 2003 translated into about 35.1 million hectares of private forest. Through this same practice, between 2003 and 2004, 80% of annual new plantations were established placing China as the leading country in tree plantation (53 million hectares) (Démurger et al., 2009).

Distributing land use rights to households was another management strategy. With this management responsibility transferred to households, it provided stronger economic incentives to plant more trees. The taungya system in Ghana, through the responsibility agreement, is a kind of incentive to communities to sustainably manage the forest. Taungya system/ projects are 3-4 year agro-forestry projects where community members are given parcels of land to nurture trees for the government under re-afforestation programs while community members are allowed to grow food crops amidst the trees for themselves. A similar case is that of China, where income derived from exploited forest is shared among households according to stipulated amounts in a responsibility agreement, and the auction of barren lands to households to reforest-ate under 30-100 year contracts also occurs (Démurger et al., 2009).

The *use of fiscal incentives by governments* to promote regulatory forest policy adoption and compliance to varying degree (McGinley & Cabbage, 2012) is a management practice and strategy adopted. Since the 1990s, Sweden employed the compensatory payments of forest owners, a system where forest owners (usually) individuals were paid off permanently to withdraw from timber production in protected areas which as of 2010 accumulated to 6700 hectares. Also, 9200 hectares was accumulated under the same nature conservation agreement in Sweden from individuals who opted to withdraw temporarily under the 50 years agreement in 2010 (Brukas, Felton, Lindbladh, & Sallnäs, 2013). Another evolving area in Sweden since the 1990s is the voluntary protection of forest certification. Under this forest certification system, forest owners with more than 20 hectares needed to arrange a management plan dividing forestland into goal classes. Inclusive in this goal set was at least 5% of the owners' forest set aside strictly for or as a forest managed for natures' value. In as much as the voluntary system has helped manage forest in Sweden, there is the constant fear that forest owners might develop cold feet at some point and resort to intensive management for timber, or that the forest estate would be sold without the voluntary commitment transferred to the new owner (Brukas et al., 2013). Such practices do not only conserve the forest in a sustainable manner, but they also promote the welfare and living conditions of the communities and individuals involved.

2.1.3 Forest Policy Effects on Welfare of Forest Dependent Communities

Many of the world's poorest people are dependent on forests for resources, and their livelihood is threatened by non-sustainable forest use (Campbell & Sayer, 2003; Sunderlin et al., 2005). Because of this, international funding organizations are seeking a win-win situation or outcome. For example, conserving forest resources while improving the welfare of local human populations (William M Adams et al., 2004; Persha, Agrawal, & Chhatre, 2011). It is also no news that rural households through the use of forest resources derive many benefits and numerous opportunities that improve their welfare. Welfare of a household has to do with the state of well-being, health, nutrition, happiness and safety of the said household (Adedayo, Oyun, & Kadaba, 2010). Forest policies come with "preferred or prescribed" management practices which have a concurrent impact on the welfare of especially forest dependent communities. Thus, there is a positive or negative effect of policies on management which trickles down to the well-being of the resource users.

Policies, even though they are designed for a particular country or community, do not fully cover the heterogeneity of the said population: there is no room to improve the design and implementation of these programs to account for regional differences in the rural populations' needs and income (Démurger et al., 2009). Designed programs do not always fit local natural, economic and social conditions, and their local implementation may differ from place to place (Démurger, Fournier, & Shen, 2005): “the one size fits all concept.” Consequently, the sociocultural composition of a settlement or group of settlements may result in a difference of interests among forest users who influence the organization of forest governance and management (Varughese & Ostrom, 2001) which is mostly not considered. For instance, the welfare of medicine collectors, loggers, beekeepers, or hunters among others are affected differently when policies that are made to “generalize” responsibilities and sanctions are applied. For example, in regions where forest resources provide the main source of energy for rural households, restrictions on fuelwood collection may hurt poorer households who depend on fuelwood more deeply than a beekeeper who might be using electricity as his main source of energy. As a consequence, the effectiveness of forest protection policies usually depends on the commitment of local authorities at the village or township level to enforce and provide financial support for villages (Démurger et al., 2009).

Some policies reduce access to resources from forest dependent people and widen the inequality gap, as is the case in the distributing of logging trade benefits in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar ((Barney, 2005; Katsigris et al., 2004). Policy reforms have substantially changed production systems in community and public forests and have again invariably changed supplies of various kinds of forest products, including non-timber forest products. Another example is the new Nepalese government policy which restricts access to local forest products like charcoal, pine resin, and sabia grass and has further marginalized poor people (Thoms 2008; Shrestha and McManus 2007; Maskey et al 2006 in Dhakal et al 2012).

Summary

The market-oriented phase and conservationist or sustainability phase are the main paradigms that characterize forest policies in most parts of the world. These policies were associated with certain management practices, which include but are not limited to sustainable production, forest certification, distribution of land rights to households and fiscal incentives by governments. Associated management practices and policies may also severely affect the

welfare of those who depend on the forest when issues of heterogeneity in the composition of the community or forest users is not considered. The sustainability of exporting timber to meet high demands from importing countries has also been an unexamined area in policies. In areas where the policy has allowed for forest entry or access, welfare has been improved, and where restrictions have been put in place, welfare has further deteriorated. It is important to note that these policy paradigms are not unique to Ghana. These policy paradigms will be further explored in chapter 4, in the context of Ghana.

Sustainability has become crucial in almost every country's forest sector and policy, and similarly, government-community mergers have become dominant in forest management arrangements. Despite the recent trend, the policies fail to look at the adverse effects on the welfare of the community partnering with the government in the management of the resource. Policies typically only concentrate on the sustainability of the forest and its associated benefits. Thus no policy specifically includes welfare of dependent communities in policy write-ups, except mentioning in passive tenses how it provides employment. A divide should be found or created where sustainability is equally significant in governments' policies as the welfare of its forest dependent communities.

2.2 Co-management Framework and Concept.

Management of natural resources is understood by Ostrom and Schlager (1996, p. 131 in Carlsson and Berkes, 2005) as the right to regulate internal use pattern and transform resources by making improvements. Management of natural resources such as fisheries and forests has taken different forms and approaches over the past few decades. The participatory approach of managing natural resources has evolved from the previous government or state management regimes. The participatory approach is said to have been developed in part as a response to the top-down, science-led transfer of technology paradigm, and also the growing body of literature which recommends state-community management of natural resources (forests, in this case). The literature acknowledges the inefficiency, the institutional and financial weakness of governments and state institutions to single-handedly manage the forest in a sustainable manner that could encourage partnership.

Participation in this context is defined as a process where individuals, groups and organisations choose to take an active role in making decisions that affect them (Wandersman, 1981, Wilcox,

2003 and Rowe et al., 2004). This definition focuses on stakeholder participation, not the broader public participation, where stakeholders here, are defined as those who are affected by or can affect a decision (Freeman, 1984 in Reed 2008). Participation has progressed from its increasing use as a norm in the sustainable development agenda of the 1990s (e.g. UNCED, 1992) to a growing post-participation consensus over best practice, learning from the mistakes and successes of its long history (Hickey & Mohan, 2005). Different terms such as joint management, state-community management, co-management among others have been used to describe this approach of management. The term co-management henceforth in this work will be used in place of participatory, joint or state-community management.

Singleton (1998, p.7) defines co-management as “the term given to governance systems that combine state control with local, decentralized decision making and accountability and which, ideally, combines the strengths and mitigate the weaknesses of each.” In a similar manner, the World Bank has defined co-management as “the sharing of responsibilities, rights and duties between the primary stakeholders, in particular, local communities and the nation state; a process as equals with the nation-state” (The World Bank, 1999, p.11) . Again co-management can be understood as “a situation in which two or more social actors negotiate, define and guarantee amongst themselves a fair sharing of the management functions, entitlements and responsibilities for a given territory, area or set of natural resources” (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000, p.1) . Carlsson and Berkes (2005, p. 67) also conceptualized that co-management literature has come to have some common underpinnings, which include the concept of co-management being associated with natural resource management, co-management as a private-public actor partnership and the concept continually stressing co-management as a process in a continuum rather than a fixed state.

According to the literature reviewed and the definitions above, co-management is deduced as the governance of natural resources between government and indigenous communities, as well as other relevant stakeholders in a continuous state. Additionally, it is a process of problem solving where responsibilities, entitlements and functions are shared, minimizing the weaknesses of each other and harnessing their strength with each member or stakeholder accorded equal rights, respect and recognition.

This notwithstanding, definitions of co-management have failed to capture the complexities, variations and dynamic nature of the current system of governance (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005).

The co-management theory employed in this research guides the analysis of materials obtained from the field and helps investigate not just the normative co-management in Ghana, Kyirayaso to be precise, but the practicalities of the processes of co-managing the Tano Offin forest reserve in the Ashanti region. Central questions of co-management are addressed under the concepts of institution building, power-sharing and trust to help ascertain the impact of such management practices on forest management and the welfare of the people of Kyirayaso.

2.2.1 Co-Management as Institution Building

Institutions can be defined as a set of rules or decision-making procedures and programs that guide interactions among stakeholders, and as such they are the foundation of all political behaviour (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Young 2002 in Sandstrom 2009). Flexible and transparent decision-making processes which embrace diverse knowledge and ideas have increasingly been sought and embedded in national and international policies. Co-management as institution building can be identified in Ghana in terms of the formalised structures, functional bodies like the Forest Commission, legislations to control and support the smooth running of the institutions and structures put in place. Carlsson and Berkes (2005, p.68, figure 2) present an image of co-management as state-nested. In this state-nested image, the state is a de facto holder of certain legal rights and resource systems. The community or private actors are entrusted with certain management rights with privileges and incentives attached. This image visualised by Carlsson and Berkes is deduced as a form or means through which co-management is institutionalized. Therefore, issues such as the nature of the process leading to decisions, the objective of the co-management process, and the question of at which stage in the decision-making process the various stakeholders are involved will all be probed.

2.2.2 Co-Management as Power Sharing

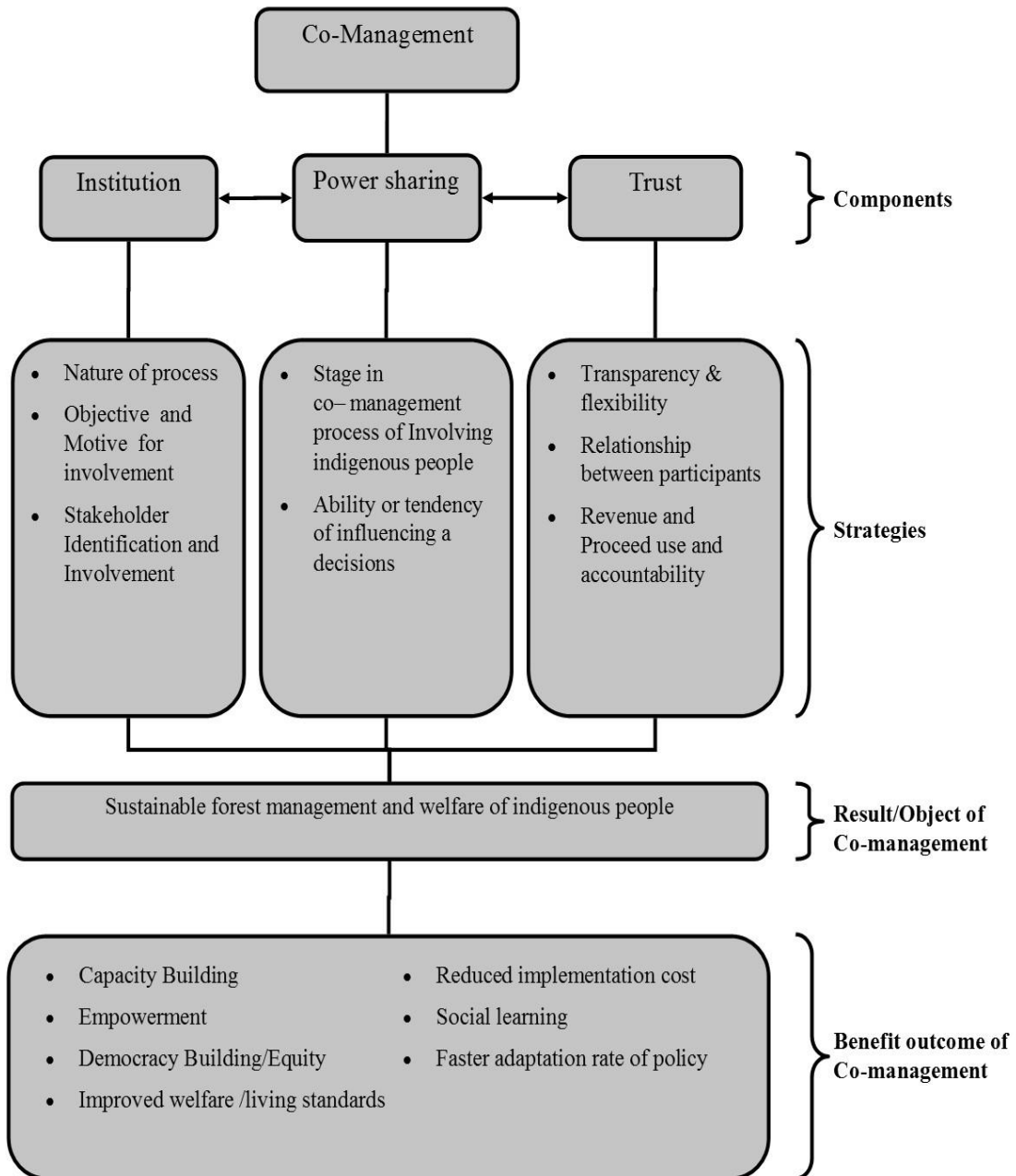
Power is often viewed as the means to an end rather than an end in itself in co-management. Thus, it is regarded as the starting point around which co-management is established or the result of the co-management process (Sandstrom, 2009; Reed, 2008). A strong aspect of co-management, power sharing, can even be regarded a disadvantage for the local or indigenous communities when, for instance, it might be seen as an attempt on the part of the government to off-load a regulatory function that has proven to be too expensive to manage (Carlsson &

Berkes, 2005, p. 71). Through measures such as state legitimization and formalized arrangements (institution building), this issue nonetheless can be made more equitable if power-sharing is viewed as a result rather than the starting point of the co-management process (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005). Pertinent issues such as the degree to which stakeholders are involved (passive dissemination of information versus active engagement), the nature of their involvement (one-way versus two-way communication), who is a stakeholder and should be represented, who holds power, how is knowledge of the local people assessed, and the quality and durability of the decisions will, among other issues be examined.

2.2.3 Co-Management as Trust

Participation in environmental decision-making is increasingly regarded as a democratic right, and has reached a stage where decision-making has to be transparent and flexible in changing circumstances. Trust appears to be a main determinant of success in many cases of co-management and acts as a prelude to building a working relationship. When institution building or policy building is achieved, and power is vested in all stakeholders, whether as an end or a means to an end, trust is needed as a wheel on which the success or failure of the co-management can be assessed (Reed 2008). By establishing common ground and trust between participants and by learning to appreciate/acknowledge the legitimacy of each other's viewpoints, participatory processes would have the capacity to transform adversarial relationships and find new ways for participants to work together (Stringer et al., 2006). Feeling a sense of ownership over the process and outcomes, long term support and active implementation of decisions are highly probable achievements with stakeholders (Richards et al., 2004) at a reduced implementation costs. Trust is usually difficult to build when local people are put constantly in a reactive position where they feel decisions have already been made and they cannot affect the said decision (mere consultation on formality basis) (Chess & Purcell, 1999). Again, when it is assumed co-management is extending state power into local spheres (Castro & Nielsen, 2001), trust is difficult to build. Issues such as how transparent the decision-making process is, to what extent can the indigenous community influence decisions, when is the line drawn/a divide created on state interference in the social, cultural and political life of the indigenous communities, and trust in the sharing of proceeds among others will be examined.

IDEAL MODEL OF CO-MANAGEMENT



Source: Author, 2016.

The diagram above describes the concept on co-management deduced from the literature reviewed. Co-management is divided into three components which are institution building, power sharing and trust. This is believed to be the backbone and the foundation on which co-management ideals should be built.

The nature of the process leading to co-management, the object of involving local people as well as local peoples motives of participating in co-management, the stage in co-management where indigenous people are involved, the relationship that exists between participants, ability of indigenous people to affect decisions, revenue and accountability are the strategies or action plans through which the components described above could be evaluated or assessed as well as strengthened. When these strategies are set right, for instance, when indigenous people are involved in every aspect of co-management, these strategies could lead to realizing the objective and target of co-management, which is sustainable forest management and the improved welfare of indigenous people.

Capacity building, empowerment, reduced implementation cost, faster adoptability of policies, and social learning are a few of the benefits both participants (government and community) would gain from embarking on such a partnership.

Chapter Summary

I have given an overview of the trends forest policies have taken over several decades; the market-oriented and conservationist or sustainability paradigms. Different management practices were associated with these paradigms, among which were sustainable forest management, issuance of property certificate, distribution of land use rights to households and fiscal incentives to forest owners and users. Welfare of forest dependent communities was said to be over generalised in policy documents, and more attention should be given to the welfare of these communities as is given to sustainable management.

The co-management theory was also explored through the concepts of institution building, trust and power sharing components. Pertinent issues such as the nature of process of co-management, objectives and motives of participation, stages of involving communities, revenue usage by the community and the relationship between participants were pointed out. A diagram was also attached and explained to better help understand the framework

CHAPTER 3: Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a justification of the choice of methods employed in this research. Discussions about the choice of a case study under methodological design and the mixed method approach are delved into. I discuss sampling and data collection techniques employed as well as other secondary data sources and the anonymity of respondents and informants. Finally, I discuss field reflections, ethical considerations and the limitations encountered during the data collection process.

3.1 Methodological Design

Case Study

A research design can be understood as the framework in which data is collected and analysed (Bryman, 2012, p. 31). A case study is a process into research where development of a particular group, community or situation is studied over a “sustained period of time”(Creswell, 2009) as an up-close examination of a subject and its related context. The case study design is used in this research for suitability’s sake. The objectives and research questions this research explores necessitate the use of a case study design. Issues of forest management and indigenous peoples’ welfare in the face of changing policies are at the forefront in most international development agendas that concern rights of indigenous people, hence these issues do not allow for statistical generalization, but rather context-bound experiences and varying results which draw on commonalities observed (analytic generalization (Yin, 2013, p. 21). In spite of limitations in the ability to generalise results to fit an entire population or ecosystem, case study allows for flexibility to introduce new and unexpected results and produce more realistic responses to situations and theory (Shuttleworth, 2008).⁷

⁷ See also <https://explorable.com/case-study-research-design>

3.2. Mixed Method Approach

Creswell defines mixed approach as the inquiry which involves collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, integrating the two forms of data and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. This is a combination assumed to provide more complete understanding of a research problem (2005, p. 4). Qualitative research is effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations. Its flexible, less formal and more elaborative nature gives the researchers the opportunity to respond immediately to what participants say by tailoring subsequent questions to information the participant has provided (Mack et al 2005). Quantitative methods such as surveys and questionnaires, on the other hand, are inflexible. This inflexibility has the advantage of allowing for meaningful comparison of responses across participants and study sites. The quantitative method requires a thorough understanding of the important questions to ask, the best way to ask them, and the range of possible responses (Mack et al 2005). These two approaches complementing each other will be used to explore how the welfare of the particular indigenous community is taken into consideration in forest policy documents of Ghana, their involvement in managing the forest and how the revenue that comes into the community appears to be used or shared.

3.3 Sampling: Selection Criteria and Size

With the objective of finding the impact of the new forest policy on forest management and the welfare of the indigenous forest dependent community, three methods were employed.

Purposive sampling, one of the most common sampling strategies which groups' participants according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question was used to sample my respondents for the interview sections (qualitative). I selected the respondents based on their roles as coordinator of the Community Forest Management Program, member of the policy evaluations board, and female participant in community forestry management board, among others. This method and criteria helped to focus on the people most likely to have experience and insights into the research topic given the limited time available for field work.

To investigate the socio-economic conditions and welfare of the indigenous community of Kyirayaso as well as their knowledge and involvement in the Community Forestry

Management Program (collaboration), the simple random and quota techniques were used to select respondents for questionnaire administration. Simple random gives each member of the population an equal chance of being selected.

When using quota sampling, it is decided while designing the study how many people with which characteristics to include as participants. Variables such as age, place of residence, and gender were, used alongside the simple random sampling technique mainly to achieve a gender and age group balance. This is because in the Ghanaian setting, males are normally the dominant or household heads; thus, if the “household” criteria would be strictly used, then my data would be gender biased. To prevent this, I combined both techniques to consciously create a gender balance. Simply put, simple random was used to select or determine which household to administer a questionnaire to, and the quota to create a gender balance by consciously administering to a male or female in the chosen household.

Questionnaires were administered to 30 household respondents in Kyirayaso and eight qualitative interviews conducted with government officials, community leaders, committee heads and some members of the Community Forest Management Programme (CFMP).

3.3.2 Accessing the Field and Respondents

3.3.2.1 The Gate Keeper (for Qualitative data)

Going to the field and not knowing anyone or having any contacts is quite a difficult task. I left to the study country not having a single contact and not knowing exactly where my study area was located. I then decided that instead of going to look for the community, Kyirayaso, a name that did not sound familiar to anyone I mentioned it to, I would rather start from the very top (the Forestry Commission’s headquarters) and work my way to the community. Upon arrival at the head office and after several interactions with people they deemed would be of help to my research, I finally got the Ashanti regional director for the Community Forest Management Program’ (CFMP) telephone number, which at this stage had narrowed down my search to a fairly small scope.

A gatekeeper is a person(s) who helps or hinders research depending on his or her personal thoughts on the validity of the research and its values, as well as his or her approach to the welfare of the people under their charge. They either hinder or promote a researcher’s access

to an area (Reeves, 2010). In the case of my research, the National Forestry coordinator at the head office was my primary gatekeeper who referred me to the regional CFMP director and then to the district officer, the range officer, the chairman of the CFMP in the community and the community leaders in that chain of referral.⁸ Having access and the approval to my primary gatekeeper was very essential to my work because gaining his support established credibility for my study with the other persons to which I was referred. A pitfall of having access to a gatekeeper has to do with the issue of control over one's work and sample, but this was not a problem in my case because I was looking for particular people (purposive) who occupied a position. Thus, these people I was looking for, "is just one person." For instance, I was looking for the coordinator or director of the CFMP of the Ashanti region, and the primary gatekeeper could not influence my sample because there is just one such person, and this was the case of my referral to the chief of the community among others.⁹ I again do not overlook the possibility of the gatekeeper influencing my respondents by talking to them before-hand to influence the kind of answer they gave.

3.3.2.2 Professional stranger handler (for quantitative data)

A professional stranger handler is also a person(s) who helps or hinders research depending on his or her personal thoughts on the validity of the research (Reeves, 2010) and is also able to integrate into the group in question to create an atmosphere of trust. Through the gatekeeper's chain, I got in touch with a professional stranger handler in the person of the forest guard of Kyirayaso. I refer to him as an internal professional stranger handler and gatekeeper because even though he works for the forestry commission, he is a member of the community where he was born and raised. Trust was built easily due to the presence of the forest guard who introduced me to the community members in the various households. In as much as his presence built trust, I feared it was going to influence the kind of answers respondents gave, but this I believe was not the case because the community members considered him of their own. Again, because the forest guard knew the community better than I, I was scared he was going to take control of my sample frame. He could determine who was to be interviewed or who to administer a questionnaire to. Honestly, he determined the administration of the first three households' questionnaires, and thereafter I explained what method I was using (random

⁸ They primarily acted as a point of contact to the next and the previous to the next, in a chain-like manner.

⁹ All these positions are occupied by just one person hence there is no bias of directing me to people he thinks would give me one-sided answers.

sampling with a conscious effort to create a gender balance) to him and asked to be given the liberty and opportunity to choose which household to administer a questionnaire to and my request was honoured.

3.4.1 Qualitative Techniques

3.4.1.1 Conducting Interviews

The aim of interviews is to obtain deep knowledge and explanation about a phenomenon from the perspective of the “subject” (Corbetta, 2003, p. 264) and through one-on-one discussions with the respondents that give “voice to the common people, allowing them to freely present their life situation in their own words...” (Kvale, 2006, p. 481). The aim of conducting interviews was to find out from the government officials precisely the Forestry Commission, what was different about the 2012 forest and wildlife policy and how that difference might translate into better forest management and improve the welfare of forest dependent communities. Another section of the interviews with the Community Forest Management Committee was aimed at finding out whether or not collaboration (co-management) was just “hear-say” or was practical and beneficial to the community at large. The purpose of the final part of the interviews was to find out from the community leader(s) if financial benefits accrued from the forest resources, who the money went to and how it was used or distributed.

The interviews with the forestry commission officials took place in their offices in Accra, Kumasi and Nkawie, where they all showed great interest and willingness to share information and have discussions where necessary. Secondary data was also given to me in the form of annual reports, strategy plans among others. Committee head and members of the CFMP were interviewed in their homes in Kyirayaso, giving us privacy to discuss issues. Even though the interviews kick-started with a question, they proceeded in a conversational manner which allowed informants to answer questions in their own words (Longhurst, 2003) and also not to plant ideas, but to access their perspectives on issues (Patton, 1980) (Patton, 1990).

I did not face the challenge of my informants resisting or having a problem with me audio recording our interview session when I sought their consent. Also, after my first interview with the regional director for the Community Forestry Management Programme (CFMP), I revised my interview guide. Some questions became irrelevant to ask because they were facts stated in

books, like when the CFMP began or when was the community allowed to start using or allowed entry into the forest, among others. This first interview also shaped my thoughts and gave me new directions as to which areas (aside from my already planned area) to probe into.

3.4.1.2 Observation

Observation, as Pauly (2010) says, is a method that provides researchers with the opportunity to observe or take notice directly of what is happening in their social settings as they interact with participants. It is also said to provide insight into the aspects of everyday activities of research participants that are taken for granted, but can contribute to the richness of the field data (Patton, 2005). It gives the researcher direct experience to the phenomenon being studied and creates an opportunity to see and hear what is happening in the social setting rather than focusing solely on narrative descriptions from participants. Even though I did not spend much time (four weeks) in the community like most ethnographic researchers do, observation was one of the tools I did not take for granted. Observing my immediate environment (the community), respondents' attitudes, choice of answers and words, manner of answering, and if the presence of the forestry officials affected or influenced their choice of words or answers were factors of which I took note. Conducting interviews and administering questionnaires in the homes and farms of my respondents offered me the opportunity to see their living conditions, conditions of work, economic activities and find more meaning in the narratives and information I obtained. My observation was not limited to social observations, but also to bio-physical changes of the land and in the forests (especially the Tano Offin forest reserve).

3.4.2 Quantitative Technique

3.4.2.1 Self- Completion Questionnaire

An open-ended questionnaire¹⁰ was used to solicit information from 30 households in Kyirayaso. The aims were to gather information on socio-economic issues and to find out how

¹⁰ Open-ended questions are ones that require more than one word answers. The answers could come in the form of a list, a few sentences or something longer such as a speech, paragraph or essay. Also see : <http://examples.yourdictionary.com/examples-of-open-ended-and-closed-ended-questions.html#T2v0x2sFxoMcX8gl.99>

much they knew about collaborations with government and its benefits or impacts on their welfare. It was also to validate some of the qualitative information as well as to help cross-check information gathered from interviews. The term “self-completion” is used because questions from the questionnaire had to be translated into the local language (Twi) to ensure the understanding of my respondents, to which they gave answers that were filled into the appropriate sections on the questionnaire. This was so because very few respondents from the community could read, write and speak English. I faced the challenge of finding appropriate words in the local language to make my respondents understand my questions best. I resorted to seeking the assistance of a translator to help translate words or sentences more appropriately. This again led to spending a lot more time filling out questionnaires, because a question sometimes had to be put in different forms and contexts without losing the intent and purpose for the respondent to understand and give due answers.

3.5 Secondary Data

Apart from articles from the internet, books, journals and magazines which greatly informed and enhanced my desk research; mainly prior to my field work, annual reports, national forest development documents, strategy plan documents, forest policy and action and working plan documents were other secondary data sources I gained during my field work and interaction with the government officials. A review and examination of these documents fuelled my thoughts and engaged my ideas for reviewing literature, nurtured my curiosity when developing my theoretical framework, and shaped and informed my knowledge, deductions and assumptions in my data synthesis.

3.6 Anonymity

Anonymity of a study area, site and individuals involved in a research project as a researcher’s responsibility has been taken as an ethical norm (Walford, 2005). This ethical norm is said to protect those involved in the research from any potential possible harm or embarrassment that might come with publishing a book or article. Anonymity is most frequently said to be initially offered by researchers as part of an access strategy to the respondents or community. Of the

total 38 people administered questionnaires and interviewed, 30 would remain strictly anonymous, -- the 30 households I administered questionnaires to. The questionnaire did not seek answers about names, social security numbers, or other information that could tie directly or indirectly to respondents.

Of the eight interviews conducted with government officials, community heads and committee members, four informants were anonymised, (thus they would not be able to be identified through the interviews), whereas, the other four were not anonymized not because I would use their names specifically in my work, but because their position or title directly and indirectly identified them. For instance, if I talk about the Konti-hene (2nd chief) of Kyirayaso, this automatically identifies him even without mentioning his name because there is just one such person with that title in the community. And this also goes for positions like the regional director of the CFMP, district forest officer of Nkawie and the policy evaluations officer. Anonymizing these people would not help my methodological design (case study) since it deals with a case specific issue and place. It again leads to the generalization of findings and outcomes which tries in every possible way not to implicate respondents or study areas. This does not give credibility to findings when it cannot actually be sourced (in the case of an interview) since the more details one gives about a site or person or study populace the harder it is to anonymize them (Walford, 2005). Most importantly in this case, no sensitive information was given by these informants that can implicate or cause harm to any respondent or the Kyirayaso community as a whole.

Summary of Informants and Respondents

INFORMANT	DATA
Policy Evaluations Officer	Interview
District Forest Officer (DFO), Nkawie	Interview
Director, Resource Management Support Centre (RMSC), Ashanti Region	Interview
Kontihene ¹¹ (2 nd Chief) of Kyirayaso	Interview
Chairman, Community Forestry Management projects (CFMP), Kyirayaso	Interview

¹¹ Kontihene is the second in command to the Chief at Nhyinahin and a resident chief of Kyirayaso hence would be referred to as 2nd Chief for the sole purpose of this work.

Male committee member, CFMP, Kyirayaso	Interview
Female committee member, CFMP, Kyirayaso	Interview
30 Community members (15 males and 15 females)	Questionnaires
A chief and elders of Kyirayaso	Focus Group

Source: Author, Field data 2015

3.7 Field Reflection and Ethical Considerations

The people of Kyirayaso who are getting accustomed to researchers “using them as subjects” of their research and programs were adamant about speaking or answering questions because there have been many researchers who solicit their knowledge, and they do not hear from them anymore (let alone know what their ideas and knowledge was used for). But after explaining to them what my research was about and telling them I was a student who sought to know about their knowledge, welfare and collaborative practices and how I got to know about them from previous researchers, they were more willing to talk and share knowledge. This notwithstanding, no respondent was compelled to take part in the questionnaire administration.

The presence of a gatekeeper and professional stranger handler in an unknown study area can be very helpful or detrimental to the quality of the study, especially the data collected. In as much as gatekeepers can positively affect research with their help in gaining access, they can also pose a potential threat of negatively limiting access to information (Reeves, 2010). Unlike other researchers, the initial gatekeeper at the forestry commissions head office did not pose the risk of deliberately selecting people who would address my plight to serve their interest. Even though the professional stranger handler had an influence in selecting the first three households as mentioned earlier, he did not influence the remaining sample, and he was asked not to plant ideas or lead the respondents on in answering questions. Having in mind all the limitations of using the gatekeeper and professional stranger handler, I constantly served as a check on the translator and professional stranger handler by resorting to different question sequencing. The presence of the professional stranger handler did not pose any threats to the privacy of the respondents since no personal questions were asked.

A researcher’s ability to cause harm to participants is one ethical issue discussed quite often in social science. With regards to this study, harm to participants would be defined as additional

stress to respondents. It was observed during my fieldwork that the people of Kyirayaso had a routine which consisted of going to their farms in the morning and returning late afternoon, except on Thursday which is their taboo day.¹² In a quest not to “cause harm to participants” by distracting them from their normal routine, I administered questionnaires to those I found at home and sought after those I needed to talk to on their farms. Apart from taboo-days every Thursday of the year) when the respondents were in their homes, the questionnaire could be stressful for them since they had to stop in the middle of their work to answer questions. Due to this, I made sure respondents confirmed they were okay to answer questions. It was explained to them that it was a voluntary process and that they could withdraw at any point in time if they deemed it necessary. With their consent sought and ample time given to decide when a questionnaire session kicked-off, I would say their answers were not influenced and no harm is believed to have been caused to them by the research.

3.7.1 Validity

Despite the willingness of the respondents to partake in the questionnaire section, there was the problem of assessing the truth in what they said. During the questionnaire administration sections, I realized that respondents were very uncomfortable when asked a question like “what is your average monthly income.” Even though I did not insist that they answer that particular question, they fumbled and took a lot of time in answering, and this was so because they feared being taxed or the forestry commission assuming they made a lot of money from their projects.

This notwithstanding, Holliday (2007, p. 10) reminds us researchers that we cannot put our thoughts above that of the people we study. And again the ambiguity in the statement of respondents of a study only reflects the contradictions that exist in the world, albeit “this must not be a sign of a persons’ insignificance” (Kvale, 1996, p. 31). As a researcher, having a critical perspective does not imply judging or evaluating the knowledge or stories of my respondents, and indeed good research becomes impossible if a researcher cannot trust what his informants say or write. I acknowledge that it is not my place to ascertain the truthfulness

¹² A Taboo day is a day set aside by the community where nobody is supposed to enter the forest to farm or undertake any activity. It is a tradition and is believed that whoever breaks this “law” incurs the wrath of the gods and invites evil to the community, such as drought or famine.

in what the respondents have said, but it is my task to reflect upon their responses and present them as they are.

3.8 Limitations

There are no perfect research designs, says Patton (1990). In every research project, there are inherent limitations, and this research is not immune from the limitations mentioned below.

Choosing a case study for my methodological design prevents statistical findings and results of this research from being generalized to fit a population other than the study area. Even though this limitation can affect theories and assumptions used to interpret data, it should also be noted that with the kind of phenomena being investigated, the case study is the best fit. In researching issues such as policy trends, policy impacts, and collaborative programs among, it is more advisable to use case studies since results and findings are usually case and location bound (analytic generalization). Policies applied to different areas or people produce different results, even though there are shared experiences and commonalities on which all groups draw knowledge.

Another limitation of the methodology employed was the language barrier. Even though I understand the local language of the people of Kyirayaso (Twi), during my first interview with the Community Forestry Management Program (CFMP) chairman, I realized I needed an interpreter. This is because, as it was okay to chip in one or two English words when speaking Twi in my community in Accra, it was not appropriate to do so in this context, and they seemed not to understand some words I used.

Translating the questionnaire into the local language of my respondents, to which they gave answers that were filled into the appropriate sections on the questionnaire was a very big challenge. This led to spending a lot of time in filling out the questionnaire, because appropriate words in the local language needed to be found to make the respondents understand the questions. At times, the questions needed to be put in different forms and contexts without the questionnaire losing its intent and purpose, so that the respondent could then understand and give appropriate answers.

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights the methodological design of the thesis, which is a case study. In seeking the impact of the 2012 forest policy on forest management and welfare of the people of Kyirayaso, a mixed approach was used to collect both qualitative answers through interview sections with officials and quantitative answers through questionnaire administration with community members. Observation and secondary data are other sources of information. A total of eight officials and thirty community members were sampled. Purposive, simple random and quota sampling techniques were combined to optimize results of identifying respondents. The gatekeeper and professional stranger handler's help in accessing the community and respondents was also discussed, outlining their limitations and strengths. Issues of anonymity, the language barrier, respondents feeling like research "subjects," possible harm caused by the research, and attempt to ascertaining truth were also discussed.

CHAPTER 4: FOREST AND WILDLIFE POLICY OF GHANA

This chapter attempts an analysis of the 2012 forest and wildlife policy of Ghana with the 1994 policy as the base of referral. The aim of this chapter is to identify how different the 2012 policy is from the 1994 policy with regards to *indigenous* peoples' welfare and forest management.

4.0 Preamble of the Policies.

With the large forest area of Ghana and its contribution to the economy and lives of Ghanaians, especially forest dependent communities, making policies to govern, facilitate and regulate its use and benefits is obviously the right thing to do. Government guidance and control over forestry activities became paramount with changes that had occurred in the nature of the forest and the local and international awareness activism at the time (1940s). Since the inception of forest management, Ghana has adopted three main policy documents. The first was the 1948 policy, which is said to have enjoyed a remarkably consistent stance until the early 1980s (forest and wildlife policy, 1994). Besides its creation and management of permanent forestry estates, it provided technical advice and cooperation in schemes for land use and erosion prevention, while ensuring the maximum utilization of areas not dedicated to permanent forest estates. The second policy document was the 1994 policy, which was adopted when the 1948 policy no longer seemed applicable due to population growth and pressures, advances in technology and science, increasing demand for agricultural land, institutional changes and the need for popular participation in the management of the resources. It was seen as a remedial measure to strengthen the forestry sector and its related institutions as it sought to develop a national forest estate, form a timber industry that was ecologically sustainable, instigate benefit and responsibility sharing in forest management and conduct coordinated research into forest issues (Forest and wildlife policy, 1994). The third and most recent, the 2012 policy; advocates for a shift in sustainable management, like financing its activities through the carbon credit scheme, allowing more civil society organizations into decision-making processes, placing more emphasis on the non-consumptive values of the forest, providing transparency in management and proceed sharing and again emphasizing local involvement in management. (Forest and wildlife policy, 2012).

In as much as the whole policy document is central to the analysis of this chapter and thesis as a whole, aspects of it would be highlighted more in order to obtain the set goals of the thesis.

4.1 The 1994 Policy in Retrospect

Illegal logging, a market-oriented regime, and unsustainable forestry practices were some of the characteristics of the forestry sector during the policy implementation era of this policy. Among its guiding principles were the rights of the people to have access to natural resources for maintaining a basic standard of living, and their concomitant responsibility to ensure the suitable use of such resources (section 3.2.1).¹³ It sought to incorporate traditional methods of resource management in national strategies where appropriate (3.2.6). A share of financial benefits accrued from resource utilization was to be retained to fund the maintenance of resource production capacity and the benefit of local communities (3.2.8). Also there was the need to develop a decentralized participatory democracy which involved local people in matters concerned with their welfare (3.2.15). In view of the importance of local people in pursuing these principles, the government proposed to place particular emphasis on the concept of participatory management and protection of forest and wildlife resources and sought to develop appropriate strategies, modalities and programs in consultation with relevant agencies, rural communities and individuals (3.3)

The policy aimed at conservation and sustainable development of the nation's forest and wildlife resources to maintain environmental quality and the perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of the society. (4.1)

Promoting public awareness and involvement of rural people in forestry and wildlife conservation in order to maintain life-sustaining systems, preserve scenic areas, enhance the potential of recreation, tourism and income generating opportunities (3.2.1) were all objectives of the policy. It also aspired to develop effective capability at national, regional and district levels for sustainable management of forest and wildlife resources. (3.2.1)

Policy Strategies

Strategies of achieving the goals and objectives were categorized under several sub-headings and themes, including:

Management and utilization; the inclusion of unreserved forests under the commission's management system for regulation of uncontrolled harvesting, expeditious collection of relevant fees and ultimate conformity with criteria for sustainable development (5.3.2)

¹³ Sections referred to in Chapter 4 are direct quote sections of the 1994 and 2012 policy under their respective headings.

The *rehabilitation and development* strategy promoted resource development programs aimed at reforesting suitable harvested sites, rehabilitating degraded mining areas, afforesting denuded lands, regenerating desired wildlife species and habitats and suitably developing wildlife potential (5.3.8).

Local community initiatives were encouraged to protect natural resources for traditional, domestic and economic purposes. The strategies also gave support to reserve such lands to enable legal protection, management and sustainable development (5.3.10).

Also under *public education and participation*, the government wished to increase public awareness and people's involvement in conservation of forest and wildlife resources, particularly where they directly affected the livelihood of communities and the stability of the environment. Emphasis was going to be placed on integrated efforts to reduce the incidence of uncontrolled wildfires and to rationalize the demand and supply of fuelwood to ease the pressure on existing forests. This was to be attained through:

Public education through the promotion and implementation of public education programs to increase awareness and understanding of the role of trees, forests and wildlife, and the importance of conservation.

Public participation which saw to the development of consultative and participatory mechanisms to enhance land and tree tenure rights of farmers and ensured access of local people to traditional use of natural products (5.5.5)

Also, positive community-building actions were promoted through national tree-planting programs which generated raw materials and income while improving the quality of the local environment (5.5.6)

The 1994 policy can be commended for being the first of its kind to tackle community and indigenous rights issues. It set the status quo by throwing competitive agendas such as “the need to develop a decentralized participatory democracy by involving local people in matters concerned with their welfare” and “viewing the importance of local people in pursuing principles ... to place emphasis on the concept of participatory management ...” among others. Again, it has been said to be a useful advocacy tool for NGOs (Opoku, 2006) because it commits in its objectives and strategies to cede greater rent to the state for the benefit of the whole society, to transparency in management, to creating meaningful jobs, to paying more attention to the environmental, cultural and social functions of the forest, and most importantly to ending timberisation. These are issues equally important to NGOs and civil society as tools of policy referral for useful campaigning.

With regards to public education and participation (5.5.5-6), the policy can be said to have earned much success in that aspect. Most of the re-afforestation of the country's lost forest was around this period, with a larger involvement of forest dependent communities. Education and awareness programs, especially about wildfires and drought management, were very intense during this policy era. For instance, some fire management members were taken to countries like Mali and Burkina Faso to observe and learn from their systems of fire management (Policy evaluations officer, 2015)

Even though the guiding principles place a lot of emphasis on local and stakeholder involvement in achieving the goals and aim of the policy, these principles were not translated into "the action plans" or strategies to achieving the goals. Placing emphasis on "using" local communities in management of the forest was not mentioned in the action plan but rather, their use for protecting the forest. Thus, under the theme *management and utilization*, the policy only talks about the forestry commission regulating harvesting and expeditious fees, while the *protection* be overseen by the local communities.

The policy again has been said to have created the impression that all agendas can co-exist, thus policy did not define roles, responsibilities or sanctions for the various actors, creating the impression that roles can be inter-twined and can complement each other (a one size fits all situation). The above reason caused it to be read as a menu of competing interest groups and it ultimately failed to address the sector-specific problems (Opoku, 2006).

4.2 The 2012 Policy in Retrospect

The forest and wildlife sector of Ghana is currently governed by the 2012 policy. Because of its relatively new status, little to no analysis has been done on this policy so far. This section outlines aspects of the new policy that are relevant to the research in question.

The guiding principles cover "the laws, institutions, systems, organizations and individuals and how they interact for the conservation and sustainable development of forest and wildlife resources. It is about the conservation of flora and fauna and the provision of forest ecosystem ..." (3.1). Among issues incorporated in the guiding principles are; employing multi-sectorial approaches to planning and management of forest and wildlife resources, encouraging collaborative resource management among communities, government and other stakeholders,

integrating traditional and scientific knowledge to promote sustainable forest management, and securing sustainable funding for the forestry and wildlife sector. A very integral part of this guiding principle is the introduction of a new governance system based on transparency, equity and involvement of local people, especially forest-fringe communities.

Aim and Objectives

The policy aims at the conservation and sustainable development of forest and wildlife resources for the maintenance of environmental stability and continuous flow of optimum benefits from the socio-cultural and economic goods and services that the forest environment provides to present and future generations, whilst fulfilling Ghana's commitment under international agreements and conventions.

The policy aspires to promote the rehabilitation and restoration of degraded landscape through forest plantation development, enrichment planting and community forestry. This practice is informed by appropriate land-use practices to enhance environmental quality, to sustain the supply of raw materials for domestic and industrial consumption and for environmental protection. Another objective is to promote and develop mechanisms for transparent governance, equity sharing and citizen participation in forest and wildlife resource management.

Policy Strategies

Under managing and enhancing the ecological integrity of the forest section, the policy strategizes to promote inter-sectorial collaboration among relevant ministries, departments and agencies concerned with sustainable management of forest ecosystems. This would be done by involving all stakeholders in forest management planning, policy formulation and decision-making.

In line with off-reserve forest development, the policy envisions developing the capacities of decentralized local institutions including the district, municipal, metropolitan assemblies, traditional authorities, and the civil society organizations in sustainable "off-reserve" timber resources and non-timber forest products (NTFPs) management.

The strategic approach to promoting transparent governance, equity sharing and citizen participation is to improve the framework for apportioning, recovering and distributing equitably and effectively forest rent (royalties) among resource owners, state and the users of the resource through consultative processes.

The 2012 policy is one that is very comprehensive and straightforward. It breaks down every policy objective into viable actions and plans of attainment. And in as much as the policy objectives outline local or indigenous community involvement in attaining the goals of the policy, these issues are not explicitly streamlined into the strategies. For instance, they are mentioned passively as being tasked to protect the forest whereas the forest commission does the management.

A problem identified in the policy that might affect the attainment of some of its goals is the lack of a properly developed capacity of the forestry commission in the areas of technical skills, financial management and procurement to manage forest and wildlife resources. Even though this shortfall is strategized to be improved through technical training and capacity building, it again recognizes the means and unavailability of funds to inhibit the correction of this identified shortfall.

Low remunerations and morale among workers and government officials have been a challenge because the sector receives a large part of its funding from international aid and draws its salary, which is generally meagre, from the government.

4.3 A Juxtaposition of the 1994 and 2012 Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana

With the two policies outlined above, the difference between them and how the 2012 policy seeks to correct the wrongs of the 1994 policy is explored in this section with more attention to local or indigenous community involvement in management and welfare. This section is also based on empirical data from an interview with the Policy Evaluations officer of the Ministry of Lands and Natural resources, the person in charge of evaluating the old policy and monitoring the new (2012) one.

One of the very first observations is that both policies have some pages in common; thus, the issues of these pages were repeated verbatim and looked as though they were a “copy and paste” job, but these seemingly similar pages were explained by one of my main informants as *issues that has not changed in the forest and wildlife sector*. These issues include a lack of funding for implementing policy, as well as low remuneration for forestry workers.

Whereas the 1994 policy was designed to address three paramount issues-- *the incidence of illegal chainsaw operations, the overexploitation of resources (timber for charcoal burning*

etcetera) and sustainable farming practices (Evaluations officer, 2015)-- the 2012 policy emphasises the non-consumptive values of the forest, creating a balance between timber production and marketing to satisfy domestic wood demand and again sustainable use and management of the forest and wildlife (forest and wildlife policy, 2012).

Issues and concerns in the international limelight have shaped and directed both policies. The 1994 policy was directed by the world forum on environmental degradation and deforestation held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and the millennium development goal. *Climate change, gender mainstreaming, the carbon scheme are current issues that have shaped the 2012 policy, keeping it abreast.* (Evaluations officer, 2015)

Timber production was the main area and concentration of the 1994 policy, and was one of the main failures of the policy. The 2012 policy has moved on to how to make more money from forest resources other than cutting down trees, like from eco-tourism, and watershed protection. (Evaluations officer, 2015)

Collaboration is a key aspect of both policies, which have improved from previous policies and *more effort and work is being put in the 2012 policy to tackle issues like beneficiary problems, access to resources, land owner complaints, compensation problems, and consent to remove trees from peoples' farms. This all comes about in the quest for improving and encouraging local management.* (Evaluations officer, 2015)

Civil society groups and NGOs were said to be too hard on government and criticised everything the forestry commission and government did during the implementation of the 1994 policy but a multi-stakeholder dialogue platform has been created wherein civil society groups and NGOs freely air their opinions, discuss issues and come to a consensus under the 2012 policy (Evaluations officer, 2015)

Both policies lack a sustaining source of funding. Projects and programs designed under both policies, especially in 1994, were hard to implement because securing funding was a major challenge. For instance, the master plan¹⁴ of the 1994 policy, published in 1996, was designed without a budgets. So *projects were done in bits and pieces, when aid or funding came from the World Bank.* Even though the master plan for the 2012 policy has not been prepared as of now, funding is been sought and provisions are being made to correct the mistakes of 1994.

¹⁴ A kind of implementation manual that details activities and strategic focus of a policy (policy evaluations officer, 2015)

For instance, proper revenue management of the institution and the setting up of a trust fund board to manage grants and funds (forest and wildlife policy 2012, p.33) are some of the strategies to correct the wrongs of the 1994 policy. Specifically, the 2012 policy projects and programs are labelled “pipeline projects” (Evaluations officer, 2015).

Chapter Summary

I have here analysed the 1994 and 2012 forest and wildlife policies of Ghana. The specific policy, which is the government’s intent or direction (Evaluations officer, 2015) in managing the said resource, has come a long way from the initial 1984 policy. The aim, objectives and strategies for materializing both policies were outlined above, specifically those in relation to local communities involvement in resource management and their welfare. A comparison between the two policies was done to show the attempt made by the new policy to correct the wrongs of the old. Among these changes are a shift to current international concerns like climate change and gender mainstreaming, revenue from putting the forest to other uses aside timber production, finding solutions to collaborative issues like compensations, beneficiary problems and consent issues. Enacting a trust fund board to oversee funds and aid as well as financial management of the institution and the greater involvement of civil society groups for better dialoguing are efforts put into the 2012 policy.

It is acknowledged that, in as much as it could be thought of to be too early to judge or analyse a 20 year policy in its 3-4th year, it should be noted that this analysis is not based on the end product of the policy implementation, but the means to achieving the set goals, aim and objectives. Thus, it seeks to look at what has been done or what is being done especially with regards to government-community collaboration and their welfare to achieving the goals and aim of the said policy.

CHAPTER 5: The Case of Kyirayaso in the Management and; Implementation Process of the Forest Policy and Welfare Considerations

I present here my study area, Kyirayaso, and its case of involvement in the management of the Tano Offin forest reserve and implementation of the forest and wildlife policy of Ghana. All empirical data is obtained from the field between July and August 2015, and presented and analysed with the co-management theory as a framework. Thirty questionnaires and eight interviews of Kyirayaso community members and government officials respectively are synthesized.

5.0 Brief History of Kyirayaso

The people of present day Kyirayaso were once residents of Krodadamu (translated from the local language Twi as Old City), a swampy and flood prone area. Their fore-fathers who used to travel in hunting camps relocated near the Kyira River, hence the name Kyirayaso (Kontihene, 2015). With a current population of over 865 people, the fringe community is located within five kilometres from the Tano Offin Forest Reserve in the moist semi-deciduous zone. The reserve covers a gross area of 402.23 kilometres square with 188.46 kilometres square constituting a Globally Significant Biodiversity Area (Tano Offin Forest Reserve Management Plan (FRMP) 2012). The community is under the rule of the Chief of Nyinahin (the nearest town) with his sub-chiefs and council of elders¹⁵ residing in Kyirayaso. Even though this community is made up mainly of the Akan ethnic group, migrants, mostly from the north who settled as labourers have now integrated and are considered part of the community. Kyirayaso, is also a cocoa growing community where the population has suffered widespread poverty and hunger due to degraded farmlands, lack of non-farm sources of income and employment, lack of essential community infrastructure and lack of credit facilities among other developmental challenges (Akamani & Hall, 2015).

Until 2004, Kyirayaso lacked the institutional capacity, the right to participate and rights to benefit-sharing of the Tano Offin forest reserve that was under high threat of wildfires, illegal logging and poaching (DFO, 2015). With the initiative of a Non-governmental organization (NGO) called the Rural Development Youth Association (RUDEYA), a Community Forest

¹⁵ A group of elders, usually from clans who are appointed to rule along with the chief, sharing opinions and making suggestions or recommendations on community matters.

Committee (CFC)¹⁶ was formed in response to the threats facing the reserve at the time. The success of the CFC led to the establishment of the Community Biodiversity Advisory Group (CBAG)¹⁷ by the forestry commission (Akamani & Hall, 2015). The Kyirayaso community has since been a development partner with the forestry commission mainly in the tree planting schemes and programs. This has alleviated the community from its previous predicaments of hunger, poaching and wildfires to a stage that can be referred to as “comfortable” in relation to food supply and wildfire management.

5.1 Socio- Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Data gathered on the age, occupation, education and income levels of respondents is presented and supported with tabular representation. Each of these section ends with a brief question(s) on the possible outcomes or implications of these variables on the co-management process and the welfare as a whole. These questions are expected to serve as a guide through the analysis or synthesis of the data.

5.1.1 Age of Respondents of the Survey

Scholars such as Keyfitz 1984 and Skirbekk 2008 have asserted that the productive age of individuals is between 15 and 49 years, but the productive age defined in the Ghanaian census report (2010)¹⁸ extends the productive age to 59 years. The age of respondents ranged from 18 to 70 years. The majority of the respondents (9 persons) were 59 years and above, constituting 30% with the fewest respondents between ages 19-29 and 49-58 (4 persons), 13.33% respectively. Below is a summary of the ages of respondents. How does the age distribution affect the community’s degree of participation or involvement in co-management initiatives?

¹⁶ A CFC is a community-based NGO which ensures that local aspirations and ideas are taken into consideration in the conservation, management and utilization of forest resources. (Nsenkyire 2001). CFCs are mostly 7-11 member groups composed of traditional leaders, farmers, migrants, women, youth and local government. (Amoako-Nuamah, 2000)

¹⁷ The CBAG dealt with issues of community involvement in management and its members were appointed through a collaboration between the community leaders and external organizations.

¹⁸ http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf. Accessed 23/04/2015

Age Group	Absolute figure	Percentage %
18-28	4	13.33
29-38	7	23.33
39-48	6	20.00
49-58	4	13.33
59 +	9	30.00
Total	30	100

Source: Field data, 2015

5.1.2 Level of Education

Education is very important in collaborative processes, but is not a criteria for collaboration. This notwithstanding, it plays an equally significant role in institution building as well as stakeholder participation at some stages of decision-making. Data from the community survey revealed that 50% of the respondents had no form of education (15 people), 7 people have received primary education¹⁹ (23.33%). 26.67% of respondents (8 people) had acquired Junior High education²⁰ with 1 person (3.33%) having attained Senior High education²¹. None of the respondents had acquired tertiary education. The table below summarizes the level of education of respondents. What possible implications can this level of education have on the partnership and on the different stages of co-management? How do these education levels affect the capacity building of the community?

Level of education	Absolute figure	Percentage %
None	15	50
Primary	7	23.33
Junior High	8	26.67
Senior High	1	3.33
Tertiary	0	0
Total	30	100

Source: field Data, 2015.

¹⁹ Primary education in Ghana is the minimum period of schooling (from grade 1-6) where basic literacy and numeracy skills are acquired.

²⁰ Junior High School (JHS equivalent to grade 9-11) is the stage where problem solving skills are developed with a Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) taken at the end of studies

²¹ Senior High School (SHS) is a three year curriculum stage which proceeds JHS and ends with a final exams called the West Africa Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE). (Ghana education Service)

5.1.3 Occupation of Respondents

Of the 30 respondents, 24 were farmers (80%), 5 were engaged in farming and other occupations such as trading and carpentry (16.67%) while one (3.33%) person was not engaged in any kind of farming activity (mason). How does the distribution influence their motive to partner? Does their occupation influence their decision or choice to participate to be regarded as equal partners?

Occupation	Absolute figure	Percentage %
Farming	24	80
Farming and others	5	16.67
Non- Farming	1	3.33
Total	30	100

Source: Field Data, 2015.

5.1.4 Income Derived from Collaborative Projects

The monthly income derived from collaborative projects by respondents who participated in the modified taungya projects was gathered based mainly on proceeds from harvest periods, since community members stated they do not make money outside the harvest period. As stated earlier, one main challenge encountered in the field was respondents' unwillingness to disclose how much they earned from farming activities for fear of being taxed. Others also feared the forestry commission halting projects if they realised they were making a lot of money from the projects. With reluctance on the part of most respondents, these were the amounts disclosed. Four people (13.33%) earned 100 Ghanaian Cedi (GHS) and below per month, equivalent to 26.037 USD²². 14 people (46.67%) earned between 101- 300GHS, seven people (23.33%) earn between 301-600GHS, two people (6.67%) earn 901GHS and above and three people (10%) abstained from disclosing how much they earned.

How do these income levels reflect the welfare of community members and participants? How does our understanding of wealth and welfare differ from the community's perspective? What role do the co-management projects play in sustaining income levels?

²²https://www.bog.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_wrapper&view=wrapper&Itemid=89 Accessed 28/03/2016.

Income group In GHS	Absolute figure	Percentage %
Abstention	3	10
100 >	4	13.33
101-300	14	46.67
301-600	7	23.33
601-900	0	0
901+	2	6.67
Total	30	100

Source: field data, 2015.

5.2 Co-management: the Community's Perspective

Co-management as deduced from the literature reviewed, is governance of natural resources between government and indigenous peoples as well as other relevant stakeholders in a continuous state or process of problem solving²³ where responsibilities, entitlements and functions are shared, minimizing the weaknesses of each other and harnessing their strength with each member and stakeholder accorded equal rights, respect and recognition.

Collaborative forest management (CFM), a form of government-approved forest management in which local or indigenous communities participate, with an objective of providing the community with social and economic benefits while promoting sustainable management of the forest resources (Bowler et al., 2011), or co-management as it was called by the forestry commission officials, meant the following in Kyirayaso as described by the respondents: *“it is an association of elders (of the community) who manage the forest and are in charge of the taungya projects²⁴”, “it is a group of people who help the government to take care of the forest”, and according to another “it is a group that help to plant trees”*.

Co- management takes different forms, and indigenous people and stakeholders are supposed to be involved in various aspects and stages of the management process. According to the

²³ Carlson and Berkes (2005) differentiate between decision-making, which is a process where actors make choices or diverse alternatives, while problem-solving is generating the very alternatives to be decided upon (p.70).

²⁴ Taungya system/ projects are 3-4 year agro-forestry projects where community members are given parcels of land to nurture trees for the government under re-afforestation programs while community members are allowed to grow food crops amidst the trees.

policy evaluations officer, *collaborations in the forest sector of Ghana takes different forms among which are, the provision of logistics to communities to undertake their day to day activities which helps to manage the forest sustainably, formation of school clubs in school around the forest to educate and sensitise the children and youth on the use of forest and its management. The formation of the Community Resource Management Areas (CREMA) is the main area where forest fringe communities, Kyirayaso to be specific, is involved in these collaborations.*

The Taungya and Modified Taungya System (MTS) which involved the establishment of plantations in impoverished forest reserves in “land-hunger” area of the high forest zone by the Forest Service Division (FSD) of the Forestry commission in partnership with farmers is one of the collaborative programs Kyirayaso participated in from 2004 (Chairman CFMP, 2015). Demarcating of degraded reserve lands, technical directions, supply of seedlings and pegs were services provided by the FSD while the farmers provide all the labour needed for site preparations, pegging, planting and maintenance and fire protection. In exchange for their labour, the farmers were allowed to cultivate food crops amidst the tree plants on the same piece of land for themselves. The farmers again were entitled to a 40% share of the returns of the investment in a 20-year period under the MTS²⁵ through signing the Benefit Sharing Agreement with the government.

The Community Forestry Management Project (CFMP), a major collaboration in Kyirayaso uses the model of the MTS, and was funded with a loan from the African Development Bank (AfDB) with the main aim of supporting capacity building and providing alternative livelihood options.²⁶

Kyirayaso also took part in the Government Plantation Development Project (GPDP). The re-forestation strategy in 2010 was funded through the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) benefit. Unlike the other projects, plantation workers and farmers were hired and paid 3.11 GHS per day²⁷ for their services of establishing and maintaining plantations within a stipulated time frame (DFO, 2016). Again, the FSD only had a monitoring and oversight role in this project. A similar project in which Kyirayaso took part again was the ECOTECH project in

²⁵ Source: National forest Plantation Development Programme. Annual Report for 2012. p.1

²⁶ Ibid 25

²⁷ 3.11GhS was the minimum wage rate per day of work for the year 2010.

2012, which also paid them 4.48 GHS per day of stipulated services²⁸ within a certain time frame (DFO, 2016; Chairman of CFMP, 2015).

The current collaboration or co-management on-going in Kyirayaso is an initiative of Nana Poku Bosumpem, the current Forest District Officer of Nkawie, who through funds allocated to the district is establishing a 50 hectare teak plantation with the MTS model to serve as a national seed orchard. This genetically improved teak from India called Kijuriwu has a fast growth rate, better trunk diameter which has great market value for the benefit of the country at large. Its difference from the MTS is that farmers get to collect seeds from the plantation which would be weighed per kilogram, and farmers are paid for how much seed they collect (DFO, 2016).

The perception and understanding of co-management by the people of Kyirayaso can be understood from the above points that, all collaborations they have had with the government to manage the forest sustainably are steered toward agro-forestry and tree planting. This can be attributed to their skewed understanding of co-management as a taungya system or project.



Farmer and Forestry Commission officials inspecting Kijuriwu Plantation in Kyirayaso.

Source: DFO, Nkawie, 2016.

²⁸ Ibid 25

5.3 Involvement and Participation of Kyirayaso

Co-management of the Tano Offin forest reserve was thought to be a formality and a work on paper, but upon arrival in the community, I interacted with community members and officials, realizing that the co-management was pragmatic and actually happening. So I sought to look into how the process was being carried out, why people participated, how it benefited them, and who the stakeholders were. This is explored under the institution building, power sharing and trust components of co-management.

5.3.1 Institution Building

The set of rules, decision-making procedures and programs that guide stakeholders' interactions established in the literature is evident in Kyirayaso through the many policies, management plans, actions or working plans, agro-forestry programs, and sensitisation programs; however, the procedure followed and programs engaged in differ in the context of Kyirayaso.

Reason for Involving community and Community Motive for Participating

The objective for involving the people of Kyirayaso and the community's reason for participating is an aspect of co-management that is not emphasized in policy documents. Arguments such as *community's proximity to the reserve, cost intensiveness and their commitment that yielded good results in previous projects* were some of the concerns raised by the evaluations officer, the district forest officer and the director of the RMSC (2015). These lines of argument have been the reason for almost all co-management processes (Singleton, 2000; Ostrom, 1990; Carlsson & Berkes, 2005). The community members' motives for engaging in co-management arrangements include *a sense of communal ownership of the forest and a quest to leave a good legacy for the next generation, and the opportunity to collect non-timber forest products (NTFPs)*. Another popular response was *the unavailability of land for long term use to grow food crops*- in other words, a lack of an alternative source of livelihood or occupation (Questionnaire response, 2015). Their reasons for participating in the co-management (agro-forestry) projects support Castro & Nielsen's (2001) assertion that the motivation to manage a resource in a sustained manner also depends on peoples' ability to be

assured of possessing long-term access to it. Having security of tenure to, and receiving benefits from a resource are critical variables for community involvement. It was thought that the community members engaged in co-management initiatives because they lacked land for food crops, since their land was mainly for cocoa cultivation. Because of the duration (10-15 years) it takes to harvest cocoa, their involvement was thought of not just as a source of alternative livelihood but also a survival piece from harvested food crops. Population growth was also thought of as an influence to their participation (Evaluations officer, 2015). Thus, due to population growth on a fixed parcel of land which cannot be extended because of its location next to a reserve, there has been a high population density/concentration around the reserve. Hence, making available agro-forestry projects that allow them into the reserve and afford them the opportunity of excess/extended land is an opportunity the community takes.

Nature of Process Leading to Decisions

I looked at the nature of the process leading to decision-making as part of institution building and participation (direction of communication flows between parties) (Rowe & Frewer, 2000)- - thus how are the Kyirayaso community members consulted²⁹ or involved in the management process of the Tano Offin reserve? The 2012 forest and wildlife policy, section 2.1.2 states “due to strong interest and rights of local communities in forest resource management, the Forestry commission has modified the focus of its management system to *ensure greater consultation* with stakeholders, especially local communities that are dependent on the forest and are willing to ensure its maintenance”. This same phrase has been repeated in other government documents such as the Tano Offin Reserve Management Plan, and during interview sections with key informants. Active participation in this context is defined to include community members’ inclusion in project identification, project design and planning, project implementation and evaluations. In the context of Kyirayaso, a different understanding was observed. As said by the CFMP chairman and another male member of the CFMP committee,

²⁹ Unlike article 6.1a&b, 6.2 and 7.1 of the ILO169 where consultation and participation are deduced as government consulting people through appropriate procedures and representatives in good faith, in issues that might affect them with the objective of achieving an agreement or consent. The people involved should have the right to decide their own priorities and to exercise control to some extent on development that affects their lives. Also, government shall establish the means where people freely participate **at all levels of decision-making** with bodies responsible for policies and programs that concern them. Consultation and participation in Ghana, and in Kyirayaso for that matter, have to do more with power play and relations where people or institutions high up the social ladder which are not necessarily affected by the decision or choices get to make and represent indigenous communities while the people directly affected are involved at certain stages, usually where labour is needed or at the implementation stages. Therefore, consultation and participation used in this context are “weaker” than the concept of consultation used in international law.

we believe the forestry commission officials are educated and knowledgeable, so when they bring projects to us we accept and give our best (2015). This concurs with Reed (2008, p. 2419) assertion that consultative co-management is just enhancing project implementation, the only stage in which Kyirayaso members are involved, through local labour and knowledge.

With regard to the direction of the flow of information, Rowe and Frewer (2000) view information dissemination to passive recipients as communication, gathering information from participants as consultation and participation as a conceptualized two-way communication between participants and exercised organizers where information is exchanged in some sort of dialogue or negotiation. Based on the above and empirical data from the community, it can be agreed with Rowe and Frewer that the direction of the flow of communication in Kyirayaso is consultative (one-way communication), thus gathering information from participants and enhancing project implementation through local labour and knowledge.

Stakeholder Identification and Involvement

A related aspect of institution building is stakeholder identification and involvement. A stakeholder as defined earlier is one who is affected by or can affect a decision (Freeman, 1984 in Reed, 2008). Stakeholders identified by a key informant (evaluation officer) included members of the national house of chiefs, the regional house of chiefs, district and community representatives of forest users, and NGOs against farmers residing in fringe communities who are involved directly with co-management and are affected most by decisions made by the aforementioned stakeholders. The scenario outlining decision makers versus primary stakeholders (Kyirayaso members) can be explained from the Richard et. al (2004) perspective that participants have to have the technical capacity to engage effectively with the decision. This is also observed from the empirical data. In Kyirayaso, 50% of respondents have no form of education (both reading and writing), nobody had attained tertiary education,³⁰ and only one person (3.33%) had senior high education.³¹ This statistics puts them in the context of the Richard et.al (2004) assertion of not being able to engage effectively with technical decisions. Reed (2008, p.2422) has said the above situation is analogous to Rowe and Frewer's one-way flow of information from decision makers to stakeholders. This notwithstanding, when

³⁰ Tertiary education is a three or four year curriculum which proceeds senior high education. It awards a degree, diploma or specialized certificate. Examples of tertiary education include, university, polytechnics, and technical schools, among others.

³¹ Ibid 20

technical decisions are involved, educating participants, developing their knowledge and a sense of confidence helps for meaningful engagement in co-management processes.



Kyirayaso community member planting teak amidst her food crops.

Source: DFO, Nkawie, 2016.

5.3.2 Power Sharing and the Possibility of Impacting Decisions

When institution building is done appropriately, for instance when clear objectives and goals are established from the on-set, relevant stakeholders are identified, educated and motivated. When stakeholders are involved in all stages of the co-management process, when there is active participation (two-way rather than one-way communication), power is vested in both parties in the process of co-management. Thus, power sharing is the result of the co-management process (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005, p. 66). Power sharing in the Kyirayaso community is not very evident in the co-management process except in the implementation

phase. This is assumed because community members and leaders do not have the autonomy to initiate co-management processes such as identifying projects, or to be involved in planning and evaluation processes except in the implementation stage. When partnership or co-management only applies to one or few stages of the management process, the community can be said not to have the autonomy to decide their priorities or exert power in the process. Thus, power is not shared equally. Kyirayaso in this case, is not considered equal partner.

The community's ability or chances to affect a decision are very low and unlikely, because as shown in the literature and empirical data, the community is only involved in the implementation stage of the co-management process after the technical decisions have already been made by the decision-makers. This became evident when this conversation ensued between a forestry commission officer (FCO) and a community member (CM), both of whom are anonymous.

FCO: *How is the planting going?*

CM: *It is going well except that the seedlings did not come early, so from the time we planted it hasn't rained and some of the seedlings have started dying.*

FCO: *okay ... it is not our fault the seedlings arrived late. We could not get some of the seedling bags³² to buy even from the nation's capital.*

CM: *...but sir, do you know that the seeds grow equally well in pure water sachets³³ and moreover they are easy to acquire at no fee.*

FCO: *Yes I know... but these decisions are made "up there" (his superiors) and we cannot do anything about it. We would be in big trouble if they (his superiors) come over to inspect the nursery and realise we used pure water sachet bags.*

CM: *I understand. Do you remember the nursery we did in the community some time ago? Do you remember how our seedlings were looking healthy? ...but we used the pure water sachets and nothing happened. And because we had to carry the seedlings from the community to the farms the seedlings were not looking weak when they got here. Thus when the Forestry commission transports the seedlings from outside the community here it is exposed to strong winds and harsh climatic conditions and they look weak and unhealthy upon arrival. So I advise the nursery is set up in the community.*

³² A polythene bag with an approximate breath of 3.5 inches and a height of 4 inches into which seeds are nursed into seedlings, then transported to the field for planting/ transferring into the ground.

³³ Another kind of polythene bag almost the same size as the seedling bag in which distilled water is sold (as it is in bottles in other parts of the world) to the general public. It is relatively easier to acquire and cheaper than bottled water.

FCO: *I know... but some of these projects are national projects and the decisions have been taken from “up there”. There is nothing much we can do about it here.*

The above conversation indicates how the people of Kyirayaso, who are partners with the forestry commission in the implementation process, cannot affect decisions that concern their very existence and the partnership.



Kyirayaso community member's being helped by the DFO to transport seedlings to their farms.
Source: DFO, Nkawie, 2016.

5.3.3 Trust

Trust an essential tool on which the success or failure of a co-management process depends. Trust is said to be very difficult to build when indigenous peoples are constantly put in a reactive position where they feel decisions have already been taken and they cannot affect them. The master-servant relationship described above, where community members think and feel that the forestry commission officials are more knowledgeable and obey whatever word, proposal or project, that comes from them can be said to have easily created trust among parties. This situation causes the forestry commission to veto decisions when relating to these communities. A respondent who was asked what they thought could be done differently about

the co-management program replied *the officials are knowledgeable, they have all the necessary education and know-how so we believe and trust whatever decisions they make is for the good of us all. So they should continue doing things the way they are.*

These power relations and concurrent trust have created a very conducive and good relationship between forestry officials and community members. This is so because in other districts, fringe communities such as Ayigbe town, where there is abundance of land aside the reserve for agricultural activities, the community members do not embrace co-management. The people of Ayigbe town engage in and encourage illegal chain sawing and mining in their reserve, and they have a bad relationship with the forestry commission.

Some respondents from Kyirayaso said; *we revere the officials a lot, because without them survival is very difficult in this community. If we do not get a taungya project in one single year we feel very miserable because it is through these projects that we get food and the sale of the excess food crops that we make some money.*

And this was confirmed by the district officer who said *the community leaders are always at our door pleading for projects to be brought to their communities, and so they always try to keep a good relationship with us in order to get or be involved in projects* (2015).

Even though scholars such as Burton et al., 2004, Cosgrove et al., 2000; Duane, 1999; Handley 1998; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000 (in Reed 2008) have all said that consultation fatigue may set in when stakeholders are increasingly asked to take part in co-management processes and their involvement has gained them little reward or capacity to influence decisions that affect them. But this is likely not to be the case in Kyirayaso, because the people do not have an alternative livelihood and income source. They lack land for subsistence agriculture, hence they maybe more likely to accept whatever project that comes to them, even if only at the implementation stages.

Trust among community members and their leaders is not absolute when it comes to revenue received on behalf of the community by the chief and its usage. This will be discussed under the proceed and revenue sharing section of this work.

5.4 Welfare Conditions of Kyirayaso

The welfare considerations of forest dependent communities are generally lacking in literature, as is the precise case in the forest and wildlife policy of Ghana. This section, which seeks to answer the second research question of how the policy takes into consideration Kyirayaso's welfare, uses empirical data from the field.

Community members, even though they are not rewarded in monetary value for most of the co-management projects they participate in, consider their welfare more in non-monetary terms. This welfare mainly consist of resources generated in the long-run or in petty income generated from the sale of the said resource. Co-management participants boast of having abundant food all year round and refer to the hunger periods the community experienced due to fire outbreaks prior to their involvement in any co-management arrangement. One respondent recounts her experience by saying; *I remember those days when what to eat was a problem, fire raged through our cocoa farms leaving us with nothing to pick up from the ashes, and we were not allowed entry into the reserve by then to even pick up fruits or snails (NTFPs). Life was miserable. The first taungya project they brought to this community in 2004 was like our saviour. We gave our best, kids even helped on the farms and I believe it is the eagerness at which we do the projects and our hard work that makes the forestry commission bring us more projects. We the community members do not take for granted these projects because we know how difficult life was without them.*

Another respondent, when asked about the benefit of the co-management to her and the community, replied *we are better off than most of the communities living around the reserve. They do not get projects like we do. When we go to church and we are asked to make contributions towards an event, we the people of Kyirayaso are able to afford and sometimes pay more.*

The Kontihene (2nd Chief) also said *“I can confidently tell you (researcher) that 90% of all the concrete/block houses³⁴ you see in this community is built from moneys we make from selling our produce (food crops) from the reserve during harvest periods.*

The director of the Resource management Support Centre (RMSC) also says *even though we do not pay them in cash for their services, we support them with items such as cutlasses, hoes,*

³⁴ Concrete/ block houses are house built from cements, stones and sand through the laying of blocks, and these houses usually roofed with aluminium sheets. This is the modern form of building that has replaced the old tach houses built from mud and bamboo sticks roofed with mostly raffia leaves or straw.

wellington boots and protective cloths which we believe goes a long way in enhancing their welfare.

Again, a majority of the respondents said they have seen and are still seeing their children through school. They are also able to “put food on the table” for their families through the projects.

The current minimum wage is pegged in Ghana at 8 Ghana Cedi (GHS),³⁵ thus the minimum amount one receives per day of work and is calculated by 27 days of the month.³⁶ The minimum wage of rural folks (Kyirayaso members in this case), is difficult to quantify (the intangible). Thus it is hard to attach monetary value to their form of reward or wage for the job they do (food crops). With food crops being their form and medium of payment for the many hours they work, an attempt to classify them based on minimum wage rates and poverty lines would put them below the poverty line (regarding them as poor people) because their reward is not monetary. Simply put, the fact that their medium of payment is non-monetary does not make their reward (food crops) less of a survival piece and a welfare enhancer.

This notwithstanding, their monthly income, which was based on the sale of food crops mainly plantain during the harvest periods, showed that, per the minimum wage in 2015 which was 7 GHS, 76.67% of the respondents earned above the minimum wage, 13.33% (four people) earned below the minimum wage.

Aside the food crops derived from the co-management projects under the Modified Taungya system (MTS) models, a beneficiary arrangement of 40% share in returns from the investment called Benefit Sharing Agreements (BSAs) is signed. This investment is expected to yield in about 20 years, so the agreement insists on a next of kin. Even though this welfare package might not be enjoyed by some of the farmers, they are confident that their children and grandchildren would benefit from it and still hope to be alive to reap their reward. A respondent had this to say about it *I am old now and cannot cultivate much hectares like I use to so I have just enough food crops to sustain me and do not make any extra money from selling excesses (trying to explain to researcher why her monthly income was low). I wish that our share of the agreement would be given to me now so I can enjoy the fruit of my labour before I pass away. The 20 years is too long.*

³⁵ <http://citifmonline.com/2015/10/03/daily-minimum-wage-increased-to-gh%C2%A28/>. Accessed 25/03/2016

³⁶ <http://www.mywage.org/ghana/home/salary/minimum-wages>. Accessed 25/03/2016

Empowerment is thought of as one of the philosophies that underpins stakeholder participation (Reed, 2008). Kyirayaso members have been empowered through their participation in the agro-forestry projects. Co-learning and adoption of best practises of planting, nurturing and maintenance are precisely what community members have learnt according to the survey. The Chairman of the CFMP says *we have learnt hybrid-ing thus how to mix indigenous tree species with exotic ones to get quality trees with shorter maturing time, thick trunks and high market prices.*

A male member of the CFMP Committee also said; *I have learnt how to peg.³⁷ I do not plant my crops without pegging anymore. The pegging prevents strong winds from up-rooting crops like it used to. Intervals between crops also helps it grow better giving the branches more space to crown.*

Capacity building for the 7-11 member committee body of the CFMP is done by the forestry commission prior to their selection into the committee. They are schooled on forestry issues, developments in the world of forestry, tool and safety measures among others. It is out of the many people nominated by the community who are trained and 7 to 11 people are selected based on their performance (Director, RMSC, 2015).

Fire management through sensitization programs, fire ride construction and maintenance, fire patrolling (National forest plantation development program, 2012) and exchange courses with other neighbouring countries are some of the ways they have been empowered. The community boasts of fewer incidents of fire outbreaks since their partnership with the forestry commission. They have been empowered to curtail fire outbreaks even in the absence of the forestry officials.

5.5 Proceed and Revenue Sharing.

This section addresses the last research question of how much money comes to the community from the forestry commission and reserve and how the revenue is used by the community.

Prior to colonization, lands were the sole property of the chiefs, their paramountcy and the community. During colonization all lands were vested in the central government with the chiefs

³⁷ It is a tree spacing technique in which sticks with one end sharpened are stuck in the ground at an interval usually 2 by 2 meters depending on the expected results.

still being recognised as the custodians and care-takers on behalf of the government. The day-to-day running of the forest, its maintenance, development and so on was done by the forestry commission which is charged with the task of collaborating with the communities. With this management strategy agreed upon, all revenues generated from the forest are disbursed in this manner: the forestry commission (which is non-profit making organization) is required to deduct management fees, thus leaving it with just enough money to sustainably run the forest. The remaining which is regarded as profit (usually 50% of the revenue), is paid to the custodian of the said land; the office of the administration of the stool³⁸ lands (Director RMSC, 2015).

The above described profit is composed of the entitlements which come in the form of revenue, rents, dues, and royalties to the stool lands. Its disbursement is stipulated in chapter 21, article 267, clause 6 of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana and it states:

10 per cent of the revenue accruing from stool lands shall be paid to the office of the administrator of stool lands to cover administrative expenses; and the remaining revenue shall be disbursed in the following proportions-

- a. Twenty five per cent to the stool through the traditional authority for the maintenance of the stool in keeping its status;
- b. Twenty per cent to the traditional authority; and
- c. Fifty-five per cent to the district assembly, within the area of authority of which the stool lands are situated.

The 25% to the traditional authority (also the paramount chiefs) is used for maintenance of their office. It is assumed that this money is used to take care of the chief's subjects, receiving visitors and buying regalia to attend state functions. The 20% which goes to the traditional council is used for social development more geared towards chieftaincy, for instance in putting up a traditional palace. The bulk of the money, which is the 55% to the district assembly, is used for district development projects as well as the running of the district assembly, such as paying salaries of workers (Director RMSC, 2015).

With the government not having the constitutional right to question the use of the revenue that goes to the office of the administration of stool lands, and upon realization that these moneys do not necessarily trickle down to the community and farmers who work in the forest, a Social Responsibility Agreement (SRA) was introduced to circumvent the constitutional provision

³⁸ Used to represent traditional or local symbol of authority and jurisdiction usually over an area land.

(Director RMSC, 2015), since changing the constitution is nearly impossible. An SRA is an extra mode of payment (in cash or kind) made by a concessionaire³⁹ to the community he is operating within. It is 5% of the total value of the forest under his concession (stumpage) given to the community leader. This extra payment has usually been in cash and unlike the other payments, it is paid directly to the community leader (chief).

According to the DFO, *the money is not handed over to the chief privately but rather a committee comprising representatives from the district office, the church in the community where applicable, women groups, farmer groups among others is formed where the amount being paid is made known to them. Also the community through their representatives meet to discuss what they wish the concessionaire does for the community or what the money is wished to be used for.* He disclosed that *the communities always have a huge budget far from the SRAs value but usually the community and concessionaire come to an agreement which is always bigger than the said 5% stumpage* (2016). And concessionaires are always willing to give more than the 5% usually to keep a good relationship with the community.

Again, after the district forest office has seen to the payment of the money, the chief's subjects are expected to hold their leader accountable for the use of the money. Aside from the acknowledgement of the school in Kyirayaso being built by the major concessionaire J. D Kwarteng, a handful of the respondents cited examples where other donations in kind such as roofing sheets used to replace a damaged school roof were used for the personal gains of the chief at the expense of the larger community welfare. It is issues of this sort that build mistrust between the community leader and his subjects. When the Kontihene (2nd Chief) was asked about accountability of the SRA to the community he said our leader lives in Nyinahin (the nearest big town) and he being our leader all we can say is “se ye papa didi a na yen su ye didi.” This is directly translated from Twi as “if our father eats, we also eat.” It can be inferred to mean “once their leader receives the money on behalf of the community, they are okay and assume it has been received by all.”

This kind of reverence, supremacy and unquestioning nature is very strong among the elderly generation, but in recent times the youth have been very proactive and vocal about the use of such moneys. Although not in Kyirayaso, the DFO gave an instance where the chief of a community sought refuge in this office when the youth were about to lynch him for SRAs

³⁹ It is a timber company or private individual who has been given tree felling rights over an area either in a long or short-term period. The area of land where felling rights are given is called concession and the company or individual in charge is called a concessionaire.

unaccounted for. And he added that, in communities where civil society groups are present and with a youth presence, the leaders are always on their toes to make good use of the SRAs, since there have been incidences of chiefs being dis-stooled for such reasons (2106).

Chapter summary

This chapter analyses data collected during fieldwork. A brief history of the case study area, Kyirayaso, is given with the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents analysed. Information gathered confirmed their age groups, income derived from collaborations benefits, level of education and occupation. The community's understanding of co-management as a taungya system was also established. The practicalities of the co-management process in light of the components of the theoretical framework was explored. Facts, assumptions and predictions about why community and government bodies partook in co-management, benefits accrued to both parties, the nature of the process leading to participation, who primary stakeholders were, whose knowledge held power, power relations and trust were established as key issues. Non-fiscal forms of reward for participation were identified, and the controversies surrounding proceeds received and how they were used was ascertained.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This chapter recaps the main study objectives, approaches to obtaining those objectives, study findings and analytical contributions that involve indigenous communities in managing a forest resource as well as their welfare considerations under policy documents.

The underlying theme of this thesis has been the practicalities of involving indigenous communities in managing a forest resource and how the forest and wildlife policy considers the welfare of the resource users. In particular, I was interested in investigating the changes the 2012 forest and wildlife policy of Ghana has brought on board and how it seeks to translate the changes into improved forest management with forest dependent indigenous communities while taking keen interest in their welfare.

6.1 Summary and Approaches

The study sought to provide insight into management of the Tano Offin forest reserve and the many agro-forestry projects and programs through the narratives, stories, views, knowledge, experiences and reflections of the indigenous community of Kyirayaso.

The thesis started off with a brief introduction to Ghana and, its governance structure including the traditional governing structure under which Kyirayaso falls. Additionally, I discussed the forestry sector of Ghana and its long contribution to the lives and economy of the state. Briefly, I also reviewed indigeneity in Ghana, how the term and concept is perceived, and its minimal use by the government in order not to instigate old colonial pain among the Ghanaian populace and promote the nation state agenda. Equally important, no ethnic or tribal group has self-identified as indigenous, nor has any group put the state or government in a position of either recognizing them or not. An aspect of the African commission working group on indigenous peoples' definition adopted in 1994 was used to define indigenous communities for the sole purpose of this thesis. Indigeneity defined for the purpose of this work was further explained by relating the notion to Saugestad's (2001) concept of the term indigenous being a relational term-- usually a group of people are indigenous in relation to another group of people, a resource and culture. Other characteristics or criteria for identifying indigenous communities

are their self-identification as distinct, and the idea that these communities use/stay on a piece of land usually their ancestral land.

Trends, paradigms and epochs that forest and wildlife policies have taken in many countries were discussed, pinpointing the market-oriented and conservationist or sustainable paradigms as the main ones. Management practices that came to be associated with each epoch included mono- production, sustainable management, property certificate issuance, fiscal incentives and empowering households through distributing land use rights. I also touched upon the effect these policies and epochs had on the welfare of forest dependent communities, like not taking into account the heterogeneous composition of a population.

The co-management theory was explored under the concept of institution building, trust and power sharing components. Strategies such as the nature of process leading to participation, transparency and accountability, relationships between participants, and the ability or tendency to influence a decision were highlighted to ascertain the practicalities of co-managing the Tano Offin forest reserve as well as the welfare conditions of Kyirayaso community members

A case study design with a mixed method approach was used to ascertain knowledge of partnerships in managing the forest resource, why they participated in the management, and their knowledge of the community forest management committee from thirty community members and eight government officials and community leaders. Simple random sampling technique was combined with quota technique to give each community member equal chance of being selected, and to consciously create a gender balance. The flexibility of the chosen methods helped to build coherence between the chosen theory and analysis of the field data. Issues of anonymity, ethical considerations and limitations of the choice of methods were also deliberated.

Sections of the 1994 and 2012 forest and wildlife policy of Ghana which were of importance and relational to the set objectives of the work were highlighted. An attempt was made to analyse both policies as well as to compare and contrast (juxtapose) both policies to determine the changes and how it sought to incorporate the improvements into a better management model in relation to indigenous communities.

Strategies for assessing how co-management is undertaken were done in line with the theoretical components of trust, power sharing and institution building. All empirical data collected from the field was synthesized in alignment with the co-management framework in

light of Kyirayaso as a case of study.

Findings and study outcomes are discussed in detail in the subsequent section.

6.2 Findings

Unlike in many co-managements where there is conflict or friction between the government and resource-using community, there is a good and cordial relationship between Kyirayaso community members and the forestry commission officials. It is rare for “non-traditional or non-indigenous” peoples to respect the taboo days of traditional peoples. This taboo day is observed by both the forestry commission officials and the concessionaires as a sign of respect for their tradition.

This relationship has created trust and enabled a conducive environment for co-managing the Tano Offin reserve. This relationship has also been attributed to Kyirayaso community members’ lack of an alternative source of livelihood or income. Thus the community keeps up the good relationship in order to get involved in projects, while forestry commission officials also do likewise for labour supply.

It was found that, despite education levels of community members being low, capacity building, social learning and managerial empowerment were a few things they acquired from their participation. Regardless of the technicality of some of the knowledge systems in forestry, community members have braced themselves with skills of hybriding to better their yield both for food crops and cocoa plantations. The rapid spread of fire, which used to be their greatest fear during the dry season, is under control through fire management skills they received from empowerment programs and training.

In as much as the 2012 forest and wildlife policy was explicit on trends and new innovations, it remained quite indifferent on local and indigenous community involvement. Despite the indifference in involving local communities, it was discovered that strategies were being put in place in order to avoid making the mistakes of the old policies like seeking/applying for funding to implement policy, as opposed to the former situation where they waited for funding from international aid organizations. The misappropriation of funds is also to be curtailed through the setting-up of a management board. The commission envisions being in charge and training workers on needed skills to improve over-all management.

Welfare as understood or perceived by the indigenous community of Kyirayaso more or less concurs with the definition of Adedayo et. al 2010, which has to do with the state of well-being, health, nutrition, happiness and safety of the household. This definition as well as their perception does not necessarily have to do with money or fiscal incentive and reward. For instance, they measure their welfare in how much food crops they have. It is through their food crops that they measure their happiness, health and well-being, and they only make money from selling their excess.

It was assumed that co-management of the Tano Offin forest reserve with the people of Kyirayaso was non-existent or only existed on paper, but contrary to this assumption, co-management is existent and practical. Instead, what needed a second look was the mode or manner in which it was carried out. It was ascertained that the indigenous people of Kyirayaso could not affect decisions and were only involved at the implementation stage or where labour was needed in the whole management process.

Also, it was discovered that, stakeholders were not necessarily resource users (primary stakeholders) because there is a lot of chain of power/ authority, structures and hierarchy when dealing with traditional or indigenous communities in Ghana. These hierarchies and power relations do not always permit those affected most by a situation to be on decision-making boards. This situation is at variance with ILO 169 article 6, which talks about primary stakeholders being able to decide their priorities and being involved in all stages of the decision making process.

In sum, in as much as co-management has been a strategy to remedy the top- down approach of both institutional and functional management of natural resources, this approach (top-down) still exists in Kyirayaso.

6.3 Concluding remarks

Analytical contribution

The study sought to contribute to the understanding and process of involving indigenous communities in managing natural resources (forest) by providing insight into the practicalities of co-management from the perspective of the people of Kyirayaso. The continuity of the co-management projects for the good of future generations and the quest to leave a good legacy

were identified by community members as reasons for getting involved in management despite not receiving fiscal benefits. Again, their motivation and hope of getting food crops to better their welfare instead of money was highlighted as well as the strong bond between partners that has enabled trust and a good working environment. Some lessons that have emerged and can be integrated into policy formulation and managerial processes include:

Constitutional Reform or Amendment

The supremacy and reverence enjoyed by the chieftaincy institution under the constitution of Ghana permits and/ensures that article 276 of the constitution⁴⁰ is carried out but does not see to the aftermath of the payment or distribution. Thus, as pointed out by my informants, while giving the chieftaincy institution all due diligence, some sort of check must be put in place or a status-quo must be set as to what the received money should be used for, in developmental terms. Moneys received should be able to be accounted for. If not in cash, it should be in kind, like how many bore holes were drilled from royalties, or how many schools were set up.⁴¹

This accountability would not only see that community leaders do the right thing or that money was being used for the right purpose, but would accelerate development of poor, rural communities, which would help the country achieve its millennium development agenda of alleviating and eradicating extreme poverty. It would also lessen the call and burden on government for such developments.

Bottom- up approach to Policy formulation

As a policy practice, the formulation and implementation of both the forest policy of Ghana and the management plan of resources in their current democratic era are being geared more toward the usual top-down approach. Management information and decisions are centralised with less resource user participation. Thus users are kept outside the decision-making process (Hanna 1995 p. 62). In-as-much as the concrete co-management projects can be commended for making the lives of the community members better, it is also noted that the input of community members/resource users input is not considered in the early stages of the process, so the position of users relative to the locus/source of authority is farther apart (Hanna 1995).

⁴⁰ Refer to page 55 on proceed sharing and allocation for the office of the administrator of stool lands.

⁴¹ This concern was raised by Policy Evaluations officer as a solution to usage of SRA's.

Much can be harnessed from the projects if there is significant participation of user groups or communities in all levels of management and decision-making. As suggested by Hanna (1995), there should be active consultation: an arrangement where formally defined decision-makers allocate a portion of their decision-making task and responsibility to resource users through *at worst*, soliciting their advice with the explicit intent to follow the advice given (emphasis added, p.62). In moving forward, subsequent programs and projects should take into consideration resource users' views, as they can serve policy effectiveness and capacity building for both parties. And it should be kept in mind that co-management is a process rather than a tool of management.

Participation durability

The longevity of the agro-forestry projects is of great interest to the nation not only in fulfilling international obligations but also to the many documents ratified to preserve and manage the country's forest resources in a sustainable way. In addition, the continuity of the agro-forestry projects is paramount to the survival of the Kyirayaso community, so for a win-win situation and the prevention of the participation/consultation fatigue as asserted earlier,⁴² an assurance of participation, sustainability and policy effectiveness should be guaranteed. One way of achieving this is by making the community be part of the decision-making process, as it would also serve to bridge the gap in knowledge systems.

Another way is to circumvent the non-monetary reward of participation and the long wait for benefit agreement maturity (20 years) through the provision of a scheme or support fund, such as a health insurance scheme and loan fund. This is because health and well-being of the people of Kyirayaso is an assurance, if not, the only assurance of the continuity and attainment of set goals and targets. The success or failure of a project, to a large extent, depends on labour from the people of Kyirayaso. So their continuous state of health, well-being and welfare should be considered as the only warranty and guarantee for success. Simply put, the agro-forestry program can only run as planned on the labour and involvement of the people of Kyirayaso, hence measures should be put in place to ensure their continuous well-being, and most importantly their health.

⁴² Refer to section on Trust of this work. Page 51

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Open ended questionnaire for Kyirayaso Community

QUESTIONNAIRE

AIM: TO SOLICITE VIEWS OF FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITY MEMBERS (KYIRAYASO) ON CFMs, LIVELIHOOD AND SURVIVAL POSSIBILITIES, FOREST REVENUE USAGE AND CO-MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN GENERAL.

TARGET GROUP: MEMBERS OF KYIRAYASO COMMUNITY INCLUDING THE LEADERS (CHIEF AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS).

I am an MPhil student of the Indigenous Studies Programme of the Arctic University of Norway. I am undertaking a research on 'an analysis of the forest and wildlife policy of Ghana and its impact on the livelihood and survival of forest dependent communities: a case study of Kyirayaso, Ashanti region. I will need your assistance to answer a few questions. None of the information you provide would be linked to you. In addition, the records of this study will be kept **private and confidential**. Given my efforts to protect your privacy, please provide honest and complete answers to the questions as much as you can. Thank you.

Please tick the appropriate box

1. GENDER. Male Female

2. AGE RANGE. 18years and Below 19years- 28years 29years- 38years
39years- 48years 49years- 58years 59years and Above

3. WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION None Primary
JHS SHS Tertiary Others

4. ARE YOU CURRENTLY EMPLOYED? Yes No

5. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION

6. WHAT IS YOUR MONTHLY INCOME RANGE

7. HOW MANY MEMBERS DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD

8. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS COMMUNITY/ USED THE FOREST.

.....

9. ARE YOU ALLOWED ACCESS TO THE FOREST RESERVE/ RESOURCES

Yes No

(a) IF NO WHAT IS/ARE POSSIBLE REASON(S).

.....
.....
.....

10. HOW DO YOU BENEFIT FROM THE FOREST? Yes No

(a) IF YES, BY WHAT MEANS DO YOU BENEFIT? RESOURCES , please specify what kind of resources.

OTHER BENEFITS , please specify.

11. DO YOU RECEIVE MONEY FROM FOREST PROCEEDS OR REVENUE

Yes No

(a) HOW MUCH MONEY/ PROCEEDS DO YOU RECIEVE.

(b) IF NO, WHY?

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE COMMUNITY FORESTRY MANAGEMENT (COLLABORATIONS)? Yes No

(a) IF YES, WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE PROGRAMME.

.....
.....
.....

13. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME.

.....
.....
.....
.....

14. HOW BEST DO YOU THINK THE FOREST CAN BE MANAGED.

.....
.....
.....

15. WHAT MEASURES DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE PUT IN PLACE TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE FOREST MANAGEMENT PRACTICES (CO-MANAGEMENT).

.....
.....
.....

16. WHAT ARE SOME OF THE CHALLENGES YOU FACE AS AN INDIVIDUAL WITH REGARDS TO LIVELIHOOD AND SURVIVAL IN A FOREST DEPENDENT COMMUNITY.

.....
.....
.....

IS THERE ANY OTHER INFORMATION YOU THINK I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT?

THANKS A LOT FOR YOUR TIME FOR KNOWLEDGE. I REALLY APPRECIATE IT ☺



Appendix 2. Interview Guide for Officials

INTERVIEW GUIDE

AIM: TO INQUIRE ABOUT THE FOREST AND WILDLIFE POLICY, THE COMMUNITY FOREST MANAGEMENT, AND POSSIBLE CO-MANAGEMENT PRACTICES.

TARGET GROUP: FOREST COMMISSION OFFICIALS; FOREST GUARD AT TANO OFFIN RESERVE, MEMBER(S) OF THE POLICY MAKING BOARD/COMMITTEE, FORESTRY MANAGEMENT BOARD.

1. A brief history of the forestry commission
2. What informed the 2012 forest and wildlife policy
3. How different, in your opinion is the 1994 forest and wildlife policy from the 2012 policy
4. What policy strategies have been put in place to address the explicit goal (of the 2012 policy) of community- government collaboration?
5. What measures are being put in place/have been put in place to foster such collaboration between the government and the forest dependent communities.
6. What is the criteria for selecting a community for the Community Forest Management program (CFM)
7. What is the role of the CFM
8. What role does the forestry commission play in the CFM
9. Which people constitute the CFM and what criteria is used to select the members of the CFM (the 7-11 member committee)
10. What is the way forward for the forestry commission in regards to future policies and local involvements?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION(S) FOR FOREST GUARD

1. What are some of the experiences you have gained from working with these forest dependent communities.
2. Has it improved your work? If Yes, How?
3. How can these (un-official) experiences be harnessed (I) into official working stream

4. What in your opinion should be done to ensure, promote or facilitate co-management between forest dependent communities and government officials/agencies

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY FOREST MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

1. Brief history of the community forest management programme/committee
2. Kindly outline the main aim, goals and objectives of the CFM programme in Kyirayaso community