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**THE POLITICS OF IMPLEMENTING  
GHANA'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY FOR  
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, 1974-2002**

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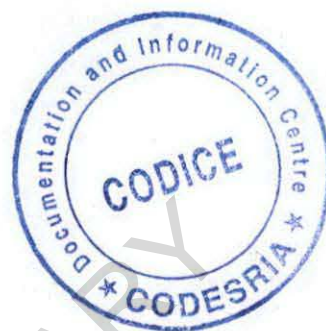
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GHANA'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY FOR  
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, 1974-2002**

**BY**

**BEATRIX ALLAH-MENSAH**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY  
OF GHANA, LEGON IN FULFILLMENT FOR THE  
AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.)  
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE**

**SEPTEMBER, 2004**

## DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that besides quotations and other references, which have been duly acknowledged, this is a research carried out under the able supervision of Professor J.R.A. Ayee, Dean, Faculty of Social Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. This work has not been submitted in whole or in part for a degree anywhere.


I am, however, solely responsible for any shortcomings, marginal or substantial, which may be found in this work.



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**DEDICATION**

TO MY FAMILY  
FOR THEIR LOVING SUPPORT  
THROUGHOUT MY ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE  
ESPECIALLY  
TO MY BELOVED SON  
CHIEF OMONI LULU STAR ELEKIMA  
GOD BLESS YOU ALL



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“TO GOD BE THE GLORY GREAT THINGS HE HAS DONE”!!

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## ACRONYMS

AAC	-	Annual Allowable Cut
AES	-	Agriculture Extension Services
AFRC	-	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AGC	-	Ashanti Goldfields Company
AWDA	-	Adansi West District Assembly
CDF	-	Comprehensive Development Framework
CEC	-	Community Environmental Committee
CFC	-	Chlorofluorocarbons
CITES	-	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CPID	-	Conventions and Project Implementation Department
CPP	-	Convention People's Party
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
DA	-	District Assembly
DANIDA	-	Danish International Development Agency
DCD	-	District Coordinating Director
DEMC	-	District Environmental Management Committee
DFID	-	Department for International Development
EC	-	European Commission
EDA	-	Economic Development Administration
EIA	-	Environmental Impact Assessment
ENGOS	-	Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations
EPA	-	Environmental Protection Agency
EPC	-	Environmental Protection Council
ERP	-	Economic Recovery Programme
FC	-	Forestry Commission
FOE	-	Friends of the Earth
FSD	-	Forest Services Division
GCC	-	Ghana Chamber of Commerce
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product

GEF	-	Global Environmental Facility
GERMP	-	Ghana Environmental Resource Management Project
GNFS	-	Ghana National Fire Service
GSBA	-	Globally Significant Biodiversity Area
GTZ	-	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HCC	-	Hazardous Chemical Committee
IDRC	-	International Development Research Centre
IFC	-	International Finance Corporation
IIED	-	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
ISI	-	Import Substitution Industrialization
IUCN	-	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
JATAN	-	Japan Tropical Forest Action Network
KENGO	-	Kenya Environmental Non Governmental Organization
MC	-	Minerals Commission
MES	-	Ministry of Environment and Science
MLF	-	Ministry of Lands and Forestry
MOWAC	-	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
MP	-	Member of Parliament
MTS	-	Modern Taungya System
NCWD	-	National Council on Women and Development
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NEAP	-	National Environmental Action Plan
NEF	-	National Environmental Fund
NEP	-	National Environmental Policy
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NLC	-	National Liberation Council
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
NRC	-	National Redemption Council

NRMP	-	Natural Resources Management Programme
NSRMP	-	Northern Savanna Resource Management Programme
NSSD	-	National Strategy on Sustainable Development
OAS	-	Organization of American States
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
PNP	-	People's National Party
PP	-	Progress Party
RNRMS	-	Renewable Natural Resources Management Strategy
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAPRI	-	Structural Adjustment Programme Review Initiative
SMC	-	Supreme Military Council
SOE	-	State-Owned Enterprises
TNC	-	Trans National Corporations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	-	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	-	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSCCUCR	-	United Nations Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNWCED	-	United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development
VALCO	-	Volta Aluminium Company
WACAM	-	Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining
WALHI	-	Indonesian Environmental Forum
WB	-	World Bank
WCS	-	World Conservation Strategy
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WRI	-	World Research Institute
WTO	-	World Trade Organization



WWDA	-	Wassa West District Assembly
WWF	-	World Wildlife Fund

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## ABSTRACT

The implementation of public policies in Ghana has been identified as the critical challenge facing the country. Some of the problems associated with implementation include the excessive top-down approach which tends to play down important stakeholders, like beneficiaries of policies, lack of political will, weak institutional linkages and responsibilities which also reflect who gets and does what, when and how. As such, laudable objectives set are not often achieved. These were some of the problems and concerns the study found with respect to implementation of the environmental policy as the broad framework within which other sectoral policies like the forestry and wildlife policy unfold.

The study shows that, though Ghana's environmental problems are within the confines of the country, these could not be addressed without situating them within the global context since the search for environmental decorum has both global and local dimensions. There was no dispute with respect to the policies themselves. It however came out that the formulation and the implementation of the policies were tilted in favour of a top-down model despite inchoate attempts and reference in the policy documents to involve all relevant stakeholders. This affected the support from such "bottom-up", but key stakeholders like community members during the implementation process.

Whilst the study did not find the lack of institutions, the institutional problem was the unclear linkages and to some extent, lack of trust among the actors and inadequate financial resource. It was also obvious that, even though successive governments have managed to show some commitment, it was not enough to translate policy objectives into expected results.

The study found that, the implementation of environmental policy in Ghana has been characterized by contestations (due to several other factors) from the different stakeholders

who play it out in different ways. Consequently, the problems of the forestry sector in particular and environment in general have not been fully addressed. The study recommends that there is need to blend the top-down and the bottom-up models of implementation, with supporting resources, which has the potential of addressing the identified challenges in the formulation and implementation process.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1.1 Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed an increasing concern with environmental problems in almost all countries irrespective of their level of development. This concern is a direct result of the vivid deterioration of the state of the world's environmental resources, which are not only the source but also the sustenance of life on earth. The overall implication and import of this problem for developing countries like Ghana cannot be underestimated since environmental problems cannot be divorced from developmental issues. In other words, development and environmental concerns are inextricably linked.

Another dimension is the globalized nature of the environmental problem. Environmental problems can no longer be considered as a peculiarly national problem. This is supported by the assertion that environmental problems do not respect national boundaries or sovereignty of nations and do not need visas for entry. Although this may be considered as one of the rhetoric of development experts, the underlying truth cannot be overemphasized. The effects of rapid environmental change are being increasingly felt at the local, regional and global levels. Analysis of the structural roots of third world environmental problems has given many studies on the environment a global focus.<sup>1</sup> This means that issues of sustainable development in today's interconnected world cannot be addressed out of their north/south context. Consequently, the need to

incorporate a global perspective into studies of third world environmental problems is not only necessary but also almost inevitable.

The grave consequences of environmental problems for development call for serious commitment by all countries to finding solutions to them. This call is critical because the current state of environmental degradation is a result of country-specific negligence in their efforts to develop over the years. Consequently, similar country-specific efforts should be geared towards the search for solution to halt further destruction to the already fragile source of life. Notwithstanding the differences in commitment, the world community as a whole bears the responsibility of finding lasting solution to environmental problems.

The starting point for this is the kind of environmental policy or framework within which nations can work. Although there are international agreements on aspects of the environment and what actions can be taken, these can only be meaningful in particular and specific country context. This makes the kind of environmental policy put in place and its implementation an important element and, indeed, the first step for serious consideration of environmental problems.

Public policy in general and environmental policy in particular are fundamental in encouraging, achieving and sustaining economic growth and social welfare. In other words, promotion of sustainable development cannot be achieved without a policy framework within which programmes are crafted and expected to work.<sup>2</sup> More so, the achievement of sustainable development cannot be effected without a well designed, formulated, effectively implemented and properly evaluated environmental policy which

takes into consideration the various actors and the political, administrative and bureaucratic conditions for such undertaking.<sup>3</sup>

This suggests that the formulation, implementation and the evaluation of policies are a political activity. Although policies are crafted within a political milieu, their implementation, and evaluation and the beneficiaries of policy outcome involve a dynamic political activity which details or fails to detail “who gets what, when and how” and who can and cannot participate at the different levels of the policy processes. Grindle corroborated this when she succinctly noted that “implementation, even when successful, involves far more than a mechanical translation of the goals into routine procedures; it involves fundamental questions about conflict, decision making and ‘who gets what’ in society”<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, Salih clearly pinpointed that environmental issues demonstrates the linkage between the environment and public policy and how issues of accountability, transparency and participation in the policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes mark out the importance of governance in environmental concerns.<sup>5</sup>

One major problem in the policy arena is the neglect of key stakeholders and their consequent non-participation in such policies either due to genuine lack of knowledge about their role or sheer neglect and relegation as unimportant elements in the entire policy process. One such consideration that underlies the kernel of this study is the gender factor. The argument this study presents is that an environmental policy which is participatory, gender-focused and implementable, can lead to the achievement of sustainable development in spite of variations in scope, intensity, differential cultural and historical forces underlying environmental problems. Brohman partially supported this

argument when he noted that, “by failing to be sensitive and responsive to the differential gender effects of policies, policy makers are guilty of compounding the already existing severe hardships many third world women experience”.<sup>6</sup>

Loufti<sup>7</sup> reiterated this position when he stated that gender-neutral policies have further marginalized women by weakening their socio-economic situation.<sup>8</sup> Our study takes these arguments further by noting that the effects of gender-neutral or gender insensitive policies are not sectional but all embracing. In other words, all people and not just the victims can feel the negative consequences of such policies especially environmental policies in all aspects of the economy and, although the latter is very much likely to bear the brunt of the effects. One of the theses of our study, therefore, is that, the participation of all stakeholders in the entire process of environmental policy making, implementation and evaluation is critical to the achievement of sustainable development in Ghana given the necessary institutional and political mechanisms.

Critical to this is the concept of environmental administration/governance, which is defined, by Henning and Mangun as “directing and managing public policies and activities in environmental affairs that promote and protect the public interest”.<sup>9</sup> This is a human process, which involves the interaction of individuals and groups for the achievement of laid down and acceptable goals in tandem with numerous governmental units, agencies and non-governmental units. Thus, the participation by all stakeholders is a necessary condition for the achievement of envisaged goals. This is reiterated by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development, which contended that, “the pursuit of sustainable development requires a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making...”.<sup>10</sup> Decision making, as mentioned here, is not

limited to political decision-making but inclusive of issues that affect the lives and existence of human beings. Thus achieving sustainable development is a political activity, which rises above rhetoric and includes empowerment of local people.<sup>11</sup>

This is one of the greatest challenges facing many developing countries like Ghana. Ayee underscored this challenge when he declared that poor policy management (including environmental policy) is not only an endemic source of trouble for, but a major obstacle to effective and social development.<sup>12</sup> Put differently, how do governments ensure that the needed institutional mechanisms and structures are in place, and that stakeholders, including communities and women are part of the policy community in order to contribute meaningfully to the policy process, (given the international context) and, at the same time, ensure that the implementation of environmental policy would lead to the achievement of sustainable development? These are the concerns of our study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

As a country, Ghana is faced with the challenge of achieving development for its people. This must be done without eroding further the available environmental and other resources, which sustain life on this planet. As earlier on noted, public policy formulation and implementation has been one of the most challenging activities for governments. Besides structural constraints characteristic of developing countries, and global trajectories, there are other domestic political relations and institutional factors, which in one way or the other contribute to the problems associated with the formulation and implementation of environmental policies in Ghana. The non-political factors are the

social, economic and technical constraints, whilst the political factors encompass the institutional limitations or lack of institutional credibility. These highlight the existing challenge of achieving development and simultaneously maintaining environmental decorum. This puts pressure on the government, which then becomes focused on who gets what done or participates when and how.

It is important to realize that the involvement of a country in global environmental issues is very fundamental to that country's effective implementation of its environmental policy. It is known that Ghana has participated to some extent in global environmental politics in an attempt to contribute to the search for solutions to environmental problems. This has resulted in the signing of environmental conventions, treaties and the establishment of environmental agencies and institutions aimed at enhancing these efforts. Thus, over the years, successive Ghanaian governments have exhibited different levels of commitment to addressing the environmental menace. Nonetheless, such efforts have not been significant enough to lead to readily visible results due to a number of factors. Consequently, this study examines the factors that have promoted the realization or non-realization of environmental policy initiatives and programmes in Ghana. Specifically, it addresses the multiple challenges from the global, regional, national and local levels vis-a-vis the history of environmental public policy formulation and implementation in Ghana, and the dynamics of institutional mechanism, and issues of stakeholder participation or consultation. The study uses forestry policy to draw out the issues, dynamics and the challenges. The main empirical questions that this study addresses are: -



- (i) What were the issues/problems in global environmental politics and who were the actors and how did they affect environmental governance in Ghana?
- (ii) What were the main national environmental issues in general and what policies and strategies were put in place to address them?
- (iii) What were the strengths and weaknesses of the existing environmental policy particularly in the forestry sector in the promotion of sustainable development?
- (iv) Who were the members of the environmental policy community (state and non-state actors) and whose interests actually shape the policy agenda?
- (v) To what extent was environmental policy especially in the forestry sector gender sensitive and how did it reflect the gender, environment and development nexus?
- (vi) To what extent was government committed to a sustainable environmental policy amidst other political and non-political factors?
- (vii) What lessons can be drawn from the study about forestry, the environment and sustainable development and the trajectory of public policy implementation and governance in Ghana in particular and developing countries in general?

### 1.3 **Hypotheses**

The hypotheses of the study are two fold:

First, that the top-down approach has led to the poor formulation and implementation of environmental policies and programmes in Ghana.

Second, that the bottom-up approach with its emphasis on participation of stakeholders (including women) and other local power structures in environmental policy processes backed by strong and effective institutional mechanisms, political will and commitment leads to effective formulation and implementation of forestry policies critical to achieving environmental decorum needed for sustainable development and meaningful environmental governance.

#### **1.4 Aims of the Study**

The study has a five-fold aim. Firstly, it examines the nature of environmental issues at the global level and its effects, if any, on national environmental politics. Secondly, it assesses the efforts by successive Ghanaian governments in tackling environmental problems in the country. Thirdly, it critically discusses the content of the existing environmental policy and assesses its contribution towards the achievement of sustainable development. Fourthly, the study examines the importance of institutional mechanisms and stakeholder participation (especially women) in environmental policy implementation and the implications of these for the achievement of sustainable development. This would be done by looking at some specific environmental issue(s) especially in the forestry sector. Finally, the study makes recommendations and suggestions, which would contribute to the study of the environment and add to ongoing debates over problems of public policy implementation and governance in Ghana and other developing countries.

## 1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study is based on two models of implementation namely, the Top-Down and the Bottom-Up or Backward Mapping models. But first, we will look at what implementation is.

### *1.5.1 The Concept of Implementation*

Pressman and Wildavsky define implementation as the “process of interaction between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieving them”.<sup>13</sup> Implementation is also considered to be taking action or taking something such as a promise or statement of intent and translating it into specific activity.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, it is viewed as “the crucial business of translating decisions into events...”.<sup>15</sup> Lane (quoted in Mensah Sarpong) also defines it as the bringing about, by means of output, of outcomes that are congruent with the original intentions of policy. From these definitions, implementation could be regarded not only as the execution of laid down programmes but also the fulfillment of the expected objectives.<sup>16</sup> Basically, implementation refers to factors that promote the realization and non-realization of policy objectives and initiatives.

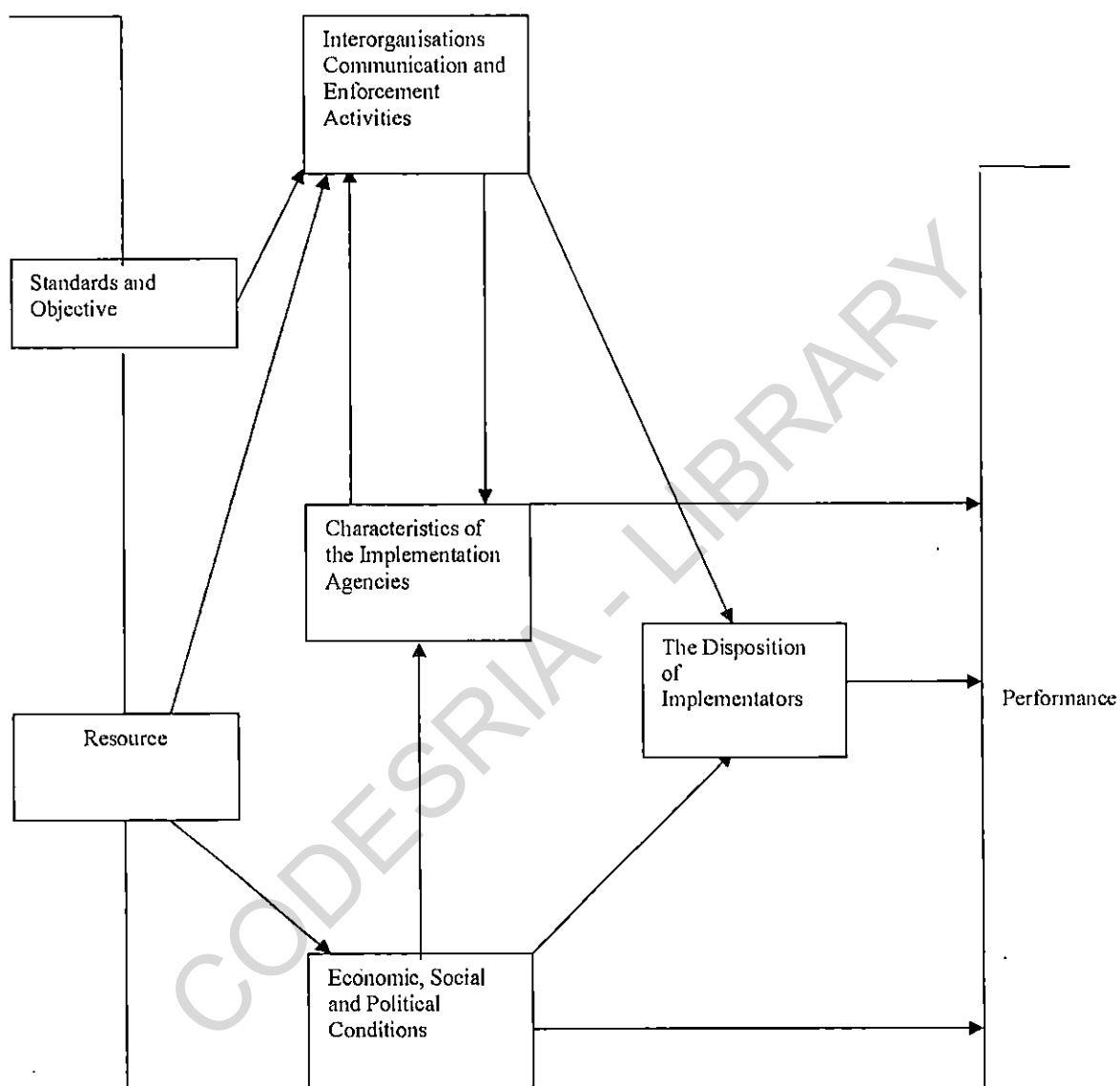
Mitchell has remarked that, “public policies, by themselves have very little value. Without the development of implementation strategies and the will to carry those policies into actual practice, all that is left will be hollow words”.<sup>17</sup> In this connection, it should be noted that there are non-implementation and unsuccessful implementation of policies.<sup>18</sup> To Hogwood and Gunn, the first is a case where a policy is not effected, as intended due to a number of factors like unco-operative attitudes and external factors over which the implementers had no control. On the other hand, the second occurs when

a policy is carried out in full with favourable or neutral external conditions and yet the policy fails to achieve the intended results.<sup>19</sup> In order to explain or interpret the ‘implementation deficit’ scholars have developed some implementation models. Among these are the Complexity of joint action, the Implementation as evolution, the Top-down and the Bottom-up or Backward mapping models, the last two being the models to be employed by our study. (See Figure 1 for the Policy Implementation Model).

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**FIGURE 1.1**

**A MODEL OF THE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS**



Source: Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), p.470.

### ***1.5.2 The Top-down Model***

A number of names are associated with the Top-down model. Prominent among them are Donald Van Meter, Carl Van Meter, Sabatier, Mazmanian and George Edwards.<sup>20</sup> Overall, this model starts by asking four major questions. These relate to first, the extent of congruence of the actions of implementing officials and target groups with the outlined objectives and procedures in that policy design. Secondly, to what extent are the objectives attained over a particular period consistent with the impact of the set objectives. The third question relates to the principal factors affecting policy output and the extent to which the impact was consistent with the official policy and other politically relevant ones. The fourth is about how the policy was reformulated over time on the basis of experience.<sup>21</sup>

Overall, this model's perspective is linked with the hierarchical arrangement in an organization. This suggests that policy is initiated by those at the top of the hierarchy and transmitted down where it is translated into more specific rules and procedures. Thus, those at the bottom of the hierarchy are often not included in the initiation and design of the policy and become just implementers of something which is alien to them. Sometimes, they are entirely excluded from taking any active participation and become only passive beneficiaries of sometimes unwanted, misunderstood or irrelevant policies. These conditions incontrovertibly affect actual policy outcomes.

The study of Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn was the first of the top-down model. It identified six variables believed to shape the linkage between policy and performance.<sup>22</sup> These variables include: (i) policy standards and objectives, (ii) policy resources, that is, funds or other incentives (iii) inter-organizational activities, (iv)

characteristics of implementing agencies, for example, staff size, degree of hierarchy, organizational control and vitality, among others, (v) economic, social and political conditions, for example, economic resources within the implementing jurisdiction, nature of public opinion, nature of interest groups support etc and (vi) disposition of the implementers.<sup>23</sup> See Figure 1 for a diagram of the top-down model of implementation.

Sabatier and Mazmanian developed another top-down model. They identified seventeen (17) independent variables under three main categories, namely, (i) tractability of the problem, (ii) ability of statute to structure implementation and (iii) non- statutory variable affecting implementation (legal). In addition, they identified five (5) major stages in the implementation process.<sup>24</sup> They then sought to synthesize this large number of variables into six sufficient and generally necessary conditions for the effective implementation of legal objectives. These are (i) clear and consistent objectives, (ii) adequate causal theory, that is, how to effect change (what causes what), (iii) implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups, (iv) committed and skillful implementing officials, (v) support and interest groups sovereigns, (vi) changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory.<sup>25</sup>

What should be noted is that the first three conditions can be addressed by the initial policy decision which can be controlled and directed whilst the last three are products of existing and interacting political and economic factors or pressure which surface during the implementation process and may be uncontrollable. For George Edwards, four factors affect implementation. These are communication, resources, disposition of the implementers and bureaucratic structure.<sup>26</sup>

From these three studies on the top-down model, certain common variables can be identified. These may be grouped under the policy itself, the structures, institutions or resources needed for the implementation including the implementers and their state of mind and external factors which are outside the immediate environs of the policy and structures but, nonetheless, are very crucial in the implementation process.

There is, therefore, no gainsaying the fact that the “top-downers” have made major strides by contributing to the implementation process and especially identifying the variables needed in policy implementation that would result in maximum output.

The contributions are varied. They include their recognition of those at the top of the hierarchy, which implies the importance of the hierarchical structure in policy implementation. Moreover, the “top-downers” noted that the legal component with its set of rules and procedures is also critical to the outcome of policy implementation. It is also noted that the six conditions of effective implementation have been found to be a useful checklist, which has helped in finding reasons for varying performance standards for different programmes over a specified period of time leading to more optimistic evaluation of governmental performance.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the advantages of the top-down model, a number of shortcomings have been identified. Ayee notes that the model’s inability to identify and link different variables with particular circumstances, which is likely to make that variable more important, is one of its weaknesses. From the model, it is also possible that the framers of the policy are the key actors whilst all others are only impediments.<sup>28</sup> This means that contributions either directly or indirectly from those outside the hierarchy are not considered critical to the implementation process and its outcome. This hierarchical view



of implementation implies that implementers are only agents for policymakers, a situation which many analysts of policy implementation see as only partially true. In fact, this position is likely to ignore or neglect many of the counterproductive effects of policies.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, the emphasis on clear and consistent policy objectives advocated by Sabatier and Mazmanian is seen as a mistake since majority of policies tend to incorporate a multitude of partially conflicting objectives. Another fundamental flaw in this model is the fact that it starts from the perspective of central decision makers thereby neglecting other actors. An additional telling criticism is that the top-down model applies only to the existence of a dominant policy and would not apply to situations where there is a multitude or multiplicity of governmental directives and actors. With such conditions, even Sabatier and Mazmanian admit the difficulty in predicting the outcome.<sup>30</sup>

With the above criticisms against the top-down model, the most prominent of these critics, the “bottom-uppers”, came out with an alternative model, which was to serve as the stopgap for the shortcomings in the top-down model. It is to this model that we now turn.

### ***1.5.3 The Bottom-up or Backward Mapping Model***

The names associated with the bottom-up approach include Elmore,<sup>31</sup> Lipsky, Berman, Benny and Hjern and his colleagues, David Porter, Ken Hanf and Chris Hull.<sup>32</sup> Hjern et. al. developed a coherent methodology for conducting implementation analysis while at a science centre in Berlin.<sup>33</sup>

Contrary to the top-down model, the bottom-up model starts by identifying the network of actors involved in service delivery in one or more local areas and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities and contacts as a vehicle for developing a network technique to identify the local, regional, and national actors involved in the planning, financing and execution of the relevant governmental and non-governmental programmes. This provides a mechanism for moving from what Lipsky calls 'street-level' bureaucrats (the bottom) to the 'top' policy-makers in both the public and the private sectors.<sup>34</sup>

The fundamental point of this implementation model is that the most important activity on policy determination takes place at the lowest level of the organization rather than at the hierarchical levels through control by bargaining between members of the organization and their clients. Due to the assumption that the lower echelons officials will mould policy to suit them, programmes need to be compatible with their wishes and desires or at least with their behavioural patterns.<sup>35</sup>

The bottom-up model has a number of strengths. Firstly, because it does not begin with governmental programmes but with actors' perceived problems and strategies for dealing with them, it is able to assess the relative importance of a variety of governmental programmes vis-à-vis private organizations and market forces in solving those problems. Secondly, the "bottom-uppers" can foresee all kinds of unintended consequences of governmental and private programmes since they do not start with a focus on the attainment of formal policy objectives. In addition, the "bottom-uppers" approach deals with a policy involving a number of public and private programmes none of which is pre-eminent. Finally, the model is able to deal with the different range of

actors and their strategic interactions because they do not focus on the proponents of the policy or the programme.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of the strengths of the bottom-up model, there are some shortcomings. For instance, it is noted that the “bottom-uppers” are also in danger of over-emphasizing the periphery and its envisaged role in the policymaking process. Ayee reiterated this point by noting that the first problem of the “bottom-uppers” is linked to acceptance of the descriptive generalization about implementation being determined by the lower echelons in organizations as a prescriptive statement. Ayee conceded that if that is the case then many ideas about policy control in democratic political systems must be questioned.<sup>37</sup>

What follows from the above is that the focus on actors’ goals and strategies most of whom are at the periphery, may underestimate the centre’s indirect influence over those goals and strategies through its ability to affect the institutional structure in which individuals operate. Another problem with the bottom-up model is that it does not examine the prior efforts of the numerous individuals, which are likely to affect the output/participation rate; rather it considers the present participants as given. Related to this is that because it relies heavily on the perceptions and activities of the participants, it is not likely the model will examine the factors that affect them.

Although it is true that the networking methodology helps in identifying useful factors involved in the policy arena, it needs to be related to an explicit theory to social, economic and legal factors which structure the perceptions, resources and participation of those actors. Moreover, it is not plausible that due to the fact that those at the lower echelons on the hierarchy may be well informed about a policy or a situation, then those

at the top of the hierarchy who have the responsibility to make policies should abrogate this responsibility to those who may have the information. Put differently, Ayee noted that although decentralization is a good administrative tool, it does not work in all situations.<sup>38</sup>

In another development, Ayee noted Elmore's argument that policy-making should be understood first in terms of the organization processes of those charged with implementing a programme and the effects which those actions have on the pressured targets of government activity. This argument becomes relevant when one tries to tailor policies to values and operational patterns in lower levels of public organization.<sup>39</sup>

From the foregoing, it is clear that though the top-down and bottom-up models are useful in certain ways, they all have their strengths and weaknesses. This implies that there are comparative advantages of each of the models. The top-down model, for instance, is useful in cases where there is a dominant public programme/policy under consideration or where the analyst is solely interested in the effectiveness of a programme. It also helps in the preliminary assessment of the available approaches and which one to adopt. This becomes helpful when the analyst is interested in the output of the policy in situations where funds are limited. On the other hand, the bottom-up model is useful where there is a multitude of private and public actors and where there is a particular concern with inter-local variations.

#### ***1.5.4 Deployment of concepts***

The two models are useful for our study in a number of ways. First, the top-down model enables us to identify the role and importance of officials and the system of

hierarchy in the environmental policy making process (environmental governance). Secondly, it makes us to understand that the roles of officials in environmental policy making is critical to policy making since they initiate the policies to be implemented in some cases. This re-emphasizes the importance of the formal structure in an organizational set up whilst demonstrating the almost inevitable role of the officials, especially the top ranking ones. Thirdly, the model helps in the prediction of the possible outcome of policies because of its theoretical base and its connection with external factors enables us to identify other factors that are likely to impact on the policy process and outcome. For instance, environmental policies of individual countries may not be adequate in solving the identified problems in that particular country and may have to be linked or compared with environmental policies in other countries. In addition, certain environmental policies, like forestry policies would have to conform to some international standards or have to be formulated and implemented within acceptable global environmental framework. Indeed, the top-down model helps us put the policy and the structures needed for the implementation of the policy in a legal context. Nonetheless, there are shortcomings, which are catered for by the bottom-up model.

The bottom-up model, on the other hand, draws our attention to the fact that the policy process involves a network of actors each of which contributes to the entire process. Indeed, the model stresses the role of local power structures, various categories of people in the community including women and the role they play (can play) in the policy process. These are important perspectives, which are critical to our study. This study notes that although the role of officials are crucial in the policy making and implementation process, this role is not all-embracing and needs the support of local

people, organizations and agencies including otherwise unrecognized groups like women in the policy process. Our study notes that these actors are fundamental components of effective policy making and implementation especially in environmental policies since the lives of majority of these actors depend on the environment. In addition, the clamour for good governance can acquire meaning when participation is spread.

Taken together, these two models help us to understand not only the complex nature of environmental policy with specific reference to forestry and the need for all stakeholders to participate to ensure maximum output but also the impact that both internal and external factors can have on domestic policies and the unexpected problems which can be encountered.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

There is no doubt that a wealth of literature on the environment exists. The study will therefore review some of the existing literature in order to place it in context. The literature review is divided into eight parts. The first part will look at general studies on politics and the economy of Ghana; the second will pay attention to studies on implementation in Ghana, and other developing countries. The third focus will be on general studies on the environment, whilst the fourth part will pay attention to studies on the environment and development/sustainable development. The fifth section will look at studies on public policy in general and environmental policy in particular, whilst studies on the environment and development in Ghana, developing and developed countries will engage the attention of the sixth section. The seventh part will give credence to studies

on gender/women, the environment and development, whilst the eighth section would focus on literature on forestry policies and management.

### ***1.6.1 Studies on Politics and the Economy of Ghana***

Studies by Chazan,<sup>40</sup> Pellow and Chazan,<sup>41</sup> Killick,<sup>42</sup> Huq,<sup>43</sup> Hanson and Ninsin,<sup>44</sup> Gyimah-Boadi<sup>45</sup> and Ayee,<sup>46</sup> among others, focus on politics in Ghana and the economy within which such political activities unfold and the synergetic influence they have on each other. Though these studies are very similar in their content and analysis, they nonetheless exhibit some differences especially with regard to their timing and the specific focus of the studies. This is particularly significant given the long period of economic malaise in the midst of varying political changes.

According to Chazan, Ghana experienced deep political and economic recession between the late 1960s and early mid 1980s. Chazan states that by 1961 imports and government expenditure rose whilst proceeds from exports began to just level off. Between 1962 and 1964, the conversion of the country under Nkrumah to a one-party state sparked off protests which eventually reduced industrial production but increased prices and an ever-growing debt, among others, culminating into the 1966 coup, an event that did not bring about any needed change. For her, the Ghanaian economy had so much declined that it affected participation and representation in the country. Chazan, asserts that institutional weakness is closely linked to the state of the economy and the conduct of politics in the country. There is a relationship between the degree of centralization of decision-making functions, the nature of policies not forgetting that the manner of implementation may give significant explanation to state control of various sectors of the

economy at different times.<sup>47</sup> A critical assessment of these concerns is carried out under each of the regimes from Busia's administration to the so-called "second coming" of Rawlings. Another study by Chazan looks beyond this period and does an in depth analysis of the various socio-economic policies pursued by successive Ghanaian governments which did not really bring improvement into the Ghanaian economy, neither did it change the face of politics in the country, climaxed by the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).<sup>48</sup> It must be stated that Chazan and others who wrote during this period were not concerned about the environment probably because the latter had not at the time become a matter of consideration for public policy officials.

Gyimah-Boadi's work concentrates more on Rawlings' government especially the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and nothing specifically or directly on the environment or any of its subsectors.<sup>49</sup> Chazan and Pellow, on the other hand, re-emphasize the role of institutions, and note the low level of public confidence, corruption and inefficiency in the institutional mechanisms of the governments. Even though these writers did not directly focus on issues related to the environment in general and specific terms, their work gives us a perspective of the operations of the institutional structure and apparatus within which policies were to be formulated and implemented. Again, it unravels the circumstances around which Ghana's environmental problems gradually got to disquieting levels leading to the historical component of the environmental problems we encounter as a nation. The impact of these on policies and programmes outcomes is considerable<sup>50</sup>.

Killick and Huq reiterate these in separate studies. Killick, on his part, notes that until the overthrow of Nkrumah, economic strategy in Ghana was inspired by a vision of



economic modernization, which centred on an industrialization drive, structural change and a less open economy to be achieved widely through the agency of the state.<sup>51</sup> To Killick, both the Nkrumah and post-Nkrumah regimes, though were very much focused on development and industrialization, did not give due cognizance of the environmental component of their economic and industrial activities<sup>52</sup>. Thus, economic development was not linked to sustainable development or with environmental management. Concentrating on the 1980s economy of Ghana, Huq supports the fact that during the Nkrumah and post Nkrumah era mistaken policies were not only adopted but were pursued repeatedly<sup>53</sup>. He also deplores the environmental neglect of these regimes in their quest to bring about development to the people through agricultural and industrial activities with their implications for environmental degradation and mismanagement. His analysis of the Ghanaian economy during the selected period of his study was very thorough since the study not only looked at the economy from the agriculture point of view but gave attention to sectors like banking and investment, employment, trade, export and import, among others, with relevant and supportive figures,<sup>54</sup> and other issues like population and land with their environmental implications.<sup>55</sup>

On his part, Ayee tackles the economy from a decentralized and rural development perspective. Ayee's work concentrates on implementation of decentralization programmes since independence, the problems encountered and the possible solutions to address these problems to ensure that the objectives of decentralization are achieved for development in the country. One notable part of this study is the relationship the writer establishes between decentralization and the centralization of government control.<sup>56</sup> More significantly, the study reiterates the

importance of timing in the mobilization of interest groups and actors (including government) and their commitment to programme success.<sup>57</sup> He concludes by conceding that there are various dimensions to implementing any public policy and these components including the linkage of the theory of implementation with the actual implementation should all be seen as indispensable and therefore necessary for successful implementation of public policies in general and decentralization in particular.<sup>58</sup>

It must be admitted that there are many more studies on the politics and economy of Ghana than the volume of this study can contain. Although these various studies have done significantly well to look into the Ghanaian politics and economy, very little attention is given to the issue of the environment in spite of the fact that the economy thrives on the environment and therefore necessary that it is well managed to ensure security and sustainability of resources. This could be explained by two factors. First, it could be that the authors' focus was not on the environment and second, that governments during the period of their studies did not give priority to the environment. These gaps would be filled by our study through an examination of the environmental policies formulated and implemented by successive governments and how they impacted on social groups and development.

### ***1.6.2 General Studies on the Environment***

A number of studies on general issues on the environment exists. Atkinson,<sup>59</sup> Porter and Brown,<sup>60</sup> Susskind,<sup>61</sup> and Soroos<sup>62</sup> all focus their studies on environmental issues in general. The studies by Atkinson and Susskind deal with operating framework for comprehending the existing system for negotiations and the institutions and

mechanisms needed to combat environmental problems at the international level. Atkinson contends that the new dimension of environmental problems come with new challenges which then calls for new strategies for dealing with them.<sup>63</sup> A notable point that is made is that although developed and developing countries perceive environmental problems from different angles, the institutional forms each adopts are not significantly different. The major difference, however, is the lack of technical and professional expertise and ineffectiveness of legislative instruments in developing countries, with the attendant vagueness and ineffectiveness.<sup>64</sup>

Atkinson acknowledges the support of bilateral organizations, which has made the establishment of such institutions a form of conditionality, attached to the execution of development or related projects to ensure their sustainability. Susskind, on the other hand, emphasizes the differences between the north and the south. He links this up with the debate on sovereignty and argues quite convincingly that sovereignty cannot be traded with compliance. However, action taken would make continuous adjustments in policies and programmes in relation to the costs and benefits of environmental protection.<sup>65</sup>

Atkinson and Susskind also raise a relevant point as far as our study is concerned and that is the relationship between development and the environment. Atkinson, on his part, states that development programmes have often neglected their consequences on the environment and the poor are often under some compulsion to destroy their environment for their survival, a situation termed 'cultural vandalism'.<sup>66</sup> The argument put forward is that there is a strong link between culture, development and the environment. This implies that there is absolute necessity to include the people who are most likely to

destroy the environment in the name of survival in the search for solutions. Contributing to this, Susskind rightly notes that, “unless the participants in global environmental treaty negotiations broaden their scope to encompass population growth and the need for more sustainable patterns of development, unconstrained development trends will negate any environmental improvements that future treaties might achieve”.<sup>67</sup>

Trying to diffuse the differences between the north and the south earlier on noted, Soroos concentrates on the parable of the ‘tragedy of the commons’. For him, Gareth Hardins parable is a useful model for analyzing the human sources of many environmental problems and the strategies that can be used to address these problems. The essence of this parable is that the earth’s resources belong to all human kind and their judicious use will be beneficial to all. However, if for some selfish reasons some people use the resources without having recourse to its future, then all humankind will suffer the consequences irrespective of the north/south divide. Soroos identified four strategies by which the tragedy can be avoided. These are voluntary restraint, regulations, partitioning or community ownership. He did not, however, lose sight of the problems inherent in the strategies identified. In addition, Soroos is of the view that the relative appropriateness of each strategy will relate to priority given to values such as conservation, production, equity and freedom.<sup>68</sup>

Although Atkinson, Susskind and Soroos raise some fundamental concerns of our study they fail to pursue the issue further into details but left them at the general level. Our study aims at concretizing some of the issues raised, emphasize the gender factor and the essence of policy in the whole debate on the environment using Ghana as a case study.

### ***1.6.3 Studies on the Environment and Development/Sustainable Development***

The studies by Bartelmus,<sup>69</sup> the World Bank,<sup>70</sup> Elliot,<sup>71</sup> Redclift,<sup>72</sup> and the widely acclaimed World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)<sup>73</sup> report reiterate the importance of the linkage between the environment, development and/or sustainable development. Two main themes emerge from these studies. The first two writers focus their study on the environment and development whilst the latter look at the environment and sustainable development.

On his part, Bartelmus notes that despite the continuing efforts by both international and national organizations to promote environmental concerns, there is no general model relationship between development and the environment. For Bartelmus, the most affected areas are the developing world where policies are often muddled without a clear distinction or relationship between environmental, social and economic objectives. Additionally, objectives and priorities are neglected or affected by political pressures rather than substantive knowledge.<sup>74</sup> It is this problem which underlies his work where he explores the development-environment nexus at the national and sub-national level. He posits that if a well-planned solution is to be found, then there is the need to identify the problems of the environment on country-specific basis in spite of the fact that environmental problems are also global in outlook. Such country-specificity is necessary due to the different nature of the problems in different countries and the corresponding priorities they set.

In addressing these diversities, Bartelmus looks at the concept and models of ecodevelopment and argues that the various models are needed to tackle the diversity of

identified environmental problems.<sup>75</sup> He also suggests the application of ecodevelopment as a substitution for the failure of central planning since it will ensure what to do at which level<sup>76</sup>. The significance of his study to ours is that the latter will put some of the issues he raised into a policy framework and argue, in addition, that the starting point is the kind of policy and how it is implemented and that some of his proposals would work well if gender is factored into the equation.

A series of World Bank papers corroborates Bartelmus' concerns on the environment and development. One of these, which looks at what it termed as 'a false dichotomy' between the development and the environment reemphasizes the view that economic development and sound environmental management are complementary aspects of the same agenda.<sup>77</sup> According to the paper, one contributory factor to environmental degradation and poverty is rapid population growth. The crucial matter here is not the rate of growth per se but how the needs of the people are met. This, has created a situation where there seems to be a trade-off between meeting these needs and protecting the environment. The World Bank paper further notes that technological advancement has not kept pace with these demands and this gap has resulted in blatant destruction of environmental resources.<sup>78</sup>

Writing on the theme sustainable development, Elliot and Redclift examine the complex challenges posed by sustainable development at the national and global levels. Elliot points out that, prospects for achieving sustainable development are to a large extent influenced by some distant actors. In addition to this, Elliot notes the contribution of both the human and natural environment to the achievement of sustainable development. For her, what characterizes these two types of environment indicates that

the challenges for ensuring sustainable development for both developed and developing countries are different. Furthermore, she contends that the quest for sustainable development requires action from all people and places and from all levels, whilst noting that addressing the needs of the poor is key to achieving development and conservation concurrently.<sup>79</sup> This is what our study seeks to expand by arguing that the achievement of sustainable development is contingent upon good and implementable environmental policies, which take into consideration the importance of participation by all stakeholders in the policy process.

Taking the above argument further, Redclift states that environmental problems need to be considered within the global economic system because the degradation of the environment is a historical and not a natural process linked to economic and political structures. This relates to the argument that an understanding of the current environmental problems would require a corresponding understanding of the historical antecedents to development and development patterns adopted over the years especially by developing countries.<sup>80</sup> Although he recognizes the importance of sustainable development, Redclift did not allow this importance to blur the inherent contradictions. He adds to the position that environmental problems have a global dimension and that the problem is enormous and requires the contribution and participation of all categories of people and groups including social movements.<sup>81</sup> These are supported by some country case studies but not including Ghana.

It is worthy to note that in all of these studies very little or no mention is made of the importance of participation by stakeholders, neither is policy considered as the framework for achieving sustainable development nor the need for institutional

mechanism in the policy making and implementation process. These gaps in the literature would be addressed by our study in two ways. First, our study re-affirms the importance of participation by all stakeholders including women especially in environmental policymaking and implementation, in order to achieve sustainable development. Secondly, it re-emphasizes the importance of participation and effective institutional mechanism in all policy areas especially in environmental policy, using Ghana as a case study.

The issues raised in the preceding paragraphs are neatly put together in the WCED report on the environment and sustainable development. Although it is not country or region specific, it is worthy to note that the report includes the concerns of all countries. It also pushes forward the environment-development nexus and reiterates the stance that the two are not contradictory but rather complementary aspect of the general search for development, whether in the developed north or the developing south.<sup>82</sup>

The study by the World Bank<sup>83</sup> makes some suggestions on how to reduce population growth as a way forward. One of the suggestions was investment in female education and intensification of family planning methods. Another dimension of the World Bank study is the implications of poverty for the achievement of sustainable development. The thesis advanced here is that the poor are both victims of, and agents for, environmental change. This is supported by the case that “improving education for girls may be the most important long-term environmental policy in Africa and other parts of the developing world”.<sup>84</sup> This is where our study comes into focus. Our study elaborates further on this position noting that women have been identified to be among the very poor leading to the concept of the “feminization of poverty”. In addition, due to



their recognized role in the development process and their concern for the environment, women can simply not be left out if meaningful action on the environment and the achievement of sustainable development is to become a reality. This is a key contribution of our study to this debate.

#### ***1.6.4 General Studies on Policy and Implementation***

Studies on policy and implementation are many and varied. Among these are the studies by Pressman and Wildavsky,<sup>85</sup> Hogwood and Gunn,<sup>86</sup> Jenkins,<sup>87</sup> Grindle and Thomas<sup>88</sup> and Grindle.<sup>89</sup> Pressman and Wildavsky's study is a comprehensive one which dilates on the circumstances and situations likely to lead to poor implementation. They note that their environments alter programmes and their programmes affect organizations, hence the need for changes and adaptations.<sup>90</sup> Using the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in Oakland as a case study, the authors state that in spite of availability of funds, political commitment and agreement among officials, the Oakland programme was unsuccessful. Some of the identified problems include contradictory legislation, inherent administrative antagonism and the uncertainties of local action on the part of numerous actors.<sup>91</sup> They recognize the need for an appropriate underlying economic theory for programmes and project. They conclude by reiterating that, implementation is an evolutionary process which brings out a number of new ideas, issues and debates which then builds up the relationship between implementation and evaluation, since "we evaluate to learn and we learn to implement".<sup>92</sup>

On their part, Hogwood and Gunn concentrate on the approaches, processes and techniques available and necessary for analysis and decision making at various levels of

the decision making process. Their study focuses on analyzing the policy process itself. It stresses the importance of deciding how to decide, how particular techniques or approaches can be employed at different stages of the policy making process.<sup>93</sup> In their conclusion, they state that there is a political component of policy analysis. This does not, however, mean that policy analysis cannot make politically difficult decisions any easier. On the other hand, politics and analysis should not be seen as necessarily incompatible.<sup>94</sup>

For Jenkins, public policy is “a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or groups of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of the actors to achieve”.<sup>95</sup> As an adjunct, he notes that the systems model outlines possibilities of coping with some of the conceptual problems of policy analysis. In addition to the systems model, the author looks at the scientific study of policy where he contends that there would be variables capable of systematic and rigorous testing, and by that explores the relationship between variables like the decision processes and outcomes.<sup>96</sup>

In their comprehensive study on the political economy of reform in developing countries, Grindle and Thomas look at the beginning of reforms in the 1980s from the perestroika period to that of privatization and notes that major framework for analysis include class, public choice and bureaucratic politics approaches. They point out the lack of recognition of the act of decision-making. Whilst Grindle and Thomas acknowledge the impact of historical, economic and political conditions on the decision process and the

role of policy elites, they do not lose sight of the peculiarities of policies citing cases from Ghana and other developing countries to support their points.<sup>97</sup>

Closely linked to the above study is Grindle's edited book, which notes the variety of factors, which can impact on the outcome of policies including the content of the policy and the context of implementation. She states that implementation, even when successful involves more than a mechanical translation of goals into routine procedures; it involves fundamental questions about conflict, decision-making and "who gets what" in society.<sup>98</sup> The basis of the argument is that the implementation process is central to politics in developing countries. The conclusion is that, the implementation process is a political one and since those excluded from the formulation stage see the implementation stage as the avenue for making demands and thereby affect the outcome of the policy, they tend to push forward their agenda at this stage.<sup>99</sup>

It is interesting to state that all of these studies on policy and implementation have touched on important aspects of our study, which focuses on the politics of implementing a public policy. Our study will extend these studies by concentrating specifically on environmental policy in Ghana.

#### ***1.6.5 Studies on Environmental Policy and Politics***

Knoepfel,<sup>100</sup> the World Bank,<sup>101</sup> Vig and Kraft,<sup>102</sup> Mitchell,<sup>103</sup> Portney,<sup>104</sup> Wells,<sup>105</sup> Ross,<sup>106</sup> Dejene,<sup>107</sup> Dunlap,<sup>108</sup> Barrett and Therivel,<sup>109</sup> Ingram and Mann<sup>110</sup> and Calvert<sup>111</sup> concentrate specifically on environmental policy. Knoepfel and the World Bank study pay attention to some of the major environmental problems in general, whilst Vig and Kraft, Mitchell, Portney, Wells, Ingram and Mann and Calvert pay attention to

the United States' environmental policy. Knoepfel states that some developed countries have been pursuing environmental policies since the 1960s especially in the area of policy control. The existing environmental policies normally cover just an aspect of the administrative action relevant to the environment. The partial commitment by government is found not only within sectors but also among the various stakeholders or groups that are highly at risk as far as environmental problems are concerned. Our study contends that, if environmental policies are to be expectedly effective, then stakeholders should be integral and active participants in the policy process. This can be effected if there exist the needed political support and will.<sup>112</sup>

Knoepfel, however, does not lose sight of the fact that there can or there are fundamental problems with policy formulation, implementation and assessment of environmental problems at all levels. He states that this problem can be tackled if local people and communities are given a chance to be part of the policy making process. This, according to Knoepfel, will ensure efficient and successful linkage between problem perception and remedial action. He reiterates the point that the era of sectoral administration of environmental problems are over and that what is needed is "a cooperative administrative network and legal acceptance of multiple responsibilities...".<sup>113</sup> One critical suggestion Knoepfel makes is the inclusion of various stakeholders, (including women) who have shown considerable concern for environmental issues.

Porter and Brown also stress the importance but difficulty of the environmental problem at the global level and support the idea that all stakeholders should take active part in environmental treaty negotiations to ensure that all contribute to finding solutions

to the looming problems. For them, this is crucial because of the inequalities between the north and the south and the corresponding differences in perspectives.<sup>114</sup> Nonetheless, there was not any in depth analysis of environmental issues. For instance, the issue of gender in the context of a policy framework and the importance of issue linkage are not given the needed attention they deserve, which our study attempts to do.

In a related study on environmental policy by the World Bank, the necessity for policy makers to set priorities for environmental policy due to the implication of such a policy for development is stressed<sup>115</sup>. Our study extends the findings of the World Bank study by emphasizing that the kind of policy put in place could be decisive for the setting of these priorities. Who participates in the policy formulation and implementation and how the policies are implemented are all important dimensions of priority setting.<sup>116</sup>

On the other hand, Vig and Kraft, Mitchell and Portney concentrate their studies on the United States. Vig and Kraft consider the impact of regimes on environmental policy directions under the Reagan administration. They note that the Reagan environmental agenda was to return environmental administration to an earlier era where private interest had total control. They elaborate on this aspect of the debate by tracing the development of environmental policy change from 1969-1980. These changes were found to be in the area of policy formulation and legitimation, institutional development and policy implementation. In all of these, they note the instrumental role of environmental groups and the general public in rejecting Reagan's new environmental policy.<sup>117</sup> This then leads us to Mitchell's work, which specifically emphasizes the role of public opinion in this matter. His study notes that the Reagan administration was wrong about the public's perception on the environment. Supporting this are the studies

by Ingram and Mann, Calvert, and Dunlap who look at the role of public opinion, interest groups and political parties in environmental policy changes. Dunlap, on his part, notes that, public support of environmental groups provides them with the key lobbying resource since it lends credibility to the claim that they represent the public interest<sup>118</sup>.

Ingram and Mann, on the hand, emphasize that the ability of interests groups to influence public policy including environmental policy is dependent upon effective leadership, the employment of appropriate strategies and the forging of coalitions.<sup>119</sup> For Calvert, partisan political identification is a significant variable in policy making and that environmental policy determination has been a partisan issue at the state and national levels since the 1980s, a trend likely to continue.<sup>120</sup> Mitchell concludes that a decline in an issues salience is not indicative of a diminishing support for that issue. This is because environmental issues have become enduring social concern since they potentially affect every citizen.<sup>121</sup>

Portney's discussion looks at what he terms as "controversial environmental issues". This controversy is not only in the area of the problems but also in the steps that should be taken to address the problems. However, this controversy should not be a platform for inaction; rather it must be considered as a challenge that must be faced<sup>122</sup>. Portney identifies particular environmental issues he perceives as controversial, the role of government in the policy process at different levels of the policy making process and the involvement of the different actors in the entire process. The suggestion here is that there is the need for inter-governmental, inter-sectoral and inter-group linkages in addressing the multi-faceted nature of environmental problems. He develops this further

by examining the clash between science, technology and humanism on one hand and that between values, practice and politics on the other hand.<sup>123</sup>

In addition, Portney revisits the gender-gap in attitudes towards the environment. There is, however, no conclusive standpoint on this matter since it is noted that men and women tend to be more concerned with particular environmental issues and problems<sup>124</sup>. This is interesting for our study because it will enable us carry out some level of comparison, where necessary, to ascertain whether gender attitudes really apply in the Ghanaian context and establish in a more concrete manner the view that developed and developing countries differently perceive and tackle environmental problems. Thus our study will use Portney's and other related studies as reference and analytical tools to assess some of the already stated viewpoints on the environment, gender and development. One difference between our study and that of Portney's is that our criteria for selection is not based on the controversy surrounding the particular environmental problem but on their intrinsic relevance to the development policies, processes, programmes and projects and the implication of all these for sustaining development.

Wells' study notes the difference between environmental policy and other policies stressing the distinct character of the former. For him environmental and health policies deal with the very sustenance of life whilst others deal with the quality of life. This is important because of the direct and indirect, immediate and long-term and the personal and impersonal as well as inter-sectoral nature of environmental and health problems<sup>125</sup>. Like Portney, Wells re-echoes the internationalization and multifaceted nature of the environment. He notes that effective environmental policy requires an inter-generational, trans-generational, inter-sectoral and inter-governmental linkages mode of analysis. He

recognizes that environmental policies are formulated, implemented and evaluated by institutions and other actors.<sup>126</sup>

Besides the findings, the studies left out a number of crucial aspects like the actors in the policy making process. More specifically, the studies did not address the gender factor, which is an important component of our study. Moreover, the example of the U.S gives us a fair idea of what pertains in the north and it is important to look at environmental policy as it unfolds in the south using Ghana as a test case. Furthermore, the debates on the environment and the accompanying challenges have gone through a lot of metamorphosis since the 1980s, an analysis of the current trend is therefore crucial. It is hoped that this will add a new dimension to environmental policy making in particular and environmental issues in general.

Ross, Guimaraes, Dejene, Barrett and Therivel also focus their studies on environmental policy and politics with country-specific attention. Ross, for instance, attributes the reasons for unsuccessful environmental policy in China to what he refers to as the “bureaucratic-authoritarian” strategy, which emphasizes the domineering and dominant role of the state in environmental issues determination and implementation against the “campaign-exhortation” and the “market-exchange” options.<sup>127</sup> Though he advocates the market-exchange option, he cautions that this has limitations due to its focus on the individual especially with reference to environmental concerns regarded as public or the common good<sup>128</sup>. Similarly, Barrett and Therivel identify the exclusion of the people as contributing to the difficulty of the environmental agency in environmental impact assessment. They note that although Japan has identified its environmental problems, leaving the debate between government and industry has proved ineffective



because it concentrates on the remedial rather than the preventive.<sup>129</sup> They conclude that without significant citizen involvement, the decision making process often ignores local environmental concerns. This study, in particular, did not make reference to the actual politics between the competing interests, and this is one major aspect of our study.

Dejene's study focuses on the interactive relationship of the environment, drought, famine and governmental policy with special reference to Ethiopia. He argues that peasant attitudes and governmental policies are contributory factors to the destruction of the natural resource base, which results in famine. He notes, that just as in the Chinese case study, the bureaucratic-authoritarian model has resulted in a top-down approach to tackling the environmental problem.<sup>130</sup> Generally, these studies have inherent shortcomings, which would be addressed by our study.

#### ***1.6.6 Studies on Environment/Development in Developing Countries***

The differences in environmental concerns in developed and developing countries and, in fact, in particular countries have been borne out by country-specific studies. The study by Ayee,<sup>131</sup> a report on Ghana's position on the U.N conference on the environment and development<sup>132</sup>, Environmental Protection Council (EPC) Reports,<sup>133</sup> McKennan,<sup>134</sup> Salau<sup>135</sup> and Miller<sup>136</sup> highlight some of the environmental issues confronting different countries. It must be clearly stated that the existing materials on Ghana is so scanty that it emphasizes the importance of our study. Besides a few reports by the Environmental Protection Council (EPC), now Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and few articles, not much has been written and published on Ghana's environment. Although

issues on the environment are gaining increasing attention in Ghana, this has not corresponded with academic production.

Writing specifically on Ghana, Ayee examines the changes that have been made in environmental policy formulation and implementation in Ghana with a focus on the regulatory procedures and organizational structure. Among the concerns of the study is the fact that environmental problems keep escalating despite attempts made to contain the mounting problems. This, according to Ayee, is partly due to the implementation process.

These implementation problems are further traced to the policy design and analysis and what Ayee calls the 'setting of standards'. Extensive discussions on the various institutions involved with the entire policy process are carried out with an equally elaborate examination of the environmental policy currently in place.<sup>137</sup> Ayee suggests some strategies, which can, hopefully, help in the implementation of environmental policies and programmes in Ghana. These include a regulatory structure, organizational structure and political incentives. More importantly, Ayee notes, "incremental tinkering with Ghana's environmental policy and regulations will not result in substantial improvement of the quality of the environment. What is required is a comprehensive rethinking of environmental policy making and implementation...".<sup>138</sup> It is this conclusion that makes our study more interesting. Thus, our study advocates that such a policy change should meaningfully involve all the stakeholders especially women and that this is one critical area, which holds promise for effectiveness in environmental policy formulation and implementation and the achievement of sustainable development. Thus, our study will not only extend Ayee's, but also deal with environmental policy as it

relates especially to the forestry sector, using Adansi West and Wassa West districts as specific Ghanaian case studies.

Still on Ghana, a national report on the United Nations Environment and Development Conference comprehensively tackles almost every aspect of environmental issues confronting the country. Some of the concerns of the report are socio-economic development trends and their impact on the environment, the use of environmental resource, and the nation's response to the identified problems of the environment whilst elaborating on Ghana's position on the expected outcome of the report.<sup>139</sup> These notwithstanding, it is not analytical to the point of bringing out some of the most underlying problems of the environment. One such omission is the gender element. This is glaringly and disturbingly absent from the report, which is supposed to be Ghana's position on the problem of the environment and development. Additionally, the issue linkage was not critically considered neither was policy advocated as the framework for achieving the prescriptions in the report. These and many more are the concerns of our study.

The Environmental Education Strategy for Ghana is an aspect of the strategies adopted by the EPA to ensure the implementation of Ghana's Environmental Action Plan. This strategy, which covers both the formal and informal educational sectors, adopts a networking approach between relevant sector organizations. Besides the formal educational system, other sector organizations include the district assemblies, non-governmental organizations, National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), religious organizations, the Fire Service, agriculture extension services, the media and traditional rulers. This report is similar to the report of the UN Environment and

Development Conference. Though some efforts are made to ensure the involvement of stakeholders in the campaign against environmental degradation, it is clearly a limited work. There is less emphasis on policy and gender, in spite of reference to the NCWD.<sup>140</sup>

In another development, McKennan's thesis looks at the relationship between political economy and the environment. His main argument is that the crisis experienced by Ghana is one that is linked to the nexus between the environment and the efforts at development, modes of production, access to resource use and management and issues of equity. This thesis, which prompts some essential elements in the environmental-developmental debate, makes reference to a number of literature on the environment and relates aspects of the discussion to structural adjustment, sustainable development and gender.<sup>141</sup> Nonetheless, a lot more needs to be done. For instance, mere mentioning of the problem does not solve it even though that could be a good starting point. Our study will look at these and emphasize the policy dimension as well as raise other issues, which though equally important could not be addressed by McKennan's study.

Broadening the base of the discussion, Salau and Miller focus their studies on Africa and the developing world respectively. On her part, Salau looks at the changes in the environment on the African continent. She contends that many people see Africa's current economic crises as an environmental one and, until recently, saw concern for the environment as a luxury, which cannot be traded with more important issues of achieving economic growth.<sup>142</sup> Salau points out that the era of considering environmental concern as a luxury and the problem of developed countries belongs to the past and that Africa should get seriously involved in the debate on the global environment since environmental degradation is real on the entire continent.

More significantly, Africa is seen as contributing in diverse ways to the existing problem. As a result, African states must get involved with the prioritization of their needs and define their future aspirations within the global debate on the environment. Salau reiterates the importance of policy but notes that due to the crisis of legitimacy and other factors, state agencies responsible for implementing policies on natural resources have remained largely ineffective and, in some cases, irrelevant. More interestingly, Salau mentions the role of women in the environmental discourse and poses a number of questions relating to the role of women in decision-making, natural resource use and management, among other issues.<sup>143</sup> These and other questions in the study re-affirm the importance of our study, which aims at finding answers to most, if not all, the questions using Ghana as a test case.

Miller's discussions explore the role of the third world in global environmental politics. Miller notes the diversity of third world countries, which reflects in their peripheral role in global environmental politics. Such a role tends to compromise their already deteriorated environment. She advocates for the involvement of multilateral and bilateral organizations in ensuring the achievement of environmental sustainability because of their links with development in third world countries.<sup>144</sup> An important concern of her study is the formation of environmental regimes. She contends that regime formation is interdependent and hence the involvement of all concerned, especially third world countries. Though vulnerable, she notes that third world countries harbour majority of the world's population and therefore their environmental policies and the role they play in global environmental politics have a lot of implications for tackling the problem globally and nationally.<sup>145</sup>

This conclusion has some bearing on aspects of our study, which contends that, although environmental problems are generally national in scope they cannot be divorced from the issue of global concerns because of the volatile nature of the problems and also the shared perception of environmental vulnerability. She recommends, among others, that tackling the environmental problem should involve local and national bureaucracies and other stakeholders.<sup>146</sup> However, she does not mention who the stakeholders should be and how they should be involved, a matter of concern, which our study explores. More significant to our study is her assertion that a crucial prerequisite for achieving sustainable development at all levels is to address extreme inequities. Our study notes the importance of this recognition but argues that identifying the problem is one thing and addressing it is another. Our study would take the issue further by trying to find answers to the problems so identified. It must, however, be noted that in her concluding sections attempts are made towards some strategies for achieving sustainable development without emphasizing policy as the locus of such strategies. This is the other dimension of our study.

Contributing to the foregoing scholarly discourse, Salih in his work focuses on environmental governance, policies and politics in Eastern and Southern Africa. He notes that, the current debate and concerns about governance is incomplete without the effective incorporation of environmental issues and that the very core issues of governance, viz, transparency, accountability and participation are fundamental to the processes of general public policy, and particularly environmental policy especially because environmental policy by its very characteristics is cross sectoral.<sup>147</sup> He queries the efficacy of National Environmental Action Plans and other conservation strategies

and the extent of their success. He focuses on governance institutional mechanisms, instruments and processes at the international and sub-regional levels. In addition, he examines African countries' environmental management policies starting from the colonial period and how such policy formulation and implementation have impacted on current policy processes in Africa especially Eastern and Southern Africa<sup>148</sup>. In conclusion, he emphasizes the synergistic relationship between the environment and good governance and even states that environmental governance has great potential to ensure political stability and enhance the quality of life which good governance seeks to achieve. It must be emphasized that, Salih's work elaborates key aspects of our work although its scope is more continental than our study, which is focused on Ghana. Indeed, he mentions Ghana as one of the signatories to a number of treaties and conventions on the environment. Again, his focus on environmental governance and policy is a congruent that our study also addresses with attention on sustainable development. Salih's work is a booster to our study since some of the concerns raised are also a major component of our study.

On his part, Mihyo looks at the European Union's environmental regulations and their likely effect on market access for Africa's exports. To Mihyo, besides what is termed as the supply side constraints which have persisted over the years, other bottlenecks like the predominance of unprocessed primary commodities, restrictive quotas, unfair pricing mechanisms and stereotypes about the health and quality standards of African exporters are a hinderance to Africa's access to European markets<sup>149</sup>. In addition, under the World Trade Organization (WTO), other restrictions in the form of what is termed as "tariff peak" and "tariff escalations" tend to restrict market access for

exports of value added or processed products and the setting of high technology-based environmental, health and labour standards.<sup>150</sup>

According to Mihyo, these and other environmental standards set in European Union member countries serve as a big problem for African exporters who do not in most cases have the technology, the money and the know-how to test their products to ensure they meet the required standards to be competitive. In such situations, there is keen competition between African exporters and other exporters and even among African exporters. He notes the various products like fresh fruits, flowers, wood and fish products.<sup>151</sup> Of crucial importance to this study is the environmental implications of these standards and their achievement and what they suggest for a global consensus to tackling environmental problems which raises some of the concerns of this study in chapter two. His study supports some of the arguments raised in our study relating to the relationship between developed countries and developing countries in finding solutions to common environmental problems. While Mihyo admits and recognizes the importance of setting environmental standards, which is beneficial to all, he contends in his conclusion that this should be a joint rather than a unilateral decision by one group, in this case the European Union. This is important again because of the differences in cultural norms in the north and the south. There must therefore be integrative efforts in order to ensure the maximum best for all.

#### ***1.6.7 Studies on Forestry Issues/Policies in Ghana***

Contributing to the existing literature on the environment in Ghana, Allah-Mensah<sup>152</sup> focuses on governance and institutional concerns in implementing



environmental policy particularly in the forestry and mining subsectors. She contends that environmental policy implementation lies at the core of environmental governance. She particularly opines that policies though crucial need credible institutions to implement them. Such institutions should be well resourced and well managed. This study extends her work by covering more grounds beyond the time frame and the issues.

Oppon Sasu<sup>153</sup> explores the decentralization of forests and national forestry programme in Ghana. Making reference to the colonial era, he states that decentralization of governance and forest management was initiated in 1878 to empower traditional authorities in these areas. He combines the significance of the decentralization process and the importance it plays in forestry management through the district assemblies. He categorically notes that though policies on forest decentralization are well developed in Ghana, it has not received the support needed from government. This reluctance by government according to Oppon Sasu has affected the participation of civil society, non-governmental organizations and has also affected the empowerment of local communities to effectively manage their natural resources. This is an interesting study because it blends the decentralization process with forest management. Since district assemblies are the channels of development at the local level, their involvement and that of the communities in forest management is not only crucial but also long overdue. Our study adds to this study by also focusing on the district assemblies as one of the key institutions for the formulation and implementation of environmental policies.

The study by Domfeh<sup>154</sup> focused on the economic and social causes of solid waste management problems in Accra in the context of institutional and human resource dynamics. He noted that the solid waste problems in Accra are partly due to population

congestion, commercial and industrial growth and poor urban management. Besides these, the study also identifies the uncooperative attitude of residents and lack of enforcement of environmental policies and laws.

For Domfeh, the solution to these would include development of institutional capacity and introduction of sound management practices, efficient service provision and effective disposal operations. Furthermore, it recommends environmental education at all levels to help in solving the problem.

Although, he contended that industrialization has affected the natural environment including preservation of forests and water shed, his main focus was on urban sanitation and specifically solid waste disposal. This is a vast departure from our study, which concentrated on another component of the environment besides sanitation. This shift is to emphasize the point that environmental problems go beyond sanitation to include a wider dimension which may not have direct and immediate impact but has a very worrying effect on human lives in the most subtle ways yet to be discovered by many ordinary people who happen, unfortunately to be the victims.

For Nsiah-Gyabaah,<sup>155</sup> forest reserves and forest resources and woodlands are fundamental resources for livelihood in rural communities. He maintains that forest policy in Ghana has encouraged directly and indirectly in the utilization of forest reserves without placement. In addition, he laments the capacity weakness of the forest services division in terms of appropriate equipment, trained forest officers or guards and improper management of the forests.<sup>156</sup> Touching on institutional strengthening, Nsiah-Gyabaah notes the complexity of environmental protection and the need for political support.<sup>157</sup>

### ***1.6.8 Studies on Women/Gender, Development and the Environment***

Salau<sup>158</sup> and Rodda<sup>159</sup> examine the role of men and women in environmental management and the quest for sustainable development. Salau's study argues that if ecological decline in Africa is to be reversed in order to achieve sustainable development, then there must be the incorporation of a gender variable. She affirms the complex role women play in environmental management in the face of environmental degradation like drought, desertification, deforestation and rapid population growth by supporting the discussion with cases from some African countries<sup>160</sup>. In spite of this complex and important role played by women, the writer contends that these roles are not recognized<sup>161</sup>. The problem here as our study perceives it is due to the fact that these roles are not backed by policy and that if such roles being played by women and men are policy-focused, they would be organized, recognized and evaluated. There is no doubt that Salau's work touch on some issues to be considered by our study. However, we focus on Ghana as a case study and situate our discussions in policymaking and implementation context.

This assertion is re-echoed in Rodda's comprehensive work. The argument presented here is that women bear the brunt of any environmental mismanagement because their lives are inextricably linked to the environment. As a result, they must be seen as willing partners in the search for solutions to combat the problems confronting the very base of their existence.<sup>162</sup>

One contention of Rodda's study is the role that governments have to play in the quest for a healthy improved environment and the fact that these should be achieved through the formulation and implementation of policy.<sup>163</sup> There is certainly no

gainsaying the fact that environmental policies do exist in most countries, but for some the issue of gender is only given a cosmetic touch without any seriousness of purpose attached to it. Our study emphasizes that with a gender-focused policy, there is likely to be significant changes in achieving expected results. Salau notes that policy issues at the local, national and international levels have direct consequences on women's productive capacity and advocates that natural resource use and management should be incorporated directly into economic and social policy.<sup>164</sup> Our study acknowledges the value of this recommendation but, at the same time, admits that the recommendations alone would not necessarily solve the problem of gender neglect in environmental policies.

For this to be effective, these economic and social policies should themselves be gender-focused and sensitive. As a result, our study advocates and intends to look at the possibility of gender-focused environmental policies to ensure that the potential of men and women in the use and management of environmental resources is well utilized to ensure high and sustainable achievement rate.

Writing on the theme environmental consequences of development and their impact on women, Bradoitti et. al.<sup>165</sup> turn their attention to the environmental consequences of development projects embarked on by decolonized countries. According to the writers, the recognition of the limits of growth was the propelling factor for considering the problem of unsustainable development. They argue that this recognition brought with it two separate debates on women and the environment. They note that in the south the debate centred on women, the environment and sustainable development whilst that of the north was on issues of feminism and ecofeminism.<sup>166</sup>

An adjunct to this argument is that the increased concern about women and the environment stems from their knowledge, experience and their relationship with the environment. This is extended to the feminine principle, which emphasizes women's empathetic and nurturing capacities. From this, women are then considered as occupying a privileged position as environmental managers and hence a powerful source for solution to environmental problems.<sup>167</sup>

In spite of these, Bradoitti et al recognize that there are problems. Among the problems identified are blindness to local power structures, lack of alliances within institutions and across boundaries as well as centralized policy making. They rightly noted that central policymaking sidelines local specificities and the needs of various groups within that community. On the basis of the above, they make reference to environmental reforms from economic and political point of view towards sustainable development.<sup>168</sup> The writers, however, do not go beyond the identification of the problems and this is part of the task our study will engage in so as to give some kind of direction to the issues raised.

#### ***1.6.9 World Bank Studies on the Environment***

Cruz and Davis<sup>169</sup> look at social assessment in World Bank and Global Environmental Facility (GEF) funded biodiversity conservation projects. Using case studies from India, Ecuador and Ghana, they examine the role of people's participation in biodiversity conservation planning. They agree that in order to address the kind of concepts, methods and strategies needed to incorporate local people into biodiversity management, there is the need for social assessment. They emphasize the fact that if

social assessment is to be relevant to project design, then it must be integrated into the project cycle, provide project relevant recommendation and must be country-driven. Their focus on the selected case studies reflect, according to them geographic diversity.

Particularly on Ghana, though it was noted that there is need for more attention to be given to cultural dimensions of conservation planning, the study notes that the population pressure in the Ghana project was much less than that of India. But what needed attention in the Ghanaian case was the increase in migration of farmers and fishermen into coastal towns.

Examining environmental concerns in adjustment lending, Warford, Schwab, Cruz and Hansen,<sup>170</sup> contend after reviewing 71% of total adjustment lending over the period 1988-1992, that by the early 1990s criticisms against the Bank's lending for not being environmentally sensitive did not hold true. In fact, they argue that even in the past, when there was limited concern for the environment, the resulting neglect was not necessarily bad. They further argue that, in any case, adjustment lending operations are usually specific and short-term and since environmental goals usually require long-term institutional and capacity-building reforms, adjustment lending is a singularly inappropriate instrument.

These studies on the World Bank and the environment, opens up the debate on the role of the multilaterals in environmental management which chapter two of our study focuses on into some details. This implies that our study examines these issues from a global perspective but nationalize it with Ghana as the country focus.

In a nutshell, the gaps in the literature would be filled by our study so as to either add a new or give additional dimension to the existing literature on gender, the

environment and development in general and Ghana's environment in particular. In some cases, our study extends the findings of the studies.

### **1.7 The Location of the Study Area in Political Science**

The study area falls under Development Administration and Public Policy. Development Administration involves enhancing administrative strategies and capacity for development as well as the effective and efficient development of policies, programmes and projects. The study therefore emphasizes the two components of Development Administration, which is the development of administrative strategies and tools, and the administration of development programmes to ensure maximum output. In addition, this study is a public policy one, which is an aspect of political science. The meaning of politics as "who gets what, when and how" are all related to public policy making, that is, the authoritative allocation of resources. This brings out the importance of the policy component of environmental issues, which has largely been ignored by social scientists. An adjunct to this is Lester's observation that few political scientists were represented in the environmental literature and that political scientists should take part in the political struggle for a better physical environment since environmental problems are threats to global environmental quality.<sup>171</sup>

### **1.8 Significance of the Study**

The study has a three-fold significance. First, the study reiterates the importance of participation by stakeholders in policy making and implementation. It brings out the fact that the search for sustainable development through environmental protection and

management can be achieved to a large extent if environmental policy, which sets the framework for such an exercise, is largely participative. Thus, meaningful participation, according to the study, is critical in policy design, formulation and implementation and in substantiating governance. It also indicates that the participation by stakeholders would need the support of effective, functional and credible institutions.

Secondly, the study is important in that the recommendations made would go a long way to alert and sensitize governments and their agencies, policy makers, donors, women and environmental non-governmental organizations on the importance of environmental issues, gender concerns and the need to develop in a sustainable manner for the benefit of present and future generations. Additionally, the study establishes the fact that environmental issues are political in nature and therefore very much an important aspect of political science. Though this has largely been ignored, this study hopes to bring into sharp focus this realization and serve as a stepping-stone for more politically oriented research on the environment. It is also significant because of the threats posed by environmental problems to the very survival of the state and its structures, which are the bases for political activities.

Thirdly, the study will significantly contribute not only to the ongoing debate over the success or failure of public policies and programmes in Ghana and other developing world, but also environmental governance, that is, the interactions between state and non-state actors in influencing the management of the environment and the reduction or elimination of constraints and negative impacts.



## **1.9 Methodology and Scope of the Study**

The study relied on primary and secondary data. Primary data includes government and official documents like publications and reports. In addition, interviews were conducted. Some of the interviews were carried out using unstructured questionnaire and where practicable, a checklist was used for flexibility. The total sample size was 195. This was made up of 160 people from four local communities from two districts whose survival were tied up with environmental resources like typical farming communities in the Adansi West and Wassa West Districts in the Ashanti and Western regions respectively.

The four communities are Mangoase and Bediem in the Adansi West district and New Atuabo and New Iduapriem/Adeyie (Mile 7 and 8) in the Wassa West district. These districts have been chosen for a number of reasons. First, there is predominance of farming and mining activities in the two districts. Secondly, due to the pressure on the forest for farming/timber concession and the pressure from the mining sector, the two districts are interesting case studies. More interestingly, by natural design, most mineral deposits are found in heavily forested areas. As a result, there is some mining activities by some mining companies in some forest reserves in the two districts especially in Wassa West.

Forty percent (40%) of respondents were women and sixty percent (60%) men. Although the study wished for a fifty percent (50%) representation of each gender, it was practically impossible because of traditional practices relating to women speaking to strangers in the absence of men. In addition, we interviewed 27 people from government

institutions, 5 from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and 3 from development partners, namely, the World Bank, Department for International Development-UK (DFID) and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ).

The secondary source of data was based on books, articles, both published and unpublished, seminar papers located in some libraries and institutions in Ghana, the United States and United Kingdom and U.N and World Bank publications on the environment and related matters. Annual Reports of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and some NGOs were extensively used as well. The study also resorted to electronically retrieved data and information.

The study is not a comparative study of developed and developing countries environmental policies. Rather, it first focuses on Ghana's environmental policy, by examining the nature of the existing policy, especially forestry in the context of national and global environmental problems and politics. Second, it examines the relationship between participation and output in environmental policymaking, implementation and evaluation and the role of institutions and stakeholders in the entire process.

The period chosen for this study 1974-2002 is strategic for a number of reasons. First, the period witnessed great enthusiasm about the environment and gender issues and the intentions of many countries and organizations to contribute to the battling of environmental degradation. At the global level, the period 1974-2002 witnessed the first ever world conference on the environment and the signing of conventions and treaties, which led to increasing awareness of the threat that different environmental problems pose to the whole world. Again, as the end of one century, which has seen the greatest destruction to the environment and many environmental disasters, it is just proper that

these actions and commitments are assessed so as to make amends, where practicable, to ensure that sustainable development is salvaged from the rhetoric of the past.

Second, for Ghana, the period is significant in that the EPC was changed to EPA to make it not only an advisory body but also a regulatory and implementing agency. Additionally, it was one period that Ghana witnessed a lot of environmental disasters especially drought which led to a lot of bushfires. Furthermore, the period is significant in that the industrialization policy and the general economic policies put in place by the Nkrumah regime and succeeding ones had been in place for a significant period of time to enable an assessment of their environmental impact.

Third, the period was not only one of intense economic hardship, which caused many people to turn their attention to the environment for survival (for instance, those who were redeployed as a result of structural adjustment programme were encouraged to go into farming) but also one which saw the smooth transition of a democratically elected government to another and a head of state who relinquished power after being in office for over nineteen years. More significantly, the period witnessed the implementation of structural adjustment programme (SAP) under Rawlings' Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and it will therefore be useful to find out the implications, if any, of SAP on environmental policies.

Fourth, the year 2000-2002 is the end of the period for implementing the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) and it will therefore be interesting to find out what has been done or achieved especially within the forestry sector. Fifth, the period enables us to make a comparative assessment of the commitment of past regimes, which are the National Redemption Council (NRC), the Supreme Military Council (SMC), the Armed

Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), People's National Party (PNP), the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to environmental concerns.

Our emphasis on the forestry policies and programmes is informed not only by the importance of forestry to the Ghanaian economy but also its degradation as a result of activities by mining companies and some individuals.

### **1.10 Definition of Terms**

The following terms, which are fundamental to the study, would be defined for clarity purposes. They are environment, environmentalism, environmental policy and environmental governance.

#### ***1.10.1 Environment:***

The environment is the sum of all conditions affecting the life, development and survival of an organism. It is also considered as the surroundings comprising natural and man-made things that interact with each other and with man to sustain life.<sup>172</sup> In a more comprehensive manner, Mangun and Henning defined the environment as “the aggregate of surrounding things (biotic and abiotic) and conditions that influence the life of an individual organism or population, including humans. The sum of all external things (living and non-living), conditions, and influences that affect the development and, ultimately, the survival of an organism”.<sup>173</sup>

### ***1.10.2 Environmentalism:***

As a new system of belief, there is controversy over its definition. There are still many debatable issues as to what exactly it is and how it can be used to answer basic social, political and cultural questions. In general terms, it is considered as the protection of the air, land, plants, animals and other natural resources from pollution and its effects. It is also known as ecologism, conservationism and the “green” movement. Again, it is perceived as a diverse social movement that seeks to protect and restore the earth’s living systems. It provides a worldview (a way of understanding the world and the human place in it) and an ideology (assertions and goals that constitute a political programme). Environmentalism is critical of modern way of life either wholly or in part. It advocates fundamental changes in the ways humans relate to non-human nature. There are types of environmentalism. They include eco-socialism, which believes that capitalism is the cause of environmental distress; eco-feminism, which combines modern radical feminism with environmentalism; a third is bio-centrism or deep ecology, which believes that although humans are still worthwhile, they are still part of a larger biosphere.<sup>174</sup>

### ***1.10.3 Environmental Policy:***

Environmental policy refers to plans, programmes, and actions of government and non-governmental structures, which provide a framework within which existing environmental problems could be addressed in order to bring environmental decency into the system. Glaeser<sup>175</sup> also defines it as the sum total of all actions and activities aimed at preventing and avoiding encroachments on the environment, and at eliminating change, which has already occurred. He maintains that environmental policy is, however, not

subjected only to politico-administrative control but also depends on technological development. This is in turn, steered by vested interests and power establishments.

#### ***1.10.4 Environmental Governance/Management:***

According to Salih, environmental governance is concerned with the interaction between governmental civil institutions and actors that influence the manner in which the environment is managed whilst constraints and negative impacts are reduced or eliminated. In other words, it is about how environmental problems are framed, identified and relevant policies and acts are developed and implemented. Simply put, it entails the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's environmental affairs.<sup>176</sup>

#### **1.11 Organization of the Study**

The study is organized into six chapters. Chapter Two, "Global and National Environmental Politics," examines the nature of environmental problems and its corresponding environmental debates at the global level. Furthermore, it reviews some of the conventions, treaties and regimes and agreements signed on the environment. The role and response of Ghana in all or some of these would be examined in addition to the influence of the global trends on Ghana's own commitment to environmental issues, especially in the forestry sector. The following questions would be addressed:

1. When and why did environmental problems gain international recognition?
2. What were some of the environmental issues which engaged the attention of the international community and why?

3. What were some of the conferences, treaties, conventions or agreements on the environment and how have they impacted on the on-going debate over the environment?
4. To what extent did Ghana participate in some or all of these global meetings and how have the outcome of some of these meetings influenced or impacted on Ghana's commitment to addressing environmental/ forestry problems?
5. What were the challenges or prospects of the globalization of environmental/forestry issues for the international community and for individual countries like Ghana?

Chapter Three, "Environmental Policymaking in Ghana", discusses the responses of successive Ghanaian governments to environmental issues. It also identifies the demographic statistics and indicators of Wassa West and Adansi West districts. Specifically, it examines the causes of Ghana's environmental problems and policies, projects or programmes put in place to address these problems. In addition, it discusses the effects, if any, of structural adjustment programme (SAP) on environmental policies and programmes. The questions to be addressed are as follows:

1. What were the main environmental issues in Ghana and how did they become part of the policy agenda?
2. What were the policies, programmes and projects put in place by successive Ghanaian governments to address the environmental problems?
3. How did structural adjustment programme (SAP) impact environmental policies and programmes?

4. To what extent were the policies, programmes and projects successful in addressing the problems especially in the forestry sector?
5. How gender-sensitive were the policies and programmes?
6. How did the demographic statistics and indicators of Adansi West and Wassa West impact on or are impacted by the environmental issues and policies?
7. How did the policies and programmes incorporate forestry concerns?

Chapter Four, “Institutional Mechanisms for Implementing Environmental Policy in Ghana” assesses the institutional provisions and mechanisms put in place for making and implementing environmental policies. Particular attention is paid to how the institutional provisions contribute not only to the achievement of broad objectives but also to that of ensuring proper governance of the resources for achieving sustainable development. The strengths and weaknesses of the institutional mechanisms and their implications for gender, forestry, Adansi West and Wassa West are highlighted. The following questions would engage our attention:

1. What were the institutional mechanisms and organizational provisions put in place for the formulation and implementation of environmental policy to achieve good governance for sustainable development in general in Ghana and Adansi West and Wassa West in particular?
2. What were the linkages or the relationships between these institutions and organizations (governmental and non-governmental; local and national; national and international) and how did the linkages affect their performance especially in Adansi West and Wassa West and the forestry sector?



3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the institutions and organizations in the formulation and implementation of Ghana's environmental policy and what were the implications for Adansi West?
4. What are the implications of their various roles singularly and severally for the achievement of good governance and environmental management especially in the forestry sub-sector?
5. What lessons can be drawn from the study about institutions and policy formulation and implementation?

Chapter Five, "The Dynamics of Implementing Ghana's Environmental Policy", assesses the inherent issue of "who gets what, when and how" in the policy formulation and implementation process. It also focuses attention on the stakeholders and the role each plays in the policy making process and how such participation impacts on policy outcomes; that is, who is a member of the policy community and whose interests get to shape the policy agenda. In addition, the chapter looks at the importance of participation and the impact of power struggle with respect to how and at what stage stakeholders and target groups participate in the policy process. Related to this is the thorny issue of non-participation or ineffective participation by certain groups like women or local communities in the policy process.

An adjunct to this is the distribution of power in the policy process and the impact of particular political factors or conditions, (external and internal) on the implementation process and the inevitable role of the state in the face of numerous developmental and political challenges with their implications for the achievement of sustainable development. The chapter also looks specifically at the efforts of the government

towards the achievement of sustainable development. The following questions would engage our attention:

1. Who were the stakeholders and how and when did they get into the policy process?
2. What was the level of stakeholder participation or the implications of their non-participation in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of environmental policy?
3. How did the implementation of the environmental policies/programmes affect gender concerns?
4. What was government's position and level of support or commitment to environmental management for the achievement of sustainable development in Ghana?
5. What factors (internal and external) affected the implementation of environmental policy and how did government address these?

Chapter Six, "Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation", is devoted to summarizing the main findings of the study and their implications for conceptualizing participation, policy implementation, sustainable forestry, the environment and sustainable development. In addition, the study makes some recommendations and suggestions that may contribute to the ongoing debate on the implementation of public policies in developing countries. The following questions would be addressed:

1. What are the findings of the study?

2. What recommendations and suggestions would enhance an understanding of the issues of environmental management in general and forestry management and sustainable development and to what extent can these be enhanced through the effective participation of stakeholders in the policy process to ensure effective governance of environmental resources?

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## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 GLOBAL AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

#### 2.1 Introduction

*“The realization that environmental threats can have serious socio-economic and human costs and that they cannot be solved by the unilateral decisions of states has given impetus in recent years to increased international cooperation to halt or reverse environmental degradation”.<sup>1</sup>*

The above statement coupled with the claim that it is no longer acceptable for countries to defend their actions with claims of sovereignty give some credence to the importance of the issues to be raised in this chapter. This chapter intends to examine the global dimension of environmental problems, the response of the international community to environmental issues, actors and some theoretical explanations and the corresponding response and challenges of individual countries within the context of the relationship between the developed and developing countries using Ghana as the case study. First, the chapter makes a foray into the historical development of environmental issues at the global level. Secondly, it examines environmental problems, which have attracted global attention with special reference to some of the conferences and their outcomes on the environment. Thirdly, there is an assessment of the role Ghana played in some of these international conferences and the impact of the conclusions, decisions and participation on her own response to global/regional and national environmental issues or problems.

As much as this study agrees that the global dimension of environmental problems are real and, in fact, inevitable in addressing national environmental problems, it also believes that there are challenges and complications with a globalized response to the problems so identified. As a result, the study will highlight some of these challenges and, indeed, the prospects for both the international community and for particular nations, especially, those of the south like Ghana in carrying out their dual roles. The relevance of this chapter is that, it sets the tone for a discussion of the impact of policies pursued by the World Bank under structural adjustment programme (SAP) and other international organizations on environmental policies and programmes in Ghana in subsequent chapters. It also helps in establishing the fact that, environmental problems, though may be local in outlook, have a global dimension to it. The questions to be addressed in the chapter are the following:

1. When and why did environmental problems gain international recognition?
2. What were the environmental issues which engaged the attention of the international community and why?
3. What were some of the conferences, treaties, conventions or agreements on the environment, particularly forestry and how have they impacted on the on-going debates on the environment?
4. To what extent did Ghana participate in some or all of these global meetings and how did the outcome of these meetings influence or impact on her commitment to environmental issues?
5. What were the challenges or prospects of the globalization of environmental issues for the international community and for individual countries, especially



developing ones like Ghana?

## **2.2 Historical Development of Global Environmentalism**

The historical development of environmentalism is entangled in some confusion. Whilst some analysts believe it is a recent phenomenon, others think it pre-dates the Twentieth Century. In fact, it is recorded that as far back as the Second Century B.C., Plato raised concerns about erosions caused by deforestation in Attica. This was followed by concerns on governmental land policy, navigation and mining issues in the Third B.C. in Cyprus. These, however, did not attract further debates or discussions until in the second half of the 19th century when the very first semblance of an environmental movement started to emerge.<sup>2</sup>

These early environmental conscious groups were interested in wilderness and resource conservation primarily in the United States. This awareness was to spread to Europe but with an equally limited focus. The first private group dedicated to environmental protection called the Commons, Footpaths and Open Spaces Preservation Society, was established in Britain with a similar one established in the U.S a few decades later. In addition, a Consultative Commission for the International Protection of Nature was established in 1913 aimed at collecting, classifying and publishing information on the international protection of nature. Unfortunately, this growing zeal was obstructed by the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>3</sup>

After the War the need for environmental protection, management and sustainability became much more glaring especially at the international level. The issue of environmental politics started its upward trend onto the global agenda, supported and

propelled by the U.N and its related agencies and the subsequent establishment of many environmentally-related groups at various levels. These developments led to the first major international conference on the environment held in the U.S between August and September 1949.<sup>4</sup> The conference was the outcome of a proposal made by President Harry Truman through the U.S representative on the UN Economic and Social Council in September 1946. President Truman envisaged “an exchange of thought and experience” among experts who would not necessarily represent the views of the governments of their nations, but would be selected to cover topics within their competence on the basis of their individual experiences and studies.<sup>5</sup>

This conference titled, “The United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources (UNSCCUR)”, was organized under the auspices of the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Education and Scientific Council (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) with 500 delegates from 49 countries in attendance. Notably, the delegates were not representatives of their governments; consequently, countries were not bound by the decisions taken by the delegates at the conference. It is instructive to note that though the conference focused more on the scientific aspect rather than on policy, policy analysts hailed it as a promising beginning for international environmental issues in general and environmental movements in particular.<sup>6</sup>

During this same period, there were other non-UN organizational activities on the environment. All of these did not seem significant enough for global environmental politics until the early 1960s. The early 1960s is regarded as the hey days or

revolutionary period of great change in environmental movement and politics. This revolution manifested in a broader-based concern for environmental issues beyond the limits and boundaries of a few scientists and administrators to incorporate those movements, which were quite radical and influential in mostly, industrialized countries. This change was also propelled by books like Rachel Carson's Silent Spring, which documented the dangers of synthetic pesticides to human health, Rolf Edberg's On The Shred of a Cloud, Paul Ehrlich's Population Bomb, The Ecologist's Blueprint for Survival and The Club of Rome's Limits of Growth, which heightened concerns and increased awareness on environmental issues and problems. As if by design, this momentum was heightened globally by series of environmental and industrial disasters with grave socio-environmental consequences between 1966 and 1972. As has been noted, "The increased public sensitivity to environmental issues after the 1960s heightened the impact of these disasters".<sup>7</sup>

Coupled with technological and scientific advancement, even the most reluctant nation realized the implications and impact of these environmental problems and started showing some serious concern or, at least, some peripheral interests. In 1968, the Biosphere Conference (The Intergovernmental Conference of Experts on the Scientific Basis for Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere) was held in Paris. The expressed concern of the conference participants was on the need for a corresponding change in methods for developing and using natural resources to meet the changes and degradation in the environment. These issues were highlighted by the 1972 Stockholm Conference under the auspices of the U.N Conference on the Human Environment, which was preceded by a U.N hosted seminar on Environment and

Development at Founnex, Switzerland, which set the tone for the 1972 conference, after which the U.N Environment Programme (UNEP) was established.<sup>8</sup>

The Stockholm conference attended by 258 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) broadened the existing outlook on environmental degradation to include political, social and economic issues. According to Miller, also in attendance were delegates from 113 nations, 21 U.N agencies and 16 intergovernmental organizations, thereby emphasizing the significance of the conference.<sup>9</sup> The conference concluded that, “environmental problems do not only result from the development process itself but also from the very lack of development”.<sup>10</sup>

This is one conference that conspicuously reflected the divided priorities and concerns of developed and developing countries. Whilst developing countries were concerned with basic developmental needs and relied on the environment as the source for these, developed countries needed environmental resources not for the provision of basic needs but for provision of the luxuries of life. Thus, each on the other side of the developmental divide blamed the depletion of the global environmental resources on the others’ attitude and lifestyle. It was at this conference that the term ‘pollution of poverty’ was used to refer to the environmental concerns of the poor such as lack of clean water, sanitation and good health, which are a threat.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the conference took place at a time when the issue of global inequality was gaining high currency on the international agenda. It was, therefore, least surprising that differences between north and south over global economic relations and environmental politics emerged.<sup>12</sup> The tension, differences and increased awareness characterized issues of the environment and these were linked to the need for development and the consequences or interlinkages between development

and environmental degradations. One of such interrelationships is expressed in the concept of ecodevelopment. The main argument of the ecodevelopment model is the emergence of industrialization and other development programmes or projects to be compatible with sustainability of the environment.

Ecodevelopment included a linkage of consumption patterns and lifestyles to environmental needs, the promotion of renewable energy bases, finding more socially and environmentally sustainable uses of existing resources and utilizing decentralized planning methods to encourage local people.<sup>13</sup> As a concept, ecodevelopment does not accept the universality of development paradigms. It believes that developmental needs are cultural specific and contextual. Consequently, every ecoregion needs to develop its own strategies based on its needs and cultural demands and variations taking into cognizance its resources. By this, there would be enforcement of a decentralized planning and implementation system, which would encourage local participation.<sup>14</sup>

These concerns are due to a number of factors. They include scientific advancement, population increase, advancement in information, destruction due to poverty, end of the Cold War and the need to develop and meet basic essential human needs. It is argued that the end of the Cold War, for example, has reduced alertness and attention given to military security and has redirected the focus on environmental security. Even though a particular country may cause an environmental problem, the consequences are transnational and this enhances the internationalization of environmental problems, implying therefore that the debate on sovereignty would have to be reconsidered.<sup>15</sup>

Environmental security is further threatened by the increasing demands of globalization and international trade. As developing countries strive to achieve growth through their exporting activities, they tend to trade off the quest for environmental sustainability. The dilemma facing developing countries is that their economies thrive mainly on agriculture and agro-based industries, which can be a threat to the physical and natural environment and affect both transnational and transregional trade. It must be noted that, the resource consumptive character of these trade arrangements and agreements poses the threat and not necessarily the trade. The tension between growth and development propelled the world conference on environment and development leading to the production of the Brundtland Report in 1987. In brief, this report stressed the need for a new way to achieve development, which would take the sustainability factor into consideration.

### **2.3 The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED): The Brundtland Report**

The widely acclaimed World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) Report commonly referred to as the Brundtland Report is the result of the task assigned by the United Nations in 1983 to the World Commission on Environment and Development to bring about a global agenda for change. Some of its objectives were the following:

- (i) To propose long-term environmental strategies for achieving sustainable development by the year 2000 and beyond;

- (ii) To recommend the means by which concern for the environment would be translated into greater cooperation among developing countries and between the latter and developed countries taking into consideration the interrelationships between people, resources, environment and development.
- (iii) To consider ways by which the international community can tackle more effectively environmental concerns; and
- (iv) To help define perceptions of long-term environmental issues and the appropriate efforts needed to deal with the problems in the coming decades<sup>16</sup>.

This comprehensive report lays emphasis on the environmental threat so that it serves as a guide to the use and management of environmental resources for the sake of achieving sustainable development. The Report sees the concept and the practice of sustainable development as appropriate in the context of threatened future dotted with environmental problems from the international, regional and national levels and between developed and developing countries. Although the meaning attached to this concept is numerous, it is clear that the WCED's definition has been acclaimed as the internationally acceptable one. For the Report, sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".<sup>17</sup> In other words, whilst there is the need to provide for the basic needs of people, such provisions should not be at the expense of the environment, which is likely to jeopardize the chances of future generations to meet their uninheritable essential needs.

This has implications for all stakeholders, especially local people whose survival is inescapably and precariously tied to the very survival of the environment.

Furthermore, the concept and practice of sustainable development raises other ethical issues and questions the concept of sovereignty. In addition, the pursuit of sustainability requires major changes in international economic relations with its attendant implications for developing countries whose economies are largely dependent upon the exploitation of their natural resources.<sup>18</sup>

Fundamental to this and related issues are the enormous challenges they pose for countries. Some of the common challenges include population and human resources, sustaining food security, species and ecosystems, energy and industry. Though these are challenges for all countries, developing countries have additional challenges because of their already vulnerable position in world politics and in the international economy and also because their very survival as countries and as individuals depends on the environment which is fast eroding.<sup>19</sup> McMillan notes that, "the world's environmental problems are greater than the sum of those in each country. Certainly, they can no longer be dealt with purely on a nation-state basis..."<sup>20</sup>

As true as this statement and similar ones may be, it needs mentioning that the international community is made up of nation-states whose understanding, acceptance and willingness or ability to implement global environmental decisions are crucial to the tackling of environmental problems. Put differently, although individual countries cause global environmental problems, finding solutions should be done at the global, regional and national levels. Actual implementation, however, will necessarily require the active involvement of individual nations. Thus both the global and the national levels are important if solutions to environmental problems are to be effective and holistic in outlook. This brings us to the significance of some of the global environmental



problems and how relationships between developed and developing countries influence negotiations.

In 1980, the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) was published by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), previously called World Wide Fund for Nature. For the first time, development was suggested as a major means of achieving conservation rather than as an obstruction to it. Although many countries took up the recommendations, the strategy has been described as a “comfortable reformism of the 1970s environmental concerns”<sup>21</sup>. The realization of the interdependent concerns of the environment and development emphasized the need for interdependence of developed and developing countries. The challenge for the 1980s was, therefore, to formulate policies for action that will encompass or integrate environmental and developmental issues so as to achieve sustainability. Thus, in the 1980s concern about depleting resources and worldwide pollution reached the commanding heights of international politics and together with other crucial environmental problems, some of which have been outlined above, the world community realized the need for the convening of a world conference which was to look seriously at these issues.

#### **2.4 The “Second Wave” of Environmentalism**

The second wave of environmentalism brought with it the famous U.N Conference on Environment and Development dubbed, ‘The Earth Summit’ in 1992 which was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It is instructive to note that this came two

decades after the “first wave” of environmentalism. This time the industrialized nations who initiated it were fundamentally concerned with the environmental consequences of their industrial activities. This mega conference attracted delegates from 170 countries with thousands of NGO representatives, major industrial corporations and almost 900 members of the media. More significantly, 118 heads of states were in attendance. If these numbers are anything to go by, then, there is no denying the significance of this conference.<sup>22</sup>

Notwithstanding the significance of the conference, developing and developed countries could not agree on what appeared to be the most pressing and critical issues to be addressed. For instance, whilst developing countries were obviously more interested in examining the linkage between economic growth in the industrialized world and its impact on their sluggish, dragging economies, developed countries, on the other hand, were interested in issues of ozone depletion, global warming, acid rain, deforestation, among others. For those from the south their position was that any negotiations or agreement on the environment must of necessity encompass issues on economic growth and development.<sup>23</sup> This implies that negotiation on environmental issues is very crucial to finding solutions to the problems at stake. This also means that who participates and how and on what environmental concern is fundamental to environmental negotiations. The increasing concern with the environment brought with it a much more strong need to act. Action could be attained through negotiations between countries and other stakeholders. It needs to be emphasized that although there were some form of negotiations during the first wave of environmentalism, the urgency for serious and committed negotiations came alive during the second wave. This emphasizes the

significance of the next section.

## **2.5 Actors in Global Environmental Politics/Negotiations**

There are two main types of actors in global environmental negotiations and politics. These are state and non-state actors. The final outcome of global environmental negotiations is the preoccupation of mainly, but not solely, state actors since non-state actors exert influence in a significant way. The relationship between the two is, therefore, a crucial one.

### **2.5.1 State Actors**

States are involved in global environmental negotiations at two main levels. First, they negotiate in the creation of regimes, which are forms of binding agreement or legal instrument, and secondly, adopt international trade and financial policies, which directly or indirectly impact on the environment. However, most of important actions taken by states are those leading to the formation of regimes. In this context, a state may play one of four possible ways:

- (i) Lead State, which has a strong commitment to effective international action on the issue;
- (ii) Supporting State, which speaks in favour of the proposal of a lead state in negotiations;
- (iii) Swing State, which may demand significant concessions to its interests as a price for going along with an agreement and;

- (iv) A Veto State or a Blocking State, which may either, oppose a proposal outright or try to weaken it to the point that it cannot be effective.<sup>24</sup>

As the issues travel through the various stages of the negotiation process, states may shift their positions. There may also be more than one lead state on an issue. It is worthy to note that lead states have a wide range of strategies they use to influence other state actors on a global environmental issue.<sup>25</sup> The methods include the production and publicizing of research materials that enhances the meaning and the urgency of the identified problems; through public education by the use of pamphlets; lead by example, by taking unilateral decisions on the issue or through the wide use of diplomacy and networking of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). A rather different method is the use of sanctions and the pledge to commit financial resources to the problem.<sup>26</sup>

In the case of Ghana, whilst the country has attended almost all the meetings of global environmental concerns and even signed and ratified some of the conventions and treaties, it is not clear which specific roles it played as a nation. It is, however, true to state that Ghana has lent support to leading nations on crucial environmental issues taking her foreign and national interest into consideration.

This supporting role is not peculiar to Ghana. Indeed, most developing countries have not had any significant roles to play as lead states except in a few cases like the concern on desertification and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Even in such rare circumstances they needed the strong support of developed countries like the United States and Japan. The implications here are daunting. It suggests and brings to the fore the vulnerability of developing countries

including Ghana on negotiations of environmental issues. On the other hand, developed countries, which spearhead issues on specific environmental matters, cannot do without the support of the developing countries like Ghana.

#### ***2.5.1.1 Domestic Factors***

Whichever role a particular state plays is dependent on some factors. Domestic economic interests are, for example, critically influential in promoting veto roles whilst government bureaucracies with institutional interests which conflict with global action on the environment are often critical in swing and blocking roles. In addition to these, the existence of a strong elite and bureaucratic interest supported by an authoritarian regime does have an impact on the outcome of policies. Furthermore, the existence of a strong environmental movement can also be a decisive factor in a state's definition of its interest on an issue, especially if that is a potentially swing vote in parliamentary elections. Although the presence of such an NGO does not necessarily imply that a state will play a leading or supporting role, the absence of such a movement makes it more likely that a state will play a swing or blocking role on an international environmental issue.<sup>27</sup>

A second group of variables or determinants for a country's interest in global environmental issue includes the degree of cost and risk posed by the environmental threat to that country together with the costs and opportunities linked to the proposed regime. Sometimes, exceptional vulnerability to the consequences of environmental problems has determined the role states would play. Closely linked to the above are the anticipated benefits or costs of lead or veto roles to the country's image (state's prestige)

and international relations with other states, which may either, be in favour or against a particular environmental issue.<sup>28</sup>

Adjunct to this at the domestic level are sub-national actors who are also influential in determining a state's position and interests in global environmental issues. Here reference can be made to federal states (where they exist), regions, municipalities, cities, towns or villages. These may take initiatives in addressing a threatening environmental issue and/or put pressure on the central government or the appropriate agencies or institutions to act on their behalf.<sup>29</sup>

### **2.5.2 Non -State Actors**

There are an increasing number of non-state actors in environmental negotiations and regime formation. These include international organizations, multilateral financial institutions (IMF, World Bank etc), regional and other multi-state organizations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations and other international institutions. Though they all influence global and national environmental issues, their strategies are different.<sup>30</sup>

#### **2.5.2.1 *International Organizations***

International organizations can influence global environmental issues in the following ways:

- (i) Set the agenda for global action, determine which issues will be dealt with by the international community;
- (ii) Convene and influence negotiations on global environmental regimes;

- (iii) Develop normative codes of conduct (soft laws) on various environmental issues; and
- (iv) Influence state policies on issues that are not under international negotiations.<sup>31</sup>

In connection with the above, the World Bank uses its convening power to bring together key stakeholders to work on issues relating to the environment.<sup>32</sup> In Ghana, this was more in relation to the mining sector than any other sectors at the time.<sup>33</sup>

It is instructive to note that these are not carried out simultaneously. In fact, international organizations may specialize in one, knowing that one strategy may indirectly influence others. For example, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) is noted for the agenda-setting function in global environmental politics because of its unique role not only as a catalyst but also as coordinator of environmental activities within the United Nations system.<sup>34</sup>

Others like the World Research Institute (WRI) and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) were the first international organizations to draw attention to the correlation between the environment and poverty. This connection has informed the position of most developing countries on their role and contribution to environmental problems in their various countries. It has also posed a great challenge to such countries trying to pursue sustainable development strategies aimed at poverty reduction without jeopardizing environmental resources.

For developing countries, the most powerful international organizations which exert direct impact on their development and environmental policies are the multilateral financial institutions including the IMF and World Bank and other regional banks

because of the substantial financial resources they transfer to them in support of their development and economic activities. Notably, some of these financial assistance are headed for environmentally sensitive sectors like energy and power, transportation, agriculture and mining.<sup>35</sup>

In 1970, the World Bank established an Office of Environmental Adviser but it was not until the late 1970s and early 1980s when environmental NGOs pressurized the Bank to implement environmental assessment procedures did the office become somehow operational.<sup>36</sup> In 1971, the World Bank created an environmental unit and in 1974, its executive directors adopted a principle of environmental lending. In 1980, together with UNEP, it promoted the adoption by the major development banks and multilateral agencies a “Declaration of Environmental Policies and Procedures Relating to Economic Development”.<sup>37</sup> Further to this, in 1987 the Bank committed itself to prevent or at least reduce the environmental damage caused by its projects and established an Environmental Department and a requirement for Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) for some projects.

In the particular case of Ghana, Salami, notes that, under the PNDC in the mid 1980s, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the World Bank were not only involved in the provision of finance to sectors of the economy but also involved in environmental systems management.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the World Bank and other development partners were very instrumental in the development and implementation of the Ghana Environmental Resource Management Project (GERMP) which served as the basis for environmental resource management systems including the NEAP, soil and water conservation, especially in the agriculture sector and the management of coastal



wetlands.<sup>39</sup> In spite of these so-called commitments, the Bank continued projects with damaging environmental consequences.<sup>40</sup>

Although Ghana had had an encounter with the World Bank during this period and efforts were being made to mitigate the environmental impact of World Bank projects, most of the economic programmes championed by the Bank in Ghana were not reflective of this declaration on the environment as exemplified in the projects pursued. For instance, economic growth rates of 3% achieved in the 1980s was at the expense of expansion in mineral and timber production with their attendant environmental consequences.<sup>41</sup>

In response to assist with reduction in global warming and deforestation the World Bank put into place a new strategy in 1989. In the wake of the 1992 Rio Conference, there was a further reorganization of its environmental management process. Since then the World Bank has continued to adjust its policies to match the intensity of the call for the sustainable development paradigm worldwide with the establishment of a vice presidency of Environmentally Sustainable Development.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of these changes, analysts have observed that it is one thing having such changes and quite a different thing making those changes actually work. In fact, Miller notes, "a strong commitment to implement and enforce the regulations seems to be missing"<sup>43</sup>. Corroborating this, Keck and Sikkink observed that even though in practice environmental considerations have hardly played any significant role in lending policy, the Bank's normative commitment creates a good opportunity for environmental groups to hold it in check<sup>44</sup>. Some of the identified obstacles include internal resistance by members who are divided along the need for sustainable development on one hand and

the need for using economic logic as the focus and conflicting external pressures on the other hand.<sup>45</sup> These challenges notwithstanding, there is no gainsaying the fact that the World Bank is in a unique position with the needed clout to influence the achievement of sustainable development especially in developing countries. In Ghana, for instance, the GERMP was one systematic move to ensure that Ghana developed in a sustainable manner. In addition, the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) served as a means to protect the environment whilst carrying out needed development. In this connection, through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), the World Bank with support from the government of Ghana, has declared some forest reserves as Globally Significant Biodiversity Areas (GSBAs) since 1998. The protection of the reserves is to be jointly carried out by the forest fringe communities and the Forestry Commission. Since the communities would be deprived of their main means for survival, part of the project is the creation of Alternative Funds, a kind of revolving fund to be accessed by small business groups for alternative sources of livelihood with a training component.<sup>46</sup>

Following from above is the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF programmes aimed at structural changes came with very harsh terms, which have been found to hurt economies, and negatively impacted on the environmental resources of recipient countries. The environmental impact results from emphasis on increased export to earn more needed foreign exchange. In Ghana, again, the Fund and the Bank encouraged the increase in the production of cocoa. The government cooperated and invested almost as much in cocoa as all other agricultural products combined.<sup>47</sup> In view of the fact that most of the countries, which had structural adjustment programme, were agricultural/raw material economies meant that there was to be an increase in the

exploitation of environmental resources. Specifically on agriculture, Anane reiterates that, “the ERP led to a recovery in the exploitation of forest resources, particularly timber. Timber earnings increased from 5.9% in 1986 to 13.2% in 1990. But the opportunity cost of this impressive progress was exceedingly high, estimated at 10.8billion cedis or US\$33.4million...”<sup>48</sup>

Again, retrenched workers had to rely on the environment for their survival through slash and burn agriculture method, which has been identified as one of the causes of environmental degradation.<sup>49</sup> This is corroborated by the point that agriculture offers about fifty percent (50%) of employment to Ghanaians. The environmental implication of the sector is mainly rooted in deforestation due to expansion of land for cultivation and improper use of agro-chemicals<sup>50</sup>. In addition, a combination of logging by multinational companies and rural residents seeking income for their basic needs has fuelled the growth in the forestry sector.<sup>51</sup>

With all these environmental implications, the IMF had resisted even the most basic environmental reforms until 1989 when the U.S Congress through a bill prevailed on the Treasury Department to use its influence to urge the IMF to carry out some reforms. This led to a decision not to establish an environmental department but rather to tap the environmental expertise and resources of other institutions like the World Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). It is important to note that the IMF came alive with environmental issues after the Rio conference leading to the organization of a conference in May 1993, which aimed at exploring the relationship between macroeconomic policies and the environment.<sup>52</sup> In Ghana, there was no such significant

move. Contrary, Tockman notes that, upon the advice of the IMF, Ghana relaxed mining regulations and nurtured investments by the mining industry through generous incentives and tariff reductions during the 1980s and 1990s; furthermore, since 1981 Ghana has experienced forest loss at a rate of 750 hectares per year or 2%.<sup>53</sup>

The Rio conference was considered as a continuation of a dialogue between the IMF and NGOs, which started at Rio. Eventually, IMF representatives came to terms with the reality for greater environmental awareness and through that they emphasized the Funds mandate of assisting members not only to adopt policies to stabilize their economies but also ensure that in the process they would promote sustainable development and growth.<sup>54</sup>

Another international organization, which can and has influenced global environmental debates, is the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). The UNEP was established in 1972 as the main environmental intergovernmental organization. However it has less money, staff and institutional history than any of the U.N agencies like the UNDP and the FAO.<sup>55</sup> The UNEP's concentration has been on developing countries whilst organizations like the OECD and the European Commission have concentrated on developed countries. It is therefore not surprising that the UNEP is the only United Nations agency with its headquarters in a developing country, Kenya. The UNEP's programmes cover environment and development, environmental awareness, earthwatch, the arms race and the environment, among others. Miller emphasized that since 1980, UNEP has become active in ozone depletion and climate change issues and was very instrumental in bringing about the Montreal Protocol and was

the lead UN agency in most of the major environmental conventions of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>56</sup>

Regional groupings have also played vital roles in global environmental politics. Whilst some are functionally specific, others have environmental functions woven into their broad economic and political agenda. Examples of such groups are the European Union, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).<sup>57</sup>

#### **2.5.2.2 Non-Governmental Organizations**

The rise of NGOs coincided with the emergence of global environment as a major issue in world politics. Their ability to influence global environmental issues hinges on one of three factors:

- (i) NGOs expert knowledge and innovative thinking about global environmental issues;
- (ii) Their dedication to goals that transcend narrow national or sectoral interests; and
- (iii) Their representation of substantial constituencies within their own countries that command the attention and that sometimes influence tight electoral contests.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of the differences in their form and their organization, NGOs tend to influence international regimes in five major ways:

- (i) By defining a new issue or redefining an old one;
- (ii) Lobbying their own or other governments to accept a more advanced position through proposals, boycotts, campaigns or law suits;

- (iii) Propose entire draft texts of conventions in advance of conferences;
- (iv) Lobby international negotiations; and
- (v) Monitor the implementation of conventions.

Such NGOs include the Friends of the Earth (FOE), Greenpeace, World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Conservation International, the Sierra Club and Japan Tropical Forest Action Network (JATAN) and International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).<sup>59</sup> After the Second World War, the IUCN founded in 1948 with 18 member states and 107 conservation organizations, served as the clearinghouse for international projects. This hybrid or cross-sectional character gave it special access to international policy-making.<sup>60</sup> On policy issues, the Friends of the Earth (FOE) for instance, believes that the focus of environmental policy should be on fundamental social change rather than on temporary remedies.<sup>61</sup> Whilst some of these NGOs like the IUCN, Greenpeace and FOE have numerous branches worldwide and focus on major environmental issues, they often have contacts in developing countries with multi-issue NGOs with linkages that highlight relationships among environmental, human rights and development concerns.<sup>62</sup>

There are others which are more limited in their geographical coverage although they maintain some form of coalitions and enjoy some support from other internationally acclaimed NGOs. For instance, the JATAN, which is based in Japan, has links with the FOE and gets some funding from them. There are other cases where these environmental NGOs form coalitions at national levels to enable them enjoy the necessary clout and influence they need to lobby and influence their governments to live up to environmental

agreements at the national and local levels. Examples of these include the Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI), which has over 450 Environmental Non Governmental Organizations (ENGOS). In Kenya, there is the Kenya Environmental Non Governmental Organizations (KENGO) with about 68 groups under it in 1982 and had some ties with about 22 similar groups in other African countries. Such North-South, North-North and South-South links enable ENGOS to influence environmental issues in many ways.<sup>63</sup>

More specifically, the WWF and Conservation International, for instance, played very crucial and influencing role in the banning of trade in the African elephant ivory through a publication and distribution of a report on the enormity of the problem to parties of the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Again, FOE, WWF and Greenpeace put forward a comprehensive proposal in relation to Antarctic Minerals Convention, which was aimed at stopping minerals exploration. Indeed, two years later that proposal was the basis for a new policy that monitored future exploratory activities in the area.<sup>64</sup> Another means used by NGOs in their bid to influence International Environmental Conventions or standards of behaviour and operations include lobbying. The Greenpeace adopted this during the conference of the parties to the London Dumping Convention since the early 1980s. Furthermore, the WWF-U.K decided to pursue a campaign aimed at ensuring that by the end of 1995, all tropical wood and wood products traded in the U.K would come from well-managed forests.<sup>65</sup>

Again, NGOs often provide scientific and technical information on new arguments to delegates who tend to understand and sympathize with their positions. For instance, during the 1991-1992 biodiversity negotiations, the WWF-Australia and other

NGOs representing the Australian delegation were consulted on all major issues before the delegation adopted positions. Indeed, NGO activities do not end with the signing of agreements but also play the role of a watchdog to monitor the compliance with those agreements<sup>66</sup>. In other words, ENGOs can change environmental behaviour by initiating formal legal proceedings against states they perceive to be out of compliance with environmental laws.<sup>67</sup> According to Newell,<sup>68</sup> some ENGOs like the Greenpeace are very much alive to this 'watchdog expose' function, and thus make compliance process very transparent. Consequently, "NGOs have carved for themselves in international conventions on environmental questions where their input is drawn upon by an international board of evaluators of countries implementation measures".<sup>69</sup>

Another notable contribution of NGOs is in the provisions of Agenda 21. Porter and Brown report that many of the chapters on women are a reflection of a document adopted by an NGO conference on women for some 83 countries. Furthermore, NGOs influenced, to a very great extent, the chapters on poverty and consumption, which incorporated about 90% of the proposals of the NGO task group through amendments offered by the European Commission and the Canadian, the Australian and New Zealand (CANZ) group. In fact, this is not too surprising because it was the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), which first drew attention to the environment-poverty nexus in developing countries.<sup>70</sup> It is with such institutions, which serve as think tanks that most NGOs work with in their quest for environmental decorum.

In carrying out these duties, NGOs encounter a number of challenges. The major challenge for NGOs is their attempt to influence the structure and policies of major international institutions active in global environmental politics.<sup>71</sup> In the EU, for



instance, although NGOs are perceived to have some binding force that could enhance the process of European integration, influencing policies is a big challenge. This difficulty is attributable to a number of factors. For instance, the development of policy in the EU is multidirectional from a number of Directorate Generals, which make it almost impossible for NGOs to monitor compliance from all the policy sources.<sup>72</sup> A further challenge encountered by NGOs is their lack of resources. It is only a few of the NGOs dealing with environmental issues, which are well resourced to tackle the problems from their angles. In addition, they tend to support other financially weak NGOs, which are doing good jobs in areas they cannot reach. A good example of this is the relationship between the JATAN and the Friends of the Earth.<sup>73</sup>

NGOs are, indeed, a force to reckon with because they constitute a force for political change “by helping to overcome social inertia and bureaucratic resistance to policy reform. They initiate institutional change and can articulate the norms which they feel should underpin environmental policy”.<sup>74</sup>

### **2.5.3 Corporations**

Since they control the bulk of global trade and investments, corporations are major environmental actors. They can affect the environment of Third World countries directly or indirectly. In their bid to have these corporations invest in their countries, Third World countries tend to relax environmental regulations/laws and requirements as baits for attracting these corporations. Although the promotion of small-scale industries in developing countries are seen as employment creation avenues, little or nothing is known about the environmental impacts of their operations. It is often assumed that

because they are small, their environmental impact is equally negligible. A study carried out on the environmental impact of small scale industries in Zimbabwe (for brick-making) and Bangladesh (for dyeing/finishing) suggested that whilst there is no contention that small scale industries do not necessarily have a significant environmental impact from the global or national perspective, there is no doubt that they can have detrimental effects locally.<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, it was the evidence of the ozone hole, dying lakes, vanishing forests and toxic dumps in the 1970s and 1980s that spurred criticism of the environmental consequences of corporate activities.<sup>76</sup> Consequently, corporations could no longer dissociate themselves and their activities from environmental degradation. Their strategy has been a restructuring of their organizations to include the creation of an environmental department headed by an environmental officer, implementation of programmes such as waste reduction, eco-labelling and using of environmental themes.

There is the perception that corporations are better able to influence environmental negotiations when there is no formal binding international regime on an issue. In such situations, they are able to use their economic and political clout with individual governments, which allow them to carry out their economic activities, irrespective of their environmental consequences. In fact, in some years past corporations have mainly been against environmental measures, and this has been consolidated by the fact that international environmental agreements have substantially failed to regulate the activities of companies responsible for ecological degradation, a situation which is partly explained by the political influence of these companies<sup>77</sup>.

This position is gradually changing into one where corporations have taken on

advocacy roles on the need for sustainable development. In this direction, some corporations have been proactive in constructing their own regulatory framework. They have not only realized the need for sustainable development but have also realized that pollution prevention, for example, is good for profitability<sup>78</sup>. It is worthy to note that reliance solely on the enforcement of statutory regulations and standards to reduce environmental damage by industries and corporations would not necessarily work. In fact, Scott recommends voluntary compliance. In his view, “voluntary compliance could involve stakeholders including consumers, neighbours, local authorities and industry associations, encouraging them to share information about pollution impacts and to develop environmental awareness” with the support of development agencies.<sup>79</sup>

The other dimension of involuntary compliance is increase in cost of production, which is often shifted to consumers as in the case of drinking water directives for privatized water companies in the U.K. It has been noted, however, that legislation, which introduces new standards, like the European Union environmental policy, to be complied with, is now being increasingly supported by voluntary schemes.<sup>80</sup>

From what has been said so far, there is evidence to suggest that actors in global environmental negotiations are critical to the outcome of regime formation (binding agreements or legal instrument) and the success of environmental negotiations through the employment of different strategies. It is true that the roles played by different countries and other actors are at the core of all these negotiations. Equally, developed as well as developing countries have varying degrees of influence on environmental negotiations depending on the issue at stake.

## **2.6 Developed and Developing Countries in Global Environmental Negotiations**

The relationship between developed and developing countries on global environmental concerns is based on the four political processes of issue definition, fact-finding, bargaining and norms and standards strengthening.<sup>81</sup> Issue definition identifies the scope and extent of the environmental threat, its primary causes and the kind of international action required to address them. The fact-finding stage brings interested parties together in the attempt to locate some facts needed to strengthen their overall position in the negotiation process. The bargaining process and its outcome depend largely on the bargaining leverage and cohesion of the veto coalition. A successful norm or standard formation does not signal an end to that regime but once established, norms and standards can be further strengthened by more bargaining due to a shift in understanding or as a result of domestic politics.<sup>82</sup>

Some of the norms and standards negotiated at the global level are related to the Ozone Layer Depletion, African Elephants, Hazardous Waste Disposal, Global Warming, Biodiversity Loss and Desertification. Transboundary air pollution gained attention in the 1960s with Sweden as the lead state. Although its negotiations started in the 1970s through to the 1980s, it remains the weakest standard.<sup>83</sup> Due to the large number of conventions or treaties, only four, which are related to the study directly or indirectly but help with the analysis, would be focused on. These four are the Ozone Depletion and Global Warming; African Elephants; Hazardous Waste Disposal and Biodiversity Loss and Desertification.

### **2.6.1 *The Biodiversity Regime***

Biodiversity destruction is perceived as a commons issue although somewhat different from the ozone depletion problem. The ozone is considered as an open access regime, but biodiversity is held as an open access, private property, communal property and state control. In other words, it is held in a mixed property arrangement. This has implications for vulnerability and interdependence. Furthermore, most of the biodiversity is located in developing countries making it more complicated,<sup>84</sup> because of the need for survival, which is highly dependent on biodiversity resources.

Biodiversity loss has been recognized as one of the most serious environmental threats facing humankind and yet remains one regime that has suffered from serious differences over the definition of the problem and from resistance to strong legal obligations by a veto coalition of states holding most of the world's biodiversity. During the negotiation process, developed countries' intention was to protect biological diversity and, at the same time, be assured of continued access to biological diversity in developing countries, whilst the latter demand sovereignty, access to technology emanating from the use of the resource and technology to enable proper control and conservation and financial assistance. Certainly, developing countries did not get what they wanted. They had relative success with their sovereignty but success with the other two demands was just immeasurable.<sup>85</sup>

This and other related problems have contributed to a rather weak regime. The number of countries, (thirty, made up of six industrialized and twenty-four developing countries) who had ratified the convention is indicative that the issue is a predominantly

developing countries' concern.<sup>86</sup> The important point to note here is that, "conservation of biodiversity...cannot be effectively addressed in isolation from the socio-economic contexts of the global community and of individual nation-state".<sup>87</sup>

### **2.6.2 *The Desertification Convention***

The desertification convention is one of only two international regimes that were established at the instance of developing countries. Desertification gained currency with the first major drought in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1970s but did not gain global attention until 1992. The delay in globalizing this problem was partly due to the problem of issue definition, which was plagued by complexity, vagueness and disagreements. In addition, desertification does not have a global outlook because it has no direct linkage with resources or life or life-support systems of global interest. Its effect on countries is only indirectly through the threatening of the economies and societies of a large number of countries. Again, due to the wide range of factors that could be responsible for the phenomenon, it was difficult to articulate simply and clearly, either the nature of the problem or the international action needed to address it.<sup>88</sup>

One cannot deny the fact that for many African countries, the link between poverty alleviation and desertification control is a strong one, which confirms the need for increased funding. Most industrialized countries and the World Bank shifted the responsibility of solving the desertification problem to the African countries. They argued that the underlying problems were with the macroeconomic policies of African countries like excessive taxes on agriculture. They therefore envisaged the solution to be policy reforms, better planning and more popular participation and not a new

international programme or formal agreement. The persistence of African countries coupled with the support of only France and later the United States helped put the issue of desertification on the global agenda.

### **2.6.3 Hazardous Waste Trade Regime**

Hazardous waste disposal is another contentious global environmental problem. Industrialized market economies generate over 90% of the world's hazardous waste. The major exporters are United States, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. However, stringent laws in their own countries imply that they look for alternative and cheaper sites for disposing off their waste. Although only about a fifth of this trade goes on between developed and developing countries, it is alarming against the background that these developing countries lack the necessary capacity to monitor incoming shipments and the technical expertise needed to appropriately dispose off the waste. It is considerable to note that in most of the cases of trade between developing and developed countries, there is an element of illegality where officials have received huge revenues in exchange for the waste.<sup>89</sup>

African states advocated for a total ban as well as export-state liability in the event of illegal trafficking, whilst the waste-exporting countries wanted what is referred to as an 'informed consent' regime-a convention that would allow the trade, provided importing countries were notified and agreed to accept it. The latter position led to the Basel Convention on Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal, which endorsed the "informed consent" concept.<sup>90</sup>

Ironically, in 1989 thirty states (excluding the U.S) and the European Commission (EC) publicly pledged to ban the trans-boundary disposal of waste. Additionally, in January 1991, twelve African countries under the auspices of the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) signed the Bamako Convention to ban the importation of hazardous waste into their countries. Though weak from the beginning, the convention gradually gained strength and by early 1994 over a hundred countries had banned the importation of hazardous waste.<sup>91</sup>

However, in real terms this ban is non-effective. Developing countries and their supporters who were mainly NGOs advocated for a complete ban, but this was largely unsuccessful. In comparison with the ozone case, it is clear that the developed countries, which were mainly the exporting states, were not vulnerable and so did not in actual fact need the consent of the importing states except in specific cases where they decided to take unilateral action against importing states. This gave developed countries higher leverage over the most vulnerable developing states.

Quite significantly, the French called for “a collective ambition” to make environmental awareness a major theme of education and political debate until respect for the environment comes to be as fundamental as safeguarding human rights and freedoms. Much more significantly, it was noted by the Dutch Prime Minister that developing countries would bear the brunt of the impact of climate change on agriculture, the environment, human health and their economies which will consequently have negative impact on poverty and sustainable development.<sup>92</sup>



#### **2.6.4 The Ozone Layer Depletion**

The ozone layer depletion bothers on what is termed as a common-property resource, which in this case is the atmosphere. This implies that apart from each user's capability of subtracting from the welfare of others, it is impossible to control access to it.<sup>93</sup>

In 1975, the UNEP took the first step in bringing the issue of ozone depletion to the international front when it funded a study by the World Meteorological Organization on the theory advanced by two U.S scientists that the depletion of the ozone layer was caused by chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). However the political definition of the problem was not until 1977 when the United States, Canada, Finland, Norway and Sweden urged the UNEP to consider the international regulation of ozone. As a follow up, the UNEP established the Coordinating Committee on Ozone Layer made up of representatives of government agencies and NGOs to look at the extent of the problem.<sup>94</sup>

This was one convention where the bargaining process was far ahead of the definition of the issue. The issue was defined and the agenda set basically by individuals, organizations and nations of the industrialized countries.<sup>95</sup> The United States, which singularly produced about 30% of the worldwide production of, was to be the lead state because it was already under pressure to regulate its use of CFCs. The European Union with four of its major members - Britain, France, Germany and Italy, accounting for 45% of the total output was a potential veto coalition. The major producers of CFCs are the corporations from the developed countries. Knowing that the way the issue was defined could have crucial economic consequences on their corporations, they attempted to modify the issue definition.<sup>96</sup>

By 1987, Third World countries were clear on their interests. The focus of the negotiations which was the phasing out of ozone-depleting chemicals appeared to be a disturbing concern for Third World countries who felt that the move would impede their development and industrialization process. Together with the European Union, which exported one third of its production to developing countries, the latter constituted a potential veto coalition.<sup>97</sup> This was initially and largely remains, an issue for industrialized countries since no developing country played any significant role in the negotiations especially in the transformation process, and their influence was basically at the bargaining stage.<sup>98</sup>

The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer was a compromise under which industrialized countries pledge to reduce chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) production by 50% of 1986 levels by 1999 although developing countries were allowed to substantially increase their production for the first decade. In spite of the efforts put in to ensure the success of the standard, it still faced some challenges, namely, the non-provisions for international monitoring of production and consumption of ozone-destroying chemicals, the absence of penalties for non-compliance and the lack of funds for the Multilateral Fund for the implementation of the Montreal Protocol.<sup>99</sup> This was one regime by which developing countries, although did not play key roles in the entire process, were able to use linkage politics to get something significant from it and clearly demonstrates each country's commitment to particular environmental issue depending on the country's national interest.

### **2.6.5 *The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES)***

One other regime worth noting is that of saving the African elephants through prevention of illegal trade in ivory. The umbrella regime for dealing with illegal traffic in wildlife is the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). The regime is expected to combat commercial overexploitation of wild animals and plants by imposing trade sanctions against violators. The trade in endangered species is not only a big international business but also a very lucrative one. For instance, the international trade is worth an estimated \$5 billion annually, of which a third is illegal.<sup>100</sup>

The UNEP provided a secretariat and a conference of the parties, which meet every two years to take decision on regulatory measures to be adopted to protect species, considered endangered. To enhance these efforts, the species were categorized based on the threat of their extinction. Japan was the leading blocking or veto state because it is the largest consumer of illegal wildlife especially the African elephants. Under international pressure Japan withdrew eight of its reservations between 1987 and 1994.<sup>101</sup>

The bargaining process was initiated by an international coalition including Kenya, Tanzania, Austria, the Gambia, Somalia, Hungary and the United States. In 1989, they initiated an effort aimed at listing the African elephant in Appendix I, which would then mean a total ban on importation. Interestingly, another coalition made up mainly of Southern African states like Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa and Zimbabwe opposed the proposed listing. Their arguments were that in spite of the overall decline of African elephants, their countries have managed to increase the number of their herds. They however, did not succeed and the African elephants were put into Appendix I but with some flexibility for changes when and where necessary.<sup>102</sup>

It is significant to note that, African countries were not at the forefront of this negotiation but rather Japan. Japan, which is the largest importer, was therefore expected to veto this. Surprisingly, in 1992 Japan changed its policy and by that committed itself to protecting the African elephants. After that, world prices for raw ivory plummeted 90% making poaching and smuggling unattractive.

It is clear from the foregoing, that developed countries would push through a regime or particular standpoint if it is clearly in their favour. This shows the weak stance of developing countries in such international negotiations.

## **2.7 The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development: Agenda 21**

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) commonly referred to as Agenda 21 marks the beginning of a new global partnership for sustainable development. It is the product of an extensive process of preparation at the professional level and negotiation at the political level and addresses in very comprehensive and concrete terms some of the environmental concerns that this chapter has been discussing so far. It established for the first time, a framework for the systematic and cooperative action required to effect the transition to sustainable development.<sup>103</sup> It was realized that there is deterioration of living standards leading to worsening poverty levels, hunger, ill-health and illiteracy coupled with ecosystem degradation. The solution as envisaged was through the integration of environment and development concerns now and in the future. Whilst it is a reflection of a global

consensus and political commitment, the onus for its successful implementation lies with individual countries through national strategies, plans, policies and processes.<sup>104</sup>

The core value of Agenda 21 is sustainable development first espoused by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), commonly called the Brundtland Report of 1987. Agenda 21 has four main sections with 115 programme areas, which spell out the specific actions to be taken in order to effect the transition. The first is social and economic dimensions, second, conservation and management of resources for development; third, strengthening the role of major groups; and fourth, the means of implementation. The issues raised under each of these sections are very comprehensive and covers every aspect of the environment. For each of the issues raised, the chapter spells out the basis for action, the objectives, the activities and the means of implementation.<sup>105</sup>

In spite of its comprehensiveness, Agenda 21 has its own internal wrangling, especially with regard to sponsorship of developing countries in order to make them formulate and implement the necessary policies required to effect the objectives outlined under the various programmes. It was this uncertainty and divergence that led the then Secretary General of the United Nations to state during the opening session of the conference that “developing countries must leave here with the confidence that they will have the support and incentives they need to commit themselves to the substantial reorientations of policies and redeployment of their own resources called for by Agenda 21... this calls for a new sense of real partnership”.<sup>106</sup> In other words, the levels of divergence and or convergence have been a matter of concern in global environmental politics.

## 2.8 The Convergence and Divergence Dilemma

From the analysis, two comments need to be made. First, there are inevitable differences or dichotomies between developed and developing countries on issues of definite significance to the two parties. Depending on the environmental issue at stake, there is the likelihood for developed countries to take and support a particular position while developing countries take another but often-opposing stance. Second, it is clear that where developed countries do not seem to be the immediate losers, they are often reluctant to commit themselves to such environmental issues.

In more concrete terms, it is noted that developing countries' impact on regime formation is greater when the matter under debate is a common-property resource. Here, other actors are willing to make compromises to gain the cooperation of developing countries, as was the case with the ozone layer depletion. It is in such circumstances that linkage politics gains better leverage. Along similar lines, in cases where developing countries have and control access to significant resources of greater interest to developed countries as in the case of the biodiversity conservation, developed countries are willing to make some concessions.

This scenario took a different trend in the case of the hazardous waste disposal. In this case, developing countries had no bargaining power; they could not offer any environmental goods in order to get their cooperation. In fact, the ban would rather deprive developed countries of environmental goods; create economic and political problems for them.<sup>107</sup> Thus, the nature of the environmental problem determines the level of convergence or divergence between developed and developing countries, a situation, which clearly spells out the extension of the unequal relationship between these

two groups of countries, which look and assess environmental problems based on their economic, environmental and political interest on a particular issue. It must however be noted that, the level of convergence and divergence was not only horizontal between developed and developing countries but also vertical among developed and developing countries on particular issues of concern.

On another level, developing countries have been sidelined in trade negotiations that rely primarily on exploitation of natural resources. According to Mihyo, Africa's participation in the Uruguay Round negotiations was constrained by economic, institutional, information and capacity problems. In addition, new barriers to market access contained in the new environmental regulations, championed by regional blocs like the European Union (EU) and obviously unfavourable to Africa, have also emerged.<sup>108</sup> These high environmental standards set unilaterally by the EU for products coming from Africa, does not only perpetuate the unequal partnership between them but also create more tension in the other countries which could have negative and spill-over effects.

The unequal relation between developed and developing countries on significant issues is unequivocal leading to a strengthening of already existing dichotomous and unequal relations on political and economic issues, sustainable development, trade and environment and related matters which in turn pose some challenges and dilemma for developing countries in particular.

Paradoxically, it is the same developing countries, which need to conform to global requirements and standards in tackling environmental problems whilst simultaneously doing this within coherent national policies of providing for majority of

their citizens. This implies that as much as the global context and content of environmental problems are important, they cannot be addressed outside the guidelines of national policies. It is therefore significant in the context of this study, to look at Ghana's role in international environmental politics, the focus of the next section.

## **2.9 Ghana and Global/Regional Environmental Politics**

Ghana is noted to have taken an "active" part in the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. More importantly, her participation led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Council (EPC) in 1974, which was renamed as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1994. This was the first governing body on environmental management in Africa. It is noteworthy that the creation of the EPC set the tone for the level of awareness on environmental problems, which led to subsequent search for measures for solutions.

These and others were significant in the light of the environmental disasters that hit the country in the early and mid 1980s. It is a fact that the responses to these disasters were not the very best as should have been the case. Nevertheless, there had been some level of awareness, which helped to curb further destruction since these coincided with other environmental disasters like famines in some part of Africa, the leak at the pesticides factory at Bhopal in India, which killed several people, and the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in the former USSR. These disasters tended to threaten the 'rights' of the human family to a healthy and productive environment, which was fundamental to the 1972 Stockholm conference and other follow-up conferences.<sup>109</sup>



To ensure that Ghana takes seriously to international environmental programmes and projects, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) created a new department in 1996 named Conventions and Project Implementation Department (CPID). This department is to help with the coordination and internalization of international protocols and conventions on the environment signed or ratified by Ghana. This buttresses the important nexus between the international/global and national components of environmental problems.<sup>110</sup> In connection with their role, the department has conducted or participated a number of workshops and other programmes (see Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1: Workshop/Conference/Programmes and Projects Indicative of Ghana's Commitment to Global and National Environmental Issues**

Conference/Workshop/Programmes and Projects	Date and Place	Theme and/ or Aim	Remarks
1. Third Regional Workshop on Biosphere Reserves for Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Development in Anglophone Africa (BRAAF)	Cape Coast and Kumasi- 9-15 March 1997.	Traditional Knowledge and Modern Concepts of Biodiversity Conservation	This was to ensure the contribution of Traditional knowledge to biodiversity conservation for environmental sustenance.
2.Training Workshop in Income Generating Activities for six communities within the Bia Biosphere Reserve.	10-13 December 1997.	Alternative sources of income generation	This was to ensure that communities within the reserve area look to alternative sources of income to take them off the reserve as their only means of survival.
3. Project on Coastal and Marine Environment Resources Database Development in Ghana, the Gambia and Guinea	April 1997 to September 1997. In all three countries.	Collation and organization of existing data on coastal resources for references.	This was to enable the generation and reliability of needed data crucial for effective monitoring.
4. Zonal Workshops on Climate Change Policy for selected institutions and a National Workshop on Climate Impact Vulnerability and Adaptation Assessment.	1997, Accra.	The effect of climate change issues on Ghana	This was to ensure that institutions, which are linked to this issue, are well conversant with the convention and understand its implications for Ghana and the role Ghana has and continue to play at all levels on this.
5. Establishment of the Ministry of Environment and its merger with Ministry of Science and Technology to be the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology.	1993 and 1994	N/A	This was aimed at ensuring a wholistic tackling of environmental problems.
6. The Environmental Protection Council (EPC) went through institutional transformation to become the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).	1994	N/A	This transformation was to empower the EPC beyond advisory status into an implementing agency.
7.The Establishment of the Ghana Environmental Resources Management Project (GERMP).	1993	N/A	It was to help in rationalizing the use of financial resources for the operationalization of the NEAP.

Source: Adapted from Annual Report of the EPA 1997 and 1998.

In addition, other extensive programmes have also been put in place in Ghana as a result of the Rio Agreements and Agenda 21 particularly. It is noted that the NEAP addresses all but few of all the issues raised in the agreements and the agenda. In fact, in line with the ideals of sustainable development and precisely Agenda 21 (a listing of targets, strategies and action programme in all countries), Ghana has undertaken some measures to ensure that the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and the institutional changes harmonize and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations so as to ensure intergenerational equity.<sup>111</sup> In tandem with this vision, the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology records that there has been progress in that direction.

It is instructive to note that Ghana has participated in about thirty-eight (38) international conventions and treaties since 1951. Out of this number, she is party to all except three. Table 2.2 details some of the conventions Ghana has either signed or ratified between 1974 and 2000.

**Table 2.2: List of International Conventions on the Environment in which Ghana Participated, 1974-2002**

Convention/Treaty	Place of Adoption/Sign.	Date of Enforcement (E) or Adoption (A)	Date of Ratification or Adoption by Ghana
Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage	Paris (France)	16 Nov, 1975	4 July 1975
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).	-	(A) 16 Nov. 1972, (E) 1 July 1975 amended in 1979, 1982, 1987.	14 November 1975.
International Convention on intervention on the High Seas in cases of Oil Pollution Casualties.	Brussels (Belgium)	6 May 1975, 29 Nov. 1999	20 April 1978.
International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage, 1969 as amended.	Brussels (Belgium)	Amended in 1976, 1992.	20 April 1978.
International Convention on the establishment of an International Fund for Compensation for Oil Pollution damage as amended.	N/A	(A) 18 Dec. 1971 Amended in 1976, 1984 and 1994.	20 April 1978.
Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile use of Environmental Modification Techniques	Geneva (Switzerland)	(A) 10 Dec 1976, (E) 5 May 1978.	22 June 1986.
United Nations Law of the Sea	N/A	(A) 10 Dec 1982, (E) 16 Nov 1994.	7 June 1983.
Convention on the Protection of Workers against Occupational Hazards in the Working Environment Due to Air Pollution, Noise and Vibration.	Geneva (Switzerland)	(A) 20 June 1977, (E) 11 July 1999.	27 May 1986
Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Water Fowl Habitat	Ramsar (Iraq)	(A) 2 Feb 1971, (E) 21 Dec 1975	22 February 1988
Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals	Bonn (Germany)	(A) 23 June 1979, (E) 1 Nov 1983.	19 January 1988
Convention and Protocol on Cooperation in Combating Pollution in cases of Emergency	Abidjan (La Cote d'Ivoire)	(A) 23 March 1981, (E) 5 August 1984.	20 July 1989.
Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer	Vienna (Austria)	(A) 22 March 1985, (E) 22 Sept 1988	24 July 1989
Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	Montreal (Canada)	(A) 16 Sept 1987, (E) 1 Jan 1989	24 July 1989
Convention for Cooperation in the Protection and Development of the Marine and Coastal Environment of the West and Central Africa Region	Abidjan (La Cote d'Ivoire)	(A) 23 March 1981	20 July 1989
Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal	Basel (Switzerland)	(A) 22 Feb 1989, (E) 5 May 1992.	Plans are afoot to ratify the Convention.
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships and Protocols (MARPOL, 73/78)	N/A	(A) 2 Nov 1979, and 17 Dec 1978 (E) 2 Oct 1983	3 Sept 1991
Treaty Establishing the African Community	Abuja (Nigeria)	(A) 3 June 1991, (E) 12 May 1994	25 October 1991.
London Amendment to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	London (England)	(A) 29 June 1990, (E) 10 Aug 1992	24 July 1992.
Convention on Biological Diversity	Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	(A) 5 July 1992, (E) 29 Dec 1993	29 August 1994
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	New York (USA).	(A) 9 May 1992, (E) 21 March 1994	6 September 1995
Convention on Nuclear Safety	Vienna	(A) 20 Sept 1994, (E) 24 Oct 1996.	6 July 1995
United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and /or Desertification particularly in Africa	N/A	(A) 17 July 1994, (E) 26 Dec 1996.	27 Dec 1996.
Copenhagen Amendment to the Montreal Protocol	Copenhagen (Denmark)	N/A	9 April 2000.

Source: Ministry of Environment and Science, Accra, 2004.

At the educational level, courses like Population and Development, Environmental Law and Environmental Studies have been introduced at the graduate level while a Remote Sensing Application Unit, an Ecological Laboratory and a School of Public Health, all at the University of Ghana, have been established as part of the response to the global call for national efforts towards environmental sustainability.

The crucial role played by NGOs at the global level on environmental matters has not escaped the attention of Ghana. There has been a progression of the number of environmental NGOs from 42 in 1992 to about 85 in 1996 and 193 in 2000. These include the Green Earth, Friends of the Earth and Third World Network. This is traceable not only to the increased importance of environmental problems but quite significantly within the national context, a conducive and cooperative atmosphere and relationship between government and the NGO community since the latter is considered as a partner in this enterprise especially in awareness creation. Their role tallied with district level agencies and especially the District Environmental Management Committees (DEMCs), which are responsible for environmental issues at the district level.

These programmes and similar ones, projects and workshops at the national and sub-regional levels are indicative of the importance Ghana attaches to the international dimension and influence<sup>112</sup> of environmental concerns in addressing her own environmental problems. More significantly, almost all of these programmes and projects and workshops are fully or partially supported in different ways by development or donor organizations (see Table 2.3).

**Table 2.3: Projects/Workshops Supported by Donor Organizations**

Funding Agent	Project description	Amount	Related institution	Duration
EU	Protected Area Development project, Development of management plan for Bia National Park	4.6million Euros	Wildlife Department	1997-1999
GTZ/KFW	Forest protection and Resource Use Management Project II	DM 25 million	Forestry Department	1998-1999
EU/NEDA	Netherlands Government Forest management Certification Project	866,000 Euros and US\$353,000	Forestry Department	1997-1999
NEDA	Netherlands Government Bushfire Control and Management in the transitional zone	US\$1.4 million	Forestry Department	1999-2001
NEDA	Netherlands Government Development plan for Mole National Park	US\$5.568 million	Wildlife and Forestry	1999-2004
WFP	Support to Savanna resource management in N. Regions	US\$2.1 million	Ministry of Food and Agriculture	1999-2003
DANIDA	Support to Traditional Energy Marketing	US\$2.1 million	Forestry Department	1999-2001
DfID	Forest Sector Development Project Phase II	£11.9 million	Forestry Department /Commission	1999-2004
AfDB	Forest Plantation Development Project	US\$7 million	Forestry Department	1999-2009
EU	Woodworking Sector Development Programme	4.87 million Euro	Forestry Department	1998-2001
UNDP	Ghana/UNDP Capacity 21 Programme	US\$1.3 million	Ministry of Environment Science and Technology	1998-2000
UNDP/GEF	Project on phase-out of Ozone depleting substances	US\$1.2 million	Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	1995-2000
World Bank	Coastal Wetlands Management Project	US\$2.9 million	Forestry Commission	-1999.
*World Bank	Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP).	US\$90 million	Ministry of Lands and Forestry	1998-2008

\* This project did not go through all the three phases. The second and final stages were stalled due to technical reasons. The phase one however ends by September 2004.

Source: Extracted from the Comprehensive Development Framework, Natural Resources, 1999, pp.5-7 and Country Profile on Environment-Ghana, Japan International Cooperation Agency, (JICA) November 1999, pp. 25-26.

## 2.10 Conclusion

The chapter has shown that a successful global attempt at addressing environmental problems from any angle needs to be done within a given national framework and vice versa. In other words, the need for both global and national efforts at combating environmental problems is inevitable especially because of the identified synergistic relationship between the two key levels. Whilst actions at individual country levels hold the ultimate key to successful management of environmental resources, these

achievements are necessarily linked either directly or indirectly to the larger global context.

As a result of the importance of country-specific actions in tackling the enormous environmental problems, the subsequent chapters of this study focus specifically on Ghana's environmental policy and how it has contributed to the achievement of sustainable development with particular emphasis on the forestry and to a lesser extent, the mining subsectors, focusing on the Wassa West and Adansi West Districts of the Western and Ashanti regions respectively. In other words, one needs to find out whether specific programmes as outlined earlier on at all the levels and in all sectors have yielded expected results. This would be explored more comprehensively in subsequent chapters through examination and analysis of the NEAP, the NEP, institutional and stakeholder issues and the contextual variables influencing environmental public policy making and implementation.

## NOTES

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<sup>2</sup> Marian A. L. Miller, The Third World in Global Environmental Politics (Boulder and London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1995), p.4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, Proceedings of the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources, Vol.1, New York, 1950, p.vii.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Bartelmus, Environment and Development, (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986) p.11 and Jennifer A. Elliot, An Introduction to Sustainable Development: The Developing World, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.10.

<sup>11</sup> Bartelmus, *ibid*, p.12 and Elliot, *ibid*, p.10.

<sup>12</sup> Bartelmus, *ibid*, pp.7-12.

<sup>13</sup> John Brohman, Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p.308.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Miller, The Third World, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Forward, World Commission on Environment and Development, p.ix.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.43.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.67.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp. 95-257.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 263.

<sup>21</sup> Elliot, An Introduction to Sustainable Development, p.11.

<sup>22</sup> Miller, The Third World, p.9.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Gareth Porter, Janet Welsh Brown and Pamela S Chasek, Global Environmental Politics, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, (USA: Westview Press, 2000), pp. 35-37.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp. 31-32.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p.33.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp. 34-36.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, pp.37-39.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.39.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.41.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid,

<sup>32</sup> The World Bank, "Mining Reform and the World Bank: Providing a Policy Framework for Development", Mining and Development Unit, 2003, pp.V-VI.

<sup>33</sup> Interview, Senior Natural Resource Specialist, World Bank, Ghana Office, July, 2004.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p.47 and Greenpeace, 'World Bank and the Environment: Some Things never change', World Bank Fact Sheet No. 3, 1999, pp.1-2.

<sup>36</sup> Miller, The Third World, p.42.

<sup>37</sup> Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1998), p.127.



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<sup>38</sup> M. B. Salami, "Environmental Impact Assessment Policies, their effectiveness or otherwise for mining sector environmental management in Africa", Third World Network Mining, Development and Social Conflicts in Africa, 2001, p.127.

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<sup>40</sup> Greenpeace World Bank and the Environment, pp.1-2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.28.

<sup>43</sup> Miller, The Third World, p.42.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 29.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.32.

<sup>53</sup> Tockman, "The IMF-Funding Deforestation", p.8.

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- <sup>58</sup> Porter, Brown and Chasek, Global Environmental Politics, pp. 61-66.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp.50-52 and Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, p.153.
- <sup>60</sup> Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, p.122 and 125.
- <sup>61</sup> Miller, The Third World, p. 39.
- <sup>62</sup> Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, p.129.
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- <sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.54.
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- <sup>68</sup> Newell, "Environmental NGOs, TNCs and the Question of Governance".
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- <sup>86</sup> Porter and Brown, Global Environmental Politics, pp.97-98 and World Resources, A Guide to Global Environment, pp.100 and 197.
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- <sup>93</sup> Miller, The Third World, p.132.
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- <sup>95</sup> Miller, The Third World, p.133.
- <sup>96</sup> Porter and Brown, Global Environmental Politics, p.73.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid*.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICYMAKING IN GHANA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The reality that actions taken by governments on the state of their environment is irreplaceable by any global attempt is unequivocal. As much as global agreements are important, they can only become meaningful if individual countries act on them through their respective national environmental policies. This is what makes this chapter most relevant. The chapter assesses environmental issues and policies in Ghana from a historical perspective. It also discusses forestry management policies and their implications for the environment. In addition, it discusses the effects, if any, of structural adjustment programme (SAP) on environmental/forestry policy/programme. The chapter also identifies the demographic statistics and indicators of Wassa West and Adansi West districts and evaluates the gravity of the environmental problems in these districts. It also discusses forestry/mining management policies and their implications for the environment. The questions to be addressed are the following:

1. What were the main environmental issues and problems in Ghana and how did they become part of the policy agenda?
2. What were the policies, programmes and projects put in place by successive governments to address the problem?
3. How did the policies and programmes incorporate forestry sector concerns?
4. How did structural adjustment programme (SAP) impact environmental policies and programmes?

5. To what extent were the policies, programmes and projects successful in addressing the problems especially in the forestry sector?
6. How gender sensitive were the environmental policies and programmes?
7. How did the demographic statistics and indicators of Wassa West and Adansi West impact on or are impacted by the environmental issues and policies?

These questions would enable us to assess the environmental situation in Ghana from a historical perspective and evaluate the gravity of the environmental problems especially in the Wassa West and Adansi West districts and then analyze the effectiveness of governmental actions and responses in tackling the problems. Though the focus is on the forestry sector, reference would be made to the mining sector because of the impact of mining activities on forestry in the case study areas.

### **3.2 Demographic Statistics and Indicators of Wassa West and Adansi West Districts**

#### **3.2.1 *Wassa West District***

The Wassa West district, with a total land area of 2334sq/km is located in the southwestern part of the Western region of Ghana with Tarkwa the district capital, about 90 kilometers from the regional capital Sekondi-Takoradi. The district assembly has a total of eighty-one (81) members including the two Members of Parliament (MPs) of the two constituencies, Tarkwa Nsuaem, and Prestea Huni Valley respectively. There are fifty-four (54) electoral areas, two (2) urban councils (Tarkwa and Prestea), eleven (11) area councils and two hundred and thirty-one (231) unit committees.<sup>1</sup>

According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census Provisional Results, the population of the district is 226,449. About twenty-five percent (25%) of the population are in Tarkwa alone with a gender ratio of hundred (100) male to ninety-seven (97) female (100:97). In other words, there are more men in the district than there are women, a trend which is different from the national where there are more women than men. This is apparently because of the concentration of mining activities in the district, which tend to employ more men than women. Although Wassa is the indigenous dialect, the district has a mix of ethnic groups including Fanti, Nzema, Frafra, Kasem, Ewe, Hausa, Dagbani. These various groups are attracted to the district because of its assumed economic vibrancy due to the mining operations. The district has a total of 354 settlements.<sup>2</sup>

The vegetation of the district is tropical rainforest with major forest reserves like Bonsa (209.79km<sup>2</sup>), Ekumfi (72.52km<sup>2</sup>) and Neural (157.84km<sup>2</sup>) with a number of economic and medicinal tree species. The soils in the district are forest oxysoils suitable for food cultivation and tree crops. Major minerals in the district are gold in Tarkwa, Aboso, Bogoso, Prestea, Teberebie and Nsuaem; manganese in Nsuta; kaolin in Nsuaem and Kuran; Diamond in Huni Valley and Agona Dompim. Natural resources also include timber, rubber, bamboo and fertile land.<sup>3</sup>

The major occupation of the people is agriculture employing about forty-three percent (43%) of the population; industrial mining, about twenty-one percent (21%); commerce, about twenty percent (20%) and services, about sixteen percent (16%). Major cash crops are cocoa, rubber, oil palm, coffee, coconut, sugar cane, rice and cola nut. Investment potential includes mining, mining laboratories, housing, forestry which is lumbering and wood processing, agriculture, among others. The district is said to contain

44% of the country's closest forest, accounts for 30% of the country's gold production and about 39% and 50% of cocoa production and timber respectively and 100% of bauxite and manganese production<sup>4</sup>. These demographic information will guide our analysis.

### **3.2.2 Adansi West District**

The Adansi West district is located on the southern part of the Ashanti region and covers a total land area of 950sq/km. According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the total population of the district is 238, 440. The district has a total of about 173 settlements and a mix of ethnic groups due to the mining activities in the district particularly Obuasi, the district capital which is home to Ashanti Goldfields Company (AGC) one of the largest gold mines in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

The vegetation is predominantly semi-deciduous forest. Agriculture is the dominant economic activity of majority of the population in spite of the overbearing presence of mining activities. However, about 65% of the farmers in the district practice traditional methods of farming with its attendant implications for soil fertility, productivity and economic value. The major primary produce are maize, plantain, cassava, cocoyam and rice. The cash crops include cocoa, citrus, palm oil, teak, cola, cowpea, groundnuts and pineapples among others.<sup>6</sup>

Economic activities encompass forest/wood-based and related industries, blacksmithing and metal based industries, construction and quarrying, mining and allied industries and agro-based industries. There are also other hospitality services that feed these industries and the district as a whole.



Investment potential include gold mining, large tracts of fertile land for agricultural purposes, availability of farm labour, metal scraps for blacksmithing and metal based industries, quarrying, oil palm for agro-based industries, agriculture processing industries, example orange and other fruit juices.<sup>7</sup>

Though the study focuses on forestry, the challenge that mining activities in these two districts bring to bear on the forestry sector makes the existing environmental problems more apparent. These would be addressed in this chapter.

### **3.3 Environmental Issues in Ghana**

In Ghana, environmental issues or problems are not different from those confronting other developing countries; the difference might only be in the scope of the problem and extent of their impact. The report of the South Commission summarizes the environmental issues and problems confronting most developing countries. According to the report the main environmental problems and issues are, "...increasing pressure on natural resources due to high rates of population growth; the dynamics of agriculture development that results in bimodal agricultural development systems; economic pressure, mainly from the North, leading to over-exploitation of natural resources; the imperative of industrialization and economic growth; the adoption of energy-intensive patterns of consumption modeled on those of the North; and unplanned and uncontrolled rural-urban migration".<sup>8</sup> This would be examined in the context of successive regimes and their agenda for the environment, if any; the focus of subsequent sections.

Admittedly, there are several environmental issues in Ghana. However, our focus would be on a selected few based on their relevance to our case study; thus besides the

forestry sector, we will also make reference to the mining sector because of its linkage with forestry and particularly because mining activities by both small and large companies have created tension in our case study districts noted for mining operations.

### **3.3.1 *The Colonial Period***

Environmental issues in Ghana did not so much attract the attention of governments before, during and immediately after colonial rule. This did not mean that environmentally disturbing projects/programmes were not being pursued; rather it was mainly due to the fact that the environment was not an issue of worry at that time. For the colonial government, its aim was to exploit as much of the country's resources as possible without any recourse to the environmental consequences of its actions either in the immediate or the near future. In fact, extraction of mineral resources that engaged the attention of the colonial government is known to be one of the most environmentally destructive activities if not properly executed.<sup>9</sup>

The colonial administration's concern for the environment was related to the impact such degradation would have on its long-term economic motive especially in the forestry and mining sectors. It is recorded that logging activities for export dates back to the sixteenth century. Palm oil is noted to be one of the first forest products to be exported to Europe around 1790 from the Gold Coast. It is also recorded that around 1833 the first stems of African timber, specifically mahogany, appeared on the British market<sup>10</sup>. Writing in the 1960s, Taylor observed that Ghana supplied 88,200m<sup>3</sup> of timber in 1913, which was indicative that the business in the timber industry was growing. In

fact, with the building of railway lines, which connected business centres, previously unexposed forest areas were introduced to the booming forest product industry.<sup>11</sup>

This boom began to have its toll on the forest reserves. Parren states that the colonial administration represented by the Governor of Lagos noted that, "It can be stated without fear that in our possessions on the coast of Africa the timber is rapidly and visibly diminishing, and that... re-planting and preventing waste, has become worthy of early consideration".<sup>12</sup> This awareness as selfish as it may seem became the basis for the introduction of institutional mechanisms to address environmental degradation.<sup>13</sup>

Another major area worth considering is the minerals/mining sector, especially gold. Gold has been part of the Ghanaian economy even before independence, hence the name Gold Coast given by the colonial administrators. Together with the extraction of other minerals like manganese, bauxite and diamond which all came into the mining industry relatively late, the economic contribution to the nation's economy has been more than minimal. In tandem with its expanded activities are the negative environmental consequences.<sup>14</sup> The colonial administration introduced the Mercury Ordinance of 1932, which outlawed the use of mercury by local people for their mining operations. This was more of a banning order than a concern with environmental implications of mining. As indicated, the colonial administration's mining operations suffered a slump because local people who should have worked in these mining companies preferred working on their own. Thus, a ban left them with no option but to work for the big colonial mining companies. Surprisingly, this ban remained in force until 1989.<sup>15</sup>

It needs pointing out that forestry and mining sectors were not the only environmentally concerned sectors, even though it cannot be gainsaid that those were

their priority areas. For instance, in 1949, a land-planning scheme, an extremely integrated rural development and land use system was put in place as a response to the plight of northern peasant farmers during the dry season, which affected output and the death of animals. It had a two-fold aim; first to improve the environmental conditions and simultaneously improve the conditions of the farmers. Furthermore, there were provisions of wells and dugouts, soil conservation and afforestation projects and the introduction of control of dams in selected villages.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the colonial authorities could not be said to be oblivious of environmental degradation even though not much attention was given to the sector in the elaborate development plans outlined for the Gold Coast.

These activities went on for as long as there was colonialism in the then Gold Coast. Intermittent protests by indigenous Gold Coasters prior to intensification of independence struggles were on the exploitation of the nation's resources without any direct reference to the environment. The independence struggle continued in a similar fashion. Not surprisingly, there was hardly any mention of the environment as an issue to be exploited to the advantage of the local people.

#### ***3.3.1.1 The Guggisberg Ten-Year Development Plan***

Prior to his assumption of office as the Governor of the Gold Coast in 1919, considerable progress in some major sectors like the cocoa industry of the Gold Coast economy had been made. The cocoa industry, which had been established in the first decade of the century, began to experience some significant increases. For instance, cocoa exports rose from 52,000 tons in 1913 to 92,000 tons in 1917. Together with some

infrastructural developments on-going at the time, there was certainly no doubt that the development momentum needed to be maintained or better still further accelerated. This formed the background to the Ten-Year Development Plan outlined and undertaken by Guggisberg.<sup>17</sup>

### **Policy Objectives and Strategies**

The plan envisaged a rapid economic expansion and public works over a ten-year period. The plan was delineated into two periods or phases. Nonetheless, there was a lot of flexibility built into the two periods as supported by Guggisberg's statement that "should we find during the first period that either revenue or progress of work exceeds our anticipation we shall bring forward items from the second period. Should, however, circumstances compel us to curtail expenditure, we shall be in a position to modify the programme of both periods".<sup>18</sup> This is a clear indication that Guggisberg understood Charles Lindblom's position on the significance of taking incremental steps towards achieving set goals within the policy framework; and that plans or policies are never made once but are made and remade over a time frame until the best is achieved.<sup>19</sup>

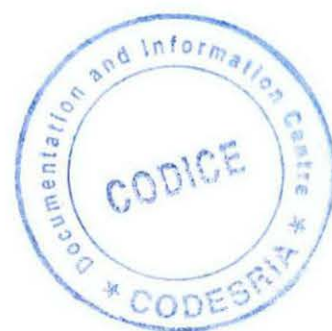
Again having realized the danger of having all their eggs in one basket, the Guggisburg administration sought to expand new industries such as copra, sisal hemp, shea butter, fruits and a commitment to revamp the palm oil and kernel industries.<sup>20</sup> The environmental impact of all these are quite weighty. Nonetheless, there was no serious commitment to environmental consequences of development activities unless where it appeared to threaten the economic objectives as in the case of mining.

### 3.3.2 The Post-Independence Era

#### 3.3.2.1 *The Convention People's Party (CPP) Regime*

##### Policy Objectives

The CPP government replaced the 1950 Development Plan with the 1951 Development Plan, although there was literally no difference between the two plans. The plan addressed four key areas. Among these areas were the agriculture, forestry, mines, water supplies, local government, roads, railways, harbour *inter alia*. The two plans did not take the overall view of the economy into consideration as the programmes were fragmented on departmental basis. The Ten-Year 1964 Development Plan which followed after these reiterated the objectives of the earlier plans including the 1959 plan which was to give the people of Ghana "standard of living which will abolish disease, poverty and illiteracy, give our people ample food and housing...develop strong basic services-communication, power and water, so that we can provide real and effective foundation for the industrialization of our country".<sup>21</sup> In agriculture, for instance, mechanized farming and use of fertilizers were introduced.<sup>22</sup> The Land Planning and Soil Conservation (Amendment) Act, 1957 aimed at better utilization of land in designated areas through land preservation, reclamation and protection of water resources. Implementation of the Act was to be effected through the establishment of committees in designated areas. This Act was expected to provide the guidelines for the land use policy and planning.



## **Participation**

The key stakeholders in the process were the CPP government, civil service, the intelligentsia and the private business sector. Thus, wider public participation was not visible, similar to situations, which pertained, in the colonial period.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, programmes and projects after independence continued in the colonial fashion without reference and precaution to their environmental consequences either in the short or long run. Most state-owned enterprises (SOEs) which operated in the name of import substitution industrialization (ISI) were more often not environmentally friendly. For instance, the Akosombo dam and the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) and other manufacturing corporations like the textiles and the construction of the Tema industrial township posed grave environmental problems.<sup>24</sup>

In order to satisfy the growing demand by their people after independence, most African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, embarked on very ambitious economic development programmes modeled along that of industrialized countries. These programmes and projects did not, however, consider their possible environmental fallout.

In an effort to produce more to meet the demands of the people, the obvious choice was further exploitation of environmental resources. In addition, Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), which culminated into the establishment of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), also contributed their quota to the country's diverse environmental problems through environmentally unfriendly processes of production, which were spillover from the colonial administration. These events led to widespread poverty, environmental decay and political instability, all wrapped up in a complex connection of causes and consequences.<sup>25</sup>

## **Gender**

Gender considerations in policy issues were not a very crucial aspect of government's action. At most it was part of its inaction and this reflected in many successive government's policy initiatives. Under the Nkrumah regime, although there were significant number of women who had played identifiable and meaningful roles in the independence struggle and the subsequent achievement of self rule, policies regarding gender matters were few and far between. At the time of the zeal for rapid socio-economic, government and its agencies were not concerned with gender as an analytical framework but with the rapid development of the country for the benefit of all.

### ***3.3.2.2 The Progress Party (PP) Regime: 1969-1972***

The Nkrumah regime was toppled by a coup d'état in February 1966. The successor government, the National Liberation Council (NLC), was so much preoccupied with "correcting" the mistakes of the Nkrumah period and preparing for a handing-over to a civilian government that it did not include the environment in its agenda. The NLC was succeeded by the Progress Party (PP) government led by Dr. Kofi Busia which won multi party elections held in August 1969.

## **Policy Objectives and Enforcement**

The Busia government's economic policy was based on laissez faire with a focus on rural development aimed at alleviation of poverty. Rural development was considered crucial to Ghana's development since majority of Ghanaians live in the rural areas who are also engaged mainly in agricultural activities. Unfortunately, rural development was



poorly planned, implemented and monitored leaving farmers more frustrated since objectives and expectations were not realized. In the process, some land and ecosystems were destroyed through unsustainable land use.

### ***3.3.2.3 The Supreme Military Council I and II Regime, 1972-1978***

#### **Policy Objectives**

The Busia regime was also toppled by a military coup d'état led by General Acheampong and his Supreme Military Council (SMC I) in 1972. The situation under the Busia regime was heightened when General Acheampong took over the mantle of governance in 1972 and launched among other programmes his ambitious "Operation Feed Yourself" programme. Indeed, the issue of the environment was not an important component of the programme; which led to further deterioration of the environment<sup>26</sup>.

#### **Strategies**

It was incidentally around this time that Ghana was awakened from its environmental slumber by the threat of desertification, which hit the Sahel region and gradually extended towards Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta) and affected farming activities in parts of the northern region.<sup>27</sup> In addition, it was during Acheampong's regime that the first major global conference on the environment, the 1972 Stockholm Conference was held. This conference precipitated the establishment of the first Environmental Protection Council (EPC) in Africa.

The EPC (now Environmental Protection Agency EPA) was set up by NRCD 258 February 23 1974. As an advisory body to the government on environmental matters, the

EPC was to furnish government with information on environmental issues and concerns for action to be taken on them. Furthermore, some environmentally related decrees were promulgated. They include the Timber Operations (Government Participation) Decree 1972 (NRCD 139 and the Mining Operations (Government Participation) Decree 1972 (NRCD 132), by which the government acquired majority shares of 55%.

Acheampong's SMC was replaced by General Akuffo's Supreme Military Council II in July 1978 after a palace coup. The rule of SMCII was not sustained because in June 1979, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by Flt Lt. Jerry John Rawlings took over power for a few months, supervised general elections held in August of the same year which was won by the Peoples' National Party led by Dr. Hilla Limann.

#### ***3.3.2.4 The People's National Party (PNP): 1979-1981***

The People's National Party (PNP) led by Dr. Hilla Limann, which won the elections, formed a new government in September 1979. As a result of regime instability, no concrete efforts were made at consolidating even the modest environmental gains of the Acheampong regime although the Environmental Protection Council (EPC) continued to be in existence. The Limann PNP administration was also overthrown in another coup d'état led by Rawlings' Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in December 1981, after only twenty-seven months in office. It was under the PNDC regime that Ghana's environmental problems became obvious.

#### ***3.3.2.5 The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Regime, 1981-1992***

By the early 1980s, with the influx of refugees from landlocked countries like Mauritania and Chad coupled with Ghana's social and economic problems, the reality of

environmental threat reached the zenith.<sup>28</sup> The government and the people all had their fair share of the ill consequences of refugees. The influx of refugees undoubtedly changed government's perception and attitude towards environmental issues. This supports the assertion that perception of crisis has informed and shaped environmental policy-making in a variety of different settings since the colonial period.<sup>29</sup>

Poverty in all its forms was visible not only in the lives of the people but also on the environment, which had experienced dramatic onslaught through people's efforts to survive the economic malaise. This was escalated by spells of drought apparently due to change in rainfall patterns, which is itself the result of environmental changes. Ghana experienced its worst drought period in the late 1970s and then more severely between 1982 and 1983 resulting in bush fires that destroyed large tracks of food and cash crop ready for harvesting. A total of 1005 cases of bush fires were recorded nation-wide. Table 3.1 indicates the gravity of bush fires recorded during this period.

**Table 3.1 Incidence of Bushfires in Ghana-1982-1983**

No	Region	No of fires	%age of Total	Rank
1	Western	46	4.6	10
2	Central	92	9.1	8
3	G. Accra	68	6.9	9
4	Eastern	96	9.6	7
5	Volta	107	10.6	5
6	Ashanti	104	10.3	6
7	B. Ahafo	110	10.9	4
8	Northern	145	14.5	1
9	U. East	125	12.4	2
10	U. West	112	11.1	3

Source: Adapted from Nsiah-Gyabaah, 1996.

Table 3.2 also indicates the level of economic decline in the country at the time measured by levels of exports and imports, which necessitated the adoption of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) under the PNDC regime.

**Table 3.2      Level of Economic Decline in Ghana**

	1970	1971	1975	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
<b>Exports</b>	87.2	61.3	56.4	38.2	39.5	40.7	46.0	32.6
<b>Imports</b>	102.5	86.1	62.0	39.1	39.1	45.0	25.8	18.4

Source: E. Gyimah-Boadi, 1993, p.15.

### ***3.3.2.5.1 The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and Environmental Issues***

#### **Policy Objectives**

In a desperate attempt to tackle the economic downturn, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government embarked on a joint World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programme (SAP) meant to re-galvanize the economy. The implementation of the package was to produce positive economic growth results and to ensure environmental sustainability. Inherent in the SAP were specific requirements expected to help in this process. The basis of the policy framework of these institutions was a reduced role of the state while promoting the role of the private sector.

#### **Strategies**

These were to be done in a number of ways. The country was to increase the production of its raw materials for the export market to be in line with the policy of producing more than expected. Thus, cocoa, timber, gold and other minerals became the

targets with an increasing pressure on the production and subsequent export of non-traditional items.<sup>30</sup> These export strategies and privatization efforts under SAP yielded some results. For instance, the timber industry grew to the extent that government had to impose restrictions on the type of species that could be logged for exports as the very popular ones by their economic and utilization value was nearly extinct. One sector that attracted a considerable number of investors was the minerals sector. The result was that between 1983 and 1996, the number of foreign mining companies licensed to operate in the country went up appreciably<sup>31</sup> (see Table 3.3). This resulted in corresponding increase in gold production (see Table 3.4). Akabzaa, for instance, states that there were thirteen large-scale producing gold mines and between 224 and 230 local and foreign companies with the later controlling 70% of the shares in the mining sector.<sup>32</sup>

**Table 3.3: Mining Companies in Ghana, 1982-1990**

Name of Company	Location	Owners
Ashanti Goldfields (AGC)	Obuasi, (Ashanti Region)	Lonhro, Ghana Government, Anglo America etc
Goldfields Gh. Ltd (GFL)	Tarkwa, Western Region	Goldfields South Africa, Ghana Government
Teberebie Goldfields Ltd (TGL)	Teberebie, Western Region	Pioneer Corporation and Ghana Government
Ghana Australian Goldfields Ltd, (GAG)	Iduapriem, Western Region	AGC/Golden Shamrock, IFC and Ghana Government
Abosso Goldfields Ltd (AGL)	Damang, Western Region	Ranger Minerals and Ghana Government
Satellite Goldfields Ltd	Subri, Tarkwa, W.R.	Others and Ghana Government
Sankofa Gold Ltd	Prestea, W. Region	Samax and Ghana Government
Bogoso Gold Ltd	Bogoso, W. Region	Gencor, IFC and Ghana Government
Bonte Gold Mines Ltd	Akrokkerri, E. Region	Akrokkerri Ashanti Gold mines of Canada and Ghana Government
Dunkwa Continental Goldfields Ltd	Dunkwa, W. Region	Continental Construction Ltd and Ghana Government
Obenamasi Gold Resources Ltd (OGR)	Obenamasi	Resolute Group
Goldfields Limited	Nkawkaw, E. Region	State of China, others and Ghana Government
Amansie Resources	Amansie, E. Region	Resolute group and Ghana Government
Barnex (Prestea) Ltd	Prestea	
Ghana Consolidated Diamonds	Akwatia, E. Region	Diamonds and Ghana Government
Ghana Bauxite Company	Awaso, W. Region	Alcan and Ghana Government
Ghana Manganese Company	Aboso, W. Region	Elkem, Norway and Ghana Government

Source: Vital Statistics: Ghana Gold Mining Industry, Drillbits and Tailings, Vol.5, No 19, 22 May 2000 and CASA/SAPRI Report, July 2001, p. 3.

Table 3.4 Ghana's Mineral Production 1988-1998

Year	Gold	Diamond	Bauxite	Manganese
1988	373,937	256,358	299,939	284,911
1989	429,476	285,636	374,646	273,993
1990	541,408	636,503	368,659	246,869
1991	845,908	687,736	324,313	311,824
1992	998,195	656,421	399,155	276,019
1993	1,262,424	590,842	364,641	295,296
1994	1,430,845	757,991	451,802	238,429
1995	1,708,531	631,707	530,389	186,901
1996	1,606,880	614,737	383,370	267,000
1997	1,758,005	829,524	536,728	332,443
1998	2,382,339	822,619	341,118	384,400

Values for gold are in ounces, values for diamond in carats and values for bauxite and manganese in metric tons.  
Source: Drillbits and Tailings, Vol.5, No.19, December 22, 2000, p.1.

The environmental degradation that resulted from the exploitation of agricultural and other key natural resources brought in its wake considerable cost to Ghana's economy. In 1988, for instance, the total annual estimated cost of environmental degradation was US\$128.3million, about 4% of GDP. This cost was estimated to reach US\$ 2 billion by 1996. The exploitation of the forest resources under SAP, led to an environmental degradation cost of US\$33.4 million on the economy.<sup>33</sup> The cost of the mineral exploitation on the environment is deep and multi-dimensional. More glaringly, it has led to deforestation, soil and land problems as a result of improper use or management or both, desertification and other forms of pollution. Increasing rate of population growth also worsened the situation. Mineral resource extraction as a major means of economic emancipation has not spared the environment. Water bodies, marine and coastal ecosystems have all experienced their fair share of the environmental problems confronting the nation.

These constitute the immediate and main environmental issues, which have attracted governmental attention. The scope of the degradation can only be ascertained from a thorough assessment of the different sectors.

#### ***3.3.2.5.2 The Minerals and Mining Policy***

The Minerals and the Mining Law of 1986, PNDCL 153 represents the main legislation and regulatory framework. The law invests all minerals in the state. A system of mineral right is created in the form of licence or lease, which empowers companies to begin business. Section 17(3) of the law emphasizes the multidimensional nature of the environmental issue where it requires applicants for the minerals right to forward copies of their applications to the Minerals, Lands and Forestry Commissions besides the Minister in charge of Minerals.<sup>34</sup> Although it can also be accused of being shortsighted on provisions of environmental protection, it was better than previous regulations and laws. For instance, in Section 72 of the law, it states that “The holder of a mineral right shall in the exercise of his right under the license or lease have due regard to the effect of the mineral operations on the environment and shall take such steps as may be necessary to prevent pollution of the environment as a result of such mineral operations”.<sup>35</sup>

Whilst it is true to state that there is some improvement, it is equally true to note that the existing minerals and mining law is inadequate in addressing the problems of sustainability created by the industry. For instance, there is no provision for impact assessment of projects by mining companies before engaging in their activities. Additionally, the question of who defines the “necessary steps” to be taken is a contentious one. These and similar inefficiencies are inherent in the law. It is clear that

the benefits of the law for mining companies far outweighed the environmental responsibility required of the investors in the sector.

It is, however, not surprising because of the economic and political circumstances within which the minerals and mining law was enacted. The law was enacted as part of the conditionalities by the IMF under the ERP, taking into consideration the aim of attracting foreign investment so desperately needed to boost up the sector, which had a lot of potential to pep up the economy. Consequently, the law which aimed at streamlining the activities of mining companies also made it possible for them to conduct their business without too many restrictions, if any at all.

### **Participation**

Politically, the country was under military governance at a period, which has been referred to as the 'culture of silence' where dissenting views were not tolerated by the government. During the period, the laws enacted by the PNDC regime were not subjected to nation wide debate and there was no representative institution to debate and endorse the laws. It was more or less an exclusively governmental affair with contributions coming from members carefully chosen from its agencies and quasi-military organizations, which were tightly controlled at the time.

#### ***3.3.2.5.3 Mining and Environmental Guidelines***

### **Policy Objectives**

The inadequacies of the law on the environmental protection aspect partly accounts for the preparation of Ghana's Mining and Environmental Guidelines by the



Minerals Commission and the Environmental Protection Council in 1994, under the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government, aimed at pre-empting “permanent environmental damage by mining companies and promote sound environmental stewardship”.<sup>36</sup> The guidelines cover exploration, exploitation, de-commissioning, environmental impact assessments and environmental action plans for the mining companies. Under this new guidelines, mining companies are required to submit Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), which would include an Environmental Action Plan (EAP) bi-annually, although the plan should cover a five-year period.

After nearly twenty years of ruling the country, the PNDC government had to return the country to multi-party democracy due to a combination of international and domestic factors. In 1991, a national referendum approved of the draft constitution, which paved the way for democratic elections on party basis. Among the parties, which contested the elections, were the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Party (NDC) with Chairman Rawlings of the PNDC as its flagbearer. The NDC won the presidential and parliamentary elections held in December 1992, when the opposition boycotted the later on grounds of election malpractices. Nonetheless, the NDC formed the first government of Ghana’s fourth republic in 1993.

#### ***3.3.2.5.4 The National Democratic Congress (NDC) Regime: 1992-2000***

In March 1988, the Environmental Protection Council (EPC) of Ghana initiated a programme aimed at putting environmental issues on the priority agenda. This initiative led to the development of National Environmental Policy (NEP) to be implemented through a National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP). In Ghana, it was noted that the

NEAP would serve as the basis for a “comprehensive and integrated national strategy to deal with the identified environmental problems”.<sup>37</sup>

**(a) *The National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP)***

Theoretically, a National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) is a strategic framework within which environment and sustainable development issues are identified and prioritized. Serving as the basis for managing, monitoring and evaluating a plan of action, the NEAP, is a demand-driven process, based on local participation, which focuses on mainstreaming environment into national and overall development planning process of a country.<sup>38</sup>

There are basically four elements in the NEAP process. These are:

1. Identifying problems and their underlying causes;
2. Setting of priorities in order to facilitate the proper allocation of financial resources and maximizing the use of available human resources;
3. Setting goals and objectives through the development of criteria for ensuring realistic, achievable, and environmental objectives consistent with broader developmental objectives. This will help to reduce the unfortunate dichotomous relationship assumed to exist between the environment and development; and
4. Policy proposals, institutional and legal reforms and priority actions are outlined which is expected to enhance the implementation process.

Fundamental to all these is the stakeholder participation element which is crucial to all the elements and other related aspects of the process.

## **Policy Objectives**

Ayee notes that the preparation of Ghana's Environmental Action Plan had two-fold objectives. First, it aimed at defining the policy actions, and secondly, related investment and institutional strengthening activities needed to ensure a more environmentally sustainable development strategy and to make a more cost-effective use of Ghana's natural capital.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the preparation of the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) was the necessary outcome of the need to reviewing the existing environmental policies related to ensuring environmental decorum in Ghana.

## **Strategies**

In order to effect this, six working groups were established charged with the responsibility of tackling issues in six key environmentally challenging areas. These are Land Management; Forestry and Wildlife; Water Management; Marine and Coastal Systems; Mining, Manufacturing, Industries and Hazardous Chemicals and Human Settlements. In order to effect the implementation of the NEAP, a national environmental policy was to be adopted to serve as the framework within which the implementation can take place. This led to the adoption of the National Environmental Policy (NEP) to which we now turn. This and other significant policies in the context of our analysis, like forestry would be assessed using the following variables, policy objectives, strategies or actions, participation, and enforcement.

**(b) *The National Environmental Policy (NEP)***

The necessity for a comprehensive, sustainable development oriented and implementable environmental policy in Ghana cannot be underestimated in the light of global trends and national realities. As a result, in 1990, the EPA adopted a National Environmental Policy to ensure improvement in living standards. Ayee notes that Ghana's environmental policy was propelled by three major factors. First, the Brundtland report's call on the need to ensure a balance between development and natural resource use; secondly, the Ghana Environmental Action Plan; and thirdly, the National Environmental Policy of Ghana.<sup>40</sup> The import of the NEP is to provide the broad framework for the implementation of the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP).

**Policy Objectives**

1. Maintain ecosystems and ecological processes essential for the functioning of the biosphere;
2. Ensure sound management of national resources and the environment;
3. Adequately protect humans, animals and plants, their biological communities and habitat against harmful impact and destructive practices and preserve biological diversity;
4. Guide development in accordance with quality requirements to prevent, reduce and as far as possible, eliminate pollution and nuisances; and
5. Integrate environmental considerations in sectoral structural and socio-economic planning at the national, regional, district and grassroots levels; and

6. Seek common solutions to environmental problems in West Africa and the world at large.<sup>41</sup>

In order to achieve effectiveness in the implementation of the NEP, a number of principles were to be applied. This included ensuring an optimum sustainability in the use of resources and ecosystems and the use of the most cost-effective means to achieve environmental objectivity. In addition to the fusion of regulatory measures, preventive and eliminating measures like the polluter pays principles and incentives, there will also be delegation of decision-making and action to appropriate governmental agencies and levels. Furthermore, public participation in environmental decision-making would be encouraged and enhanced whilst making efforts towards international cooperation.

### **Strategies**

1. Commitment to environmentally sound use of both renewable and non-renewable resources for national development programmes and projects;
2. Environmental awareness creation among all sectors of the community on the nexus between the environment and socio-economic development;
3. Develop procedures to ensure economy in the use of land so as to avoid land disputes and litigations and minimize conflicts;
4. Ensure environmental quality control through the institution and implementation of a programme on environmental impact assessments on all new investments that have environmental implications;

5. Control environmental pollution and degradation through monitoring of the importation and the use of potentially toxic chemicals;
6. Take appropriate measures to protect eco-systems against harmful effects, nuisance or destructive practices;
7. Develop and maintain a professional cadre within the country to supervise, co-ordinate, implement and enforce procedures and legislation essential for safeguarding the environment and maintenance of sound ecological systems;
8. Appropriate agencies are to be fed with the right information needed for environmental protection and for the enforcement of relevant environmental regulations and legislation;
9. Promote and support research programmes aimed at enhancing understanding of different ecozones and factors affecting them, as well as health-related environmental problems and the development of appropriate technologies for environmentally sound management and use of local resources; and
10. Establish an adequate legislative and institutional framework for monitoring, coordinating and enforcing environmental matters.

The actions to be undertaken in realizing the policy statement seem quite comprehensive. The policy statement confirms that the basic aim of the National Environmental Policy (NEP) can be pursued and effected through the harmonization and enforcement of relevant laws and treaties on the environment and the implementation of

the action plan. This process requires participation by stakeholders, which is our next focus.

### **Participation**

Participation in this process was not different from the trend observed in the other sector policy processes already examined like the mining and forestry policies. The various working groups included research institutions and academic think tanks, traditional institutions, district assemblies, women's groups and other NGOs and donor organizations besides government institutions, agencies and departments. Nonetheless, major government institutions dominated the process with the others playing more or less supporting or peripheral roles. As indicated earlier, the political timing did not favour stakeholders outside the government circle who could be more and openly critical of the approach, content and processes adopted for the exercise.

However, the implementation was to be carried out by a wider range of stakeholders including community groups. This is interesting. Because of the poor record of policy implementation in the country, it was very likely that all those groups expected to play their part could be handicapped by lack of logistics including finance and well-motivated personnel to successfully carry through the objectives set in the policy.

#### ***(c) Forestry and (Wildlife) Policy***

The Forestry and Wildlife policy is historically based. Forestry history dates back to 1906 with the enactment of legislation aimed at controlling the felling of trees for commercial purposes. Following this, the Forestry Department was created in 1908 with

a complete demarcation and reservation of the forest estate by 1939. However, it was not until 1948 that the forestry policy was adopted.<sup>42</sup> The 1948 forestry policy was aimed at a number of things; firstly, the creation and management of a permanent forestry estate for the welfare of the people; secondly, the protection of water supplies; thirdly, maintenance of favourable conditions for agriculture crops; and fourthly, public education and research. It was also aimed at the provision of technical advice and cooperation in schemes for the provision of soil erosion and land use plans.<sup>43</sup>

It was, however, observed after its introduction that, its main focus was on the supply of timber for the wood industry, which not surprisingly, grew steadily up to the 1970s when visible signs of forest depletion emerged. In addition, with national, technological, institutional and ecological changes and new development discourses the 1948 forestry policy was found to have outlived its usefulness and relevance. In the unfolding circumstances, the need for a new policy for the sector became more apparent. We now focus on the 1994 Forestry and Wildlife Policy.

### **Policy Objectives**

The policy is based on national convictions, ecological concerns and international conventions. From the national perspective, the 1992 Republican Constitution recognizes the imperative of protecting natural resources. Article 36 (9) stipulates “the state shall take appropriate measures needed to protect and safeguard the national environment for posterity, and shall seek co-operation with other states and bodies for purposes of protecting the wider international environment for mankind”.<sup>44</sup> This synthesizes the triple basis for the 1994 forest policy stated above.



The main aim of the policy is the conservation and sustainable development of the nation's forests and resources for the maintenance of environmental quality and uninterrupted flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society.<sup>45</sup> Five key objectives of the policy are:

1. Management and enhancement of Ghana's permanent forestry estate resources for the preservation of needed soil, water resources, biological diversity, sustainable environment and production of domestic and commercial products;
2. Promotion of viable and efficient forest based industries for maximizing resources to meet demands;
3. Maintenance of life-sustaining systems by involving rural people in conservation and increase public awareness leading to the preservation of tourists areas, potential recreational areas and income-generating opportunities;
4. Promote research-based and technology-led forestry management utilization and development to ensure resource sustainability, socio-economic growth and environmental stability; and
5. Develop effective capabilities at national, regional and district levels for sustaining management of forest resources.<sup>46</sup>

### **Strategies**

A number of strategies have been outlined to achieve these objectives. These include a permanent forest estate through proper monitoring of existing reserves and reforestation to restore significant proportion of the country's original forest cover. Expansion of reserves will also take place through sustainable use, proper management of

reserves by including unreserved forests under the Forestry Department, revision of existing resource management standards and techniques and enforcement of specifications in resource management plans. Award of timber rights will be based on competitive bidding and periodic auditing of forest operations, regular review of forest fees to reflect economic values and support the cost of sustainable resource management and development. Finally, there will be the establishment and management of a network of National Parks and Protected Areas.<sup>47</sup>

Another component of the policy is research. The policy recognizes the need for research and the coordination and collaboration by research institutions and teams and the proper utilization of research findings. The concentrated areas will be ecologically- and economically-oriented research. Related to this is the encouragement of studies by institutions of higher learning to increase knowledge of biological diversity and its importance for socio-economic development in the country whilst strengthening and building the capacity of relevant institutions and personnel to perform to expectation.<sup>48</sup>

### **Participation**

Public education and participation are also key components of the policy. Government's expressed concern is to increase public awareness and participation especially in situations where such awareness and participation directly affect the livelihood of communities and the stability of the environment. This will involve the development of consultative and participatory mechanisms to enhance tenure rights of farmers and ensure access of local people to traditional use of natural resources. Other programmes will involve awareness programmes like fairs, seminars, trade promotion

and tree planting through community action. In all these, the Forestry Commission was to serve as the linch pin at all levels of government-national, regional and district.<sup>49</sup>

**(d) *Ghana's Vision 2020 and its Projects and Programmes***

The National Democratic Congress (NDC) government launched Vision 2020 in September 1996. According to the document, the long-term vision for Ghana is to become a middle-income country by the year 2020. Our focus would be on the first step, which covers the period 1996-2000 to blend with the end time frame of this study. We will also focus on the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) and the Natural Resources Management Programmes (NRMP) as components of the broad framework.

**Policy Objectives**

The broad objectives covering the 25-year period covered five basic themes, which are macroeconomics, human development, rural development, urban development and enabling environment. These goals were to be achieved by implementing policies over five-year terms. The first was from 1996 to 2000.<sup>50</sup>

The issues raised in the first step include current levels of development in the areas of economic, social, public administration, production and environment; long term objectives; opportunities and constraints. Specifically on the environment, the document lists deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, coastal erosion, waste management problems, air, sea, soil and water pollution. Forestry issues were considered under agriculture and very little information on mining.<sup>51</sup>

It was very much obvious that Vision 2020 was weak in addressing in any comprehensive manner the problems of the environment. In fact, it was not given the

special attention it deserves and its proper positioning on the development map. Even though Vision 2020 is a framework, the status of the framework gives an indication as to where emphasis should be in the development of projects/programmes aimed at achieving the set objectives in the broad framework. But this identified loophole was subsequently addressed with the inclusion of a natural resource management programme as one of the strategic approaches developed to ensure sustainability of the overall national strategy. The others are decentralization, poverty reduction and gender.<sup>52</sup> One of the instruments for the implementation of Vision 2020 was the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF).

The CDF provided the framework for development assistance required to achieve poverty reduction outlined in the Vision 2020. The main objectives included improvement in the relationship of all who contribute to the development process and a mapping out of the proper role, position and contribution of each. These include government agencies, ministries and departments, civil society, the donor community and the private sector.<sup>53</sup> Incorporated in the CDF was the Natural Resources Management Strategy.

The Renewable Natural Resources Management Strategy (RNRMS) was initiated in 1995 and completed in 1996 covering agriculture, forestry and water and the general environment. Although the Vision 2020 identifies objectives and targets for these areas, they were not integrated in spite of their important linkages. As an integrated strategic approach, the RNRMS ensures that various programmes aimed at enhancing the contribution of sustainable natural resource management to the accelerated social and economic development of Ghana are well coordinated. The overall objective is to

sustainably manage for the benefit of present and future generations through the establishment of effective institutional and legislative arrangement, increase the value added to the renewable resources products, enforce regulations and reduce economic over-dependence on renewable natural resources.<sup>54</sup>

A component of the RNRMS is the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP), which addresses major sectoral issues and is geared towards increasing the supply of forest products. This had four aims. First, it was to give support to community-based high forest, savanna woodland and wildlife resources management; secondly, it was to stimulate the private sector into investment in off-reserve tree planting and reforestation of degraded areas in forest reserves; thirdly, it was to encourage increased efficiency of the logging and wood processing industry; fourthly, it was to support the improvement and monitoring of forest biodiversity and establishment of special biological protection areas within forest reserves and finally, it was to promote better co-ordination between ministries and agencies involved in management and monitoring of environmental resources.<sup>55</sup>

### **Strategies**

The Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) is a programming approach that provides a wholistic framework not only for identifying the development needs, but also analyzing and programming these needs and development interventions from all partners in an integrated and coordinated manner.

Among the areas of interest to the CDF is natural resource and the environment. According to the CDF report on natural resources and the environment, the major natural

resource management problem and challenge in Ghana are land and forest resources degradation resulting from inappropriate farming practices and unsustainable harvesting levels.<sup>56</sup> Natural resources in the view of the CDF consists of land and forestry issues and the environment consists of other issues like pollution of all types, mining activities, waste management, infrastructural development and deforestation. These divisions are somewhat inconsistent because what is termed as natural resources are all clear cut environmental matters and should be considered as such.

A number of strategies have been put in place to address some of the identified problems. On forestry, the main government strategy is largely embodied in the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Forestry Development Master Plan 1996-2020, the Forestry Commission Act, 1999, (Act 571) and its 1998 Regulations. There was also the National Land Policy and the preparation of a master plan for the sector.<sup>57</sup> On the environment, the CDF identifies the National Environmental Action Plan-NEAP (1991), the Forestry Protection Strategy-FPS (1995) and the National Biodiversity Strategy-NBS (1998).

Other areas worth mentioning are the preparation and adoption of the mining guidelines and the preparation and adoption of the Ten-year Environmental Education Strategy and the transformation of the EPC to the EPA.<sup>58</sup>

The NRMP, on the other hand, was to be implemented in three phases of two years for the first and four years for the second and third phases. The activities outlined for the first phase included reform in the existing policy and legislation aimed at enhancing and streamlining forest concession allocation and management; restructuring and strengthening sector institutions (to improve effectiveness and efficiency; completing

resource assessment and undertaking baseline technical and socio-economic studies; and piloting collaborative resource management approaches to ensure community awareness and participation). Under phase two, the programme was expected to support the implementation of the collaborative resource management programmes, focusing on priorities selected on the basis of environmental, social and economic perspectives and phase three will involve the replication of the programme on a country-wide basis and an institutionalization of the programme at the district level. However Phase II and III as planned did not take off due to some technicalities on the part of the World Bank.

### **Participation**

The preparation of the Vision 2020 was not as expansive as it should have been under a democratic system. Central government agencies, ministries and departments led by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) dominated the preparation of the Vision, which was the framework for developing the medium-term plans whilst district assemblies and other government institutions gave their comments. It was in the preparation of the latter where it is recorded that participation was more widespread and covered district assemblies, the private sector, NGOs, academics, workers and traditional authorities and approved by parliament.<sup>59</sup>

The planning approach adopted by the Vision 2020 is said to be the participatory type. This aims at promoting ownership of development policies through national consensus strategies.<sup>60</sup> In spite of this approach, the general feeling of Ghanaians is that the preparation of this important strategic document lacked widespread participation as the planning approach attempted or envisaged. For instance, it is recorded that the

district assemblies were not represented in the cross-sectoral planning that prepared the frameworks. Their role was limited to compliance with handed down planning guidelines they were expected to follow. In addition, as a result of the nature of the process without adequate broad-based stakeholder participation, the Vision is skewed towards a partisanship rather than being a nationally accepted document among other people of different political persuasions who were effectively not part of the entire process. This feeling and perception seeps into the national fabric. In fact, even though some Ghanaians are aware of the existence of the Vision 2020, majority do not know the contents of the document, how it came into being and what its objectives are.<sup>61</sup> This creates serious implementation problems.

Participation in the CDF on the other hand, was very much limited. It consisted initially of meetings on World Bank-supported programmes and sectoral agencies from government ministries and departments who were very much involved in these programmes. These meetings were not open and other donors who co-financed these bank-supported programmes were not allowed attendance at these meetings. It was the vision to coordinate in a more integrated manner the contribution of all donors that led to the opening up of these meetings to other development partners. In clear terms, these programmes were outside the purview of meaningful civil society participation or other stakeholders who are not considered as having any stakes in the process. In a broad context, the Structural Adjustment Programme Review Initiative (SAPRI)<sup>62</sup> represented civil society. In spite of the CDF's agenda of helping in poverty reduction, neither the beneficiaries nor their representatives played any meaningful part in the formulation and development of the framework.



disaggregated for objective analysis. Our field survey analyzed in chapter four indicates that respondents from the two case study districts made claims to the effect that, the NPP government has shown more commitment to environmental issues through intense education campaign. In addition, CSOs like WACAM, also noted that compared to the previous NDC government, the NPP government appears more accommodating to environmental concerns.

All these notwithstanding, personnel from some of the environmental institutions believe that, though, there is some rhetorical will on the part of the government to address environmental problem, actions have not kept pace with pronouncement. For instance, in spite of its manifesto claim of providing strong support to the EPA and its network of institutions to enable them carry out critical functions, these institutions have not seen any significant changes in their operations especially in their budgetary allocations and conditions of service for their personnel leading to high turn over rate of required technical personnel.<sup>67</sup>

On the other hand, some officials from the Ministries of Environment and Science and Lands and Forestry, and Finance and Economic Planning acknowledge categorically that, there have been some marked improvement in government's commitment to their Ministries, which could be translated to mean government's increased commitment to environmental matters. For instance, the Finance Department of the Ministry of Lands and Forestry noted that, government quarterly releases have seen tremendous improvement making the running of the Ministry very encouraging. For the Personnel Officer of the MLF, the introduction of extra duty allowances for certain category of staff serve as additional incentives to workers who are genuinely over burdened.<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps one campaign promise that the NPP government has been able to deliver on is its programme for the regeneration of depleted forests.<sup>69</sup> The Executive Director of the Forest Services Division (FSD) noted that the initiation of the national afforestation programme aimed at restoring the country's degraded forestlands has started yielding results.<sup>70</sup> Table 3.5 gives details of the National Afforestation Programme.

**Table 3.5: Summary on the National Afforestation Programmes/Projects**

<i>Indicators</i>	Type of Afforestation/Plantation Project		
	<i>Forest Resources Use Project Management (FORUM)</i>	<i>Modified Taungya System Plantation Program</i>	<i>HIPC Plantation Project</i>
Project Duration	* 1993-2005	2001-2007	2003-2008
Executing Agency	FSD and MoFA	FSD, MLF	MLF and F C
Cost of Project/Budget	12,782,297 Euros	2003- 28,212,720,475.00 cedis	2003-2005- 64 bn cedis
Expected Outcome	6,400 ha of rehabilitated forests	20,000 ha per year.	20,000 ha per year
Actual Output	6352 ha rehabilitated by 2003.	2002-17,460 2003-17, 691	-
Employment Created/generated	14,167	2002-83,068 2003-80,884	Actual figures unavailable
Food Production Levels	*51,893	2003-128,000 tonnes of maize, cocoyam and plantain	-
Others	Infrastructural development in the areas	Infrastructural development in the areas	-
Challenges	Bush fires, Unclear legal instruments, lack of land for woodlot.	Inadequate staff and logistics, lack of interest by farmers due to inadequate payment, disruption of cattle herds.	Sustainability beyond HIPC funds

\*The Project started in 1993 and runs until 2005 spanning both the NDC and the NPP governments. But the agencies note that a great deal has been achieved in the past three years.

\*This number is the total direct beneficiary from all the components of the Forum Project

Source: Annual Report, National Forest Plantation Development Programme under the Modified Taungya System (MTS) and Private Developers, 2003 and Interview with the Operations Manager in Charge of MTS, 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2004 and Information Sheet on the FORUM Project by Regional Manager/Project Leader, May 2004 and Interview Project Leader, FORUM, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2004 and Report on Achievements of the National Forest Plantation Development Programme, 2002.

Specifically on policies, Table 3.6 gives some details on policies either made or reformed or implemented under the NPP government since 2001.

**Table 3.6: Policies and Legislations under the NPP Government, 2001-2002**

Type of Initiative	Expected Benefits/ Outcomes	Remarks or Status of Implementation
<b>Policy Issues</b>		
1. Transparent and Efficient allocation of timber resources and appropriate pricing of timber and other forestry based products.	Additional or incremental revenue from sales of timber of between 435-585 billion cedis (US\$58-78million) per annum.	This is largely achieved
2. Review of Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) as a transitional salvaging measure, mobilization of chainsaw operators into alternative productive ventures so as to control illegal logging.	Recovery of lost revenues due to illegal chainsaw activities estimated at 35 billion cedis (US\$ 5 million).	This is yielding expected results. But the mobilization of the chainsaw operators have been very challenging
3. Maintenance of Log exports suspension and increase of stumpage fees for timber and general improvement in the revenue collection system.	Processing of more downstream or value-added products to double timber exports revenue to over US\$ 400 million.).	The increase in stumpage fees has increased the income from forest resources and encouraging timber operators to efficiently utilize timber resources.
4. Rationalization of the timber industry taxation regime and adoption of other fiscal and market-based measures to improve efficiency.		This has brought some sanity into the tax regime of the timber industry especially.
5. Equitable distribution of benefits to communities, resource owners and farmers aimed at facilitating effective participation by all relevant stakeholders in the sustainable management and development of the resources.	Benefits will improve participation by local communities and equitable distribution of benefits from forest resources for improved forestry management.	Communities are empowered and contribute to forestry management due to proper relationship and knowledge and ownership.
<b>Legislative Issues</b>		
1. Revision of the Forest Plantation Development Fund Act, 2000 (Act 283).	Expected to bring in more revenue for the development of the sector.	The revision has yielded 25 billion cedis for the Presidential Special Initiative (PSI) on plantation development.
2. Removal of Import Duty and VAT on imported Timber (Customs and Excise Duties (Amendment) Act, 2002).	Expected to boost the importation of timber logs from other countries in order to control logging and reduce pressure on natural resources.	The waiver of 45% import duties has led to increase in imports of timber. (Actual figures were not readily available).
3. Forest Protection (Amendment) Act, 2002.	To put in place a more deterrent punishment for forest offences.	Due to the upward revision of the fines imposed on forest offenders, there have been some reduced forest offences especially by Timber firms.
4. Amendments to the Timber Resources Management Act, 1997 (Act 547) and Timber Resources Management Regulations, 1998 (LI1649).	This is to lead to competitive bidding in the allocation and utilization of timber resources and adoption of social responsibility Agreement and private plantation development.	This has empowered the MLF to regulate new investments into the sector and committed timber firms to be up on their social responsibilities to ensure that forest fringe communities benefit.

Source: Cabinet Information Paper on Achievements of the Lands and Forestry Sector, 2002.

### **Policy Objectives**

These policies including the Northern Savanna Resource Management Programme (SRMP), Control of Frequent Annual Wildfires, Control of Illegal Timber Harvesting Operations and Poverty Reduction of Forest Fringe Communities and Stool landowners are all aimed at ensuring the sustainable management, efficient utilization of

forest resources and the empowerment of forest fringe communities through actual participation in projects and benefit sharing. These would contribute to the overall aim of sustainable forestry in Ghana.

### **Strategies**

The strategies adopted have been mainly programmatic as outlined in Table 3.5 above. These programmes have been designed to ensure that individually and collectively they address key problems identified in the forestry sector to yield the maximum benefits to the nation at large.

### **Participation**

The nature of the programmes is participatory. For instance, the plantations project involves farmers most of whom are women. These collaborative forest management approach involves the communities from the inception of the programme to ensure that they are brought into the programme cycle at the most critical stage to ensure not only their sustained interest and commitment but to be part owners.<sup>71</sup> The programmes are also spread to cover an entire forest district within which it is taking place to ensure wide participation by all communities fringing the forest area. In the case of the Modern Taungya System (MTS), private developers are involved on commercial basis besides the farmers. Thus between year 2000 and 2003, a total of 9,317 hectares have been planted out of an allocated area of 35,179. The difference is explained by a number of factors including finance. Consequently, the Forest Plantation Development

Fund Board approved loans totaling 1,360 billion cedis to be disbursed to 27 beneficiaries.<sup>72</sup>

As noted above, the comprehensive and elaborative nature of all the policies was not in themselves indicators for achieving the stated goals. Their success depended on how they would be carried out by the designated institutions in their different capacities and the collaboration and coordination expected; the subject of the next chapter.

### **3.4 Conformity Between the NEP and other Sector Policies**

As observed above, the level and extent of participation in the various sector policies were not significantly different from each other, neither was it different from the NEP. It must be noted however that, all these policies were developed under two different regimes, the PNDC (military) and the NDC (constitutionally-elected) although the same person, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, was the head of state and president respectively. Nonetheless, the sector policies especially the land and forestry policies emphasized the importance of stakeholder participation in the implementation process.

However, as the implementation phases transcended and stretched into the future, with more emphasis on good governance and sustainable development and the significance of stakeholder participation for successful implementation of policies, participation from a wide spectrum of people including women became more open than when the policies were made, even though a lot more needed to be done.

One other area of participation worth considering here is the input by parliament on matters of national significance. On the environment, parliamentary statements by members bothered on concerns in their respective constituencies. An interesting aspect

of these debates was on surface mining of gold, general environmental pollution and the role of indigenous Ghanaian companies in the mining industry. Others included, energy issues, the reappearance of the algae on the sea in the western region among others, the forestry and other bills.<sup>73</sup> What could be noted from the parliamentary debates was that, whilst it is evident that some members were very conversant with issues at stake as exhibited in the various debates and discussions, it was not clear how much of the concerns raised were actually addressed or where necessary incorporated into policy documents. This point stands out because of some of the weaknesses in some of the policies outlined above, which were expected to have been subjected to rigorous discussion in parliament either on the floor of the house or at the committee level.

The outlined objectives of the NEP were geared towards maintenance, management and protection of environmental resources to ensure that environmental considerations were integrated into sectoral development and planning in a manner consistent with pollution reduction and international requirements. This reflected the country's constitutional position on the environment and resonates partially in some of the sector policies. For instance, the mining policy was weak in its reference to environmental protection because its main aim was to attract foreign investments to boost the sector, although the mining and environmental guidelines sought in 1994 to fill in this gap and bring some consistency into the overall position of the sector on environmental protection.<sup>74</sup>

The forest and wildlife policy's objectives were, however, more in consonance with the objectives of the NEP. Its major aim was to ensure conservation and sustainable development and use of the nation's forest and wildlife resources so as to achieve

“environmental quality and perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society”.<sup>75</sup> In the same vein, the land policy also aims at the “judicious use of Ghana’s lands and all natural resources by all sections of Ghanaian society in support of various socio-economic activities undertaken in accordance with sustainable resource management principles”.<sup>76</sup> Thus, to a very large extent, the sector policies objectives and the overall objectives of the NEP are in search of sustainable maintenance and use of the natural resources of the country for socio-economic activities for the benefit of all sections of the Ghanaian community in line with internationally-acceptable standards.

The strategy used in the designing and implementation of the policies followed similar trends. It is clear that there is usually a lead government institution (or a team of experts), which takes up the key challenge of designing the draft framework, which was then circulated to other primary stakeholders for their comments. This was usually followed by series of workshops aimed at streamlining and harmonizing the various components. The lead institution or a committee specially set up for that task then put the outcome of the workshop(s) together.<sup>77</sup>

The regulatory and enforcement aspect of these policies are assigned to the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology, (redesignated Ministry of Environment and Science), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and other agencies and partner organizations. But the various sectors have constitutionally mandated commissions, which are to see to the regulation and enforcement of these policies, by working together with the lead institution, which is the sector ministry on the environment. The expected collaboration and coordination of these various institutions and their interaction with civil society and the general public together, with other

expectations were actually the key to successful implementation of these policies. The implementation of these policies was the only way to ensure that their objectives are achieved.<sup>78</sup>

### **3.5 Similarities and Differences between Policies/Programmes of Successive Governments**

The similarities and differences between the policies and programmes can be done taking the periods and the peculiar economic situation into consideration. Our focus will be on the 7-Year Development Plan under the Nkrumah regime and the Vision 2020, inter alia.

In essence, these plans and policies did not have any comprehensive system for participation by the perceived beneficiaries. The top-down approach towards the development of these plans and policies was very evident from the 7-Year Development Plan through to the Vision 2020 and its linkage programmes outlined above. Again the dominance of government institutions, agencies and ministries in the development and even the implementation of these programmes have been a common feature of almost all of them as exemplified by the 7-Year Development Plan, the Vision 2020 and the Renewable Natural Resources Strategy. In addition, the 7-Year Development Plan and the Vision 2020 all provide integrated and long-term perspectives for development in Ghana. The ERP's linkage with the Vision 2020, for example, is more obvious and direct. The ERP set the tone for a long-term growth leading to the Vision 2020.<sup>79</sup>

An interesting aspect of these plans and policies is that there is very little distinction between the policies and plans crafted by military governments and those by civilian regimes especially in the context of stakeholder participation in the entire policy



process from the policy design stage to the implementation stage. Perhaps the circumstances surrounding the civilian regimes did not make them perform too differently as expected. For instance, the CPP's 7-Year Development Plan came at a time when the new government was very much committed to securing its position and cleaning out the remnants of colonialism. This did not allow for widespread participation by all significant stakeholders. This scenario is very much similar to the NDC era, which had just come out of a long period of military government and therefore not too keen on stakeholder participation because of the long tradition and perhaps the perceived safety of not doing so.

What is striking about these programmes is that one way or the other, they have some linkage with Vision 2020; and a feature of the first step of the Vision which resonates in almost all the linked programmes is implementation problems, overlaps between the programmes and non-participation or ineffective participation.<sup>80</sup>

Nonetheless, all these policies and plans aimed at improving and enhancing the development status of the country and its people. The achievement of these have become more paramount than ever and even more challenging because of the imperative of doing so in a more sustainable manner through the wise usage and exploitation of the nation's natural resources and proper management of the environmental resources. In addition to some of the policies and programmes outline above are sectoral policies and issues of particular interest to the study. These are land, forestry and mining. Part of the rationale for the selection of these sectors is reiterated by the Environmental Action Plan (EAP), which rightly noted that the present strength of the economy derives principally from export earnings in agriculture, mining and forestry all of which link up directly to land.<sup>81</sup>

There is no reference to gender matters especially in the specific policies on mining, land and forestry, notwithstanding the connectivity between these sectors and gender. This has a lot of implication for the successful implementation of the policies themselves, an issue the study will look into because of the seemingly little attention given to it in spite of its importance in environmental management and sustainability. Where gender or specifically women were mentioned it was more of a peripheral issue than being a key concern. This should be a matter not only for gender advocates but also for all who are concerned with environmental governance and management.

It is worthy of note that, Ghana's focus on the environment definitely goes beyond these sectors outlined above and consistency in diversity is crucial for an interrelated and yet diverse areas like the environment. Consequently, Ghana developed its overall National Environmental Policy (NEP), which serves as the fulcrum around which all sector policies are to revolve. Our attention therefore shifts to NEP not only as the overall framework but also examines the consistency and linkages the sector policies have with it.

In an attempt to address these environmental concerns, successive governments have adopted ad hoc and ineffective measures. The consequences and the realities on the ground prompted the necessity for a more comprehensive attack on environmental problems in the country. The most well known outcome of efforts is the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) and the National Environmental Policy (NEP). The essence of these two programmes and policy towards achieving environmental decorum for sustainable development and the relationship between them would be examined.

### 3.6 Conclusion

It is evident that successive Ghanaian governments after independence did not show any serious commitment to environmental issues through their programmes and projects apparently because they had not become part of the big agenda for national and global concern until the mid 1980s. These programmes and projects did not, in any concrete way, incorporate environmental issues or concerns likely to result from those projects.

It is obvious from the above that environmental issues and problems are real. Whilst it has been the norm by successive regimes not to bother that much with environmental problems in the past, the reality is that contemporary governments cannot but ensure that development for their people and of their countries take place in a sustainable environment and Ghana is no exception to this. This realization has led to the National Environmental Plan and the National Environmental Policy, which have served as the framework within which specific sectoral policies have been crafted. A careful scrutiny of the three sector policies discussed in this chapter in relation to the National Environmental Policy (NEP) will give a clear indication of conformity and a decentralized system. That is, the sector policies fit well into the general framework with a few expansions and inputs.

The aim for achieving sustainable development as outlined by the NEP is therefore adhered to by these sectors since their specific policy actions and agenda point to that one aim. Nonetheless, the comprehensive and elaborate nature of these policies are not in themselves indicators for achieving the stated goals. Their success depends on how they will be carried out by the designated institutions.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Wassa West District Assembly, "A Few Facts about Wassa West District Assembly: Wassa West District Assembly at a Glance".

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid and Thomas M. Akabzaa, Boom and Dislocation: The Environmental and Social Impacts of Mining in the Wassa West District of Ghana, (Accra: Third World Network-Africa, June 2000), p.35.

<sup>5</sup> "Adansi West District, Ashanti Region Welcomes You: Adansi West District Assembly at a Glance".

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> The South Commission, "The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission" (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.134.

<sup>9</sup> Ashanti Goldfields Company Limited, Environmental Policy Statement, 1995, p.3.

<sup>10</sup> Marc P. E. Parren, French and British Colonial Forestry Policies: Past and Present Implications For Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, (Boston: African Studies Centre, Boston University, 1994), pp. 2-4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>14</sup> Ashanti Goldfields Report on the Cyanide Bearing Slurry Spill, 1998, p.6.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Akabzaa and Abdulai Darimani, Impact of Mining Sector Investment in Ghana: A Study of the Tarkwa Mining region, A Draft Report prepared for SAPRI, January 20, 2001, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Kwesi Nsiah-Gyabaah, Environmental Degradation and Desertification in Ghana, (Avebury: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1995), p. 14.

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<sup>17</sup> D.K Greenstreet, "The Guggisberg Ten-Year Development Plan", Economic Bulletin of Ghana, Vol VIII, No. 1. 1964, pp.1-4.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through", Public Administration Review, Vol 19, 1959, pp79-88, cited in Harold F. Gortner, Julianne Manler and Jeanne Bell Nicholson, Organization Theory: A Public Perspective, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, (Forth Worth and Philadelphia: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997), pp.231-232.

<sup>20</sup> Greenstreet, "The Guggisburg Ten Year Development Plan", 1964, p.16.

<sup>21</sup> Denis Greenstreet, "Public Administration: Development Administration under the Nkrumah Period 1951-1966, School of Administration, University of Ghana, Working Paper Series, Vol. 76, No. 1, 1976, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> Vincent Okyere, Ghana: A Historical Survey, (Vinojab Publications, Accra: Ghana 2000), p.184.

<sup>23</sup> National Strategy on Sustainable Development (NSSD), OECD/DAC Dialogue with Developing Countries on National Strategies for Sustainable Development, Report on Status Review in Ghana, Draft Working Document, January 2001, pp.7-8.

<sup>24</sup> Kwame A. Ninsin, "State, Capital and Labour Relations", Emmanuel Hansen and Kwame A. Ninsin (eds) The State, Development and Politics in Ghana (London: CODESRIA Book Series, 1989), p.18 and Naomi Chazan, An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession in Ghana-1969-1982, (Westview Press, Boulder 1983), pp. 155-157.

<sup>25</sup> Ninsin, "State, Capital and Labour Relations", p.18.

<sup>26</sup> Kwami A Ninsin, "The Land Question Since the 1950s", Emmanuel Hansen and Kwami A, Ninsin, The State, Development and Politics in Ghana (London: CODESRIA Book Series, 1989), p.173 and Kwabena Donkor, Structural Adjustment and Mass Poverty in Ghana-The Making of Modern Africa (Ashgate Aldershot, 1997), p.79.

<sup>27</sup> K. Nsiah Gyabaah, "Bushfires in Ghana", IFFN No. 15<sup>th</sup> September 1996/1997.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> James Keeley and Ian Scoones, "Understanding Environmental Policy Processes: a Review" IDS Working Paper, No.89, June 1999, p.3.

<sup>30</sup> Kwesi Anyemedu, "The Economic Policies of the PNDC", E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed) Ghana Under PNDC Rule, (London: CODESRIA Book Series, 1993), p.23.

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- <sup>31</sup> Ninsin, "The Land Question", p.177.
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- <sup>33</sup> Abdul-Nashiru Issahaku, "The Political Economy of Economic Reform in Ghana: Implications for Sustainable Development", Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, Vol.2, No.1, 2000, p.19.
- <sup>34</sup> Environmental Protection Agency 1996 Annual Report, 1997, p.64.
- <sup>35</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Mining and Minerals Law, 1986, p.26.
- <sup>36</sup> Minerals Commission and Environmental Protection Agency, Ghana's Mining and Environmental Guidelines, 1994, p.1.
- <sup>37</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Ghana National Environmental Action Plan, Vol. 1, 1991, p. 2.
- <sup>38</sup> Albert Michael Greve, Julian Lampietti and Francois Falloux, National Environmental Action Plans: Future Directions for Sub Saharan Africa, Building Blocks for Africa 2025, Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development, A World Bank Perspective, Paper No.6, June 1995, p.vii.
- <sup>39</sup> Joseph R.A Ayee, "The Formulation and Implementation of Environmental Policy in Ghana", Africa Development, Vol,XXIII, No.2, 1998, pp. 101-104.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid and Ghana National Environmental Action Plan Vol.1, 1991, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>41</sup> Ghana National Environmental Action Plan, *ibid*, p.12.
- <sup>42</sup> K. Boon and Luc Hens, Environment and Development Education for Developing Countries, Proceedings of the Second Seminar held in Accra, Ghana July 17-20, 1995, p.200.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid and Forestry and Wild life Policy, p.1.
- <sup>44</sup> Republic of Ghana, Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992, (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation).
- <sup>45</sup> Boon and Hens, Environment and Development Education, 1995, pp.203.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.204 and The Forestry and Wildlife Policy, pp8-9.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid, pp10-11 and Ibid, pp.205-206.

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<sup>48</sup> The Forestry and Wildlife Policy, pp.14-16.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, pp.13-14 and Ibid, pp.207-209.

<sup>50</sup> Republic of Ghana, Ghana Vision 2020, The First Step: 1996-2000, Presidential Report to Parliament on Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development policies – Policies for the Preparation of 1996-2000 Development Plans, 1995.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, pp.5-75.

<sup>52</sup> National Strategy for Sustainable Development, 2001, p.5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p.19.

<sup>54</sup> National Strategy for Sustainable Development, pp.14-15.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>56</sup> Republic of Ghana, Comprehensive Development Framework, Natural Resources, Ministry of Lands and Forestry and Ministry of Environment, Science Technology, November 1999, p.1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp.8 and 18.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.26.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, pp.28-30.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p.11.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, p.15.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.23.

<sup>65</sup> New Patriotic Party, Agenda For Change: Positive Change, 2000 Manifesto of the New Patriotic Party, p. 24.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, p.25.

<sup>67</sup> Staff turn-over rate is detailed in Chapter Four.

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<sup>68</sup> Interview with Budget Officer and Chief Personnel Officer, Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2004 and Principal Economic Planning Officer and Schedule officer for Ministry of Environment and Science, 19<sup>th</sup> August, 2004.

<sup>69</sup> Manifesto 2000, p. 25.

<sup>70</sup> Daily Graphic, Wednesday June 9<sup>th</sup> 2004, p.16.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Operations Manager, High Forest Zone, Forestry Services Division, 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2004 and Project Officer, Modern Taungya System, Forest Services Division, 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2004.

<sup>72</sup> Annual Report, National Forest Plantation Development Programme Under the Modified Taungya System, 2003, p.12.

<sup>73</sup> Republic of Ghana, Parliamentary Debates, Official Report, Fourth Series, Vol.19, No.21, sections 1172-1216, 17 June, 1998; Fourth Series, Vol.22, no.34, sections 2886-2880, 16 July, 1999; Fourth Series, Vol.26, No.17, sections 936-952, 26 October, 2000; Fourth Series, Vol.4, No.23, section 962-966, Fourth Series, Vol.4, No.11, sections 333-334, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1994, Fourth Series, Vol.4, No.21, sections 876-881, Fourth Series, Vol.21, No 38, sections 3553-3588, 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1999 and Fourth Series, Vol.17, No.33, sections 1889-1956, 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1997.

<sup>74</sup> Ghana's Minerals and Mining Policy, 1986 and Mining and Environmental Guidelines, 1994.

<sup>75</sup> The Forestry and Wildlife Policy, 1994, p.8.

<sup>76</sup> The Land Policy, p.6.

<sup>77</sup> National Strategy for Sustainable Development, pp.14-15.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, pp.15-25.

<sup>81</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Ghana Environmental Action Plan, Vol.1, 1991, p.1.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES IN GHANA**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The early 1990s was marked by a growing recognition of the importance of institutions in development theory and practice in general and in understanding the relations between people and their environment in particular.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, attention is being paid to the institutional constraints and potentials at local, national and international levels that combine to shape the ways different groups of people and organizations gain access to and control over resources and in doing that manipulate their local environment with intended and unintended consequences for policy making and implementation.

Attempt by policy analysts and other social science researchers to separate policy making from policy implementation has been condemned as fallacious. This situation has been criticized as a fertile ground for nurturing 'escape hatches'. In the words of Mitchell, "public policies, by themselves have very little value. Without the development of implementation strategies and the will to carry those policies into actual practice, all that is left will be hollow words".<sup>2</sup> This tendency to separate policymaking and implementation is attributed to some logic of decision makers that politics surrounds decision-making activities whilst implementation is an administrative activity.<sup>3</sup> This has implications for the institutional component of the processes involved in policy making. Put differently, the institutions involved in policy making and policy implementation

(assuming we follow the linear model which separates these processes) may be different from each other. Institutions are used here to be synonymous with those organizations or structures, which were (and are) involved in the formulation and implementation of the National Environmental Policy (NEP) in general and forestry policy specifically.

This study contends that one of the key means for the actual implementation of policies is institutions and institutionalization of processes in order to avert policies not achieving their objectives. It is in this context that this chapter seeks to assess the institutional mechanisms put in place for the formulation and implementation of environmental policies.

This chapter therefore focuses on some of the institutions (governmental and non-governmental), which were and are involved in both processes, that is, the formulation and implementation of Ghana's environmental policies and particularly, forestry policies. It will examine how their respective roles contributed to the formulation and realization of the stated goals or, on the other hand, how those institutions by their activities, affected the implementation processes. The chapter will further assess the implications of the foregoing for the achievement of good governance in environmental management issues.

The specific institutions are numerous and it would be too presumptuous to attempt to mention all let alone to describe into fine details the functions and other components of each. The basis is that the complexity of environmental issues and problems call for equally complex/multi-sectoral institutions in a well-coordinated network, with clearly demarcated functions and the avoidance of overlaps. These institutions could stem from the most technical to the most ordinary with unique roles to play to ensure environmental sanity and the achievement of sustainable development.

Besides this, it is unambiguous that the formulation of the policies tends to lean more towards the top-down approach whilst the implementation is more of a bottom-up approach. Report from the two district case studies on the involvement of people and institutions attests to this.

The chapter would examine the roles of the Ministries of Lands and Forestry and Environment and Science in the process. The need to harmonize and coordinate the activities of institutions and people involved in the environmental policy making has led to the strengthening of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Together with the Forestry Commission (FC), the District Assembly (DAs), and chieftaincy, they constitute a major component of this chapter. Particular NGOs, which have been instrumental in environmental issues during the period under review like, Third World Network (TWN), Friends of the Earth (FOE) and Wassa Association for Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM) would also engage our attention. Since our case study areas are also mining localities, the study will make some linkages to the Minerals Commission.

The chapter will be structured using the features of the top-down and bottom-up models, where practicable. Some of the findings from the fieldwork conducted in the Adansi West and Wassa West districts between June 2002 and August 2003 will be used to support some of the arguments made. The questions the chapter raises are as follows:

1. What were the institutional mechanisms and organizational provisions put in place for the formulation and implementation of environmental and forestry policies to achieve good governance for sustainable development in general?

2. What were the linkages between these institutions/organizations (governmental and non-governmental; local, national and international) and how did the linkages affect their performance especially in the Adansi and Wassa West Districts?
3. What were the strengths, weaknesses and challenges of the institutions/organizations in the formulation and implementation of Ghana's environmental and forestry policy and what can be done to improve their role in achieving sustainable development?
4. What are the implications of their various roles singularly and severally for the achievement of good governance in environmental management especially in the forestry sub sector?
5. What lessons can be drawn from the study about institutions and policy formulation and implementation?

#### **4.2 The Policy Environment**

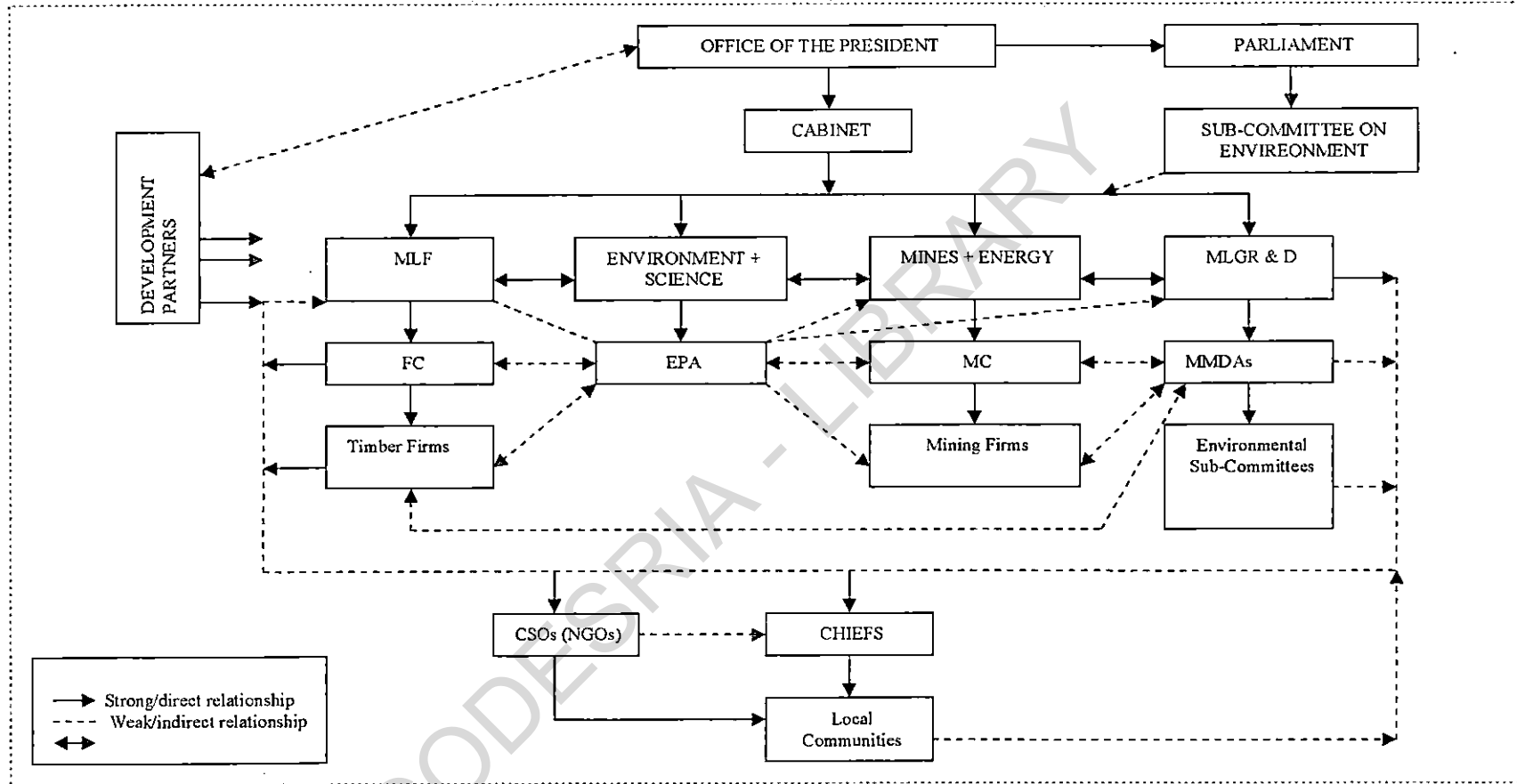
The complex nature of environmental problems in general calls for proper involvement of the main stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of those policies (see chapter three) needed to address them. Consequently, the Environmental Action Plan identified and involved a number of institutions in the various processes and stages. See Figure 4.1 for an organogram of environmental governance in Ghana.

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graph TD
    Cabinet[CABINET] --> ES[ENVIRONMENT + SCIENCE]
    Cabinet --> ME[MINES + ENERGY]
    ES <--> ME
    ES --> EPA[EPA]
    ME --> MC[MC]
    EPA -.-> ME
    EPA -.-> MC
    EPA -.-> MF[Mining Firms]
    ME -.-> EPA
    ME -.-> MC
    ME -.-> MF
    MC --> MF
    MF -.-> ME
    MF -.-> MC
    MF -.-> LC[Local Communities]
    LC -.-> MF
    LC -.-> CH[CHIEFS]
    CH --> LC
    CH --> ME
    CH --> ES
    CH --> MF
    CH --> LC
    
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The diagram illustrates the institutional framework for mining in South Africa. At the top, the **CABINET** has a downward arrow to a horizontal line. From this line, arrows point down to **ENVIRONMENT + SCIENCE** and **MINES + ENERGY**. These two boxes are connected by a double-headed arrow. Below **ENVIRONMENT + SCIENCE** is the **EPA** box, with a downward arrow from the former to the latter. Below **MINES + ENERGY** is the **MC** box, with a downward arrow from the former to the latter. Below **MC** is the **Mining Firms** box, with a downward arrow from the former to the latter. Dashed arrows indicate additional relationships: from **EPA** to **MINES + ENERGY**, **MC**, and **Mining Firms**; from **MINES + ENERGY** to **EPA**, **MC**, and **Mining Firms**; from **Mining Firms** to **MC** and **Local Communities**; from **Local Communities** to **Mining Firms**; from **CHIEFS** to **Local Communities**, **Mining Firms**, **MINES + ENERGY**, and **ENVIRONMENT + SCIENCE**; and from **Local Communities** to **CHIEFS**. A horizontal dashed line separates the top section (Cabinet, Environment + Science, Mines + Energy, EPA, MC, Mining Firms) from the bottom section (Chiefs, Local Communities).

## ORGANOGRAM OF ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA



**KEY**

 $\overline{\text{MLF:}}$ 

EPA:

MMDAs:

CSOs:

Ministry of Lands &amp; Forestry

Environmental Protection Agency

Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies

### Civil Society Organizations

FC:

MC:

MLGR &amp; D:

NGOs:

Forestry Commission

Minerals Commission

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

### Non-Governmental Organizations

SOURCE: Author's own

Environmental policy formulation and implementation can be overly political due to the different and numerous actors from both the state and non-state institutions in determining who gets what, when and how. Whilst networking and team work are critical to ensuring successful implementation of policies in the forestry sector in particular, it brings with it some challenges. Salih makes the point that, because the environment (including forestry) is multi-sectoral, it becomes a battlefield for social and political clashes,<sup>4</sup> which exudes from the different non-state and state actors competing for sometimes unidentified and unclear roles.

Institutional issues, arrangements and change underlie the dynamics of environmental change and the search for sustainable development. Institutional arrangements, for instance, are sometimes considered as the rules created by people to manage their resources in terms of deciding who could use what resources, when, where and how<sup>5</sup>. Admittedly, the process of institutional analysis and change is not a solitary and lineal exercise but an interdependent one in environmental assessment.<sup>6</sup> It helps to clarify different relations and how they affect the use and management of resources and even empower those who are left out of the process.

The importance of different institutions operating at different macro and micro levels is their ability to define who has access to and control over what resources and also their ability to arbitrate contested resource claims. Thus, a variety of formal and informal institutions influence which sets of social actors (and political actors) are able to command various environmental goods and services that are instrumental to their well-being.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there is need for effective machinery to carry and convert the sustainable development model from theory to practice. In this case, what is required is

an interlocking network of institutions capable of acting as a power grid. The study categorizes the selected institutions into top-down and bottom-up reckoning that strict dichotomy is difficult to achieve. For the purposes of analysis, this study identifies the top-down institutions as the Ministries of Lands and Forestry and Environment and Science, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Forestry and Minerals Commissions. The bottom-up institutions are the District Assemblies, the Chieftaincy institution and the Non-Governmental Organizations.

### **4.3 Institutional Assessment on the basis of the Models**

#### **4.3.1 *Ministry of Lands and Forestry***

##### **(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives**

The Ministry of Lands and Forestry is responsible for the formulation of policies and programmes for the efficient and sustainable management and utilization of the land, forestry and wildlife resources of the country. This is expected to ensure socio-economic development and guaranteed equitable growth of the country.<sup>8</sup> Its objectives are to:

Develop and sustainably manage lands, forests and wildlife resources and to facilitate equitable access and security to these resources; promote public awareness and local communities' participation in sustainable management and utilization of all resources under the Ministry. It is also to review, update and consolidate existing legislation and policies affecting natural resource management and promote and facilitate effective private sector participation through participatory management, accountability and transparency. Furthermore, it is to develop and research into problems affecting natural resources under the ministry and reduce tensions between government and customary

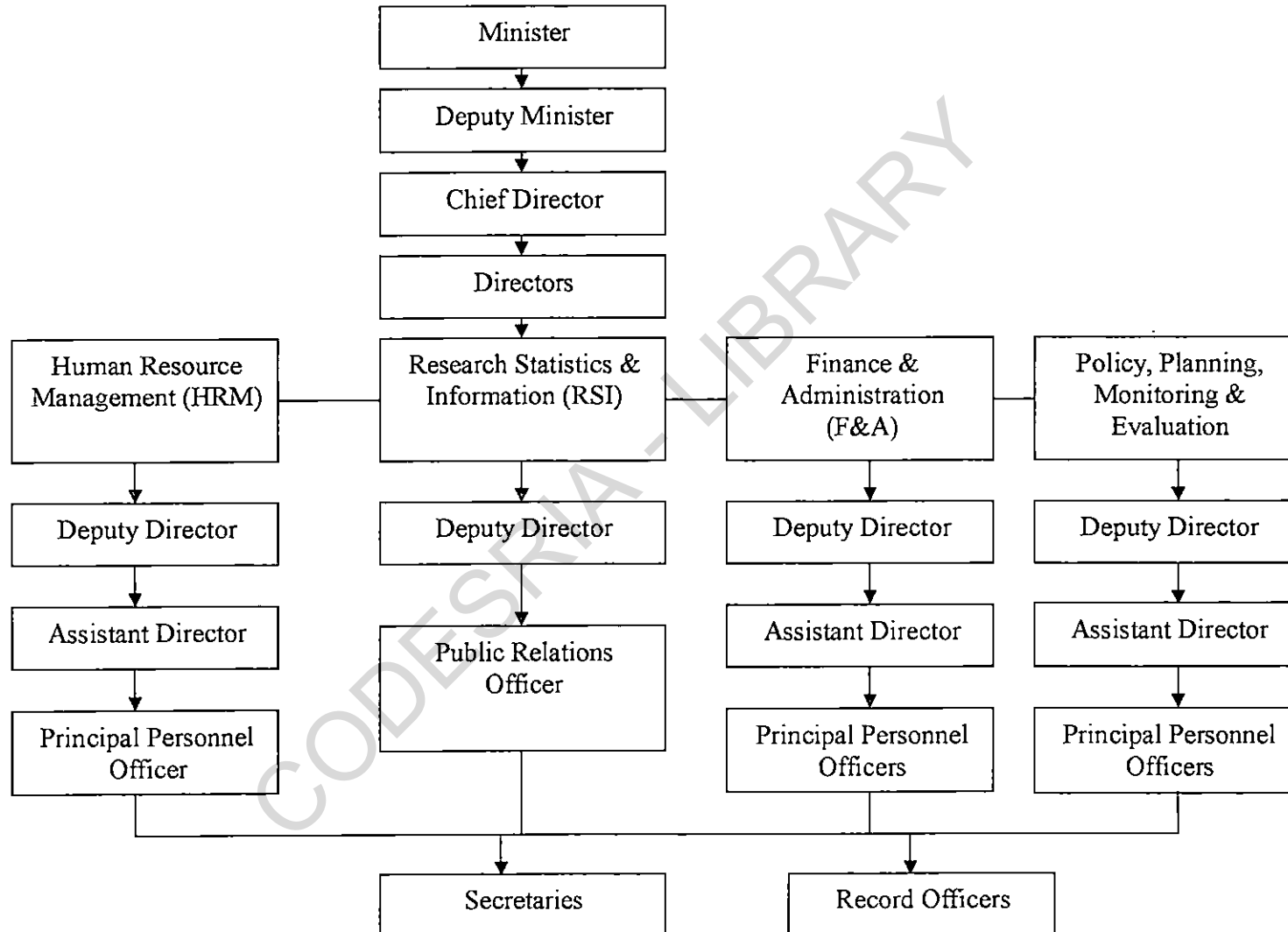
landowners to ensure good governance and boost supply of lands for agricultural growth for rural development<sup>9</sup> (see Figure 4.2 for an organogram of the Ministry).

CODESRIA - LIBRARY



FIGURE 4.2

**ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MINISTRY OF LANDS AND FORESTRY**



**(b) Interorganizational Communication**

The Ministry collaborates with other ministries and government bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to ensure achievement of set targets. Among these are the Ministries of Environment and Science, Local Government and Rural Development, Mines and Food and Agriculture. The Forestry Commission and Forest Services Division (FSD) are key implementing and technical divisions of the Ministry. NGOs include the Third World Network (TWN), Green Earth Organization (GEO) and Friends of the Earth (FOE) and some donors like the World Bank.

The Ministry also acknowledges the enormity of the problems associated with land and forestry and tries to do its best to address the problems. For instance, support from forest fringe communities in forest conservation programmes has not always been forthcoming as expected. In addition, creating alternative livelihood sources for chain saw operators has created a lot of problems for the Ministry.<sup>10</sup>

On effective collaboration, there are sometimes differences in priority between the Ministry and the other collaborating agencies, but efforts are made to reduce these tensions as much as possible or better still avoid them when practically possible.<sup>11</sup> For instance, lack of agreement on certain project components like the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) II between the Ministry, FC and the World Bank led to its cancellation and delays in the implementation of the first phase.<sup>12</sup>

**(c) Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies**

The Ministry claims that budgetary allocations are often not adequate to address the quantum of work to be covered. Although it receives assistance from donors for

specific projects, it is not adequate. For instance, with regard to the Modified Taungya System (MTS), though according to the project director, the money is available, releases have not only been delayed but also been piecemeal. He noted that release for the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter for 2004, instead of an estimated 13 billion cedis only two billion was released in the middle of August.<sup>13</sup> The internally generated funds are also inadequate thus compounding the problems. For instance, the level of stumpage fees paid by timber companies (fees for the Forestry Commission, traditional authorities, communities and district assemblies) dropped from 12% to less than 3% of the total market value of timber in 2000, partially due to a drop in the capacity of the timber industry as a result of outdated equipment. This also affected foreign exchange earnings from timber from over \$250 million in the 1980s to less than \$170 million in 2000.<sup>14</sup>

The resource position of the ministry is serious because of the rate of deforestation in the country. Deforestation rate within the forest zone is estimated at 220 km<sup>2</sup> per annum while the deforestation rate for the whole country is estimated at 650 km<sup>2</sup> per annum.<sup>15</sup> The implications of these for Ghana as a whole are enormous and for people from Adansi West and Wassa West Districts it is a matter of survival. Whilst they may not have any idea as far as concrete figures are concerned, they are very certain about the implications of the destruction of the forest on their lives.

**(d) Performance**

In spite of these challenges, the Ministry prides itself in some achievements especially in the last five years. Among these are the plantation development which has increased and created jobs and increased food crop production (see Chapter Three). There

have also been some legislative achievements including the revision of the Forest Plantation Development Fund Act, (Act 283) 2000, removal of import duty on imported Timber (Customs and Excise Duties (Amendment) Act, 2002, Forest Protection (Amendment) Act, 2002 and Amendments to the Timber Resource Management Regulations, 1998 (LI1649).<sup>16</sup>

The Ministry also implemented programmes such as the poverty reduction of forest fringe communities and stool landowners through increased collection and payment rate, revision of benefit sharing arrangements and introduction of modified taungya system (MTS). The taungya system, originally from Burma, is a system where cash crops are mixed with food crop planting and after between four to seven years of harvesting, the trees take over the land. This has been in operation in the Adansi West district since 2001.<sup>17</sup>

#### **4.3.2 The Ministry of Environment and Science**

##### ***(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives***

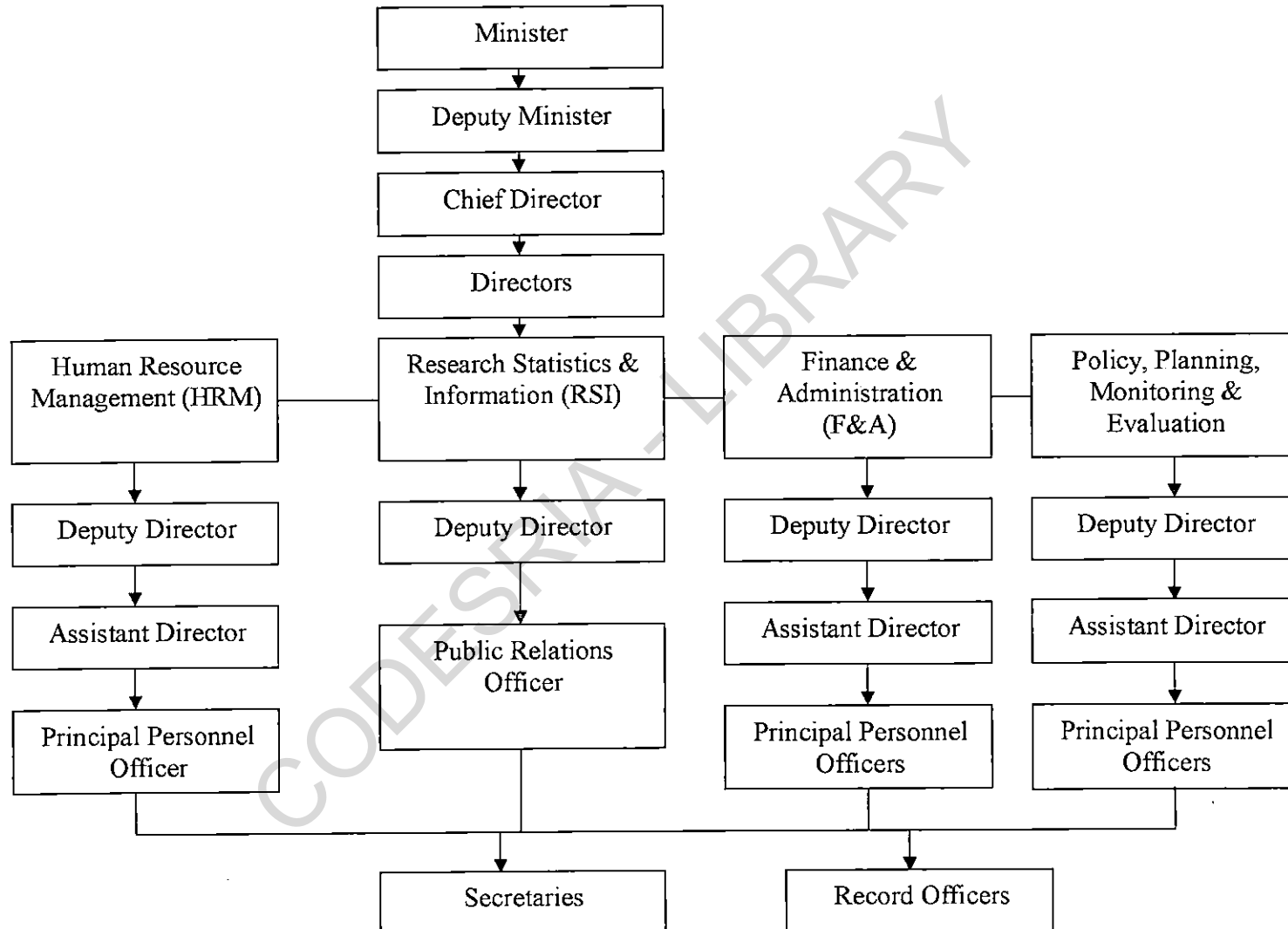
The Ministry was established to ensure that the existing national scientific and technological base is right for increased sustainable development, through cost effective use of appropriate technologies; safe and sound environmental practices and efficient human settlement. Its objectives include the promotion and setting of environmental standards through education and enforcement of standards and legislation whilst ensuring proper sanitation practices and waste management techniques. It is also to ensure human settlements planning and management and to make institutional arrangements for

enhanced collaboration with other organization for the management of environment, science and technology. Figure 4.3 shows the organogram of the Ministry

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

**FIGURE 4.3**

**ORGANOGRAM OF MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND SCIENCE**



**(b) *Interorganizational Communication***

The Ministry's mandate clearly requires a multi-sectoral approach and thereby coordinates with other government institutions and NGOs. The sector ministries include Food and Agriculture, Works and Housing, Mines, Health, Education, Lands and Forestry, Local Government and Rural Development, and Communication and Technology. Although the ministry can showcase a number of projects to testify to its collaboration, these are, however, not readily visible in our focused districts.

Due to the multi-dimensionality of the sector's responsibilities, coordination of activities is sometimes lacking due to the "complexity of joint action". There is also a lack of effective enforcement of environmental laws, inadequate incentives to encourage conformity and compliance. Added to these constraints are gaps in environmental research, non recognition of local initiatives and interests, ineffective information flow mechanisms, weak capacity at the local level for sustainable development and enforcement and improper relationship with NGOs and the latter's inadequate representation on national environmental programmes like the National Consultations on Implementation of the Rio Agreements (NACIA) in 1997.<sup>18</sup>

**(c) *Resources, and the Disposition of Implementing Agencies***

The Ministry is mainly supported by budgetary allocations on an annual basis and also from donor funds, which are usually for specific projects and some internally generated funds from fees and other charges. As usual, the Ministry, like its counterparts, claims that the funds are inadequate to cover the wide coverage of issues on the environment and science, it has to deal with. See Table 4.4 for budgetary allocations to the Ministry from 2000-2002.

**Table 4.4: Budgetary Allocations to Ministry of Environment and Science**

Year	Amount Allocated (Cedis)
2000	72,509,000,000
2001	85,008,000,000
2002	145, 007,326,567

Extracted from Budget Statements.

Besides the inadequate budgetary allocations, which according to the budget officer are always below required amount,<sup>19</sup> the Ministry is not able to motivate its staff and that has led to some staff loss, though not at an alarming rate. This situation poses a lot of challenges. Some of these challenges are loss of staff to the private sector due to uncompetitive remuneration and working conditions and brain drain to other countries. For instance, according to the Director of Human Resources of the Ministry, the staff loss is mostly with new employees. In 2003, three assistant directors were recruited and one left for the Botany Department of the University of Ghana. After ten months, a second left. Reasons given for leaving are always ‘personal’, for furthering education; while others felt that their potentials and abilities were underutilized<sup>20</sup> (see Table 4.5 for details).

**Table 4.5: Staff Strength of MES**

Year	2002	2003	2004
Staff Strength	69	65	58
Number of Staff Loss	7	2	2

Source: Director, Human Resource, 2004.

\* In 2004, two have already been transferred.



There is also over dependence on development partners for laboratory equipment and its accessories and for capacity building. Such over dependence sometimes affect or even distort the prioritization of programmes. Expected collaboration from some institutions is not forthcoming and this is compounded by indiscipline by the citizenry with regard to environment issues.<sup>21</sup>

**(d) Performance**

In spite of these challenges, the Ministry has made some achievements in the areas of policy, programmes and projects implementation. These include the introduction of courses in population and development, environmental law and environmental studies at the tertiary level. It has also improved its relationship with the NGO community, developed an environmental education strategy and other awareness creation programmes, organized workshops to build capacities of its collaborating institutions like the district assemblies and assisted in the creation of District Environmental Management Committees (DEMCs).<sup>22</sup>

The Ministry is also involved in numerous projects and programmes with its main implementing and collaborating institutions. Some of these are technological support to the agriculture sector to boost plantain, poultry, new crop and cereal variety, rice, palm oil, coconut, fish farming, and packing.<sup>23</sup>

As laudable as these achievements are, for those respondents in the Adansi and Wassa West Districts, such achievements are so remote and far removed from them that, they cannot be blamed for not knowing and seeing them let alone appreciating them. In fact, there are no signs that people especially women in these communities have been

beneficiaries of this chain of achievements listed by the ministry, which is mainly represented by its implementing and collaborating agencies like the district assemblies and EPA. With complaints of lack of farmlands, it is simply not possible for people who find themselves in this quagmire to be beneficiaries of such projects.

This suggests that, the implementation of the policies could run into problems with the communities largely not involved due to a plethora of reasons, which range from apathy to institutional inertia to political consideration.

Mistrust and accusations formed part of the challenges. Between government agencies, the accusations were mild but noteworthy. The most profound was between the EPA and the Ministry of Environment and Science, where an official of the former thinks that the creation of the Ministry was redundant and unnecessary because with a well-equipped EPA, it could adequately perform the duties assigned to the Ministry.<sup>24</sup>

This suggests the need for clarification of institutional responsibilities since several government agencies at different levels are likely to get involved in the process of environmental policy formulation and implementation. In practice, such multi-agency involvement should reduce opportunities for conflict if institutional responsibilities for regulation, enforcement and monitoring are clearly spelt out. This should also entail the hierarchical relation between involved institutions to reduce the possible tension.<sup>25</sup> In the Wassa West and Adansi West districts and even at the regional level, such clarity of institutional responsibility and hierarchical relations though specified to some extent is not really working as expected. Thus, instead of the reduction of conflict, there is still conflict.

#### **4.3.3 *Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)***

##### **(a) *Standards, Characteristics and Objectives***

The establishment of the Environmental Protection Council (EPC) in 1974 was precipitated by, among others, the recognition of the importance of institutions. The EPC was established by the Environmental Protection Council Decree 1974 (NRCD 239) and subsequently amended by the EPC (Amendment) Decree, 1976 (SMCD 58), to serve as the institutional framework within which environmental concerns would be addressed.<sup>26</sup> The EPC was expected to coordinate the activities of other institutions/bodies dealing directly or indirectly with environmental issues.

As an advisory body to the government on environmental issues, without the power of enforcement, it served as the central point for those bodies, which actually exercised power. The membership of the EPC on its establishment included representatives from the Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Lands and Natural Resources, Industries, Science and Technology, Local Government, Finance and Economic Planning and Works and Housing. Besides the ministries, there were non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local and international bodies or institutions linked with the environment in Ghana. Sectoral agencies with environmental missions were also identified as key in the implementation process.

With changing events at the global, national and local levels, which led to environmental concerns becoming more apparent, it became necessary to revise and re-envision the EPC. The result was the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1994 through an Act of Parliament, EPA Act 490, 1994). It was charged with the responsibility of regulating environmental matters and

implementing environmental policies towards the achievement of sustainable development.<sup>27</sup> See Table 4.6 for the functions of the EPC and the EPA.

**Table 4.6 Functions of the EPC and the EPA**

	EPC	EPA
1.	Advise government generally on environmental matters relating to the social and economic life of Ghana.	Coordinate activities of bodies concerned with the technical or practical aspects of the environment and serve as a channel of communication between such bodies and the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology.
2.	Coordinate the activities of all bodies concerned with environmental matters and to serve as channel of communication between these bodies and the government	Coordinate the activities of such bodies as it considers appropriate for the purposes of controlling the generation, treatment, storage, transportation and disposal of industrial waste
3.	Conduct and promote investigation, carry out surveys, research and analyses and train personnel all aimed improving and maintaining sound ecological systems.	Issue environmental permits and pollution abatement notices for controlling the volume, types, constituents and effects of waste discharges, emissions and other sources of pollutants which are hazardous or potentially dangerous to the quality of the environment.
4.	Serve as the official national body for co-operation and to liaise with national and international organizations on environmental matters.	Prescribe standards and guidelines relating to the pollution of air, water, land and other forms of environmental pollution.
5.	Undertake such studies and submit such reports and recommendations with respect to the environment as may be requested by the government.	Ensure compliance with any laid down environmental impact assessment procedures in the planning and execution of development projects, including compliance in respect of existing projects.
6.	Embark on general environmental education programmes for the purpose of creating an enlightened public opinion regarding the environment and an awareness of the individual and collective role in its protection and improvement	Act in liaison and cooperation with government agencies, DAs and other bodies and institutions to control pollution and generally protect the environment.
7.		Initiate and pursue formal and non-formal education programmes for the creation of public awareness of the environment.
8.		Impose and collect environmental protection levies.

Source: Adapted from Ayee, “The Formulation and Implementation of Environmental Policy in Ghana”, 1997, pp.106-109.

Thus, clearly, the EPA is granted the power of enforcement and control and exacting levies to serve as deterrent. As Ayee rightly puts it, “the functions given to the EPA are more extensive, encompassing and embracing than those assigned to the EPC”.<sup>28</sup> In addition, to enhance the performance of its consolidated functions, there were structural changes which included a governing board and the establishment of committees like the Hazardous Chemicals Committee (HCC) and the establishment of the

National Environment Fund (NEF), just to mention a few. The EPA's corporate objectives included creating awareness to mainstream environment into the development process at the national, regional, district and community levels; ensuring that the implementation of environmental policy and planning are integrated and consistent with the country's desire for effective, long term maintenance of environmental quality. In addition, it is to ensure environmentally-sound and efficient use of both renewable and non-renewable resources in the process of national development; guide development to prevent, reduce and, as far as possible, eliminate pollution and actions that lower the quality of life. The EPA is also to apply legal processes to ensure responsible environmental behaviour in the country; continuously improve the EPA's performance to meet environmental changing trends and community aspirations; and encourage and reward a commitment by all EPA staff to a culture based on continuous improvement and on working in partnership with all members of the Ghanaian community.<sup>29</sup>

**(b) *Inter-organizational Communication***

One major area of EPA's operations is its intersectoral network with four divisions, namely, natural resources, environmental education, built environment and mining. Each of these divisions is further subdivided into departments each dealing with an aspect of the environment. Each of the departments also collaborates with appropriately identified governmental or non-governmental institutions to achieve departmental objectives, which are components of the main objectives of EPA<sup>30</sup> (see Table 4.6 for details).

The strategy emphasized the coordinating role of the National Council on Women in Development (NCWD) in all the regions to ensure that women play important roles in environmental policy processes. Linked to the NCWD is the envisaged role of the NGO sector noted for its close links with rural areas and local communities who live on the margins of the environment for their livelihood. The extension service of the agriculture sector is also in the policy community for the obvious role they play in the agriculture business and their knowledge on the environment as it relates the agriculture sector.<sup>31</sup>

It is worthy to note that these and other institutions are prominent only at the implementation stage and not necessarily instrumental or visible at the policy formulation stage. They belong more to the bottom-up institutions and are considered as collaborating institutions. In other words, they are not considered as very key institutions, which can on their own make significant contributions to the search for environmental decorum except to work within the framework and guidance of the EPA. See Table 4.7 for the intersectoral network of the EPA.

**Table 4.7: Intersectoral Network Divisions of EPA**

Department	Mandate	Operations Concern	Objectives
Natural Resources	Provide initiative and solutions in natural resource management and conservation towards responsible environmental stewardship	Forestry and Wildlife Resources Management; Land Resources Management; Water Resources Management; Energy Resources Management and Coordination of activities of sectoral agencies whose programmes impact on particularly natural resources and biological diversity.	To initiate, promote and facilitate application of sustainable principles and practices in the management and conservation of Ghana's natural resources.
Environmental Education	Educate Ghanaian citizens to enable each individual understand the functioning and limitations of the environment	Formal and non-formal education, public awareness, collaboration with NGOs, environmental education material development.	To ensure that all Ghanaians are aware of their responsibilities to protect the environment through attitudinal and behavioural changes to improve environmental quality.
Built Environment	Ensure the proper planning of settlement and proper health status of the general population.	Infrastructure development, public health, population and gender issues, disaster management and settlement planning issues.	To encourage and facilitate ongoing improvements in the planning and management of human settlements and to improve the quality of health of Ghanaians.
Mining Department		Permitting and pollution control, mining processing, prospecting and compliance.	To minimize the potential negative impact of mining activities on the environment and local communities and settlements through monitoring, assessment and compliance strategies.

Source: Adapted from EPA at a Glance, 2000, p. 13

Very instrumental to the institutional role of implementation is environmental education. Indeed, the Environmental Action Plan (EAP) categorically states that the success of any environmental policy is dependent on the fact that all sections of the population understand the functioning of the environment and the problems that come with its abuse.

Consequently, in 1992 a workshop designed to draw a strategy for environmental education was held in Accra. The final report of the National Environmental Education Committee touched on some pertinent concerns. Among the institutions charged with this responsibility are formal education systems, non-formal education systems, District Assemblies (DAs), Department of Community Development, National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the

Media, Agriculture Extension Services (AES), Ghana National Fire Service (GNFS), religious organizations, traditional rulers and opinion leaders.<sup>32</sup>

In order to see results, the EPA, in collaboration with other institutions carried out linkage programmes and projects like the introduction of various environmental subject areas into formal education school curricula and other programmes and the creation of environmental desks in some ministries and departments including District Assemblies (DAs). It was also very instrumental in ensuring that there was a component on the environment in the 1992 Constitution.<sup>33</sup>

**(c) *Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies***

Although the source of funds into the NEF is to include grants, gifts, donations from government, and fees and charges levied by EPA, the only reliable source going into the Fund is the fees and charges levied by the EPA and to some extent international generation of fund.<sup>34</sup>

The EPA reflects two visions. Firstly, it envisions a country in which all sections of the community value the environment and therefore strive to attain sustainable development, with sound and efficient resources management, taking into consideration social and equity issues. Secondly, the EPA envisions an agency dedicated to continuously improving and conserving the country's environment in particular<sup>35</sup>.

Related to the vision is the agency's mission, which is to co-manage, protect and enhance the country's environment in particular, as well as seek common solutions to global environmental problems. This mission is to be achieved through an "integrated environmental planning and management system established on a broad base of public



participation, efficient implementation of appropriate programmes and technical services, giving good counsel on environmental management as well as effective and consistent enforcement of environmental laws and regulations. The EPA is therefore an “implementing agency, a regulatory body and a catalyst for change towards sound environmental stewardship”.<sup>36</sup>

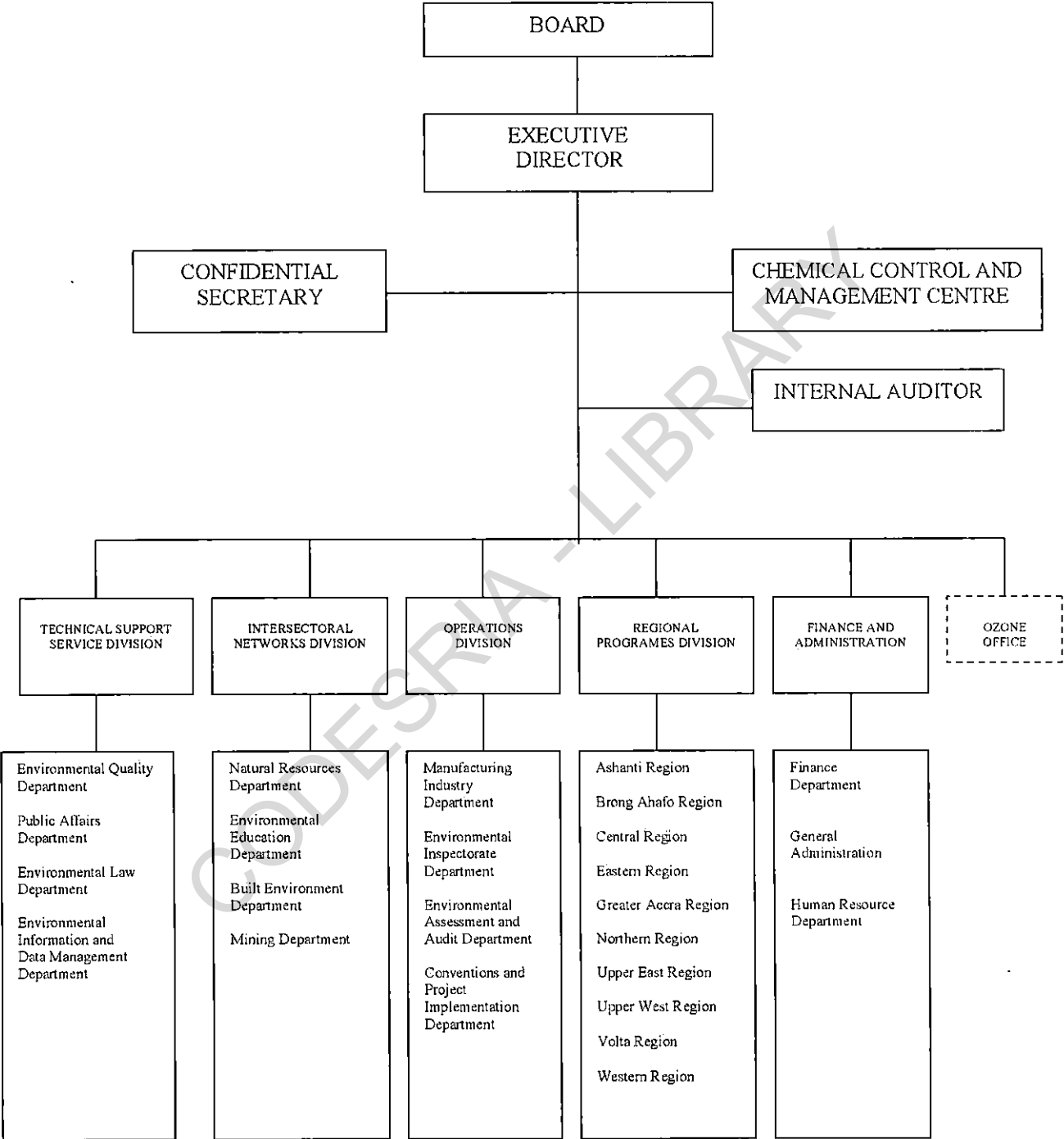
To achieve its mission, the EPA has identified some key areas which when pursued can lead to the plausibility of realizing its mission statement. These include the EPA’s ability to: raise people’s level of awareness on the environment; facilitate the transfer of knowledge of what can be done; gain the commitment of people and institutions to change behaviour and avoid environmentally degrading actions and, finally to empower people to take practical action at all levels of the society. This will require education, availability of information, advice and assistance, direction and enforcement of programmes/projects and policies.<sup>37</sup> In line with this mission, some strategies have been identified to achieve the objectives. They include partnerships, pollution prevention and control, ecosystem management, environmental justice and environmental education, science and data. In addition, the agency intends to take compliance and enforcement more seriously, which is the cornerstone of achieving the laudable objectives of the environmental policy; and the strengthening of management performance.<sup>38</sup> All of these are significant components of environmental policy processes, which involve not only several issues but also several actors and institutions, making the necessity for inter- and intra-institutional collaboration and cooperation inevitable. The effectiveness of this inter-sectoral relationship depends on the staff size and the level of their professionalism

and qualification. See Figure 4.3 for the Organogram of the EPA and Table 4.8 for the regional distribution of staff of the Agency.

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FIGURE 4.4

ORGANOGRAM OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY



**Table 4.8 Staff Distribution by Region, 2000**

Region	Programme Staff	Non-Programme Staff	Total
Ashanti	5	4	9
Brong Ahafo	3	4	7
Central	3	4	7
Eastern	3	4	7
Greater Accra	3	2	5
Northern	4	4	8
Upper East	2	4	6
Upper West	3	2	5
Volta	5	2	7
Western	4	3	7
<b>Regional Totals</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Head Office Totals</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>223</b>

Source: EPA Annual Report, 2000, p. 172.

The staff of EPA includes academics, administrators and scientists and other low skill staff like secretaries. But it has one of the highest staff turnovers apparently due to the poor conditions of service. With regard to the high staff turnover, for instance, in 2000, five senior staff and 9 junior staff were recruited. Of this, there were ten resignations made up of three senior and seven junior officers, whilst two vacated their post<sup>39</sup>. In 2002, after going through the entire recruitment process, 30 appointment letters were issued. Out of this 26 turned up or reported for the orientation. At the end of the exercise, 4 people had left. Indeed, the situation reached its zenith when in one year about 30 people left the Agency. According to the Director for Finance and Administration, those who leave are the technical people who are attracted or lured to the private sector due to obvious better conditions of service, in particular salaries. Even though such reasons for their resignation are not stated, it is obvious that they leave because of better conditions.<sup>40</sup>

The EPA has offices in all the regions but not in all the districts because besides the further bureaucratization associated with its operations, the EPA does not have the required resources, finance and logistics, (see Table 4.9 for budgetary allocation) to

maintain these districts offices. Consequently, its district offices are only in what it identifies to be “very critical environmental-problem areas” like Accra, Tema and Tarkwa<sup>41</sup>. Interestingly, the EPA does not have a district office in Obuasi, which is noted for mining and its consequent environmental impact. Nonetheless, the Ashanti Regional Office has the highest number of staff compared to all the other regions. The reasons given by officials of the Adansi West District Assembly and the EPA seem to be one of passing the buck.

The Director of Finance and Administration did not mince words with regard to the financial position of the EPA. He noted that by comparison to other agencies under the same Ministry (Ministry of Environment and Science), the allocations to the EPA are inadequate. The Agency has to support its activities largely by internally generated funds.

**Table 4.9: Budgetary Allocations to EPA, 1998-2000, 2002**

Item	1999	2000	% increase/decrease
Personal Emoluments	773,295,739	1,555,792,255	101.2
Administrative Expenses	635,983,333	595,900,912	/ 6.3
Service Expenses	-	210,028,250	-
Investment Expenses	436,684,144	-	-
Total	1,845,936,216	2,361,721,417	27.9

Source, Ghana Environmental Protection Agency, 2000 Annual Report, p.185.

### **Performance**

The EPA, despite the numerous challenges from funding to staff, has been able to carry out its mandate. In fact, it is the most visible government agency with regards to environmental issues, which cut across different sectors. It has addressed a number of

pollution issues especially in the mining areas where there is occasional cyanide spillage, affecting the local communities' sources of water.

Again, in collaboration with other governmental and non- governmental organizations, the EPA has carried out extensive education campaign and supported communities, which embark on clean-up exercises. Significantly, it also liaises with other international bodies to ensure that Ghana is within the global network of finding solutions to environmental problems.

However, in all these, some local communities in the Wassa West district blame the EPA as an agency which only colludes with big mining companies to deprive them of the basic sources of livelihood. Consequently, the EPA has, according to some communities not done much in terms of addressing the mounting environmental problems.

The EPA recognizes that, it must begin to publicize its activities and mandate for the general public to be aware of its scope of work and related matters. Officials admit that there is so much that the Agency can do but has been handicapped by inadequate resources including competent technical personnel to handle the different areas of specialty it handles.

#### **4.3.4 Forestry Commission (FC)**

##### ***(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives***

The 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution stipulates that “subject to the provisions of this Constitution, Parliament shall, by or under an Act of Parliament, provide for the establishment, within six months after Parliament first meets after the coming into force

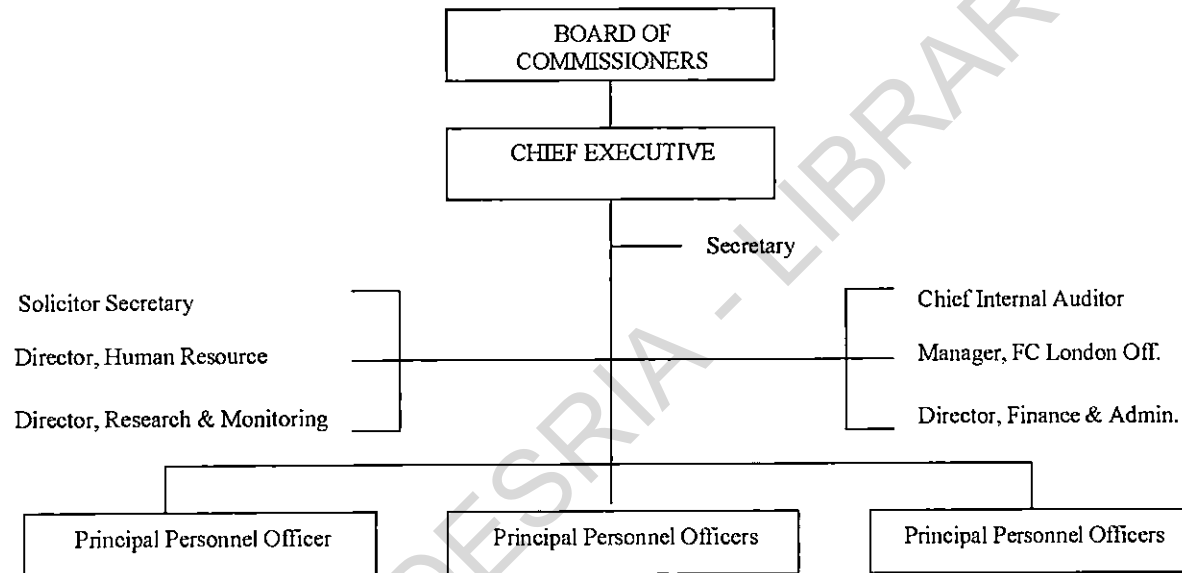
of this constitution, of a Minerals Commission, a Forestry Commission, Fisheries Commission and such other Commissions as Parliament may determine, which shall be responsible for the regulation and management of the utilization of the natural resources concerned and the coordination of the policies in relation to them".<sup>42</sup> This is the legal basis for the establishment of the Minerals and Forestry Commissions to which we now turn.

The Forestry Commission was established by an Act of Parliament, Act 571, (1999) which changed its status into a corporate body with perpetual succession and a common seal and may sue and be sued.<sup>43</sup> As a public body, it is responsible for the utilization, conservation and management of forest and wildlife resources whilst coordinating related policies. It brings under its umbrella all public agencies with individual responsibilities of protection, management and regulation of all forests and wildlife resources with the long-term aim of meeting national and global standards for sustainable development in the forestry and wildlife industry.<sup>44</sup>

The specific functions of the Commission are the creation, protection and management of the permanent forests estates and protected areas; preparation and implementation of integrated (collaborative) forest and wildlife management plans; regulation of the harvesting of timber, wildlife and other non-timber forest products; vetting and registration of contracts and issuing of permits for export of forest and wildlife products; tracking the movement of timber, wood and wildlife products, among others.<sup>45</sup> The organizational structure of the Commission is headed by the Board of Commissioners to whom the Chief Executive reports (see figure 4.5 for details).

FIGURE 4.5

**ORGANOGRAM OF FORESTRY COMMISSION  
CORPORATE ORGANIZATION CHART\***



\*Chart denotes structure, not the relative worth of positions



**(b) *Interorganizational Communication***

The FC carries out its functions by liaising with other agencies including the development partners especially on projects besides its links with Ministries and NGOs like the Friends of the Earth. The Forestry Commission works in collaboration with its other divisions like the Forestry Services Division (FSD), the Wildlife Division and the Timber Industry Development Division (TIDD) not only in the execution of projects and programmes, but to ensure the achievement of the overall corporate objectives.

The issue of whether there should be mining in forest reserves or not is one of the contending issues between the Forestry and Minerals Commissions. Whilst the Forestry Commission is understandably against mining in forest reserves, the Minerals Commission argues that the concession in the reserves are not in what is termed as 'primary reserves' but rather in 'productive reserves' where farming, logging and hunting are already ongoing.<sup>46</sup>

One important aspect of the interorganizational communication by the Forestry Commission is the establishment of a total of 21 customer service points; in Brong Ahafo (6), Ashanti (8) and Western (7) respectively. These regions were selected for the pilot because of their high forest zones. The establishment according to the Human Resource Manager has not only reduced the number of complaints received at the headquarters but also the nature of complaints made because of the transparency in the handling of disputes.<sup>47</sup>

**(c) *Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies***

Act 571 outlines the sources of funding for the FC as monies provided by Parliament for carrying out its assigned duties or functions. They include the

Commission’s share of revenue from forest and wildlife resource use; improved plantation and the development of game ranches and fees for entering protected areas and loans and grants, and technical and consulting services to the private and public sectors. For public bodies, full cost is charged unless there is a clear government policy to subsidize such commercial services to the organization or public body concerned.<sup>48</sup>

However, the Forestry Commission is largely dependent on government subventions, which, according to officials, are woefully inadequate and not released on time for execution of programmes like the Forestry Week (see Table 4.10 for sources of funds). This tends to affect the performance of the Commission and the staff who risk their lives in the bush to enforce government policies and laws.<sup>49</sup>

**Table 4.10: Sources of Revenue for the Forestry Commission**

Revenue Sources	Year		
	1999	2001	2002
Government Allocations	11.762	18.017	26.420
Internally Generated Funds	33.800	68.648	60.912
Donor	0.657	7.373	9.325
Total	46.219	94.037	96.657

Source, Forestry Commission, Finance Department, 2004

\* The Figures for 2000 was not available. All amounts in Billions of Cedis

It is clear from the table that, the Forestry Commission is largely resourced from its internally generated fund and not from government allocations substantiating the claim of inadequate allocations from the government.

Nationwide, the Forestry Commission has total staff strength of about four thousand (4000). With the adoption of a new Service Charter, the Commission is run as a

business entity though still a public organization. For instance, the Charter states that “in all cases where the Forestry Commission provides services to non-public bodies it will do so on commercial basis”.<sup>50</sup> Since the Forestry Commission brings under its umbrella the other divisions dealing with forestry, staff issues have become complicated because some of the staff, like those from the Wildlife Division are still under the civil service, making synchronizing of staff issues difficult. The other problems of the staff are the change in different organizational cultures and work ethics necessitated by the merging of the different divisions, which have affected delivery of service. In addition, the envisaged corporate image being created for the Commission stands in conflict with the large number of personnel in terms of corporate management whilst there are no severance awards for those who have joined the Commission from the civil service thereby dampening staff morale.<sup>51</sup>

In addition, a number of forest guards at the local level had been laid off which has affected the monitoring of the forest reserves from encroachment by chainsaw operators and other illegal users of forest resources and products, although on a relative basis, the headquarters and the middle manpower level is relatively stable in terms of number of staff.<sup>52</sup>

For instance, some range officers have to contend physically with chainsaw operators in the forest reserves or have to walk long distances in the bush to carry out their assigned duties, which most women find overwhelming. These, for the human resource manager, are only part of the transitional process, which, with time, would be adequately addressed.<sup>53</sup>

**(d) Performance**

For the FC the problem of financial inadequacy has been its main challenge. Again, cooperation from local people is not the best as expected due to lack of education. The technical officers who are already few due to the risky nature of the job, are harassed and assaulted by chainsaw operators who find them a nuisance to their destructive activities in the forests. Furthermore, some chiefs are alleged to have political connections, which make it difficult for the Commission to solicit for their support when needed.<sup>54</sup>

This uncordial relationship between the Commission and local communities is heightened by the settlements in forest reserves. Beginning with small groups, some of these have grown into large communities with all basic social amenities leading to the destruction of the forest reserves, which are to be protected by the Commission. It therefore becomes very difficult to get cooperation from the people in whose interests and on whose behalf the Commission acts as an agent of government.<sup>55</sup>

**4.3.5 District Assemblies (DAs)**

**(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives**

After a comprehensive reform in the late 1980s, 110 District Assemblies (DAs) were created as the main legislative, deliberative and implementing bodies at the local level, constituted by elected and appointed members, a Chief Executive and a Presiding Member. With the emphasis on environmental management and the achievement of sustainable development premised on the Agenda 21, the DAs were to be major collaborators in the implementation of environmental policies.<sup>56</sup>

The DAs play important collaborative roles. Particularly in the regions, regional agencies were preoccupied with environmental programmes aimed at creating awareness, enforcing compliance and achieving set objectives or standards towards achieving environmental sanity in the districts.

In addition to their overwhelming development duties, the DAs have the legal responsibility of monitoring the impact of their projects on the people and the overall economy and, more significantly on the environment.<sup>57</sup> Specifically on environmental management, the DAs are to be organs through which national policies and programmes on the environment will be translated into action whilst such programmes serve as vehicles for creating awareness at the grassroots level of the complex. In order to facilitate this, District Environmental Management Committees (DEMCs) were established in all DAs. Their functions are outlined in Box 4.1.

**Box 4.1**

<p><b>Functions of DEMCs</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Sustain and enforce current bushfire legislation and strengthen control.</li><li>2. Assure sustainable supplies of fuelwood by requiring industries to meet fuelwood needs from plantations and by licensing charcoal burners and commercial fuelwood providers.</li><li>3. Establish protected areas to be managed for multiple use in the coastal zone (in collaboration with NGOs)</li><li>4. Control agriculture development in the coastal zone with particular reference to the use of agrochemichals and the implementation of soil conservation programmes.</li><li>5. Enforce standards and regulations on Waste water discharges, emissions and</li></ol> <p>Source EPA, 1996</p>
---

In spite of these crucial roles of the DEMCs, they have been largely ineffective in their operations. In Tarkwa and Obuasi, a number of reasons were given for their ineffectiveness. First in Tarkwa, for instance, the problems identified were lack of financing and the DEMC not being a sub-committee of the assembly to warrant attention. Secondly, the changing nature of the composition of the DEMC also creates loss of institutional memory. Since membership is not permanent, it affects the composition of the DEMCs and ultimately the performance of their functions because of the high turn over rate.

This was corroborated by field verification in the districts by the Educational Department of the EPA in 1999 aimed at determining whether the DEMCs were still in existence and how they are carrying on their duties. Table 4.11 is the result of the outcome of the exercise in randomly selected districts.

**Table 4.11: Summary of Results of District Monitoring Programme of DEMCs**

ISSUES	REGION				
	Central	Upper West	Greater Accra	Volta	Eastern
How many people attended the workshop?	3	3	3	3	3
Positions of Participants	Presiding Member, Assembly Member, District Health /Environmental Officer				
Discussion of Action Plan with DAs?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Integration of any Environmental programmes?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Allocation of Funds for environmental Programmes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are DEMCs functioning actively?	No	No	No	No	No
Do the Committees meet regularly?	No	No	No	No	No

Source: EPA Annual Report, 2000, p.24.

In the Ashanti region, additional reason from the EPA's field verification, given for this state of affairs, which confirmed our study's field work results was that many of the trained personnel had either been transferred to other districts or are no more with the

DAs since the change of government.<sup>58</sup> Specifically in Obuasi, besides the other problems outlined with the operation of the DEMC, the focus of the DEMC shifted from immediate environmental problems created as a result of mining activities, onto sanitation, which from the perspective of some members, was immediate and visible and confronts the people on a daily basis. The Adansi West District Assembly (AWDA) noted that putting its entire focus on sanitation, as a mining community was a dangerous developmental focus yet it had reasons for doing so.<sup>59</sup>

In the Wassa West District Assembly (WWDA), it was noted that although the DEMC had been formed, it was not effective. Three members including one woman who were trained for the DEMC were no longer with the assembly.<sup>60</sup> Instead, according to the District Coordinating Director (DCD), the environmental sub-committee is one of the strongest in the structure of the WWDA.<sup>61</sup>

These arguments, even though plausible, may not be convincing because newly elected and appointed members are given orientation every four years when local level elections are held. It will therefore not be out of place to incorporate the training of new members for the DEMCs if adequate provisions and proper management are put in place against the underlying concept, that at the end of their four-year term, they would have made significant impact and would be able to pass on their expertise to other members. Again, nothing prevents assemblies from creating an environmental sub-committee (which other DAs have done) in order to strengthen the role of the DEMCs since the Act (Act 429) creating the DAs grants that mandate.

More tangibly, it was noted that funding and the legal status or recognition for the DEMCs have been quite challenging from their inception. It is in this light that the

recommendation for parliament to consider the DEMCs as statutory committees of the DAs needs to be given some attention.<sup>62</sup>

**(b) *Interorganizational Communication***

According to the Adansi West District Assembly (AWDA), Ashanti Goldfields Company (AGC) had accepted its social responsibility, not only towards ensuring environmental discipline in its activities, but had also shored up its social accountability through support in terms of sanitation and other programmes of the assembly; a situation that has enhanced the cordiality between the two entities. For instance, due to this support, besides the relative cleanliness in the Obuasi township, a joint coordinating meeting with AGC and other stakeholders is held monthly to deliberate on environmental problems. Apart from the collaborative venture, the DA has an ongoing project, financed from its own resources on tree planting, but which is not well publicized for public awareness.<sup>63</sup>

In the Wassa West district, it is reported that Goldfields Ghana has developed strong partnerships with its host communities by establishing a trust fund since the second quarter of the 2002 financial year. The initial focus was on health and education projects and water supply. Among the communities, which benefited from these provisions were New Atuabo (one of our case study communities), Damang and Kyekyewere.<sup>64</sup>

The provision of water for the mining communities is significant because according the Environmental Quality Department of the EPA, wells, boreholes and surface water from Tarkwa, Teberebie, Mile 7 and Mile 8 (Adeyie-one of our sampled



communities) were sampled and analyzed following reports of poor water quality. The results indicated different unacceptable levels of faecal coliforms, dissolved oxygen, manganese, nitrate and iron, among others. The iron concentration far exceeded the World Health Organization (WHO) limits. Interestingly, according to the report, domestic water supply of the mining companies had no iron. This implied that the treatment for their water was not only thorough but that there was no treatment for the water provided for the communities.<sup>65</sup>

**(c) Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies**

The DAs have sources of funding. This can be grouped into two, which are the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) and the Internally Generated Fund (IGF). The two district assemblies admitted that there is room for improvement for their internally generated fund. For the DACF, it was also acknowledged that it is their largest source of funding, though there were discrepancies in the amount allocated and final disbursement. See Table 4.12 for IGF and DACF for Adansi West and Wassa West from 1999-2002.

**Table 4.12: IGF and DACF for Adansi West and Wassa West, 1999-2002**

	Wassa West	Adansi West	Wassa West	Adansi West
Year	District Assemblies Common Fund		Internally Generated Fund	
1999	1,367,330,428	1,026,553,612	1,397,857,149	2,791,763,001
2000	1,506,474,582	1,284,770,400	4,087,327,960	4,892,461,696
2001	2,632,744,214	1,840,617,930	3,263,458,710	1,658,975,635
2002	* 862,623,041	* 702,300,361	6,649,071,226	5,668,654,450

Source: Office of the DACF Administrator and Auditor General's Department, September 2004

\*The figures for the IGF include grants received by the DAs. The 2002 figures for the DACF represents only the first quarter.

#### ***(d) Performance***

The ability of local communities to recognize that responsibility for environmental management is not only that for government and that there can be co-sharing of responsibilities is a key demerit of measuring performance. To ascertain this, 80 respondents in the Adansi West district were asked whether they are aware of any afforestation programmes in the district or their communities. About 63% confirmed the afforestation programme, out of which, about 58% said they were either very successful or quite successful. But when asked further to indicate which organizations or group were involved, they mentioned Timber companies (15%), church groups (13%) and Ashanti Goldfields Company (10%), as the three top groups involved. Interestingly, about 70% of respondents from the Adansi West district believed that these groups involved in the afforestation programme can help solve some of the environmental problems in their communities.<sup>66</sup> The DAs are to work in concert with other institutions and organizations from outside the government circles like local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to which we now turn,

#### ***4.3.6 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)***

##### ***(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives***

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been recognized as essential contributors to environmental protection. In fact, the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) recommended that governments should give recognition to NGOs and extend their right to know and have access to required information on the environment and natural resources and their right to

be consulted and to participate in decision-making on activities and issues that could have a significant impact on the environment.<sup>67</sup> NGOs in general and environmental NGOs in particular operating in Ghana have been given this recognition. As at 2004, there are about 200 Environmental NGOs registered with the Ministry of Manpower and Employment and Social Welfare and the Environmental Protection Agency.<sup>68</sup>

NGOs have been recognized as instrumental in the implementation process by educating people, publicizing the problematic of environmental issues and supporting groups and communities to undertake projects aimed at tackling some of the environmental problems in those communities. Respondents from Adansi West and Wassa West districts were of the view that NGOs could assist in the fight against environmental degradation through (in order of importance) public education, funding and organizing workshops and seminars.<sup>69</sup>

Our focus will be on the Friends of the Earth (FOE) and Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM). The selection of these two is based on their role in addressing environmental problems through different programmes and projects. Specifically for the FOE, it has been in operation for a considerable number of years with a lot of activities and projects. For the WACAM, it is the only local NGO operating in the two districts but more in the Wassa West district, which has indicated commitment to helping mining communities and has achieved some results. Due to their peculiar operational and administrative characteristics, NGOs are known to have greater positive impact in project implementation than government agencies, which also shapes their relationship with government. This relationship is informed by the nature of political regime and government's own development strategy, and the content, size and

scope of NGO programmes and activities.<sup>70</sup> This notwithstanding, even though most of the NGOs have environmental objectives spelt out in their mission statement, some are not effective.

*(i) Friends of the Earth (FOE)*

The Friends of the Earth-Ghana (FOE-Ghana) is an environmental non-governmental organization (NGO), which is non-racial, non-religious and non-profit making. The FOE-Ghana was founded in 1986 as part of a worldwide network of the FOE groups in sixty countries called the FOE-International.<sup>71</sup>

The FOE-Ghana envisions that Ghana becomes an ecologically and economically sustainable society based on equitable distribution of resources to both men and women and the highest achievable standard of living for all. For this, the FOE-Ghana aims at a campaign that will lead to an environmentally sustainable development and protection of Ghana's environment.

To effect these, the organization has a number of objectives. These are environmental education of different groups including local communities, local governments and policy makers and individuals to enable them understand and appreciate Ghana's environment. It also helps to collect, analyze and disseminate relevant information on the environment and in the formation of collaborative linkages to facilitate achievement of common objectives. It also lobbies government to consider environmental issues in all development programmes, organization and participation in training courses, conferences, seminars and workshops on the environment and promote women's empowerment and gender equity.<sup>72</sup>

**(ii) *The Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)***

This is a community-based non-profit organization created on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1998. It aims at mobilizing communities around issues they consider critical for the rights of mining communities. These critical community concerns include land use conflicts, loss of farmlands, destruction of sacred and cultural sites, human rights violations, pollution of air and water bodies and water and airborne diseases and their attendant social and economic impact, all as a consequent of mining operations in and around these communities.<sup>73</sup>

The WACAM's main objective includes sensitizing communities who have been affected in one way or the other by these community concerns to seek acceptable compensation packages especially in cases of resettlement or relocation. Furthermore, it (a) liaises with government and other agencies or institutions on similar issues of concern to mining communities; (b) raises public awareness about mining, the environment and livelihood, and (c) collaborates with other groups and organizations with similar interests.<sup>74</sup>

**(b) *Interorganizational Communications***

**(ii) *The Friends of the Earth (FOE)***

Even though the FOE-Ghana has good relations with other NGOs and even collaborates with some for the implementation of some programmes, there are also challenges. For instance, according to the Programme Coordinator, NGOs though may be fighting for similar cause have different agenda, which create problems of uniformity of action. In an attempt to champion the formation of a coalition to campaign against

mining industries, the FOE could not rally enough support from other NGOs, which had different agenda and philosophies. Some of these NGOs include the Third World Network (TWN), and Green Earth Organization (GEO) mainly for campaign and advocacy and sharing of information. At the international level, collaborators of the FOE's include, the Green Peace International, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Canada and the World Wide Fund (WWF), among others.<sup>75</sup>

On its relations with government and its agencies, the FOE contends that this is mixed because, on one hand, there is good relations with Ministries like Environment and Science, Food and Agriculture, Mines and Energy and Lands and Forestry and the EPA, while on the other, some government agencies perceive NGOs as troublemakers who do not really do anything but only criticize government policies and programmes and projects. This, according to the Programme Coordinator, does not augur well for collaboration needed for tackling the myriad of environmental problems facing the country.<sup>76</sup> This serves as one of its main challenges together with getting people to consider the importance of the environment. Though the FOE has made some progress in the areas of education and awareness creation, there are still more grounds to cover.<sup>77</sup>

**(ii) *The Wassa Association of Communities Affected By Mining***

The WACAM has cordial relationship with a number of NGOs including the Friends of the Earth (FOE), Green Earth Organization (GEO), Third World Network (TWN), the IBIS and a German group called the FIAN. Whilst it endeavours to have good relations with all, it has encountered difficulties with the mining companies, which believe that the WACAM is only raising unnecessary tension among the people. Though,

the WACAM also admits that its relationship with government and its agencies has not been too cordial, there is some improvement with the coming into power of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government in January 2001.

The WACAM contends that the NPP government has allowed for more participation and has shown more concern with the state of forestry in Ghana especially in mining communities. This sensitivity of the NPP government is based on the realization that poverty reduction is influenced by the livelihood of the people.<sup>78</sup> It is instructive to note that all the selected NGOs have some level of disagreements with government and its agencies but have good collaboration among themselves. One issue that the NGOs were not too keen to disclose as they did with other issues is the sources of funds. This was particularly the case with the WACAM.

***(c) Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies***

***(i) The Friends of the Earth***

The FOE-Ghana has eleven (11) programmes and projects that enable it to achieve its objectives. These include trade and the environment, climate change and energy use, ozone depletion, sustainable fisheries, sustainable agriculture, mining and the environment, desertification, biodiversity and forestry and international financial institutions.

Under its biodiversity and forestry programme, the FOE-Ghana is to conserve intact local forests like sacred groves. The FOE-Ghana therefore supports those communities with sacred groves through educational programmes for the need to continue to preserve those groves whilst at the same time developing alternative sources of resource. Sustainable agriculture is also another component of the FOE-Ghana's

programmes. It promotes sustainable agricultural practices through agro-forestry and organic farming. With the agro-forestry, food crops such as cassava and maize are intercropped with tree crops and cash crops like kola and black pepper.<sup>79</sup>

On mining and the environment, the FOE-Ghana has mounted pressure on government and mining companies to address the degrading environmental and social costs of mining. The strategy adopted by the FOE includes raising awareness first and then lobbying government to enact and enforce regulations that will ensure safety for local communities and the environment and involving small-scale miners in the process. On gender, environment and development, the FOE-Ghana has tried to change the status quo where women were not allowed to be part of decisions that bothered on ecology, sustainable issues or natural resources in particular and general decision-making in the political economy.

The FOE is committed to sustainable societies based on equitable distribution of resources, and hence the need for new approaches that incorporates environmental sustainability into gender equity concerns. It does this through lobbying, campaigns and projects some of which include mushroom cultivation, snail farming, bee-keeping and cotton and sheanut processing. Community involvement is paramount in all programmes and projects of the FOE, which takes into account the culture and needs of the people, which snowball into needed support for those projects and programmes.<sup>80</sup>

On its sources of funds, the FOE states these as both bilateral and specific donor agency support for projects. Some of their sources are from their parent organization, the Friends of the Earth International, DANIDA, the Ghana AIDS Commission and



membership dues. Table 4.13 gives details of some of the funds allocated to the FOE, Ghana by some sponsors/donors.

**Table 4.13    Sources of Funds for the FOE**

Sources of Funds	Amount	Project Name	Project Date	Location of Project
Global Env. Facility (GEF)	\$500,000	Biodiversity Conservation	2001	Lake Bosomtwe
Netherlands Committee for Preservation of Nature	\$52,000	Muni Wetland Management	-	Muni
ICCO	\$150,000	Forest Management	-	Western Region
WWF	100, 000 pounds	Forest Certification	2003-2006	-

Source: Interview with the Project Coordinator of the FOE, 9<sup>th</sup> June, 2004.

**(ii)    *The Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining***

For effective operation, the WACAM’s activities are grouped into zones where mining activities takes place. The zones are named after the most popular community and there are currently five of such zones.<sup>81</sup>

On gender, the WACAM is specifically concerned because women are the worse victims of inadequate farmlands and the dislocation and resettlements due to mining activities. These have affected the traditional social structures with breakdown in marriages and school drop out for their children, because of dwindling financial resources. The WACAM’s programmes therefore give special consideration to women. The main problem encountered by the WACAM is funding. Its main financiers are the TWN. However, sometimes through the collaboration with other agencies or organizations like the IBIS, the WACAM is able to get assistance in other forms beside finance.

#### ***(d) Performance***

##### ***(i) The Friends of the Earth***

For the FOE, the sponsored projects were achieving results based on the objectives of the projects. It however admitted that there are challenges ranging from lack of support from some communities, government agencies, among others. In addition, due to the increasing number of NGOs, it has become increasingly difficult to source funds and that has also affected its programmes. On advocacy, it noted that the measurement is more difficult since it cannot claim credit for activities carried out by other NGOs as well. Nonetheless, the FOE is confident that it is making progress.<sup>82</sup>

##### ***(ii) The Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining***

In May and June 2002, with financial assistance from the IBIS, it organized a workshop titled “Women in Leadership Training” for selected women in mining communities under a broad framework of good governance and capacity building.

A follow-up workshop was organized in September 2003, which covered more (about twenty) communities. These workshops were important for and appreciated by the women who participated because of their vulnerable status due to the apparent insensitivity of men to family needs including catering for their children all because the men are mainly unemployed.<sup>83</sup>

#### ***4.3.7 Chieftaincy***

##### ***(a) Standards, Characteristics and Objectives***

One of the challenges identified by a number of the top-down institutions is the role of chiefs in their daily activities. Whilst the NEAP mentions the role of traditional

authorities in the formulation process, the role of chiefs in the implementation of the policy was not clearly defined. In fact, the nature of environmental problems in Ghana is seriously fused with the institution of chieftaincy, which has and continues to play an indispensable role in the Ghanaian political economy.

**(b) *Interorganizational Communication***

Asked whether chiefs should play a special role in environmental policy making and implementation, 96.2% respondents from the Wassa West and Adansi West districts were unanimous that chiefs should play a special role in environmental decision making and implementation processes. Their main reason was that chiefs are the first point of call in the communities and have traditional knowledge on environmental history (78.1%) and also advised against the felling of trees (11.3%)<sup>84</sup>. The District Coordinating Director of the WWDA and the Programme Officer of the EPA admitted that the assembly has good relations with almost all the chiefs although they do not always reach agreement with them on some of the issues.<sup>85</sup>

**(c) *Resources and Disposition of Implementing Agencies***

The chief of Atuabo (Wassa West District) admitted that the rate of unemployment was high because majority of the young men and women were into illegal small-scale mining before their resettlement and did not have employable skills which affect their chances of getting employment in the mining company when the community had to finally resettle. Since there was problem with getting land for their illegal mining activities in the new resettled area, New Atuabo, those who were engaged in illegal

mining had become unemployed. This is supported by 27.5% of respondents from New Atuabo who were unemployed with only 5% employed by the mining company.<sup>86</sup>

There is also a problem with farmlands, which has affected the number of people, mostly women, in farming. For the people in the community, there are no farm lands whilst the chief insisted that the problem with farmlands is not their availability but rather accessibility because the lands allocated for farming purposes stretch some four (4) to six (6) miles away from the community. Nothing can be done because the resettled land and those for farming are in another traditional area, which are not under the traditional jurisdiction of the Tarkwa Atuabo chief.<sup>87</sup>

#### *(d) Performance*

The respondents' assessment of their chiefs' roles in the actual process does not match with expectations as 76.1% felt that even where there are active chiefs, they have done nothing to help in the environmental programme. Corroborating this, the Assistant Finance Officer of the Mineral Commission noted that as a result of the inappropriate use of social responsibility funds paid to chiefs by timber and mining companies, there has been a revision in the allocation style. Instead of giving monies directly to chiefs, communities together, with the chief decide on what they want and the company supports the identified project.<sup>88</sup>

The Chief of Tarkwa Atuabo Nana Kwaku Baah I however, refuted the allegations made by some of the respondents from his town. According to him, he did a lot for his people especially during the resettlement period. As part of the negotiations with Goldfields Ghana Limited (GGL), he insisted that provision should be made for

farmlands for the people, good drinking water due to the water pollution, electricity, schools, market and health facilities.<sup>89</sup>

#### **4.4 Institutional Dynamics and the Environment: A Comparative Perspective**

The variety of institutions is indicative of the complexity of the environmental sector in general and the numerous social, economic and political actors in the management of forestry resources. Institutions are not neutral factors in the development process; they represent values, which in turn represent the interests of some political or social group. It is for this reason that there is need to ensure that both the scale and orientation of any institution is right in value and appropriate in orientation.<sup>90</sup>

Indeed, majority of respondents were simply not aware of who, in fact, formulated the environmental and forestry policies though they could speculate on the implementers. The implementers were clearly well known actors like the Forestry Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which is the lead implementing institution collaborating with other institutions.

The survey indicated a poor communication link between the communities and the implementation institutions, which was actually confirmed by some of the institutions like the district assemblies and the district office of the Forestry Commission. Supporting this, Pye-Smith et al note that “it is rare to find an explicit dialogue between many ‘authorities’ and ‘communities’...to agree on common objectives and negotiate respective responsibility”.<sup>91</sup> Even when information is available, the integration of objectives cannot be achieved overnight, since there is much mutual understanding to be achieved and policy and institutional inertia to overcome.<sup>92</sup> This is reflective of the

scenario in the two districts with respect to communities' relationship with institutions and communication links. The EPA and FC specifically mentioned the non-cooperation by community members and opinion leaders.

It is thus important to note that, whilst the institutions accused each other of non-cooperation, they recognize that there is the need for stakeholder participation in a more meaningful way from the beginning of the process and not only as add-on to the process of formulation and implementation, but as crucial actors in the process. It was also clear that institutions would prefer more collaboration and cooperation among and between themselves whilst reducing unnecessary competition, institutional rivalry, suspicion and the blame game.

The blame game is more expressed between government and non-governmental organizations. The NGOs have blamed government institutions as being political with environmental issues, which bother on the lives of community members. On the other hand, government institutions also blame the NGOs as pushing too hard without understanding the intricacies involved and only bent on carving a niche for themselves through media propaganda and sometimes unnecessary sensationalism about mining issues.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The chapter has tried to examine the institutional aspect of the formulation and implementation of environmental policies. It has established that there are a number of institutions involved in the policy process, although the weight of each institution in the process is different from the other. Consequently, the institutions tend to act according to

their organizational requirements for action, which do not always blend with other institutions in the process.

There is no doubt that both the formulation and the implementation of environmental policies were heavily tilted in favour of the top-down model propounded by Sabatier, Mazmanian, Edwards, among others<sup>93</sup> in spite of statements in the policy that go to suggest a combination of the top-down and bottom-up approaches. The top-down model is linked to the hierarchical system of organizations, which glorifies the formulation and implementation of policies from central government and its agencies and minimally, if at all, involves the “street level bureaucrats” at the very tail end when key and strategic decisions have already been made.

This is the reflection of the situation in Adansi West and Wassa West when in spite of people’s nominal awareness of the existence of the policies they could not identify the key institutions in the process. Respondents surmised that since people in the communities where these policies are actually applied are those on the ground, it is imperative that they get involved. Particular emphasis was on the role of women because they constitute a bigger percentage of community citizenship and therefore significant that they get involve in decisions that largely affect them. This indicates that not only should stakeholders be identified and allowed to participate but also special attention should be given to specific groups of people, in this case women who are hardest hit in both districts.

All these institutional challenges notwithstanding, both governmental and non-governmental actors insist on the significance of networking through the identification of relevant actors from both the ‘top’ and the ‘bottom’ to ensure the achievement of a good

policy implementation which should be a proper and careful blend of the factors for success inherent in both the bottom-up model and the top-down model whilst simultaneously reducing the risk of debilitating factors in both models to ensure proper environmental governance.

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## NOTES

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<sup>7</sup> Leach, Mearns and Scoones, "Environmental Entitlements: A Framework for Understanding the Institutional Dynamics of Environmental Change", p.3.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>21</sup> Ibid and Discussion with Deputy Director, Research, Information and Statistical Management, Ministry of Environment and Science, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003.
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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 THE DYNAMICS OF IMPLEMENTING GHANA'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

#### 5.1 Introduction

One of the seven principles of sound public policy identified by Reed is that “sound policy requires that we consider long-term effects and all people, not simply short-term effects and few people”.<sup>1</sup> This is significant in the context of the ‘politics’ of environmental policy making and implementation which refers here to who gets what, when and how in terms of the authoritative allocation of environmental resources. Ayee, states that because the existing system is non-participative, non-consensual and non-transparent, it is important to adopt an all-inclusive approach that will involve targeted parties and interests.<sup>2</sup> This approach of ensuring participation by key stakeholders underlies the kernel of this chapter.

The chapter focuses attention on who is a member of the policy community and whose interests actually get to shape the policy agenda. In other words, what is the role of stakeholders in the process of environmental policy making and implementation and who are the most powerful of these stakeholders? The chapter looks at the importance of participation and the impact of power struggles with respect to how and at what stage stakeholders and target groups participate in the policy process. The reverse of this is the effect of non-participation or ineffective participation by certain groups like local communities and women in the policy process. An important category of stakeholders that the chapter would look at is women, whose roles are considered within the broad

framework of gender analysis. This is because the chapter argues that there is a social dimension to environmental public policy making and analysis.

Related to the issue of social dimension are the distribution of power in the policy process and the impact of particular political factors or conditions, whether external or internal on the implementation process and the inevitable role of the state in the face of numerous developmental and political challenges with their implications for the achievement of sustainable development. The following questions would engage our attention:

1. Who were the stakeholders and how and when did they get into the policy process?
2. What was the level of stakeholder participation in environmental policy?
3. How did the implementation of the environmental policies and programmes affect women in particular and gender concerns in general and what are the implications for the environment in general and for sustainable forestry management?
4. What has been governments' position and level of support or commitment to environmental management for the achievement of sustainable development in Ghana?
5. What factors (internal and external) affected the implementation of environmental policies and how did government address them?



## **5.2 Stakeholders (Actors), Participation and the Policy Process**

A number of stakeholders were identified when environmental public policy formulation began in March 1988. According to the Environmental Action Plan, the government commissioned a group of experts to review existing policies related to environmental protection in Ghana so as to address key issues in the environment sector. The work of the task force culminated into the preparation of the Environmental Action Plan.

The emerging working group from the task force drew up the draft strategy for action on the environment. In January 1989, a two-day review work-session was organized to discuss the drafts, after which the working group reconvened to do a revision based on suggestions and comments made by the entire task force, which was the second phase of the EAP.

It is significant to note that, it was after this second stage in the process that a national conference was held in June 1989 to discuss the draft proposals and to seek wider public participation in the preparation of the plan. It was at this stage that some 200 participants, who in the view of the Environmental Protection Council at the time represented a cross-section of interests, were roped in. These were members of district assemblies, representatives of NGOs, and government functionaries including the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD).<sup>3</sup> The educational component was to involve the formal and informal education system where educational curricula were to be revised to accommodate environmental issues.<sup>4</sup>

The implementation strategy spells out the role of stakeholders. Key among these are the Environmental Protection Council (EPC), now Environmental Protection Agency

(EPA), sectoral agencies and institutions, research institutions and district assemblies. After quite an elaborate description of the role each of the institutions mentioned above would play, the report devotes only two short paragraphs in the three-page spell-out to the role of community groups. In fact, even here, Community Environmental Committees (CEC) were to be established to serve as channels of implementation of environmental programmes of district assemblies. They were to be made up of the chief of the town; chairman of the Town Development Committee (TDC)(as the chair); one member of the TDC; the assembly representative of the area or a person appointed by the representative; two representatives of NGOs in the town; Committee for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR); member of Mobisquad/Anti Bush fire squad and two other citizens appointed by the chief in conjunction with the CDR and TDC.<sup>5</sup> The CECs were also to be the local think tanks and environmental information reservoirs and fora organizers and environmental watchdogs.<sup>6</sup> This is a typical scenario in policy making and implementation in the Ghanaian case.

It is not surprising that majority of our respondents from the four case study communities, namely, Mangoase and Bediem in the Adansi West District and New Atuabo and Adeyi and New Iduapriem in the Wassa West Districts were not aware of the formulation and even the implementation process and who were actually involved despite their strong conviction of the need to involve local people in the process. The CECs, which were expected to be the channels of participation through the district assemblies, were not effective even from the onset. These were to be established as a component of the District Environmental Management Committees (DEMCs). The DEMCs were to be made up of 7-9 assembly members. In addition, any one official from the EPA, health

officer, town and country planning, forestry, agriculture or parks and garden could be invited.<sup>7</sup> These DEMCs however, had either not worked satisfactorily or had collapsed in the two districts.

Asked whether local people should have been involved in the formulation and implementation of the environmental policy in particular and public policy in general, respondents felt that it is very necessary for local people to get involved in the process of public policy. A high percentage of 94.6% of respondents in all four communities had this strong belief (see Table 5.1). Out of the three key reasons given, 52.5% felt that because local people know the problems better, they should be included in the process (see Table 5.2).

The significance of involving local people in policy processes and research is clearly amplified in the Zimbabwean case where participatory research methods were applied.<sup>8</sup> In spite of the differences in the different participatory methods applied, it was clear that, participatory research does allow new voices to be heard and a different type of science to emerge, based on local understanding of key issues and problems. The effective linking of actors across the conventional divide offers the potential for new forms of knowledge and practice to permeate the policy process.<sup>9</sup> This implies that in the Ghanaian context, the ineffective participation of local people even through their representatives (District Assemblies) could affect the outcome of the policy process.

**Table 5.1: Involvement of Local People in Policy Formulation and Implementation**

Do you think that local people should be involved in the formulation and implementation of policy-Community cross tabulation

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyic/New.Iduapriem	
Do you think that local People should have been involved in the formulation and implementation of the policy?	Yes	Count % of Total	29 19.6%	31 20.9%	40 27.0%	40 27.0%	140 94.6%
	No	Count % of Total	1 0.7%	2 1.4%	-	-	3 2.0%
	Don't Know	Count % of Total	1 0.7%	4 2.7%	-	-	5 3.4%
Total		Count % of Total	31 20.9%	37 25.0%	40 27.0%	40 27.0%	148 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

**Table 5.2: Reasons given on why local people should be involved in the formulation and implementation of the Policy**

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2 AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyic/New Iduapriem	
Give reason for the answer	To ensure active participation in implementation	Count	12	5	15	3	35
		% of Total	8.6%	3.6%	10.8%	2.2%	25.2%
	Local People know the situation on the ground	Count	14	19	6	34	73
		% of Total	10.1%	13.7%	4.3%	24.5%	52.5%
	Outsiders will encounter problems without local people's involvement	Count	1	8	19	3	31
		% of Total	0.7%	5.8%	13.7%	2.2%	22.3%
Total		Count	27	32	40	40	139
		% of Total	19.4%	23.0%	28.8%	28.8%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

The issue of participation by actors or stakeholders and its impact on the outcome of policies is an unchallengeable one because it has come to be recognized as an absolute imperative for development since it emphasizes the decision-making role of communities. More importantly, such participation helps to improve the design of policies so that they correspond to the needs and conditions of the people to whom they are directed.<sup>10</sup> One of the four questions raised by the top-down model relates to the principal factors affecting policy output and the extent to which the impact was consistent

with the official policy and other politically relevant ones. Official policy and politically relevant ones are not necessarily participatory ones emphasizing the assertion that those at the bottom of the hierarchy are often not included in the initiation and design of the policy.

There have been arguments advanced in favour of participation. Nonetheless, there are other analysts who believe that there are inherent challenges in the practice of participation and perhaps that could engender the reasons why officials and politicians are unenthusiastic about using it, irrespective of the proven advantages for success of policy, programme and project. Besides the identified advantages which include diverse views and perceptions and a potential for ownership and empowerment, the disadvantages include time wasting and the complexity that comes with numerous actors or stakeholders with their varying interests and expectations which cannot be simply glossed over. In addition, officials who tend to emphasize the top-down model are bent on consolidating that and minimize, at best, the influence of the bottom-up model on the policy process.

It is evident that, the involvement of stakeholders in the formulation process was very marginal and very late in the process. Indeed, it was when experts had identified and done a greater part of the job that some stakeholders like the NGOs were invited to participate at the tail end of the process. For the communities, as already noted, they were hardly involved.

If the DAs were themselves not fully incorporated into the process (because, they were not part of the technical committee that put out the draft) from the beginning to enable them understand the various components of the problem and the sought out

solution, it would be difficult for them to transmit the information that the community needed in order to play its required role in the process of implementation. In a nutshell, as far as stakeholder participation is concerned, the required involvement that will engender meaningful participation, which would in effect exude the needed results, was almost negligible from the beginning. This has implications for local people especially since the outcome of the policy process would have a direct effect on their source of livelihood.

Brohman reiterates that such participation emphasizes the decision-making role of the community, improves the design of policies so that it corresponds to the needs and conditions of the people who are the targets. Unfortunately, the situation with the formulation and even the implementation of the environmental policy and action plan confirms Fenster's concerns that a definition of participation which emphasizes well-being through incomes, personal growth and self reliance, among others, may be referring to participation that is not spontaneous or bottom-up, but is induced, coerced and top-down.<sup>11</sup>

Supporting the concern raised by Fenster, the United Nations distinguishes between coerced participation, which it condemns and induced participation, which it considers as second best and spontaneous or bottom-up participation, which it contends comes closest to the ideal mode of participation. This mode reflects voluntary and autonomous action on the part of the people to organize and deal with their problems unaided by the government or other external agencies. In the Ghanaian case, perhaps, a good blend of a top-down and bottom-up strategy for participation would be appropriate for the environment especially because of the political and economic implications of environmental and particularly forestry issues. Among the generality of the community,

special mention would be made of women because of the peculiarly vulnerable conditions in which they find themselves. This will be the focus of the next section.

### 5.3 Women and the Environment in Wassa West and Adansi West Districts

The importance of women in environmental analysis in our study is premised on the statement that an environmental policy which is participatory and gender-focused can lead to the achievement of sustainable development irrespective of variations in scope, intensity, differential cultural and historical forces. In addition, the study does not want to fall into the trap of being insensitive and irresponsible to gender effects of policies, which has bedeviled many policy makers and have negatively affected many women. The first step taken in the study towards this is to ensure that there was a fair gender representation in the respondents against the challenges of cultural factors. Table 5.3 identifies the gender delineation of our respondents.

**Table 5.3: Gender Classification of Respondents**

			Name of Community				Total
Gender			CIAW Mangoase	C2 AW Bediem	CIWW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
	Female	Count % of Total	14 8.8%	14 8.8%	14 8.8%	20 12.5%	62 38.8%
Total	Male	Count % of Total	26 16.3%	26 16.3%	26 16.3%	20 12.5%	98 61.3%
		Count % of Total	40 25%	40 25%	40 25%	40 25%	160 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

Overall, there was not the expected gender balance. This was not because there were no women in the communities from the two districts. The main problem encountered was women’s unwillingness to be respondents due to several reasons. First, whilst some indicated they did not have the time, just as some men, majority of the

women who refused did not want to be respondents because they felt they would not be able to respond to the questions and issues to be raised. Secondly, when there were men around, the women either refused to talk and often asked that one talked to their husbands or brothers or any other male around. This affected the gender distribution of our respondents with the highest percentage of 12.5% coming from the New Iduapriem and Adeyie, which were the second communities in the Wassa West District. Overall, the study recorded approximately 39% female respondents 11% less than the 50% target planned.

This unequal gender representation of our respondents did not, however, affect the concerns of people on the significant role of women in the policy making process and the impact of non-participation by women on the outcome of decisions on the environment and its implications for sustainable development. When asked of their views about women’s role in environmental decision-making, an overwhelming majority of respondents had very strong conviction on the need to involve women in the process (see Table 5.4).

**Table 5.4: Women’s Role in Environmental Decision-Making**

Do you think women should play a special role in environmental decision-making? Name of Community Crosstabulation

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Do you think women should play a special role in environmental decision- making	Yes	Count % of total	38 23.9%	38 23.9%	40 25.2%	40 25.2%	156 98.1%
	No	Count % of total	-	1 0.6%	-	-	1 0.6%
	Don't Know	Count % of total	1 0.6%	1 0.6%	-	-	2 1.3%
Total		Count % of total	39 24.5%	40 25.2%	40 25.2%	40 25.2%	159 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.



From Table 5.4, it is significant to note that although 61% of our respondents from the two districts were men, 98.1% of total respondents felt the need for women to be involved in decision-making concerning the environment, whilst just about one percent claimed they did not know. This indicates that both men and women are becoming more enlightened and educated about women’s decision-making abilities and the effect of non-participation. In order not to let people say things without supporting evidence, the study asked respondents to give reasons why women should be involved with environmental decision-making (see Table 5.5).

**Table 5.5: Reasons given for why women should play a role in environmental decision-making**

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Give reason for your answer	Women have untapped knowledge	Count % of Total	15 9.7%	16 10.4%	10 6.5%	4 2.6%	45 29.2%
	Women are vital part of society	Count % of total	21 13.6%	23 14.9%	28 18.2%	36 23.4%	108 70.1%
	Women can also help with the process	Count % of totals	-	-	1 0.6%	-	1 0.6%
Total		Count % of totals	36 23.4%	39 25.3%	39 25.3%	40 26.0%	154 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

A critical majority, 99.3% (29.2% plus 70.1%) explained that women have untapped knowledge and information and since they are a vital part of society, they need to be involved to ensure best results. The untapped knowledge is fundamental because policy making and implementation should be based on local information as well so that the decisions and issues to be addressed have a local perspective that would contribute to effective implementation. If women who are a vital part of society have their views and knowledge untapped, it would, in fact, affect policy outcomes.

In addition, there is institutional support for the involvement of women in environmental decision-making. According to the District Programme Officer of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in Tarkwa, the National Environmental Policy (NEP) organized a workshop for women on the environment from 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1996 at the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) in Accra under the theme “Empowering Ghanaian Women for Sustainable Management of Ghana’s Environmental Resources” in collaboration with the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD). This workshop aimed at strengthening the capacity of women for the protection and enhancement of the country’s environment.<sup>12</sup> It was also in line with the spirit of the Beijing Conference on women and development, which called for the effective participation of women in the sustainable management of natural resources within the identified context. Quite significantly also, the Environmental Action Plan acknowledges that the success of any environmental policy depends on understanding of all sections of the population on the functioning of the environment and the problems it presents.

In all, there were 45 participants. Out of this, only six came from outside Accra. These were a representative of Amasachina, an NGO based in Tamale, a teacher representing Rural Women from Navrongo, one EPA board member from Cape Coast, an extension officer representing Suntaa-Nuntaa Rural Development Programme from Wa and a queen mother from Nsawam.<sup>13</sup>

An otherwise good programme was already stifled from the onset due to the characteristics of the representatives. The participants were from institutions based in Accra whilst the women who were actually in touch with environmental resources and

how it could be managed from their perspective were very much absent from the workshop. There were no representatives from Ashanti and the Western regions from where our four communities were selected although it was designated to be a national programme. This is a highly politicized programme in terms of who decides who gets into the programme. Local people at the core of environmental forestry concerns were visibly out of this programme, depriving them of a rare opportunity to acquire basic knowledge. The character of the participants is important because the effect of such training seems to depend very much on the perspective of those involved.

The contention that capacity building on environment and sustainable development issues in gender-sensitive development organizations, often has an ad hoc character<sup>14</sup> has been confirmed by this particular workshop. This is all, in spite of the emphasis on capacity building, which helps people to achieve the skills and confidence necessary to participate.<sup>15</sup>

Officials interviewed from the two districts were all agreeable to the significance of involving women in the environmental decision-making processes although the actual process did not well highlight this concern. For instance, the Adansi District Information Officer and the District Coordinating Director were all of the view that women are very instrumental in environmental issues and are affected more by environmental problems than men. Consequently, the Assembly has encouraged women to be involved at the local levels as members in the Water and Sanitation Committee.<sup>16</sup>

From the Wassa West District, the Assayer of the Minerals Department believes that women's key role could be enhanced through environmental education. This should be at two phases. The first phase should be committed to disseminating the required

relevant information to the women. The second phase will then be for the women to become the educators in the society especially to their children. Since they are natural channels of socialization, women should be seen as instruments for environmental advocacy.<sup>17</sup>

Corroborating this, the Deputy District Forestry Officer, noted that women are very resourceful in forestry programmes. Most workers of plantation farms are women, who comply with environmental laws. The women have also not been found to be engaging in illegal operations like chain sawing or related activities that impact negatively on forestry resources. In addition, they conform better in raising seedlings and managing nurseries for afforestation and reforestation programmes.<sup>18</sup> To this end, if a lot more women were involved in the forestry sector, it could lead to an improved situation in the forestry sector. Other institutions which have supported the idea of getting more women into environmental policy formulation and implementation process cycle are the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Ministries of Environment and Science and Lands and Forestry and the NGO community, like the Third World Network (TWN), the Friends of the Earth (FOE), to mention but a few.

There is, however, a disparity between the view of support for women and the reality at the institutional and community level. Women are not key players in general environmental decision-making and particularly in forestry. It is therefore not surprising that when respondents were asked to identify the roles women in their communities played in environmental decision-making and implementation, the response was not too encouraging (see Table 5.6).

**Table 5.6: Women’s Role in Environmental Decision-Making**

What Role have women played in environmental decision-making and implementation in your district?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
What role have women played in environmental decision-making and implementation in your district	Not yet-They have nothing in this respective	Count	6	4	34	40	84
		% of Total	4.6%	3.1%	26.2%	30.8%	64.6%
	Community Sanitation	Count	17	27	2		46
		% of total	13.1%	20.8%	1.5%		35.4%
Total		Count % of total	23 17.7%	31 23.8%	36 27.7%	40 30.8%	130 100.0%

Source: Field study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

This is not too different from the decision-making roles of Ghanaian women in general. Thus, the politics of who actually get into the policy community has been actually displayed, notwithstanding all the positive impact of involving women meaningfully in policy intervention. The reasons for not involving them are not clear, although it can easily be laid at the base of the overwhelmingly top-down structure in both the formulation and implementation of the forestry and environmental policies. Women's non-involvement has affected access to land, the basic factor of production. This has led to high levels of unemployment among women. Tables 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 are pointers to the responses of whether women should have access to land, the major occupation of women and the problems they encounter in the wake of massive unemployment.

**Table 5.7: Access or rights of women to land**

Do you think women should have rights to resources like land?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	

Do you think that women should have rights to resources like land	Yes	Count	32	35	40	40	147
		% of Total	20.5%	22.4%	25.6%	25.6%	94.2%
	No	Count	3	1	-	-	4
		% of Total	1.9%	0.6%	-	-	2.6%
	Don't know	Count	1	4	-	-	5
		% of Total	0.6%	2.6%	-	-	3.2%
Total		Count	36	40	40	40	156
		% of Total	23.1%	25.6%	25.6%	25.6%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

Table 5.7 shows an overwhelming (94.2%) support to women's rights to resources especially land with only 2.6% saying women should not have access to resources like land. This is actually different from what pertains in reality. Women from the second community in the Wassa West District, New Atuabo, who were mainly farmers at old Atuabo before they were relocated to their present location indicated in the interviews that lack of access to lands had compelled most of them to change jobs. Consequently, 14.4% of respondents had turned to trading (see Table 5.8).

**Table 5.8: Major occupation of women in the community**

What is the major occupation of women in this community?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
What is the major occupation of women in this community?	Farming	Count	7	12	17	37	73
		% of Total	4.4%	7.5%	10.6%	23.1%	45.6%
	Trading	Count	33	26	23	3	85
		% of Total	20.6%	16.3%	14.4%	1.9%	53.1%
	Unemployed	Count	-	2	-	-	2
		% of Total	-	1.3%	-	-	1.3%
Total		Count	40	40	40	40	160
		% of Total	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

Confirming this, Table 5.9 indicates that 54.4% of respondents from all four communities noted that, in the absence of farmlands, women manage their lives through petty trading, followed by 30% and 7.5% employment as farm hands and house helps or

assistants respectively. It was not surprising that Adeyie and New Iduapriem recorded the highest percentage of 22.5% because that is the only job most people including men could be engaged in because the communities are predominantly farming ones and the main items they trade in are the farm produce or charcoal (a very high-flying business in the area).

**Table 5.9: Management strategies adopted by women for survival**

How do women in this community manage their lives in the absence of farmlands and other jobs?

			Name of community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
How do women in this community manage their lives in the absence of farmlands and other jobs.	Petty Trading	Count % of Total	36 22.5%	26 16.3%	21 13.1%	4 2.5%	87 54.4%
	Farm hands	Count % of Total	1 0.6%	4 2.5%	7 4.4%	36 22.5%	48 30.0%
	House help/ Assistant	Count % of Total	3 1.9%	9 5.6%	-	-	12 7.5%
	God's Provisions	Count % of Total	-	-	10 6.3%	-	11 6.9%
	Husbands	Count % of Total	-	-	2 1.3%	-	2 1.3%
	Total	Count % of Total	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	160 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

The lack of access of women to land had a number of implications. When asked about the problems the lack of farmlands create for women, 55% of respondents from all the four communities noted that it creates poverty although a disaggregation of this figure notes the phenomenon of poverty to be highest (18.8% each) in both communities in Wassa West as compared to 9.4% and 8.1% in Mangoase and Bediem in the Adansi West District respectively (see Table 5.10).

**Table 5.10: Major problems created by the unemployment of women**

What is the major problem created by the unemployment of women?

	Name of community	Total
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			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
What is the major problem created by the unemployment by women?	Poor household management	Count % of Total	5 3.1%	8 5.0%	5 3.1%	-	18 11.3%
	Poverty	Count % of Total	15 9.4%	13 8.1%	30 18.8%	30 18.8%	88 55.0%
	Over-reliance on Men	Count % of Total	20 6.3%	19 11.9%	5 3.1%	10 6.3%	54 33.8%
Total		Count % of Total	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	40 25.0%	160 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003

#### 5.4 Knowledge and Consequences of Environmental Problems in the Adansi West and Wassa West Districts

This section focuses on the knowledge base of respondents on environmental problems and what they have done or not done, why they have not done anything about the problems so identified and their views about the institutions expected to work on these issues. When asked what the main environmental problem in their area is, respondents from the four communities, Mangoase and Bediem in the Adansi West District and New Atuabo and Adeyie and New Iduapriem in the Wassa West District respectively, gave varying views. However, the attention was on two key problems, which are air and water pollution and lack of farmlands. Out of the four communities, respondents from community two in the Wassa West District, that is, Adeyie and New Iduapriem, ranked air and water pollution highest with 23.4% (see Table 5.11).

This is not surprising because, a visit to the area shows very serious pollution of the borehole, which is supposedly to solve their water problems. As a result, the people still rely on little dug out wells. The outcome is a kind of permanent skin rashes, which has affected both young and old, men and women. Again, 10% of respondents from New Atuabo ranked the lack of farmlands highest because of the visible problem of real



absence of farm lands or long distances of about four to six miles to farm lands and the inability of most of the farmers to pay fees for the lands which belonged to a new traditional stool since they are settlers in the area (see Table 5.11).

**Table 5.11: Main Environmental Problems**

What do you consider to be the main environmental problem here?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
What do you consider to be the main environmental problem in this area?	Lack of farmlands	Count	9	14	16	1	40
		% of Total	5.7%	8.9%	10.1%	0.6%	25.3%
	Air/Water Pollution	Count	27	23	22	37	109
		% of Total	17.1%	14.6%	13.9%	23.4%	69.0%
	Cyanide Spillage	Count	4	3	-	1	8
		% of Total	2.5%	1.9%	-	0.6%	5.1%
	Desertification	Count	-	-	1	-	1
		% of Total	-	-	0.6%	-	0.6%
Total		Count	40	40	39	39	158
		% of Total	25.0%	25.0%	24.7%	24.7%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

Being mainly farming communities, it was expected that respondents would naturally note lack of farmlands as the major environmental problem they encountered. But this was not so. The reasons given when probed further as to why the identification of air and water pollution was the first identified environmental problem is interesting and significant. All four communities, accounting for 69% of responses, noted pollution as the main environmental problem because pollution gave them a lot of health problems and once they were not healthy, the abundance of farmlands would be meaningless to an unhealthy society or community.

Nonetheless, when probed on the first most serious environmental problem that affects their livelihood, respondents were very alert to the real problem. Out of the 160 respondents, 115, which was 71%, noted the depletion of forest land, followed by, air and water pollution, bushfires and unsafe use of hazardous chemical in that order. The

respondents were not unaware of the health implications of the environmental problems because, they had and continue to experience health problems. They identified some of the health issues as cholera, chest infection, malaria, skin rashes, diarrhoea and typhoid. Table 5.12 confirms the range of diseases whilst Table 5.13 notes the category of people who were mainly at risk and why they were chosen as the high risk-group.

The identification of young people as those most highly at risk is as significant as it is problematic especially because the call for sustainable development defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) as development that takes care of the present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. If young people from our case study were most at risk of environmental consequences then, they have already become vulnerable to current environmental changes and their ability to meet their own future needs is already in jeopardy.

**Table 5.12: Diseases caused by environmental problems**

Name any disease caused by environmental problems in this community.

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Name any diseases caused by environmental problems in this community	Cholera	Count % of Total	3 2.0%	7 4.8%	5 3.4%	-	15 10.2%
	Chest Infection	Count % of Total	15 10.2%	10 6.8%	12 8.2%	1 0.7%	38 25.9%
	Malaria	Count % of Total	14 9.5%	16 10.9%	12 8.2%	3 2.0%	45 30.6%
	Diarrhoea	Count % of Total	2 1.4%	3 2.0%	5 3.4%	6 4.1%	16 10.9%
	Typhoid	Count % of Total	3 2.0%	4 2.7%	-	-	7 4.8%
	Skin rashes	Count % of Total	3 2.0%	-	-	23 15.6%	26 17.7%
Total		Count % of Total	40 27.2%	40 27.2%	34 23.1%	33 22.4%	147 100.0

Source: Field Study Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

**Table 5.13: The Most Vulnerable group to the diseases**

Which group of people are most at risk and why?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Which people are most at risk and why?	Young People	Count % of Total	26 16.4%	22 13.8%	30 18.9%	33 20.8%	111 69.8%
	Old People	Count % of Total	5 3.1%	8 5.0%	3 1.9%	1 0.6%	17 10.7%
	Women	Count % of Total	1 0.6%	3 1.9%	-	-	4 2.5%
	Men	Count % of Total	3 1.9%	7 4.4%	-	-	10 6.3%
	All at risk	Count % of Total	5 3.1%	-	7 4.4%	5 3.1%	17 10.7%
Total		Count % of Total	40 25.2%	40 25.2%	40 25.2%	39 24.5%	159 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

## 5.5 Communities, Institutions and Government Response to Environmental/Forestry Issues

After making out the problems that had confronted them for between one and twenty years and their consequences, respondents were asked whether they have made any attempt to address them either by themselves or by contacting the appropriate institutions for solution to them. For instance, respondents were asked whether they have made any report to the Member of Parliament, their District Assembly member or the chief and the response they received from these people. Tables 5.14 and 5.15 are illustrative of the answers given.

**Table 5.14: Report to key personalities**

Has there been any report to the chief, MP or the District Assembly or any NGO?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Has there been any report to the chief, MP, or the DA or any NGO?	Yes	Count % of Total	24 15.3%	20 12.7%	19 12.1%	15 9.6%	78 49.7%
	No	Count % of Total	3 1.9%	11 7.0%	17 10.8%	21 13.4%	52 33.1%
	Don't Know	Count % of Total	12 7.6%	8 5.1%	3 1.9%	4 2.5%	27 17.2%
Total		Count % of Total	39 24.8%	39 24.8%	39 24.8%	40 24.8%	157 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

**Table 5.15: Response by Personalities**

If yes, what has been the response?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
If yes, what has been the response?	Positive	Count % of Total	10 13.2%	5 6.6%	3 3.9%	2 2.6%	20 26.3%
	Negative	Count % of Total	16 21.1%	17 22.4%	13 17.1%	10 13.2%	56 73.7%
Total		Count % of Total	26 34.2%	22 28.9%	16 21.1%	12 15.8%	76 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

From the four communities, the overall response is that almost 51% had made a report to key personalities whilst 33% did not. This implies that majority of the respondents are willing and ready to do something about the problems by first notifying their representatives or the institutions concerned. Unfortunately, only 26% of the reports or complaints had received positive response. It was no coincidence that, at the time of the fieldwork, all the communities from the Wassa West District were bitter about the absence of their Member of Parliament (MP) although all efforts had been made to get in touch with her to address their environmental plight. For instance, the New Atuabo Justice Youth Association, which was formed to help the community address mainly the environmental problems and the unemployment facing the youth in the area, lamented the lack of concern of the Member of Parliament to their plight, whom they learnt was in the constituency but could not be reached. They however, mentioned the chief of the town, gifts from philanthropists and support from the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM) as the current source of their financial and logistical support.<sup>19</sup> With this, those who did not make any report seemed to have been vindicated as they stated that authorities did not care and they as ordinary people did not have the power to force them to act (see Table 5.16).

**Table 5.16: Reasons for No Response**

If no, why do you think there has been no response?

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	CIWW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
If no, why do you think there has been no response?	Authorities don't care	Count % of Total	6 5.4%	16 14.4%	25 22.5%	29 26.1%	76 68.5%
	No money	Count % of Total	4 3.6%	1 0.9%	1 0.9%	-	6 5.4%
	No personnel and inputs to solve problem	Count % of Totals	2 1.8%	3 2.7%	-	3 2.7%	8 7.2%
	People have not been forceful	Count % of Total	3 2.7%	3 2.7%	3 2.7%	2 1.8%	11 9.9%
	We don't have the power to force them to act	Count % of Total	4 3.6%	2 1.8%	4 3.6%	-	10 9.0%
	Total	Count % of Total	19 17.1%	25 22.5%	33 29.7%	34 30.6%	111 100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

From Table 5.16, the Wassa West District Assembly did not receive encouraging response from the respondents who expressed dissatisfaction and even showed signs of disillusion with the work of the assembly not simply because it was not very well resourced but primarily because it did not care. Indeed, the people seemed to have been vindicated as the apathetic attitude of the assemblies was reiterated by the President, Jerry John Rawlings, as far back as 1995. The President at the time remarked that worried citizens have reported cases of environmental damage and illegal activities to his office because “in most cases, they have tried to draw the attention of their assembly men, the police or local officials to these activities to no avail”.<sup>20</sup> Tables 5.17, 5.18 and 5.19 give clear details of the percentage responses to these key issues raised.

**Table 5.17: District Assemblies and environmental problems**

Do you think the District Assembly is doing enough to help solve the environmental problems in your community?

		Name of community				Total
		C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	CIWW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	

Do you think that the DA is doing enough to solve the environmental problems in your community	Enough	Count	5	7	7	3	22
		% of Total	3.4%	4.7%	4.7%	2.0%	14.8%
	Not enough	Count	21	16	27	30	94
		% of Totals	14.1%	10.7%	18.1%	20.1%	63.1%
	Nothing at all	Count	9	15	5	4	33
		% of Total	6.0%	10.1%	3.4%	2.7%	22.1%
Total		Count	35	38	39	37	149
		% of Total	23.5%	25.5%	26.2%	24.8%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

**Table 5.18: Reasons Given for DA's environmental performance**

Give reason for the DA's environmental performance

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Give reasons for your answer	DA is slow and ineffective	Count	25	22	19	32	98
		% of Total	18.8%	16.5%	14.3%	24.1%	73.7%
	There is room for improvement	Count	2	9	7	3	21
		% of Total	1.5%	6.8%	5.3%	2.3%	15.85
	They work through the EPA	Count	5	3	6	-	14
		% of Total	3.8%	2.3%	4.5%		10.55
Total		Count	32	34	32	35	133
		% of Total	24.1%	25.6%	24.1%	26.3%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

**Table 5.19: Reasons why DA is not doing enough**

			Name of community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
Why do you think the assembly is not doing enough?	Apathy	Count	2	4	6	1	13
		% of Total	1.9%	3.8%	5.7%	0.9%	12.3%
	Does not care	Count	7	5	9	19	40
		% of Total	6.6%	4.7%	8.5%	17.9%	37.7%
	Financial Problems	Count	13	16	6	-	35
		% of Total	12.3%	15.1%	5.7%	-	33.0%
Unnecessary Politicization	Count	10	2	4	-	16	
	% of Total	9.4%	1.9%	3.8%	-	15.1%	
Conflict with other institutions	Count	1	1	-	-	2	
	% of Total	0.9%	0.9%	-	-	1.9%	
Total		Count	33	28	25	20	106
		% of Total	31.1%	26.4%	23.6%	23.6%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

The District Coordinating Director (DCD), who mentioned a number of activities that the assembly had carried out for its communities, categorically refuted the blurred picture painted by Tables 5.17, 5.18 and 5.19 of the Wassa West District Assembly. The

DCD enumerated a catalogue of problems caused by the mining and other non-mining related environmental problems in the communities in the district. Key among these is that economic activities in the district had been affected because there were no fertile lands for the mainly farming communities. As a result, the Assembly in conjunction with one mining company, Goldfields Ghana Ltd (GGL), organized a workshop to provide alternative means of livelihood for especially displaced communities. In addition, through the instrumentality of the assembly, GGL provided two billion cedis for the resettlement of the people of new Atuabo.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, the Assembly was aware that people thought it was not doing much to help them in their various communities. This, the Assembly attributed to ignorance of the people about the Assembly's activities and legally mandated obligations.

Incidentally, even as respondents blamed the institutions and some key people for inaction, they had not even taken major steps on their own. It was only 7.1% of people from Mangoase in the Adansi West District who claimed they had taken some action. It was in the Wassa West District that respondents showed the greatest sense of apathy as a total of 37.6% said they had taken no action with a combined total of 4.5% stating some action had been taken. The percentages were slightly better in the Adansi West District as a combined total of 12.3% also stated some action had been taken (see Tables 5.20 and 5.21).

**Table 5.20: Action taken by community**

What actions have been taken by the community itself to address the problems? Name of community cross tabulation.

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
What action (s) has the	No action	Count % of Total	15 9.7%	13 8.4%	21 13.6%	37 24%	86 55.8%

community taken itself to address the problems?	Inadequate action	Count	13	14	12	2	41
		% of Total	8.4%	9.1%	7.8%	1.3%	26.6%
	Some actions have been taken	Count	8	11	6	1	26
		% of Total	5.2%	7.1%	3.9%	0.6%	16.9%
	Report through FM stations	Count	1	-	-	-	1
		% of Total	0.6%				0.6%
Total		Count	37	38	39	40	154
		% of Total	24.0%	24.7%	25.3%	26.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003.

When asked to give reasons for their actions or inactions, a combined total of 34.5% being the highest from all four communities indicated apathy, followed closely by community fatigue of about 33%. Some of the respondents also noted that there was no assistance from government authorities (15.5%) and mining and timber firms. Overall, it was community one from the Wassa West, which showed the highest level of apathy with 14.5%.

**Table 5.21: Reasons why the community has taken no action**

			Name of Community				Total
			C1AW Mangoase	C2AW Bediem	C1WW New Atuabo	C2WW Adeyie/New Iduapriem	
If no, what do you think is the reason?	Apathy	Count	4	3	16	15	38
		% of Total	3.6%	2.7%	14.5%	13.6%	34.5%
	Community fatigue	Count	7	5	4	20	36
		% of Total	6.4%	4.5%	3.6%	18.2%	32.7%
	No assistance from government authorities	Count	4	3	8	2	17
		% of Total	3.6%	2.7%	7.3%	1.8%	15.5%
	No assistance from Mining and Timber Companies	Count	9	7	1	1	18
		% of Total	8.2%	6.4%	0.9%	0.9%	16.4%
	NGOs are not helping	Count	1	-	-	-	1
		% of Total	0.9%				0.9%
Total		Count	25	18	29	38	110
		% of Total	22.7%	16.4%	26.4%	34.5%	100.0%

Source: Field Study, Adansi West, July 2002 and November 2003; Wassa West, May 2002 and August 2003

Following apathy and community fatigue, the next relevant reason is that government assistance was less than expected. This brings us to the commitment or otherwise of successive Ghanaian regimes to general environmental problems and forestry issues in particular, which is the subject of the next section.



## **5.6 Successive Ghanaian Governments and Environmental Concerns**

In Ghana, as noted in Chapter Three, serious attention to environmental problems did not come to the fore until the mid 1980s. This is in spite of the fact that, successive governments prior to this time had shown some level of commitment to environmental concerns which even led to the establishment of the then Environmental Protection Council (EPC). The non-commitment by governments over the years has been a challenge to many environmental analysts and practitioners and the general public, especially those who were affected by the environmental problems directly on a daily basis.

The study seeks to solicit the views of some people within some of the environmental institutions from the governmental and non-governmental levels and from the communities on performance and commitment of successive governments to the environment. The responses were, unfortunately not too encouraging although some admitted that some progress have been made. The study supports or substantiates these perceptions with statements and budgetary allocation from over the years, although we need to admit that these are not consistent.

Starting with the communities, the study asked respondents about their thoughts on performance of Ghanaian governments since independence till 2002. Out of the 146 total responses 71% felt they did not do enough, whilst 30% felt governments had done their best. Asked to be specific on which government since 1974 to 2002 comparatively, had shown serious commitment to environmental issues, the answers given favoured the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government with 42% followed by the National Democratic

Congress (NDC) with approximately 23%. When prodded to give reasons for their answers, respondents from communities one and two, Mangoase and Bediem, from the Adansi West District and community one, New Atuabo from Wassa West District all posted 18% and 19% respectively in favour of the party's engagement in public education, giving that reason a strong edge of 49.6% over the provision of funds, 26% and the passing of legislation, 18.5%.

The support given to the NPP government was reiterated by the WACAM, which asserted that the NPP government had done a lot to address the environmental problem. For the Mobilization Officer, the government did not consider itself as supreme; it gave audience, allowed for participation, allowed people to voice their opinion and shared their experiences, all in search of solutions.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Mining Department admitted that, within the past three to four years, environmental education had stepped up and that had enlightened an otherwise ignorant people on the dangers of environmental resource depletion.<sup>23</sup>

On his part, the District Forestry Officer in the Wassa West District admitted that though government was aware of the policies, its priorities appeared to be different. Currently, the NPP government appeared to be a bit committed though the challenges still persist, there is the need for further push for implementation. The district office also emphasized that education of the communities had received attention and that had and continued to create some awareness among the communities about the implications of uncontrolled environmental resource use.<sup>24</sup>

At the institutional level, some NGOs have contended that on a general level, Ghanaian governments have not shown serious commitment to environmental protection.

The Third World Network, for instance, stated that the different changes in the mother Ministry of Environment and Science, the under funding of the ministry and other environmental institutions like the EPA and the district assemblies and general politicization of environmental issues especially on mining and forestry have all contributed to the problem.<sup>25</sup> In addition, officials of the EPA were categorical that, as far as Ghanaian governments were concerned, environmental issues were not critical. For instance, it was through the instrumentality of the EPA that environmental clauses were inserted in the 1992 Constitution because the government at the time did not find it necessary.<sup>26</sup> This was corroborated by the Wassa West District EPA office.

Others were also of the view that, Ghana's policies and initiatives on the environment are among the best in Africa. The problem is lack of commitment to implement. In other cases too, the political dynamics have affected the commitment to implementation. For instance, the NDC government granted prospecting license to some mining companies to prospect in forest reserves, which turned out to be positive for those companies. After "hitting gold" in these reserves and with the change of government, the NPP government was reluctant to give the required license to those mining companies to begin operations because of the implications of doing so for Ghana's forest cover.<sup>27</sup>

Nonetheless, the legal and perhaps financial implications of not allowing the operations to proceed is also enormous because, by international law, the company or companies involved cannot be stopped from mining once it has "hit gold". What should have been done is for government to be firm on mining in forest reserves so that no license is given for the prospecting in the first place.

Even though officials from the Forestry Commission were not forthright to comment on how governments had done, they called for government's assistance in protecting the environment particularly the forestry sector. They admitted that this was a challenge for the NPP government because for some of the communities, the political parties promised to help solve their problems. For that reason, it has become politically challenging for the government to take concrete steps to address illegal acts, which affect forests and forest products.<sup>28</sup>

It is imperative that, the study assesses the commitment of governments to environmental issues in general and forestry in particular. Though there are a number of indicators to do this, this study will focus on budgetary allocations, presidential sessional addresses and state of the nation addresses.

#### **5.7 State of the Nation Address, Sessional Address and Budgetary Allocations of the NDC and NPP Governments: 1992-2003**

The state of the nation address, sessional address and budgetary allocations are important indicators of Ghana's development direction. They are therefore vital in assessing the commitment of governments and policy and programme direction. Our focus would be on the NDC and the NPP governments. The reasons for this concentration are not farfetched. First, it was very difficult to get the reports of the other regimes and, secondly, the NDC and NPP are the immediate past and current regimes respectively. In addition, the study wants to avoid unnecessary repetition of issues already alluded to in Chapter Three on what successive governments have done with respect to the environment.

5.8     The NDC Government and Environmental Commitments

There is no gainsaying the fact that the National Democratic Congress (NDC) had through the sessional addresses, outlined issues related to aspects of the environment (see Table 5.22). Nonetheless, these were not in any consistent manner and they appeared more erratic and sporadic than a total commitment. The fact that some of the issues raised in previous addresses did not receive the required attention and had to be raised again could be indicative that some of the statements were only made for political expediency and not necessarily for national sustainable development purpose or their repetition symbolized the importance the government attached to them. It must be acknowledged that the NDC government made some efforts to bring the issues of the environment to the attention of district assemblies.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 5.22: Environmental Issues Covered in NDC Government Sessional Addresses**

Issues/sectors Year	Forestry/land	Timber	Mining	Sanitation	Agriculture and cocoa
1993	Forest resource depletion due to farming, bushfires, search	Urgent measures to optimize resource utilization ensure	Effective and efficient exploration and		Pay close attention to productivity in the cocoa

	for wood fuel, increasing population, wasteful logging is a bother. Conservation and management of forests.	future timber supply and maintain ecological balance and diversity of the natural environment.	exploitation of minerals in the interest of the nation with minimum harm to the environment.		sector, encourage private participation in cocoa purchasing. Provision of facilities for efficient agriculture production.
1996		Log exports dropped by 83% but increase in volume and value of processed wood products, an indication that policies in the timber industry are working. But need to reconcile heavy domestic demands with depletion of the forest resource.	Mining sector continue to lead as the nation's foreign exchange earner. Five new mining companies were granted leases start operations. Minerals development fund established in 1992 paid out C1.5 billion to fund development projects. Improvement in performance of small-scale mining operations.		Erratic weather conditions affected shortfalls in food production that led to price increases. Agriculture to be made more productive, efficient, effective and profitable. There was 18% increase in cocoa production
1997	New Land policy drafted to ensure sustainable land use, access to land for investment, security of tenure, fair and adequate compensation among others. Sustainable timber industry should be created if the nation is to answer to future generations and address deforestation, desertification, soil erosion and other challenges.		Gold mining remains an attractive area for investment. But this should not reduce commitment to compliance with environmental policies. Sustainability of the natural environment should continue to be a priority.		Tackle with a great sense of urgency the potential of agriculture by removing remaining obstacles that continue to hinder the growth and development of the sector. Increased productivity, acquisition and distribution of inputs and agro-processing and marketing will be the hallmark of the agriculture growth strategy.
1998	Plans to inject discipline into the land sector. The new lands policy would be adopted for implementation including those of the forestry component of the Vision 2020 including a new natural resources management programme.				Efforts to increase agriculture growth rate led to the introduction of the Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Development Strategy of the responsible Ministry. Youth and public servants to be encouraged to go into farming with government support. Drop in cocoa production, but efforts in place to address the problem.
1999	Draft bill developed involved a wide range of stakeholders. Due to its importance, the entire cabinet went into retreat to consider it in detail.			Urban sanitation Programmes in selected cities to be continued and intensify.	Due to erratic weather, agriculture targets were not achieved with shortfalls in other regions compensated for by production from other well-off regions. Cocoa sector showed a 27% increase in production as a result of incentives to farmers.

Source: Adapted from Sessional Addresses of 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999.

## 5.9 The New Patriotic Party (NPP), The State of the Nation Address and Environmental Commitment

In the 2002 State of the Nation Address, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government committed itself to five development priority areas. These are infrastructural development, modernized agriculture based on rural development, enhanced social services with emphasis on education and health, good governance and private sector development. The government was, however, quick to add that, the concentration on

these five areas does not mean that other areas have been forgotten.<sup>30</sup> Two of the other areas mentioned as key are the mining sector and lands and forestry (see Table 5.23).

The government committed its attention to environmental decorum in the mining sector and to continue through encouraging the mining companies to adopt more prudent environmental practices whilst simultaneously carrying out clean business. On lands and forestry, the government launched a programme of reforestation aimed at reclaiming a sizeable portion of the six million hectares of forest loss. Mention was also made of bush fires and more critically the indiscriminate felling of timber by chain-saw operators that affect communities (see Table 5.23). There was however no mention of the negative activities of mining companies on the communities in which the operations take place.<sup>31</sup>

In the 2003 State of the Nation Address, all the five priority areas were also highlighted but the environment did not receive the expected attention. Indeed, though cocoa and agriculture and, in fact, all the mentioned development priority areas have environmental problems they were not addressed in any detailed manner.<sup>32</sup>

**Table 5.23: Environmental Issues Covered in NPP Government’s State of the Nation Addresses**

Issues/sectors	Forestry/ land	Timber	Mining	Sanitation	Agriculture/
----------------	----------------	--------	--------	------------	--------------

Year					Cocoa
2002	<p>Land reforms introduced to streamline access and utilization of lands in the country.</p> <p>Programme of reforestation launched to reclaim portions of the six million hectares of forest cover lost.</p> <p>This will eventually help with restoring the eco balance and biodiversity.</p>	A programme to mobilize the estimated 50,000-chainsaw operators in the country for alternative livelihood projects.	<p>Obligations for reclamation and reforestation at mining sites by mining companies to be strictly and intensely enforced.</p> <p>Diversification of the mining industry into areas like bauxite and salt.</p>	<p>Ministry of Environment and Science and the DAs charged with working out plans to keep towns and cities clean.</p> <p>Citizens encouraged and admonished to lead lives that will reduce the creation of filth.</p>	<p>Practical support to farmers.</p> <p>Building and maintenance of feeder roads in food production areas.</p> <p>Encouragement to leasing companies to rent out farm equipment to reduce the burden of farming by traditional methods.</p> <p>Enhance agriculture extension services</p> <p>Support small holder farmers to increase production through the supply of improved seeds, whilst rice importation was to be reduced by 30% by year 2004.</p> <p>Irrigation projects rehabilitated and new ones started.</p>
2003	<p>Forestry programme added 17,000 hectares to the nation's forest cover and created 76,000 jobs in rural areas.</p>	-	-	-	<p>Diversification of crops grown by farmers.</p> <p>More irrigation water harvesting/ conservation projects.</p> <p>Provision of credit to women for food production and storage.</p> <p>Processing and value adding to agriculture produce for more jobs.</p>

Source: Adapted from State of the Nation Address, 2002 and 2003.

#### 5.10 Budgetary Allocations and Governments Environmental Commitments

One area of commitment of governments to the environment is through budgetary allocations. This section will be based on budgets of 1991, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002 and 2003 available to the study. These budgets were under the PNDC, the NDC and the NPP governments.



The 1991 and 1995 budgets were conspicuously silent on the environment. In fact, the environment as a whole or any of its sub sectors did not capture the attention of the government and did not therefore attract any focus. Even under Chapter Five of the 1991 budget on major development issues, it did not appear to be linked to any of the initiatives outlined for development.<sup>33</sup> This is quite disturbing especially because development has environmental implications and also because, it was during this period that the national environmental policy and the national environmental action plan were very high on the policy and programme agenda.

This situation changed in the 1998 budget statement when some attention was given to lands and forestry. Even that, the concentration was on the implementation of the concept of land banks and finalization of the land policy. There was no reference to forestry.<sup>34</sup> The 1999 budget statement brought to the fore an interesting programme which had been running for sometime. In addition to the land issue, it mentioned that the Forestry Department had extended its community forestry programmes to over 50 communities in the Ashanti, Central, Western and Eastern regions. Under this programme, communities were trained in forest management and administration and sharing of benefits to improve the management of resources. Furthermore, most of the communities were encouraged to establish community forestry projects, whilst public awareness was accordingly, created in the most vulnerable communities.<sup>35</sup>

Under the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology, the period 1999 to 2001 would focus on intensified work on safe and sound environmental practices, promotion of research and development activities and commercialization of research findings. The promotion of effective partnership between the agencies involved in the

sector and dissemination of appropriate technology to the rural areas was addressed. In addition, environmental inspectors were to be appointed to ensure compliance with national environmental regulations. Conservation of the environment was to be the commitment of the government. The 2000 budget was also very silent on key environmental issues.<sup>36</sup>

The New Patriotic Party's 2002 budget, on the other hand, mentioned the launching of the National Forest Plantations Development in Brong Ahafo in September 2001. The programme was to target the planting of 20,000 hectares of trees per annum to compensate for current and future supply-demand deficit in the timber industry, increase food production, generate employment and reduce poverty. In addition, it was to amend the Forestry Commission Law to release funds for the afforestation programme. Also, under the Savannah Resource Management Project, communities were assisted to develop woodlots to ease demand for wood fuel. There were other programmes for lands as well.<sup>37</sup>

The Ministry of Environment and Science and its agencies were to be strengthened to intensify public education, sensitization and awareness creation on environmental issues including awareness on sanitation. The EPA was to be strengthened to monitor effective compliance with environmental laws and regulations by stepping up the environmental impact assessment components of compliance. This was to lead to the training of 200 people as enforcement officers.<sup>38</sup>

The budgetary allocations for economic development of the sectors related to the environment are presented in Table 5.24.

**Table 5.24: Budgetary Allocation to Environmentally Related Sectors**

<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Year</b>			
	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>
<b>Environment and Science</b>	66,981	72,509	85,008	124,269
<b>Lands and Forestry</b>	43,554	69,244	55,400	102,690
<b>Mines and Energy</b>	133,266	237,873	145,300	663,759*
<b>Food and Agriculture</b>	133,694	174,902	226,875	349,986

Source: Adapted from Budget Statements of 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002.

\* By 2001, the Ministry of Mines and Energy had been split into two, the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Energy. The budgetary allocation was accordingly split between the two Ministries with the Ministry of Energy receiving the bulk of the allocation.

Table 5.24 gives a clear indication on the priorities of government. Under the functional classification of discretionary expenditure among the selected Ministries, the Ministries of Lands and Forestry and Environment and Science consistently received the least of the allocations. Whilst the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, for instance, received about 31% increment, the Ministry of Environment and Science received only about 8.3% and the Ministry of Lands and Forestry received 59% quantum increment in the 1999 and 2000 budgets. Perhaps, this quantum leap was as a result of the realization that the sector as important as it is, had not received adequate financial support. Even that, this percentage quantum did not, however, change the status of the Ministry as the lowest recipient of allocations in the environmentally related sectors.

What is clear is that governments have not been very proactive with respect to issues on the environment. Although they all conceded that the environment is the basis for survival and has telling implications on all the developmental areas they selected, they did not or have not shown adequate commitment that will help towards the achievement

of objectives in the general environmental policy and the forestry policy in particular. Officials of environmental institutions were vindicated that their sectors or institutions were not well resourced and that created implementation problems that raised tension among the different stakeholders.

#### **5.11 The Dynamics of Environmental Policy Implementation**

The general perception expressed by respondents was that mining and timber companies were given priority over community survival because of the economic value of their activities. As noted above, statements made by governments on mining, forestry and the environment had an economic tone or bias and hardly a comment on how these sectors affect local communities and their livelihood. This confirms the observation by Shepherd that “the forest policy of a country has to face the fact that the trees and the land on which they grow are being competed for by several sets of opposed interests” and that establishing adjudication criteria as the basis for resolving the differences has not been easy since commercial interests tend to carry the day.<sup>39</sup>

The implications of this for successful implementation have been identified in some major forestry programmes in Ghana. For instance, the first phase of the Natural Resources Management Programme (NRMP) designed as the major instrument for implementing the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy, Forestry Development Master Plan (FDMP) 1996, the Forest Protection Strategy (FPS) and the National environmental Action Plan (NEAP) encountered problems. The objective of the NRMP was “to protect, rehabilitate and sustainably manage national land, forest and wildlife resources through

collaborative management and to sustainably increase the income of rural communities who own these resources".<sup>40</sup> This objective was, however, not realized.

One of the implementation constraints identified was inadequate capacity development at the local level. It was realized that there was the need to use appropriate tools that would improve dialogue and partnerships among public and private sector institutions, traditional authorities, chiefs and environmental NGOs, and how to integrate local communities into planning and management. These tools should also assist in advancing participatory approaches at the micro-level that will not only identify but build upon existing local institutions including decentralized ones, strengths, values and visions.<sup>41</sup>

The contentions and contestations between the key agencies and institutions are very evident from the study although not overtly observed. For instance, the local people from the two case study districts accused their district assembly for not doing enough to solve the environmental problems whilst the district assemblies challenged this and narrated projects and programmes they have put in place to deal with environmental problems. In the Wassa West District, the respondents were, in fact, not satisfied with the conduct of their chiefs whom they accused of not doing enough in their interest. According to the respondents, the chiefs have condoned and connived with the mining companies to exploit the people and have not shown adequate concern about their plight. For instance, some respondents from New Atuabo, complained that, whilst they could not get water, the chief had regular supply of water. The chief of Adeyie, categorically refused to give audience to the research team when we called on him claiming that, he

did not believe this was an academic exercise, and if it were, it was not clear how that would change anything with respect to environmental problem in the community.

At the other levels, issues of inadequate resource allocation, made some institutions like the EPA not to reach out to a much wider population. This limited their effort and raised concerns from groups and communities who were unaware of the limitations on their resources. In addition, the level of suspicion and lack of trust by communities with regard to government institutions' genuine commitment to addressing environmental problems have also posed some challenges and tended to further complicate the matter. These complexities of mistrust, inadequate resources, and ignorance have also compounded the effective implementation of the environmental policy.

Within this political entanglement is the role of NGOs who appear to play a kind of intermediary role between the local communities and the government institutions. Whilst the local communities saw the NGOs as very supportive in their efforts at addressing the environmental problems by projecting their problems, generally, the perception of government and its institutions about them is different. From the Minerals Commission, for instance, NGOs tend to exaggerate environmental damage caused by mining companies and how these have affected livelihoods in those communities.<sup>42</sup> These political dynamics have, in deed, affected the level of and who actually gets into the policy community and eventually, who becomes part of the implementation machinery. These definitely can impact outcome of policy formulation and implementation.

Shepherd rightly notes that, third world governments need to consider more than the economic or revenue component of felling of trees by considering the impact of those activities on reduced rural self-sufficiency or higher rural-urban migration.<sup>43</sup> This can be viewed against the background that, who is to receive goods and services from government and the extent of the benefit, is determined by crucial political factors. Thus, the determination of who gets what or who gets involved is affected at the local level by the responsiveness of the political regime to the needs and demands of the intended beneficiaries.<sup>44</sup> Such responsiveness is in majority of situations, clouded by the economic or commercial consideration of the competing resources.

From the above, we may have to think through the position advanced by Pressman and Wildavsky and noted by Ayee that lack of implementation should not refer to failure to get going but to inability to follow through. Consequently, implementation studies should examine those factors that contribute to realization or non-realization of policy objectives as in the case of the NRMP. The political component of policy implementation is inherent in third world policy implementation dynamics because as rightly noted “the policy implementation process in developing countries is a focus of competition and conflict among individuals and groups”.<sup>45</sup> The study also identified institutional rivalry or competition for recognition as part of the implementation process, which tended to affect the outcome of objectives set in the NEP and the NEAP.

#### **5.12 The Top-Down and Bottom-Up Models and the Politics of Implementation in the Wassa West and Adansi West Districts: Implications for Sustainable Development**

The top-downers' emphasis on a hierarchical structure was very evident against the backdrop that policy is initiated at the top of this hierarchy which is, in fact, what

happened with respect to the formulation of the NEP. As a result, it followed that those at the bottom of the hierarchy were not included in the process. In our particular case, it is clear that the 'experts' who are appointed to come out with the draft policy framework based on identified shortcoming in the entire environmental sector fit perfectly into this model. It is as a result of the experts' role that other stakeholders whose views, values and vision could have been incorporated were totally left out because they were not part of the policy community whose membership was determined by the political leadership at the earliest and most crucial stage of policy determination.

In some cases especially at the local level, involving district assemblies and the exclusion of officials were not deliberate but as a result of changes in the political leadership. Officials at the district level, including members of DAs were not too familiar with some of the environmental policy issues raised and could not give concrete responses as expected because they had just occupied the positions. A case in point is the role of the DAs in the implementation of the local Agenda 21.<sup>46</sup> When this happens, then the local people would be left without representatives in the implementation process.

This implies then that, there is need to move away from strict top-down approaches dotted with semblances of "bottom-up-friendliness" to cover up the deficiency. There must be proper adoption of aspects of the bottom-up approach. What is worth noting is that, some attempts or efforts were made to activate public participation in environmental management through the establishment of community environmental committees. But the top-down model was still dominant.<sup>47</sup> The bottom-uppers are of the view that, the most fundamental activity takes place at the lowest level of the hierarchy.



Our case study confirms that the best way for implementation of environmental policy should be a blend of the top-down and bottom-up approaches.

In deploying the concepts as stated in Chapter One, the top-down model enables us to identify the role and importance of officials and the system of hierarchy in the environmental policy making process. Again, it has enabled the study to verify the importance of initiation of policies although from the case study analysis, the initiation of policies should not be done only by officials on the top of the hierarchy but should include local people at the bottom from the communities.

This brings out the strategic importance of including local power structures and various groups like women because such groups have special interests in the environment, which affect the formulation and implementation of policies, related to the environment especially the forestry. It is vital for one to consider that the complexity of issues on the environment in general and forestry in particular calls for a careful consideration of the inherent factors or elements in the models selected since each has its weaknesses and strengths.

The case study has confirmed that for proper formulation of environmental and forestry policies, none of the models of the top-down or bottom-up on its own, offers the one best solution. That an effective implementation of policies in the forestry sector, for instance, will require a collaborative effort from all key stakeholders properly identified at the stakeholder analysis stage from the very on set. This will enable proper allocation of responsibilities and meaningful involvement so that stakeholders especially, local communities and vulnerable groups like women will be equal partners and owners of the process and its outcome.

Supporting this, Shepherd emphasizes that there should be the realization that the environment is a social and not only a natural resource. Hence, its management (through policy formulation and implementation) cannot be discussed a-politically or a-socially and that the welfare of both the environment and rural people are clearly interdependent. As a result, there is a pragmatic, as well as a moral argument for involving local people (and women) in resource management.<sup>48</sup>

### 5.13 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the dynamics and complexity of environmental policy formulation and implementation. It has tried to look at the level of stakeholder participation and the implications of non-participation or ineffective participation on the policy process and the subsequent challenge this poses to the realization of sustainable development. It also refuted some of the misconception about ignorance of local people on the issues of environment as it affects their livelihood confirming the position that involving local people in environmental decision-making does not only enrich the policy-formulation and implementation process, but in fact, helps to reduce the criticisms against the top-down whilst advancing the strengths of the bottom-up models of implementation. This has helped to confirm the deployment of the concept advanced by the study. The chapter has also drawn attention to the inherent challenges of implementing environmental policies in developing countries like Ghana and the challenges it poses for sustainable development, probably because “the inherent inconsistencies between natural resource management and development are increasingly becoming hard to ignore”.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps, it is Ayee who best captured the problems with public policy and programme success or failure when he succinctly stated that public policies and programmes have failed to achieve their objectives because “it is unusual to have progressive and committed politicians and bureaucrats (saints) supported by appropriate policy analysts with available and reliable information (wizards), that manage hostile and apathetic groups (demons) and consequently insulate the policy environment from the vagaries of implementation (systems)”.<sup>50</sup> The results of this study bear testimony to this, in spite of efforts to inject changes for better outcomes.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence W. Reed, "Seven Principles of Sound Policy", Mackinac Centre for Public Policy, Detroit, Michigan, October 29<sup>th</sup> 2001, p.5.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A Ayee, "The Formulation and Implementation of Environmental Policy in Ghana, African Development, Vol.XXIII, No.2, (1998), p.116.

<sup>3</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Ghana National Environmental Action Plan, Vol.1. 1991, p.2.

<sup>4</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Environmental Education Strategy, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> Republic of Ghana, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Local Government Information Digest, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1990, pp.22 and 25.

<sup>6</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, Environmental Education Strategy, p.85.

<sup>7</sup> Republic of Ghana, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Local Government Information Digest, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1990, pp.22.

<sup>8</sup> Keely James and Ian Scoones, "Environmental Policy Making in Zimbabwe: Discourses, Science and Politics", IDS Working Paper 116, IDS Studies, 2000, p.25.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> John Brohman, Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development, (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996), pp. 250-251.

<sup>11</sup> T. Fernster, "Settlement Planning and Participation Under Principles of Pluralism", Progress in Planning, No. 39, pp.171-242.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Assayer, Mines Department, Tarkwa 24<sup>th</sup> May 2002.

<sup>13</sup> EPA, Proceedings of the Workshop on Women and the Environment: Post Rio and Beijing Initiatives, held from 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> November, 1996 at GIMPA.

<sup>14</sup> Irene Dankelman, Gender, Environment and Sustainable Development: Theoretical Trends, Emerging Issues and Challenges, United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, INSTRAW, March, 2003, p.27.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Cahill, The Environment and Social Policy, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.36.

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- <sup>16</sup> Interview with District Coordinating Director, Adansi West District Assembly, June 2002.
- <sup>17</sup> Interview with the Assayer, Mines Department, Tarkwa, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2002
- <sup>18</sup> Interview with Deputy District Forestry Officer, Tarkwa , 24<sup>th</sup> May 2002.
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Executive Members, Atuabo Justice Youth Association, 5th August 2003.
- <sup>20</sup> "Message from the President on Environmental Issues," Local Government Information Digest, Vol.8, No. 6, 1995, p.7.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with District Coordinating Director, Wassa West District Assembly, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2003.
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with District Mobilization Officer, the WACAM, Tarkwa, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 2003.
- <sup>23</sup> Interview with Assayer, Mines Department, Tarkwa, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2002.
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with Deputy Forestry Officer, Tarkwa, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2002 and 6<sup>th</sup> August 2003.
- <sup>25</sup> Interview with Environmental Officer, Third World Network, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003.
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with EPA official, Built Environment Department, 5<sup>th</sup> March, 2003
- <sup>27</sup> Interview with three officials of EPA, 5<sup>th</sup> March 2003. (Wanted to remain unanimous).
- <sup>28</sup> Interview with two officials, Forestry Commission, Headquarters, 15<sup>th</sup> April 2003. (Wanted to remain unanimous).
- <sup>29</sup> Republic of Ghana, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, "Message from the President on Environmental Issues", Local Government Information Digest Vol.8 No. 6, 1995, pp.7-8.
- <sup>30</sup> Republic of Ghana, State of the Nation Address, 2002, pp. 7-22.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Republic of Ghana, Ghana State of the Nation Address, 2003.
- <sup>33</sup> Republic of Ghana, The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 1991 Financial Year, p.27.

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- <sup>34</sup> Republic of Ghana, The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 1998 Financial Year.
- <sup>35</sup> Republic of Ghana, The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for 1999 Financial Year, p.16.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.39 and Republic of Ghana, The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2000 Financial Year.
- <sup>37</sup> Republic of Ghana, The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2002 Financial Year, pp.45-46.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.50.
- <sup>39</sup> Gill Shepherd (ed), Forest Policies, Forest Politics, (Overseas Development Institute, 1992), p.5.
- <sup>40</sup> Ministry of Lands and Forestry, Natural Resource Management Programme, Phase II Concept Note, Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Division (PPMED), September, 17, 2002, p.3.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid, pp.5-6.
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Assistant Finance Officer, Minerals Commission, 15<sup>th</sup> April 2003.
- <sup>43</sup> Sherperd, Forest Policies, Forest Politics, p.7.
- <sup>44</sup> Merilee S. Grindle, "Deciding Who Gets What", in Merilee S. Grindle (ed) Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World, (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp.195-196.
- <sup>45</sup> Ayee, "Some Theoretical Models of Policy Implementation: An Assessment", Greenhill Journal of Administration, Vol.8, No. 1, 1991, p.17.
- <sup>46</sup> Interview with officials of the two district assemblies did not give any indication as to whether they had some knowledge about Agenda 21.
- <sup>47</sup> Boakye Yiadom, "Public Participation in Environmental Management", Local Government Information Digest, Vol.8, No.5, 1995, pp.30-35.
- <sup>48</sup> Sheperd, Forest Policies, Forest Politics, p.23.
- <sup>49</sup> Derick W. Brinkerhoff and James D. Gage, "Natural Resources Management Policy in Africa: Implementation Challenges for Public Managers" in Stuart S. Nagel, (ed) African Development and Public Policy (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), p.161.

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<sup>50</sup> Joseph R.A. Ayee, Saints, Wizards, Demons and Systems: Explaining the Success or Failure of Public Policies and Programmes, Inaugural Lecture delivered at the Amegashie Auditorium, School of Administration, University of Ghana, Thursday, 4<sup>th</sup> may, 2000 (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2000), pp.1-2.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### 6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

We set out in this study to examine the implementation of Ghana's environmental policy in terms of the politicking that goes into the formulation and implementation process and how this affects the achievement of sustainable development. Our main focus within the broad environmental policy framework was forestry policy although some references were made to the mining sector due to the linkages between forestry and mining especially in our case study districts of Wassa West and Adansi West.

The study proceeds from the premise that environmental policy formulation and implementation is a complex exercise because of the numerous and diverse stakeholders, actors, including institutions with equally diverse, complex and sometimes uncoordinated views and interests. Diverse institutions, both formal and informal, often acting together, shape the ways in which differentiated actors access, use and derive well being from environmental resources and services, and in so doing, influence the course of ecological change.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the participation of all key stakeholders is important for recording success in environmental policy formulation and implementation.

This chapter is devoted to summarizing the main findings of the study and their implications for conceptualizing participation, policy implementation, sustainable forestry, the environment and sustainable development. In addition, the study makes some recommendations that may contribute to the ongoing debate on the implementation of public policies in developing countries, particularly in the environment sector.



The questions that the chapter addresses are the following:

1. What are the findings of the study?
2. What recommendations and suggestions would enhance an understanding of the issues of environmental management or governance for achieving sustainable development and to what extent can these be enhanced through the effective participation of stakeholders in the policy process?

## **6.2 Summary of Findings**

The hypotheses of the study were two-fold. First that the top-down approach has led to the poor formulation and implementation of environmental policies and programmes in Ghana. Second, that the bottom-up approach, with its emphasis on participation of stakeholders (including women) and other local power structures in environmental policy processes, backed by strong effective institutional mechanisms, political will and commitment leads to effective formulation and implementation of forestry policies critical to achieving environmental decorum needed for effective and meaningful environmental governance.

Firstly, the study found that environmental issues or problems have a global dimension. This global dimension is highly influenced by the power relations in the global economic and political arena to the extent that environmental decisions taken by nations were determined by the position of nations in this global economic and power complex. Thus, countries were determined to support and give credence to those environmental issues that were of direct or immediate concern or threat to them. Along this conundrum, Porter, Brown and Chasek state that "...a state's reputation or status in

the international community-was once confined to the issue area of international security. But in the early 1990s a few states had begun to regard leadership on the global environment as a means of enhancing their international status".<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, it was also clear that, as much as the global dimension to environmental problems or challenges could not be ignored, the global had to be localized in order to have the expected effect. Paehlke reinforces this by succinctly noting that "the sustainable development agenda is a global agenda...effective corrective actions seem increasingly to require global cooperation. Yet it does not necessarily follow that the international diplomatic arena will be the principal forum for change. Local initiatives, widely and directly communicated among localities, may be the best and most rapid means of achieving effective change".<sup>3</sup>

Ghana was very much a part of the global in terms of participating in deliberations on global environmental issues. Further to this, it has ratified or signed more than twenty (20) international environmental treaties/conventions from 1975 to 2003. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has created a department solely responsible for the implementation of conventions and to address other global environmental issues that Ghana is expected to bring on board its own policy agenda. In fact, Ghana's first serious attempt to put environmental issues on the national agenda through the establishment of the then Environmental Protection Council (EPC) was precipitated by her participation in the 1972 Stockholm Conference.

In addition, it was noted that, some development programmes pursued by governments have had some tremendous negative impact on the environment and the

World Bank and other multilateral institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been instrumental in some of these programmes.

Secondly, the study established that, in spite of the revealing demographic features of the case study districts, of Wassa West and Adansi West in terms of their environmental significance, the people were virtually unaware of government policies, institutions and efforts being made to address the environmental problems in their districts. In addition, the study also identified that, there are so many environmental issues confronting Ghana as a nation and this translates into a web of complexity as far as the attempted solutions are concerned.

One of such attempted solution is in the area of development programmes which were expected to bring to the fore the problems as well as mapping out strategies and policies to address them. Thus, from the colonial to the current government of the New Patriotic Party, successive governments have endeavored to address this challenge. One observation among all these efforts spanning the colonial era was that, they were very top-down in both the formulation and the implementation and the element of participation was disturbingly-almost absent. This led to the predominance of government institutions with or without very little consultations with local power structures and local people. This top-down and exclusionary approach to addressing environmental problems have significantly contributed to the dismal performance of policies and programmes aimed at addressing this challenge.

Thirdly, the policies were also found to be inadequate in terms of creating the congenial atmosphere needed for effective take-off of outlined actions. Whilst it was obvious that the formulation of the environmental and forestry policies were an

improvement over previous legislations like the Mining and Minerals Law, 1988, in terms of focus, stakeholder participation and achievable results, they were still weak by participatory, target and outcome standards. For instance, in spite of the time lapse for the implementation of the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP), that is, 2000, the advancement towards addressing the outlined environmental challenges was still very weak.

Fourthly, the study found that at the institutional level, the linkages were not very clear. Indeed, this was not too surprising looking at the institutional framework for environmental governance in Ghana. Even though each institution is expected to perform certain specific tasks, in terms of joint action, there was very little clarity in practical terms, making their efforts more complex with very minimum results. Using the variables in the models brought to the fore the strengths and weaknesses of the selected institutions in addressing environmental problems. These variables were, standards, characteristics and objectives; interorganizational communication; resources and disposition of implementing agencies and performance.

It was further established that the institutions involved in environmental governance were inadequately resourced financially and in terms of technical staff needed to carry out key functions. Thus, the rate of staff turnover has had significant impact on the output of some of the institutions, particularly, the EPA. This situation was corroborated by Cooper when he explained that human resources issues have also become more complex and will not be less crucial as new techniques of environmental management are implemented.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he intimated that the recruitment, training and retention of the types of people who can operate, monitor and manage the complex

tasks is a very serious challenge. Developing countries, which send their limited pool of administrators for training, lose them to competition from private-sector firms offering dramatic higher wages. Consequently, burnout and turnover require new ways of managing people if there is to be effectiveness in implementing any of the new policies.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, some of the institutional creations expected to facilitate the implementation of environmental issues are very weak due to legal uncertainties surrounding their status. This was particularly the case of the District Environmental Management Committees (DEMCs). At the district level, the efforts of the District Assemblies, though had been involved in some environmental functions, were not actually appreciated by the people because they were hardly known to them. The issue of institutional rivalry was also apparent as some institutions felt that the creation of others were redundant.

There was another dimension to the institutional quandary, which was between governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). On one hand, government and its institutions tend to perceive NGOs as only out to create unnecessary tension among the people on environmental issues, whilst NGOs, on the other hand, believed that government is not open to them or is not creating the enabling context for them to play their roles. Nonetheless, both agree that their roles could be mutual towards addressing the complex issues on the environment.

Fifthly, the study established quite strongly, the political undertones of environmental issues, attempts at addressing them at the policy level, the institutional dynamics, the actors involved and whose interest get to shape the policy agenda and the local and national nexus. All of these point to the underlying principle of politics as to

who gets what, when and how. It was observed that the multiplicity of actors, institutions and issues involved even in one environmental sector was overwhelming. This produces a scenario where the relationships between these factors create an uneasy, though very subtle tension, as to who actually has the power to drive the formulation and implementation of environmental policies.

The study established that majority of the respondents were very ignorant of the existence of policies aimed at addressing the problems. Nonetheless, they believed quite emphatically that, since they are the net beneficiaries or victims of whatever policy outcomes are generated, they should be involved in the policy formulation and implementation process. Brinkerhoff et. al. state categorically that local populations perceive their involvement in natural resource management in terms of their survival and economic activities. The critical point of this is that “environmental challenges often invoke contentious issues relating to the political and economic conflicts between vested interests and the livelihood struggles of the disenfranchised”.<sup>6</sup>

Another finding was the involvement of women in addressing environmental problems. Majority of respondents from all four communities, that is, 98% felt that there was the need for women to be actively involved in decision-making regarding environmental issues. The main reason provided by the respondents was that women have untapped knowledge about the environment and since they are part of the community, tapping such a source could help with the proper grounding of environmental policies and strategies for implementation.

A significant actor the study focused on was the institution of chieftaincy. This is a revered institution, which people (our respondents) believed could have a tremendous

impact on addressing environmental problems since the chiefs are the custodians of the land. This is corroborated by the findings of Brinkerhoff et al who rightly emphasized that traditional institutional structures have the potential to support natural resource management policy change at the local level.<sup>7</sup>

Other consequences of the environmental condition in our case study districts are the health and the social implications of the overall environmental situation. It was clear that the deplorable environmental conditions have resulted in rampant health problems including malaria, whilst it has forced the women to go into unacceptable social behaviour of relying on men due to lack of farmlands and other jobs.

There was also clear expression of disillusion by the people on the performance of the local institutions especially the District Assemblies (DAs) in addressing their environmental problems. Interestingly, the DAs also blame the people for closing their eyes to the numerous efforts they are making in that direction. These, in fact, reflect the fundamental meaning of politics as who gets what, when and how. The findings from the study have engendered another dimension which could be focused on, and that is, who does what, when and how. Thus, who gets what, when and how captures the political dynamics of the study.

There was evidence that successive Ghanaian governments most notably, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) have put in place a number of policies aimed at arresting the environmental degradation. This portrays the commitment of governments to environmental issues. The key challenge of these policy interventions was that implementation was a problem due to several connected factors, some of which have been unraveled by the study. Perhaps, it should be

decisively pointed out that the existence of policies does not necessarily yield expected results. There must be accompanied strategic measures, with clear-cut functions by all key stakeholders, which are practically and consistently carried out, with each individual stakeholder contributing towards the achievement of the whole.

Finally, it was evident from the study that most of the policies and projects were heavily tilted in favour of the top-down approach. It was found that, such a skewed approach was not the solution to the problems which are very localized with a bottom-up emphasis, but which unfortunately was very negligible.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

From the foregone discussions, the following recommendations are made for the attention of global environmental advocates, policy makers, government and its institutions, NGOs, local communities, students and researchers on the environment, and the donor community, just to mention a few.

First, global environmental trends and considerations be determined on a more equitable basis taking into account the different and challenging circumstances of developing countries. This will enable them to localize the global for mutual benefit and for realistic measures towards addressing environmental problems.

Second, for African countries, it is of essence that their participation in global environmental issues is removed from the periphery into the main stream of events. This will ensure that they are in the cycle of events as part of the policy formulating community and not just as signatories or implementers. It will also afford them the



opportunity to comprehend the associated challenges and how to strategize to address them and how to take advantage of accompanying benefits.

Third, policy makers will consider the suggestion by Lindblom that “policy making typically is part of a political process in which the only feasible political change is that which changes social states by relatively small steps”.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Sutton re-echoes the point made by Grindle and Thomas that policy implementation is an on-going non-linear process that must be managed. This management process calls for consensus building, participation by key stakeholders, compromise, contingency planning, resource mobilization and adaptation.<sup>9</sup> Whilst such complexity and multiplicity of actors can make smooth implementation challenging, we need to consider adaptive vis-à-vis programmed implementation.<sup>10</sup> The upshot of this is that the policy process and its implementation needs some engineering to ensure that expected and unexpected outcomes are managed for the benefit of achieving policy objectives.

Fourth, local communities and power structures must be considered as significant actors whose active and meaningful participation from the early stages of the policy making process can impact in very positive ways outcomes of implementation. As rightly noted by our respondents, the local community members have information that can shape the direction of policy making to the point of reducing or totally eliminating the bottlenecks experienced during implementation.

Fifth, women are brought into the policy making and formulation process especially with regard to environmental issues. This is against the backdrop that women can and do bear the brunt of environmental degradation since the roles assigned to them makes them natural users of environmental resources. They can therefore contribute to

the process for sustaining environmental resources as well as finding solutions to the problems. This will contribute to advancing the course of women as part of the human resource and to mainstream their invaluable contribution to governance and policymaking.

Sixth, the institutional components of policy formulation and implementation should go beyond macro to involve micro level institutions or traditional and other informal but, nonetheless, critical structures at the local level. A proper harnessing of such institutional energies can have tremendous positive impact on policy formulation and implementation.

Seventh, the relationship between institutions in the environmental governance framework in terms of functions, interrelationships and strength or levels of relation needs to be better clarified. This will contribute to an appreciation of the inevitable role of each identified institution in policy documents.

Eight, though some successes have been chalked in terms of implementing the environmental policy, it is important to recommend that government show more commitment to addressing environmental problems in a more participatory, transparent, and purposeful manner.

Ninth, in light of the fact that government institutions cannot perform numerous assigned functions without the needed financial, human and logistical resources, government should ensure the proper resourcing of the institutions involved in environmental governance. Other measures that can contribute to this should be outlined more concretely whilst impediments or inhibitions that affect output are removed. The government should create the enabling legal milieu where necessary, for some of these

environmental institutions to generate more resources on their own so as to reduce their over-reliance on government allocations.

Tenth, since there is no disputing the fact that NGOs are partners in development with government, the relationship of mutual suspicion between the two entities should be discarded for mutual cooperation, understanding and consensus on matters of public interest.

Eleventh, in view of the fact that the mere formulation of policies does not guarantee required changes, all stakeholders should look beyond the existence of policies to ensure that the spirit of these policies are brought to bear more fruitfully by ensuring that implementation is not considered as non-adaptive but can be flexible in a guarded manner.

Twelfth, it is essential to state that Ghana has come a long way with regard to addressing environmental problems especially in the forestry sector. Environmental policy making and implementation aimed at achieving sustainable development in Ghana however still has a number of challenges, with respect to bringing all key stakeholders especially local communities on board. There is the need for a proper balance between the application of both the top-down and the bottom-up models of implementation in order to maximize the comparative advantage of each whilst minimizing their individual and collective weaknesses. This will eventually result into the equal reduction of the negative application of politics and ensure that politics is perceived and used as the basis for determining who gets (and does) what, when and how as the conduit for ensuring the equitable, efficient and effective distribution of scarce resources.

Finally, because there is no end to policy implementation especially those regarding the environment, policy makers and implementors should ensure that there is continuous sharing of responsibilities and information by all stakeholders needed to safeguard any achievements and prevent further deterioration or reversal of achievements.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

The study concludes based on the findings that, the implementation of environmental policy for the achievement of sustainable development is a complex and multidimensional task that needs the combination of the global and the local dimensions of policy direction, and above all, the involvement of all major stakeholders. Particularly, the relevance of sustainable development is brought to bear when beneficiaries of efforts in that direction are involved in the shaping of the agenda that lead to its achievement. It also calls for putting in place the necessary institutional structures, with clearly spelt out functions and institutional interrelationships. This will help in reducing or eliminating duplication and unnecessary institutional rivalries that hinder efforts at achieving sustainable development.

More significantly, the environmental problems and efforts at addressing them should become more national in outlook. Sporadic attempts at policy implementation can hardly lead to achieving sustainable development, which is the underlying principle for the implementation of Ghana's environmental policy.

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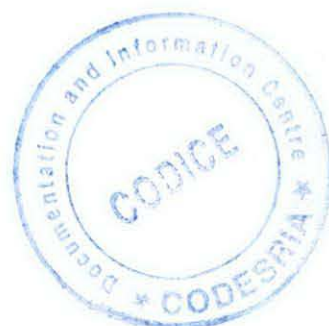
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## **APPENDIXES**

### **Appendix I Questionnaire and Checklist Used for Survey**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**  
**LEGON**

#### **(a) QUESTIONNAIRE**

##### **Introduction**

I am a lecturer and PhD student from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana undertaking a study on “The Politics of Environmental Policy Implementation In Ghana for Sustainable Development: 1974-2000”. This study is aimed at delving into basically public policymaking and implementation in Ghana and particularly, environmental policy, which has not received adequate academic enquiry in the Ghanaian context. Its outcome will enable governments, politicians, policy makers and implementers of public policy to appreciate the importance of including all stakeholders in the policy making process especially beneficiaries of policies.

It is not a political study for any group of politicians or the government and is also not meant to pry into people’s private lives. In fact without your contribution through the answering of this questionnaire, the study will be incomplete. You are therefore considered a key part in this project. It is for this reason that I humbly plead that you cooperate with the research assistants in this regard.

You are assured that every little detail in the form of information given would be treated with high level of confidentiality.

Thank you for your kind cooperation.

##### **Note Well**

**Please answer all questions as accurately as possible.**

##### **[A] Personal Data**

###### **1. Age**

- |              |              |                     |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| a. 20-30 [ ] | b. 31-40 [ ] | c. 41-50 [ ]        |
| d. 51-60 [ ] | e. 61-70 [ ] | f. 71 and above [ ] |

**2. Gender**

- a. Male ☐                      b. Female ☐

**3. Occupation**

- a. Government Employee ☐ (Specify) .....  
b. Private Sector Employee ☐ (Specify) .....  
c. Self-Employed ☐ (Specify) .....  
d. Mine/Timber Worker ☐ (Specify Company) .....  
e. Unemployed ☐

**4. Marital Status**

- a. Married ☐  
b. Single ☐  
c. Divorced ☐  
d. Widowed ☐

**5. Educational Status**

- a. Middle School ☐  
b. JSS/SSS ☐  
c. O' Level ☐  
d. A' Level ☐  
e. University ☐  
f. Other Tertiary ☐

**[B] Knowledge on Environmental Problems**

**6. What do you consider the main environmental problem in this area?**

- a. Lack of Farm Lands ☐   b. Air/ Water Pollution ☐  
c. Cyanide spillage ☐   c. Desertification ☐   d. Other (Specify) .....

**7. Name the three most serious environmental problems in this area.**

- a. ....   b. ....   c. ....

**8. Why do you think they are the most serious?**

- a. They threaten our health ☐   b. They threaten our livelihood ☐  
c. They pollute our source of drinking water ☐   d. They threaten peaceful  
coexistence ☐.

**9. Which groups of people are most at risk and why?**

- a. Young People ☐   b. Old People ☐   Reason .....  
c. Women ☐   d. Men ☐

10. For how long have these problems been in this community?  
a. 1-5 years [ ] b. 6-10 years [ ] c. 11-15 years d. Over 20 years
11. Has there been any report to the Chief, MP or the District Assembly or NGO?  
a. Yes [ ] b. No c. Don't Know
12. If yes, what has been the response?  
a. Positive [ ] b. Negative
13. If no, Why do you think there has not been any response?  
a. Authorities don't care [ ] b. No Money [ ]  
c. No personnel and inputs to solve problem [ ]  
d. People themselves have not been forceful in demand [ ]
14. What action has the community itself taken to address the problems?  
a. No Action [ ] b. Inadequate Action [ ]
15. If no, why?  
a. Apathy [ ] b. Community fatigue c. No assistance from government authorities [ ] d. No assistance from Mining and Timber Companies [ ]

### [C] Knowledge on Environmental Policies and Institutions in Ghana

16. Do you know about Ghana's Environmental Policy?  
a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]
17. If yes, how did you get to know of it?  
a. Radio [ ] b. Television [ ] c. Community Meeting [ ]  
d. NGO [ ] e. Mining/Timber Company [ ] d. Friends/Relations [ ]
18. When did you hear of it?  
a. 1-3 years ago [ ] b. 4-6 years ago [ ]  
c. 7-10 years ago [ ] d. Over 10 years ago [ ]
19. Who were involved with the formulation of the policy? Name at least three  
a. .... b. .... c. ....
20. Do you think the policies are effective in addressing Ghana's environmental problems especially forestry and mining sectors?  
a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. Don't Know [ ]
21. Do you know or have you heard of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)?  
a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

22. If yes, how did you get to know of it?  
 a. Radio [ ] b. Television [ ] c. Community Meeting [ ]  
 d. NGO [ ] e. Mining/Timber Company [ ] d. Friends/ Relations [ ]
23. When did you hear of them?  
 a. 1-3 years ago [ ] b. 4-6 years ago [ ]  
 c. 7-10 years ago [ ] d. Over 10 years ago?
24. Do you think the EPA is effective in handling Ghana's environmental problems?  
 a. Yes [ ] b. No c. Don't Know [ ]
25. Do you think the District Assembly is doing enough to help solve the environmental problems in your community?  
 a. Enough [ ] b. Not Enough [ ] c. Nothing at all [ ].
26. If not enough why do you think so?  
 a. Apathy [ ] b. It does not care [ ] c. Financial problems [ ]  
 d. Unnecessary politicization [ ] e. Conflict with other institutions [ ] (Specify Institution) .....
27. Do you think NGOs can play any important role in Environmental policy making and implementation?  
 a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. Don't Know [ ]
28. If yes, in what ways can this be done?  
 a.....  
 b.....  
 c.....
29. Do you think Ghanaian Governments since independence till date have done enough to deal with environmental problems in Ghana?  
 a. Enough [ ] b. Not Enough [ ] c. Did their best [ ]
30. Since 1974, which government do you think more to address environmental problems and why?  
 a. Acheampong's Regime [ ] b. Limann's Regime [ ] c. AFRC [ ]  
 d. PNDC [ ] NDC [ ]

Reason(s)

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

**[D] Gender/ Chiefs and Environment and Development**

31. Do you think women should play a special role in environmental decision-making and implementation? Why?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. Don't Know [ ]

Reason(s)

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.....  
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32. Do you think their non-involvement and those of other stakeholders can affect the outcome of implementation?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. Don't Know [ ]

33. Do you think that chiefs should play a special role in environmental decision-making? Why?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. Don't Know [ ]

Reason(s)

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.....

34. In what ways do you think the environment relate to development?

a. Negatively [ ] b. Positively c. No relation [ ].

35. What do you think the future has for us if we do not address current environmental (forestry/ mining ) problems?

- a. ....  
b. ....  
c. ....  
d. ....

36. What suggestions do you have that would help in addressing environmental problems in Ghana in general and particularly forestry/ mining problems in your district or community?

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.....  
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## **QUESTIONS/CHECKLIST FOR INTERVIEWS**

### **THE GHANA NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION PLAN**

#### **(4) ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY**

1. When did Ghana realize the need for a National Environmental Policy (NEP)?
2. What is Ghana's National Environmental Policy, aims/objectives and how do existing sub sector policies fit into the broad national framework?
3. What is the National Action Plan and what is its relationship with the NEP?
4. Who were the key actors involved in the policy-making process, from formulation/designing, to implementation and evaluation stages?
5. What criteria were used to determine who gets into the policy cycle for the formulation and implementation of the NEP?
6. What were the determining factors for the selected criteria?
7. Were there any groups who were deliberately or inadvertently left out of the process? If deliberate, why?
8. How have their non-participation affected the overall outcome of the implementation and evaluation processes?
9. The implementation of the NEP was to start in 1996 and end in 2000. What is the rate of success and what are some of the problems and challenges encountered?
10. How do you think the nature, contents and implementation strategies including the calibre of the implementing bodies could lead to achieving sustainable development or hinder its achievement?
11. From Ghana's perspective, what do we consider as constituting sustainable development?
12. Do you think achieving sustainable development is realistic for developing countries like Ghana? What are the challenges and prospects for Ghana in her attempt to achieve sustainable development?
13. What attempts have Ghana made in addressing these challenges and maximizing the prospects?

14. To what extent is the NEP known to stakeholders/actors in the environmental field/arena - companies, corporations, institutions, ministries, NGOs, women's groups, district assemblies, local people etc?
15. What linkages or relationships exist between these stakeholders, especially between officials from government and private organizations at the center and the local people at the periphery?
16. How do you think such linkages or their absence can affect the outcome of environmental policy implementation or the achievement environmental decorum?
17. Is the NEP gender sensitive?
18. What is the importance, if any, of making environmental policies gender sensitive?
19. Will gender sensitivity or otherwise affect the rate of success of implementation of environmental policies?
20. Can you mention any women's groups, which were involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the NEP?
21. What are your general comments on the issues raised especially on the NEP, gender sensitivity of the NEP and achievement of sustainable development?

### **INSTITUTIONS- GENERAL**

1. Which institutions at the governmental level are expected to deal with environmental issues directly or indirectly? Why and how did they become part of the programme.
2. What specific role did the EPA play in the formulation and the implementation of the existing environmental policy?
3. What is the relationship between the EPA and other governmental organizations or agencies involved with environmental issues? How would this relationship hinder or enhance the achievement of the objectives?
4. What is the relationship between government organizations/agencies and NGOs?
5. To what extent has this relationship enhanced or hindered the achievement of objectives?

6. What are the roles of District Assemblies (DAs) or field units in environmental resource management, control or monitoring and how are these linked to the achievement of sustainable development?
7. Are there any programmes or projects specifically designed for DAs for district level implementation? Name some.
8. What is the rate of success of these and what problems are encountered in their execution?
9. To what extent are these participatory?
10. How did the programmes or projects come about?
11. What roles, if any, did chiefs or recognized groups within a particular locality play to enhance the implementation of the programmes and projects?
12. Are there any known groups, institutions or organizations, governmental or non-governmental whose activities create more problems for the environment than the attempt to solve?
13. How well equipped is your organization in terms of finance, personnel and other logistical resources to undertake the task assigned?
14. What do you suggest should be done in order to achieve environmental decorum for sustainable development nationally and globally? Any general comments?

#### **DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY LEVEL**

1. What is the main occupation of people here/ what is your occupation?
2. What is the concern of people here about the environment?
3. How does the environment affect you and others in all your daily activities?
4. Are there particular threatening environmental problems here? Name them.
5. Why do you think it is threatening/serious in this community?
6. Which groups of people are mostly at risk-women, men, children, farmers, etc?
7. For how long has this problem existed and has there been a report to any authority-chief, Assembly man, District Assembly, MP, government organization or private organization in the area?

8. If yes, what was the response? If no why not?
9. What action has the community itself taken to address the problem whilst it waits for action?
10. Are there any NGOs working on environmental issues in the district?
11. If yes, how do you assess them?
12. Do you know about Ghana's Environmental Policy?
13. If yes, when and how did you get to know about it?
14. Do you know about the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)?
15. When and how did you hear of it?
16. How would you assess it?
17. Is the District Assembly and other authorities helpful in addressing environmental concerns/problems?
18. What are your views about women and the environment? Do you think they should be involved in decision-making on the environment? Why?
19. Do you think women have special relationship with the environment? Why do you think so?
20. Do you think their involvement or non-involvement will make any difference to finding solutions to environmental problems?
21. Any general comments?

### **INSTITUTIONS-GOVERNMENT**

1. What role or linkage does your institution has with the environment or environmental issues?
2. What do you consider to be the main environmental issues confronting the world, developing countries and Ghana in particular?
3. When, why and how did they become global in scope?

4. Which of these problems do you consider most common/threatening to developing countries and particularly Ghana?
5. What efforts have been made at the global level towards addressing these environmental problems?
6. In which of these have Ghana participated and in what capacity; that is as lead, veto or support state?
7. What is the impact of Ghana's participation in these global/regional programmes on her own efforts to address environmental problems?
8. Can you cite concrete examples, like programmes or projects to substantiate the answer you have just given?
9. What do you consider to be the most contentious environmental problems between developing countries and developed countries and why?
10. How do you think this can be resolved if at all?
11. What are some of the challenges and prospects of global response to environmental problem?
12. What is Agenda 21?
13. In what ways did Agenda 21 contribute to Ghana's concerns about environmental issues?
14. In what ways did the Brundtland report influence Ghana's response to her environmental problems, especially the policy dimension?
15. How have past regimes tackled environmental problems in the past?
16. To what extent can past regimes be blamed for the current environmental situation?
17. To what extent can past regimes take credit for environmental management? What do you consider to be the way forward?

#### **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS/WOMEN'S GROUPS**

1. What is the name of your organization and when was it formed?
2. What are the main objectives?

3. To what extent are these being achieved?
4. What is your perception about the environmental situation in Ghana and in the world generally?
5. What do you know about the global efforts at solving the environmental problems?
6. Mention any well-known global environmental conference/ programme etc aimed at resolving environmental problems?
7. Do you know about the Brundtland Report? What is the main theme or concern of the report?
8. What do you consider to be the three most threatening environmental issues in the world that are of concern or direct consequence to developing countries like Ghana?
9. What do you consider to be the main environmental problems in Ghana and why?
10. In your own estimate, has the problems with environmental concern and degradation reduced or increased over the years? Why do you say so?
11. What efforts have successive regimes made towards solving some of the environmental problems in Ghana and what is your assessment?
12. What do you consider to be the militating factors against past regimes in tackling environmental problems in Ghana?
13. What specific efforts has your organization made towards solving environmental problems at the global but especially at the national level?
14. What are some of your achievements and some of your problems in your effort to help with solving the problems of the environment?
15. Do you know of the Ghana Environmental Policy?
16. Do you know when and how it came into existence and who the policy makers were made of?
17. Were you involved in anyway with the policy formulation/design, implementation and evaluation?
18. What links do you have with the EPA in particular and any other governmental organizations dealing with the environment?

19. What links or relationship do you have with other NGOs dealing with environmental issues in the country or in the sub-region and how do all these relationships or linkages affect your efforts?
20. What is your organizations position on gender issues and how is that reflected in your operations?
21. Why do you think environmental issues should be gender sensitive?
22. Do you think women as compared to men have special links with the environment and should therefore be involved in environmental decision-making and implementation, why?
23. What is the level or nature of any specific relations with district level organizations or local communities and what is the outcome of this relationship towards solving some of the environmental problems encountered in those communities?
24. What do you consider to be the main challenges and prospects in Ghana for the achievement of environmental decorum for sustainable development?
25. Any general comments on Ghana's efforts at tackling environmental problems?

#### **THE FORESTRY / MINERALS COMMISSIONS**

1. When was the Forestry commission formed?
2. What prompted the formation of the Commission?
3. What are the aims/objectives of the Commission?
4. To what extent are these being achieved?
5. What is the organizational structure of the Commission and how does the structure help or hinder the effective operations of the Commission?
6. Does the Commission have any international or regional linkages? Mention some of these?

7. How significant are these towards the achievement of the Commission's objectives?
8. What is your Commissions' position on achieving sustainable development? Do you think it is realistic for developing countries like Ghana?
9. What kind of relationship exists between the Commission and the EPA on one hand and the Ministry of Environment on the other hand?
10. What kind of relationship exists between the Commission and other environmental Commissions and other environmental NGOs?
11. What is the nature of the relationship between the Commission and business concerns (Mining Companies, Timber Companies)?
12. How would you describe Government's commitment to environmental issues in Ghana in general in the last two decades and government's response to your particular sector?
13. What are some of the projects and programmes your Commission has put in place to raise environmental awareness of the people in the communities? To what extent have these been successful? .
14. How would you describe the relationship between your agents in the rural areas and community members of these areas?
15. In your opinion, do you think the people are well conversant with the consequences of environmental degradation and the urgency to do something about the situation?



16. What do you consider to be your major achievements and your major challenges?

Which group of people, workers pose the greatest challenge and stumbling block to the smooth operation of your Commission?

17. Do you have any suggestions to make to improve the environmental situation in Ghana?

18. Do you think women are playing or should play a role in environmental matters and why?

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