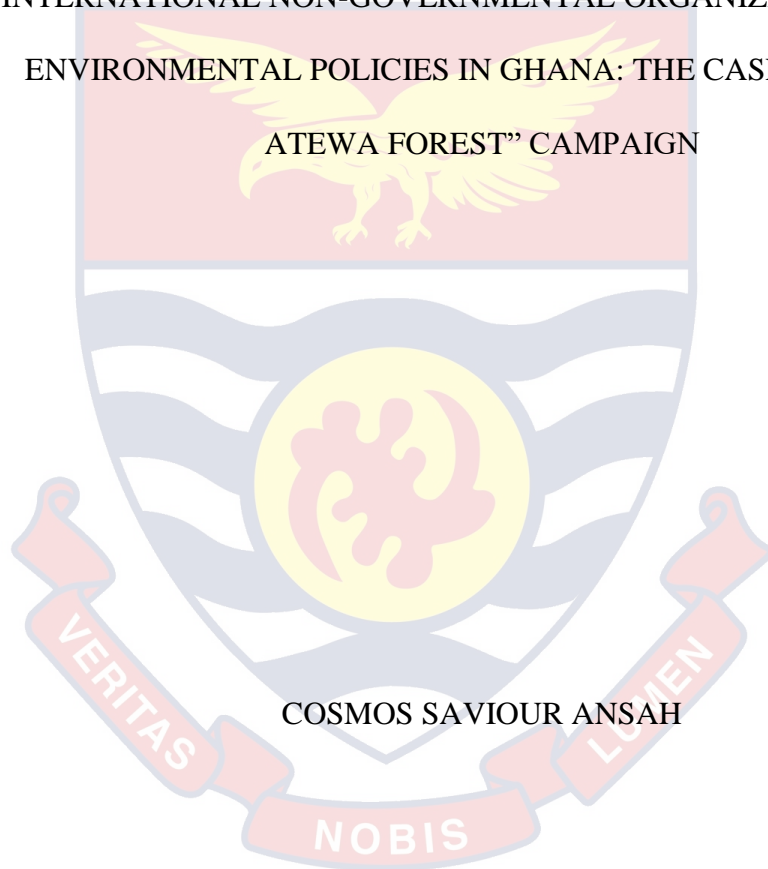UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
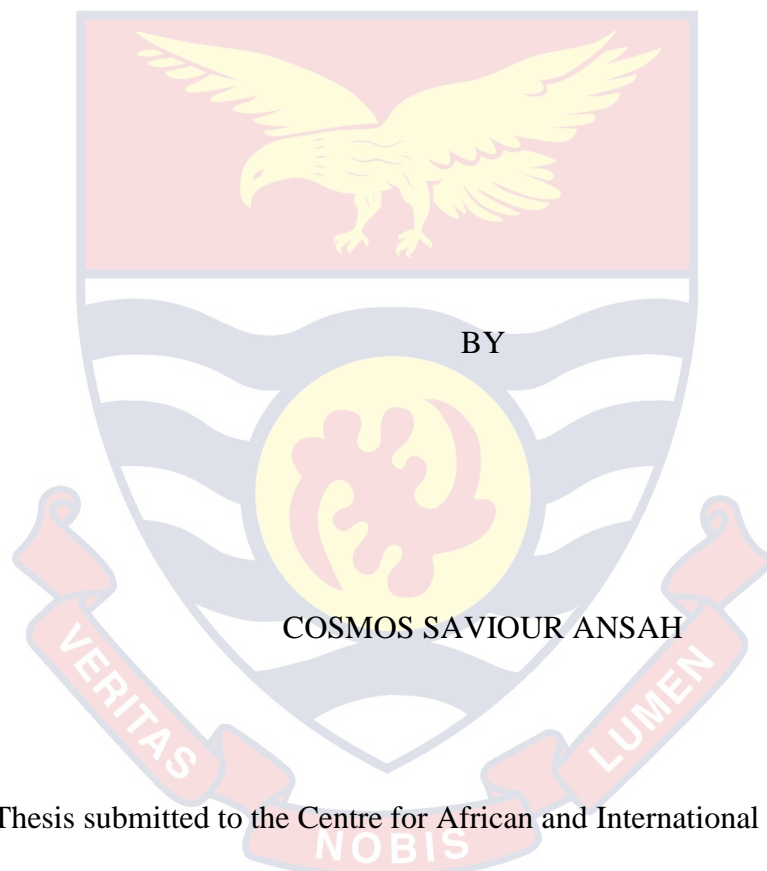
INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES IN GHANA: THE CASE OF "SAVE

ATEWA FOREST" CAMPAIGN

COSMOS SAVIOUR ANSAH

2020

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES IN GHANA: THE CASE OF "SAVE

ATEWA FOREST" CAMPAIGN

BY

COSMOS SAVIOUR ANSAH

Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty

of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy

degree in International Studies

OCTOBER 2020

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature…………………………… Date…………………….

Name…………………………………………………………………………….
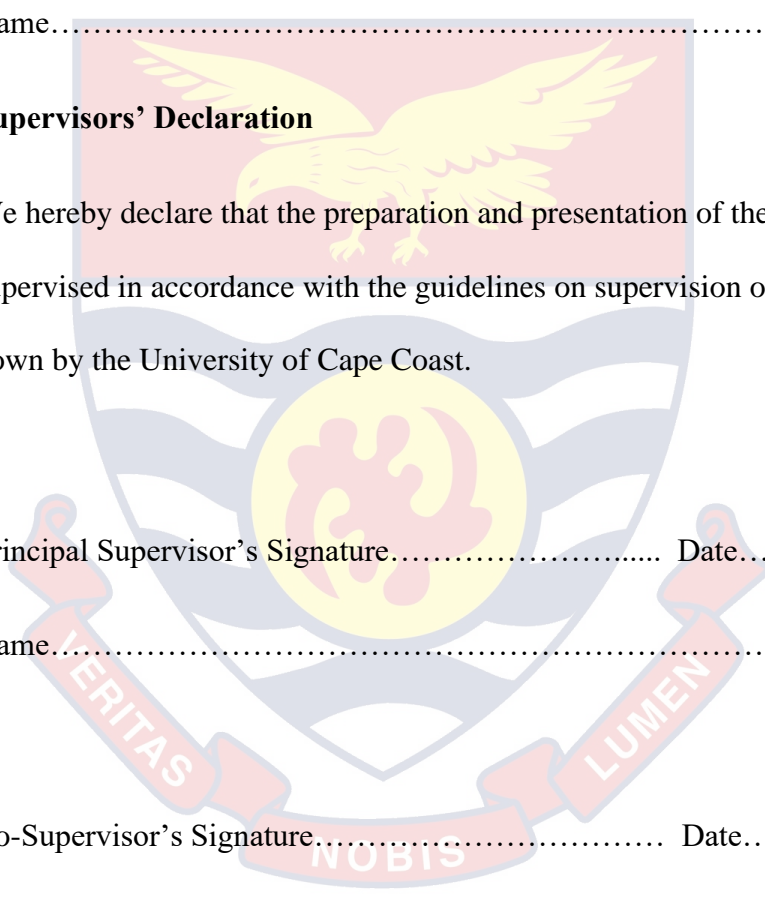
Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature…………………...... Date…………………

Name…………………………………………………………………………

Co-Supervisor's Signature……………………………… Date………………….

Name…………………………………………………………………………

ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, NGOs have become prominent actors in environmental politics across the world. However, studies on NGOs in Ghana have primarily focused on their socio-economic services such that NGOs engagement in environmental policies in the country is barely researched. To address this gap, the current study examined the influence of international NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana using the NGOs campaign to influence government policies on the Atewa Range Forest Reserve as the case for the study. The study examined NGOs strategies, their relationship with the government, and their level of influence on policies relating to Atewa Forest. Drawing on the Four C's Model of NGO-Government relations, the study discovered that NGO-government relation was cooperative from 2012 to 2017. Both parties shared similar policy end goals and means. However, the relationship from 2018 to 2020 is confrontational as the government changed its policy end goal to allow for bauxite mining in the forest reserve. Using an adapted framework of Betsill and Corell's (2008) qualitative framework to analyse NGO influence, the study revealed that NGOs exerted low-level influence on government policies and were unable to achieve their substantive end goal of pursuing the government to upgrade the status of the forest reserve to a national park. Significant conditions affecting the NGOs' inability to influence policies include; conflicting interest in the use of Atewa Forest and the absence of massive civil society and public support. The study highlights the need for transparency and robust engagement among the various stakeholders on environmental policies to avoid confrontations in the future.

KEY WORDS

Atewa Forest

Environmental policies

Ghana

NGO Influence

International Non-Governmental Organisations

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DEDICATION

To Eve Agna Ackil, for all you have done that will be told someday

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

x

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CCAL	-	Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape
CONAMA	-	Coalition of NGOs Against Mining in Atewa
CSO	-	Civil Society Organisation
ENGO	-	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
EPA	-	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	-	European Union
FC	-	Forestry Commission
FoE	-	Friends of the Earth
GIADEC	-	Ghana Integrated Aluminium Development Corporation
GoG	-	Government of Ghana
IEA	-	Institute for Economic Affairs
INGO	-	International Non-Governmental Organisations
IUCN	-	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MLG	-	Multilevel Governance Theory
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
USFS	-	United States Forest Service
RTI	-	Right to Information

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

An increasing number of research indicates that environmental NGOs worldwide influence government decisions to formulate and implement domestic policies to preserve and protect the environment and negotiate international treaties on the environment. Local and international environmental NGOs have been very active in Ghana since the 1990s. While some of these NGOs are committed to protecting and preserving the environment, little empirical evidence exists in the literature on their level of influence on environmental policies in Ghana. This thesis argues that despite the increasing influence of NGOs on policies in international politics, NGOs have had limited influence on environmental policies in Ghana. In particular, this is highlighted in the case of Atewa (also spelt Atiwa) Range Forest Reserve, where NGOs are unable to convince key stakeholders in their objective to upgrade the forest's status to a national park for complete protection based on international standards.

Background to the Study

For centuries, international politics and diplomacy were the preserve of nation-states. As such, non-state actors had little influence on the policies and foreign policies of a state or the extent to which the behaviour of the state conformed to international commitments (Arts, 2006). However, these non-state actors started to assert their voice in international relations, especially after the second world war (Ataman, 2003).

Non-state actors are believed to have increasingly challenged the powers of nation-states and exert considerable influence in international politics

1

(Lüdert, 2016). A political scientist and international affairs scholar, Rosenau (as cited in Duffy, 2006), argued that the state now co-exists with equally powerful, decentralised forms of organisations in the global arena.

One of such influential organisations is Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Martin & Simmons, 2002). NGOs consist of people, entrepreneurs, and other social forces, not nation-states. Young (2000) described NGOs as non-state or non-profit organizations traditionally composed of volunteers and concerned with unique policy goals. NGOs are well-known for two broad activities; service delivery for people in need and the pursuit of social change through advocacy and campaigns (Lewis, 2010).

Aside from these broad activities, Lewis (2010) stated that NGOs are spread across and focused on specialised fields like democracy building, human rights protection, conflict resolutions, curing diseases, environmental protection, and others. According to Akkucuk and Sekercioglu (2016), environmental protection is one of the key areas where nongovernmental organisations have considerable activity. These NGOs mainly engaged in the protection and preservation of the environment are referred to as environmental nongovernmental organisations (ENGOs).

As Duffy (2006) points out, ENGOs have become prominent that the growing significance of environmental concerns in global affairs has resulted in the rise of this new and powerful activist group. It is generally accepted that ENGOs are primarily responsible for environmental issues coming to the forefront of international politics (Thomas, Carr & Humphreys, 2001). ENGOs play an essential role in raising public awareness about environmental issues, protecting habitats, and lobbying governments to enact environmentally

2

friendly legislation (Akkucuk & Sekercioglu, 2016). Betsill and Corell (2008) state that NGOs play an essential role in environmental negotiations and can exert substantial pressure on governments, inducing governments to alter policies.

Therefore, ENGOs have been a very active force at global negotiations and summits and have submitted drafts of treaties in such forums (Friedman et al. as cited in O'Neill, 2017). Before the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, "environmental experts, policy leaders, and some leading NGOs convened and released the Founex Report on Development and Environment" (Betsill & Corell, 2008, p. 12). According to Betsill and Corell (2008), the report was so significant that it framed the outcome of the whole Stockholm Conference and marked the beginning of the essential contributions by environmental movements on issues related to the environment.

The involvement of NGOs in global environmental and sustainable development decision-making processes has escalated after the Stockholm Conference. This escalation is demonstrated by the increased participation of NGOs in the two subsequent global conferences; the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 (Rio Conference) and World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 (Johannesburg Conference) (Betsill & Corell, 2008). NGOs were central in these two international conferences and were recognised as significant partners in the global struggle to promote sustainable development (Dodds, 2001; Gutman, 2003; Speth, 2003).

Betsill (2006) argued that an increasing body of research reveals that NGOs impact government policies to protect the national environment and negotiate international conventions. For instance, Betsill and Corell (2008)

3

pointed out that NGOs influenced the processes for international conventions like the International Policy on Forest Conservation and the Trade in Forest Products, Convention to Combat Desertification, and the Kyoto Protocol.

In China, Lu (2007) cited many successful campaigns by NGOs influencing the government of China on environmental policies. He revealed that in 2003, the NGOs coalition successfully lobbied against the construction of a dam near an ancient irrigation system that is designated a World Heritage Site in China. Also, NGOs' opposition and campaigns forced the government to put on hold plans to construct a hydropower station on the Nujiang River (Lu, 2007). In Africa, Thomas (1996) stated various NGO campaigns against the government on environmental policies in Botswana and Zimbabwe. He revealed that NGOs were able to influence some policies like the Southern Okavango Integrated Water Development Project in Botswana. These studies revealed varying degrees of influence of NGOs on environmental policies.

The presence of NGOs have been increasing in Africa, and Ghana is not an exception. NGO operations in Ghana increased in the post-independence period but dwindled under the military governments that highly censored the activities of NGOs. However, their numbers proliferated in the 1980s and 1990s, mirrored the NGO sector's global growth and increased donor attention and funding (Gary, 1996). Gary (1996) further revealed that the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme led to a significant increase in the number of NGOs in Ghana and resources available to them to fill the 'service delivery gap'.

Ghana is faced with severe environmental challenges. For instance, a report by Global Forest Watch revealed that Ghana recorded a sixty (60) per

cent rise in forest loss between 2017 and 2018 (Weisse & Goldman, 2019). Kessey and Arko (2013) opined that small-scale miners are the worst offenders of environmental degradation in Ghana. They argued that most institutions in charge of environmental management are ineffective, perpetuating ecological challenges in Ghana.

This has resulted in an increased number of environmental NGOs concerned with ensuring the protection and sustainable use of the environment that conforms to international conventions and practices. There are both local and international environmental NGOs operating in Ghana. Some these ENGOs are Friends of the Earth, Friends of the Nation, Save the Frog, A Rocha, Tropenbos, and others. The ENGOs engage in policy advocacy and campaigns, environmental education, biodiversity conservation, climate change adaptation, and projects to protect the environment.

Statement of the Problem

The increasing significance of NGOs in the promotion of environmental sustainability has resulted in a substantial increase in research assessing the influence of NGOs on domestic environmental policies, international environmental negotiations, environmental governance, and environmental laws and conventions (Betsil & Corell, 2008; Gemmill & Bamidele-izu, 2002; Potter, 1996; Thomas et al., 2001; Varella, 2013). Few of these studies examined cases in Africa, specifically Zimbabwe, Nigeria, and Botswana (Carr, Humphreys & Thomas, 2001; Potter, 1996).

The above studies revealed varying degrees of influence of NGOs on international and national environmental policies. Thomas (2001), therefore, asserted that NGOs are not always influential, and their impact varies across

different countries and depending on the specific environmental issue. It then raises the following questions; Do NGOs effectively influence environmental policies in Ghana? How do NGOs attempt to control environmental policies in Ghana? Under which conditions are NGOs successful or otherwise in their attempt to influence environmental policies? These are questions that require empirical studies to answer.

However, the available literature on NGOs in Ghana has focused mainly on their impact on development and poverty alleviation, promotion of education, sources of finance, influence on the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II, contributions to environmental protection in mining areas, and NGO-State relations (Awuah-Nyamekye, 2018; Christopher, 2018; Eliasu, 2017; Gary, 1996; Kavaarpuo, 2012; Adjei, Agyemang & Afriyie, 2012).

In recent years, the most significant effort by NGOs to influence environmental policies in Ghana is a campaign dubbed "Save Atewa Forest Campaign", which is aimed to influence the government to designate the Atewa Range Forest Reserve as a national park. The campaign, which has gained national and international prominence and involves major international environmental NGOs, has received limited scholarly attention. Studies examining the campaign include Purwins (2020), which focused on analysing the conflict from a political ecology perspective, highlighting the key actors of the conflict and their relations. Agbo (2019) also sought to explore ecologically-based strategies that would generate a win-win outcome for all stakeholders of the Atewa Forest.

What is apparent is that these studies did not specifically examine the level of influence that the NGOs have exerted through the campaign and the

relationship that has ensued between the NGOs and government. In light of this knowledge gap, the current study focuses on analysing the influence of NGOs on government policies on Atewa Forest, their strategies, and their relationship with the government of Ghana.

Research Objectives

The study aimed at assessing the influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana; specifically, it sought to:

1. Explore the tactics and strategies employed by NGOs to influence environmental policies in Ghana.

2. Examine the NGO-Government relations in Ghana with regards to environmental policy engagements.

3. Examine the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide the study;

1. What are the tactics and strategies employed by NGOs to influence environmental policies in Ghana?

2. What is the NGO-Government relation with regards to environmental policy engagements in Ghana?

3. What is the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana?

Context of the Study

The Atewa Range Forest Reserve is located in the Eastern Region of Ghana and is one of the most important Upper Guinean forests in West Africa. Politically, the Atewa Range Forest Reserve is located in the East Akyem

7

District Assembly and West Akyem (Kwaebibirem) District Assembly (Osei-Owusu, 2016). The Atewa Range comprises two forest reserves: the Atewa Range Forest Reserve and the Atewa Extension Reserve, which covers an entire range of 263-kilometre square (Osei-Owusu, 2016). Subsequently, these two forest reserves will be referred to as Atewa Forest in this study.
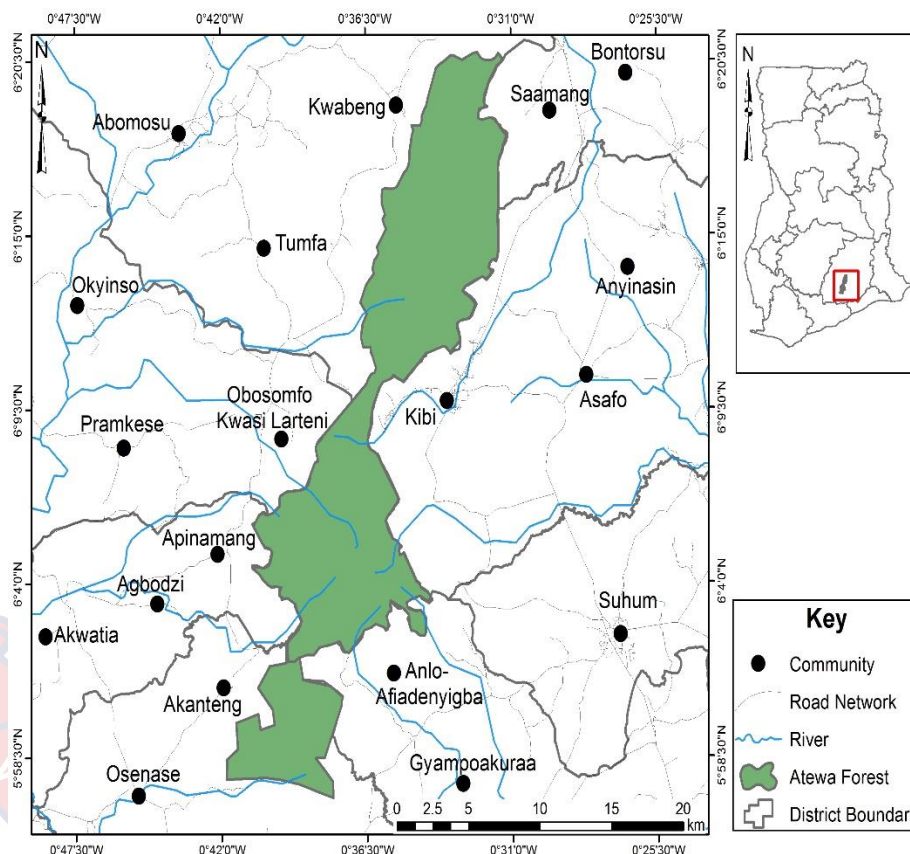
Figure 1: Map showing the Atewa Range Forest Reserve and its environs.

Source: Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast.

Changes in policies and designations by the Government of Ghana (GoG) have resulted in the forest being officially classified under various protection schemes over the past years. It was declared a National Forest Reserve in 1925, as a Special Biological Protection Area in 1994, as a Hill Sanctuary in 1995, and, in 1999, as one of Ghana's 30 Globally Significant

8

Biodiversity Areas (GSBAs). In addition to its official conservation status, part of the Atewa Range was listed as an Important Bird Area (IBA) by BirdLife International in 2001 (Osei-Owusu, 2016). The Atewa Forest was also classified as a Key Biodiversity Area (KBA) which signifies the forest's most significant global level of prioritisation.

The forest is the source of three river bodies; Densu, Ayensu, and Birim. In total, these rivers that have their origins from the forest are estimated to provide drinking water to over five (5) million inhabitants of the Central, Eastern, and Greater Accra regions, with 1 million of these people in Accra alone. The rivers also serve as the water source for industrial and agricultural activities and their courses (Agbo, 2019).

However, in recent years, the rich forest has been threatened by illegal activities, mainly small-scale mining (Galamsey), chain saw logging and illegal farming in the forest reserve. These activities threatened the land cover and the unique species in the forest. To prevent these threats and effectively protect and preserve the forest, environmental nongovernmental organisations started a "Save Atewa Forest" campaign in 2012. This resulted in the formation of a Coalition of NGOs Against Mining in the Atewa Forest (CONAMA). The campaign's primary goal was to demand an upgrade of the status of the Atewa Forest to a national park with a protected buffer zone around it.

This sole campaign was pursued until 2017 when GoG renewed efforts to mine bauxite which led to the signing of a two (2) billion dollars Master Project Support Agreement (MPSA) with the Chinese Sinohydro Corporation Limited for the construction of priority infrastructure projects (Adombila, 2019). This contract later gained approval from the parliament of Ghana (Jafaru,

2018). In Ghana, this agreement is popularly referred to as the Sinohydro deal. The Sinohydro deal intends to leverage the country's bauxite resources as a barter facility for infrastructure projects.

According to the United States Forest Service (USFS), the Atewa Forest with 150,000,000 metric tonnes of bauxite and deposits in Nyinahin and Awaso were considered for the barter facility (USFS, 2019). This arrangement resulted in opposition from environmental NGOs that were actively involved in campaigning to upgrade the forest. A new group, Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape (CCAL), was also formed to protest against mining in the forest. Therefore, the focus of the Save Atewa Forest Campaign shifted to campaigning against the mining of bauxite in the Atewa Forest by the government and an upgrade of the status of the forest to a national park with a buffer zone. This context and campaign are the focus of the study.

From a local problem to an international concern

Though the forest is located in Ghana, its significance goes beyond the shores of this country and even the continent. The international community recognises the forest for its unique species and high biodiversity. According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (2020), the Atewa Forest is one of the most significant places in West Africa for biodiversity conservation, being a rare example of 'upland evergreen' forest, with over 100 species listed in the Threatened or Near Threatened categories of the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species. The forest is also home to critically endangered species like the Afia Birago Puddle Frog and Togo Slippery Frog (*Conraua derooi)*. The Atewa Forest is also recognised as a Key Biodiversity Area (KBA), and as such, is extremely significant for the global persistence of biodiversity.

Due to the significance of the Atewa Forest to the international community, several international environmental NGOs are engaged in the campaign demanding that the government rescind its decision to allow for bauxite mining in the forest and upgrade its status to a national park. Some of these significant environmental NGOs includes; A Rocha, Friends of the Earth, Birdlife International, Rainforest Trust, Amphibian Survival Alliance, American Birdlife Conservancy, Global Wildlife Conservation, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, Synchronicity Earth, Save the Frogs, and World-Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). These international environmental NGOs mostly have their headquarters in northern countries and, with huge memberships across the globe, have engaged in the campaign through varying means and at different levels.

International organisations like the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Netherlands Committee of IUCN have also been heavily involved in the campaign. In 2017, the Netherland Embassy in Ghana invested 1.5 million euros in an environmental management project, Atewa Living Water from the Mountain, to conserve and secure the Atewa Forest as a national park and ensure sustainable management (Baafi, 2017).

The campaign is unique in the history of environmental activism in Ghana. This is highlighted in the considerable involvement of international environmental NGOs and the legal action taken by the NGOs to sue the GoG which has not happened before in the history of Ghana and, by extension, West Africa. These make the assessment of the campaign a worthy academic adventure.

Significance of the Study

The study has four (4) major significance related to its contribution to theory, method, literature, and practice. In terms of theory, the findings of the study support the four C's model developed by Adil Najam to conceptualise NGO-government relations. The study adds to the empirical evidence, which indicates that the relationship between NGOs and government can be categorised as either cooperation, confrontation, co-optation, or collaboration. The study also supports the tenets that NGOs and governments are not monolithic, and as such, the relationship on a policy or issue can change. The findings of this study indicated that the relationship between the NGOs and government shifted from cooperation to confrontation as government policy goals changed. The study also supports the multilevel governance theory as evidence indicated that the policy process involves NGOs and governments, with NGOs seeking support from international organisations and embassies.

The study contributes to the methodology in assessing NGOs influence qualitatively. Studies on NGOs influence on environmental policies in specific countries have lacked a framework for qualitative assessment of influence. By adapting Betsill and Correll's (2008) framework and applying it to the analysis of influence at the national level, this study provides a strengthened and more structured method to assess NGOs' influence. Such a framework will also allow for a comparison of NGOs influence on different policies in a country.

Considering that there is limited literature on the influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana, this study serves as a vital source of empirical literature for academics and researchers interested in the area under study and further research on NGO influence on policies. The interactions between

12

government and NGOs are largely unexplored, making this study crucial to sensitize future studies.

In terms of practice, the study is significant as it reveals the weaknesses in the NGOs strategies and highlights the need to adopt a more nuanced approach to influence government policies on the environment and other sectors of the country. The study highlights the significant roles NGOs play by offering alternative environmental policies that will aid in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to the environment (SDG 6, 13, and 15).

Good governance includes the involvement of different groups in the policy process. The study, therefore, points out the need for government and policymakers to involve NGOs in environmental policy formulation to develop comprehensive policies that effectively address Ghana's ecological problems.

Delimitations

To ensure that valid conclusions were drawn, the study was limited to certain areas. This study specifically focused on NGOs' campaign to influence government policy on the Atewa Forest. The campaign was selected over NGOs influence on policy documents because the campaign was more current, and data was readily available compared to their involvement in the formulation of policy documents.

The study is also limited to a period which is; 2012 to 2020. This period is selected because the "Save Atewa Forest" campaign, the focus of this study, started in 2012 and is still ongoing as of 2020. The study also focused on the campaigns of environmental non-governmental organisations and did not pay attention to other campaigns by civil society organisations like the Christian Council of Ghana.

13

Finally, the study focused on the activities of international environmental NGOs in their attempt to influence the government on policies relating to the Atewa Forest. However, because most of the activities are undertaken as a coalition, which involves local and international NGOs, a few local NGOs are also engaged in the study to synchronise their experience. The international NGOs do not operate in isolation from the local NGOs and share similar experiences, tactics, and concerns on the issue under study.

Definition of Terms

This section defines the major terms which are used in this study. The terms defined include non-governmental organisations, influence, and environmental policies.

Non-Governmental Organisations

NGOs are formal, legalised, non-governmental, non-political, and non-profit organisations that seek to serve, project, and protect the public interest and provide alternative policies. Therefore, environmental NGOs are non-governmental organisations that have environmental protection, preservation, and sustainability as their primary goals. International NGOs operate in two or more countries, while local NGOs are the NGOs confined in only one country. Unless otherwise specified, NGOs in this study refer to both local and international NGOs.

NGO influence

NGO influence is when NGOs alter the decisions of government or targeted organisations to adopt or change a policy through various strategies.

14

Environmental policies

Environmental policy is defined as a deliberate action by an institution(s) (such as the Government) which have implications for the protection, destruction, or sustainability of the environment. Environmental policies in this study are not limited to policy documents but directives, decisions, and actions of the government that substantially affect the environment.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the study. This comprises the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, context of the study, the significance of the study, delimitations, and the definition of terms. The second chapter focused on the key concepts and theories guiding the study. The theories discussed are the multilevel governance theory and the four C's model. The third chapter focused on the review of related literature that is relevant to the study. This chapter traced the field of environmental politics, reviewed studies on; tactics and strategies of NGOs, NGOs-government relations, and NGOs and non-state actors' involvement in the policy process in Ghana. Chapter four deals with the methodology employed to conduct the study. These include the research design, population, sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis, ethical considerations, and limitations encountered during the data collection. Chapter five presented the results and the discussion of the data gathered. The analysis is based on generated themes that are in line with the research questions. The final chapter is dedicated to the summary, conclusions of the study, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The study examined the influence of Non-Governmental Organisations on environmental policies in Ghana. This chapter is dedicated to reviewing key concepts, the theoretical framework guiding the study, and a framework to analyse NGO influence. The first section focuses on the key concepts, while the second section lays out the various theories guiding the study.

Key Concepts

This section of the chapter provides extensive definitions of the key concepts used in the study. These include non-governmental organisations, NGO influence, environmental policies, and stakeholders.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The concept, NGO, has become a frequently used phrase within the academic world, but it is still unclear what the term means. The term has been difficult to define as it has become a "catch-all word" for every organisation outside the formally established government and its institutions. This has made it difficult to pinpoint what NGOs are and what they do.

Despite the absence of consensus on a universally accepted definition of NGO, various authors have attempted to define the term. Young (2000) referred to NGOs as non-state or non-profit organizations typically composed of volunteers and concerned with different policy goals. This definition, I argue, does not capture NGOs as service providers, which makes it not comprehensive enough. The activities of NGOs are broader and beyond just offering policy alternatives. Similarly, Florini (2012) defined NGOs as entities that are

16

officially constituted and legally recognised and concerned with advancing the public's interest. After a detailed discussion of the NGO attributes, Willetts (as cited in Martens, 2002, p.5) notes that NGOs are "any non-profit, non-violent, coordinated group of citizens who do not seek governmental office". A problem with this definition is that it highlights what NGOs are but does not include what they do or the objectives they seek to achieve.

For this study, I define NGOs as formal, legalised, non-governmental, non-political, and non-profit organisations that seek to serve, project, and protect the public interest and provide alternative policies. With this definition, organisations such as Al Qaeda, though non-governmental, will not qualify as an NGO since they are not legal. Formal organisations like multi-national corporations will not also qualify as NGOs under this definition since they have profit motives. Formally organised means that the organisations have been structured with offices and recognised members. NGOs that operate in more than two countries are called international NGOs, while local NGOs are confined to one country.

NGOs have varying objectives ranging from service provision, human rights protection, health, education, environment, etc. This study focuses on NGOs that are particularly focused on protecting and preserving the environment. Environmental NGOs are non-governmental organisations that have environmental protection, preservation, and sustainability as their primary goals.

Environmental policies

The attempt to define policy and what it constitutes is a complex task. Marfo, Anchirinah, and Wiggins (2002) defined policy as what the state intends

17

to do and what it does. They argued that policy consists of objectives (Ends, Targets, Goals, Aims) and instruments (Means, Activities). Their definition points out that policies set targets and stipulates the means to achieve these goals or targets.

On the other hand, Anderson (as cited in Anyebe, 2018) defined policy as a reasonably stable and objective course of action pursued by an actor or a group of actors in dealing with an issue or a problem. That is, it would mean resource distribution trends posed by initiatives and programmes designed to meet perceived public demands. Therefore, policies are intended courses of action or documents by governments intended to solve a problem or enhance development. Whiles the definition of Marfo *et al.* (2002) was specific that policies are formulated and implemented by the state, Anderson does not limit the source of policy to the state only. As such, a policy can be from other organisations and institutions. A policy also aims to accomplish the desired aim, which is perceived to be in the interest of all the people in the society. Policies are formulated to govern different areas of life, ranging from health, transportation, sports, childcare, poverty, education, housing, and the environment.

For this study, I adopt the definition of environmental policy as opined by Potter and Taylor (1996). They defined environmental policy "as a deliberate course of action by an organization or set of organizations, designed to accomplish some end related to an environmental problem" (Potter & Taylor, 1996, p.2). This indicates that any decision, action, or initiative that intends to protect or improve the environment or has a profound impact on the environment can be regarded as an environmental policy. An environmental

18

policy is not limited to policy documents but includes actions and decisions by the government that have implications for the environment.

Concept of NGO influence

The literature on NGO influence on international organisations and international negotiations, and national governments has been increasing. However, there are concerns over what is meant by influence and when NGOs can be said to have influenced an organisation, government, or process. According to Betsill and Corell (2008), the validity of claims of NGO influence can be questioned if the researcher fails to define what is meant by influence. Failure to identify influence means there is no basis for determining whether the data obtained accurately measure influence.

Cox and Jacobson (1973, p.3) defined influence as the "modification of one actor's behaviour by that of another". By modification, an influence can occur when an NGO causes the government to change its course of action or stop a particular action. A more practical and illustrative definition was provided by Knoke (1990). Knoke explained that "NGO A is influential when it intentionally transmits information to target organisation B (a government agency, business or intergovernmental organisation) which alters B's policies" (p.24). The illustration indicates that influence can only happen if the information transmitted to the target organisation alters its intended behaviour. A problem with the definition is that it is not explicit on whether influence only occurs when the government alters its policies in favour of the information and demands of the NGOs. There could be a situation where the government may alter its policies due to NGOs information, but the altered policy may be the exact opposite of NGOs demands.

19

Similar to this concept of influence is that of Betsill and Correl (2008). They argued that "influence occurs when one actor intentionally communicates to another to alter the latter's behaviour from what would have occurred otherwise" (p.24). This definition seems to be limited to influencing a policy change. However, influence can occur when an actor causes the other to adopt a behaviour (policy) that would not have occurred.

For Rich (as cited in Ohemeng, 2015), influence is the effectiveness of experts in making their work available to decision-makers to inform their thought or the public articulation of policy-relevant data. Rich's definition limits the means of influence to only research by experts being used to influence policymakers. However, I argue that influence can be exerted through the use of varying means aside from research by experts. For Ailson (2006), influence is the ability of an actor to get things done the way one wants them. The concern with such a definition of influence is that it ignores cases of influence when an actor does not fully get what they want.

For Ohemeng (2015), having an influence means that an actor is able to persuade a different actor to pursue a proposed course of action. Therefore, policy influence is the ability of an actor to introduce ideas or proposals that impact the government's policy outcome. Influence, in this case, indicates when an NGO, through various preferred means and actions, pursues the government to either adopt, change or stop a particular course of action. According to this study, influence is when NGOs, through various strategies, alter the decisions of governments and key stakeholders to adopt, change, or abolish a particular policy.

20

Stakeholders

Scholars have put forward various definitions to explain what stakeholders are. This study, however, draws its understanding of stakeholders from the definition by Bourne (2005). According to Bourne (2005, p.12), stakeholders are organizations or individuals who have an interest or any part of the rights or ownership of a project, may contribute in the form of information, may have an influence, or can be impacted by such project. Therefore, as used in this study, environmental stakeholders refer to individuals, groups, and government agencies that are interested in the environment, are affected by the environment, and contribute to sustainability and preservation of the environment.

Environmental stakeholders include the local population, government and its institutions, industry, the general public, and non-governmental organisations (Sandhu and Arora, 2012). The Forest and Wildlife Policy (2012) identifies civil society (NGOs inclusive), relevant government ministries and agencies, traditional authorities, the private sector, and the general population as the stakeholders of forest management. The National Climate Change Policy of Ghana (2013) also identified similar groups as stakeholders and included research and academic institutions, media, developmental partners, and international organisations. In this research, stakeholders refer to groups and individuals that have an interest in the environment or are affected by the environment. The key stakeholders in relation to this study are the indigenes living around the Atewa Forest, the traditional rulers, the government and its relevant agencies (like the Forestry Commission and Water Resources Commission), environmental NGOs, and community-based organisations.

Theoretical Framework

The study is grounded on two theories: the multilevel governance theory and the four C's model. The framework first discusses the basic assumptions of the multilevel governance theory and its tenets on NGOs' involvement in policymaking. The four C's model is discussed by categorising NGO-government relations as set out in the model. Lastly, I clarify the need to use two theories to guide this study and their significance.

Multilevel Governance Theory

Gary Marks first proposed the multilevel governance theory (MLG) in 1993 to explain the political structure and policy process in the European Union that existing theories failed to address. According to Piattoni (2010), theories to understand the EU, such as intergovernmental and neo-functionalism, focused on states advancing and defending their national interests in the Union and powerful economic forces that attract states and groups to a supranational body like the EU. These theories paid little or no attention to how actors besides the state and market forces influenced and shaped the dynamics of decision-making in the EU (Marks, 1993; Piattoni, 2010).

Unlike the state-centric theories, MLG theory espouses the existence of varying political actors that interact with each other across multiple levels in the policy-making process (Saito-Jensen, 2015; Westman, Broto, & Huang, 2019). The theory best described the happenings of the EU that it became common among scholars and policymakers beyond the EU (Marks, Scharpf, Schmitter, & Streeck, 1996).

MLG highlights that the involvement of different actors has complicated decision-making processes related to the formulation, implementation, and

22

monitoring of public policies. MLG theorists posit that governments, whiles powerful, no longer have monopolising powers over the policymaking process (Hooghe & Marks, 2003; Saiko-Jensen, 2015). Instead, the policymaking process is shaped by the various actors, like interest groups and subnational governments that participate in diverse policy networks and have significant influence (Bache & Flinders, 2004; Hooghe & Marks, 2003).

There are two distinct approaches of multilevel governance depending on the relationship between the levels of government and actors within multilevel governance. The first approach indicates that there is either a vertical or hierarchical relation in the interactions of the various governance levels. The state maintains a central role in the policy-making process; however, other non-state actors possess some "varying degrees of influence and ability to influence policy-making" (Saiko-Jensen, 2015, p. 2). These non-state actors sometimes attempt to influence policy by effectively corroborating with international or supranational organisations or localising an issue to gain local support against the government.

The second approach referred to as the 'polycentric multilevel governance', postulates that there are no clear hierarchies and structures between the levels of governance and the different actors involved (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2005; Ostroom, 2010). In this approach, the state does not necessarily maintain the central role in the policy-making process. In general, MLG applies to the diffusion of authority upwards, downwards, and sideways across levels of government, and other sectors, including markets and civil society (Daniell & Kay, 2017).

According to Stephenson (2013), MLG has made it easy to grasp how governance is arranged in contemporary times. Blom-Hansen (2005) opines that the strength of MLG is its malleability and impartiality and concedes that it 'paints' an accurate picture of the policy structure. Despite these strengths, Stephenson (2013) has particularly criticised the theory for its lack of predictive and explanatory powers, asserting that it offered little explanation of causality and insight. Another limitation of the theory, according to Blom-Hansen (2005), is the failure to specify which actors, at which levels, will be causally important. With the limitations of the theory in mind, this study will not attempt to predict levels and relations among actors in the policy process but to describe the prevailing situation in the environmental policy-making process in Ghana.

Although the theory was originally developed to understand happenings in the European Union, Daniell and Kay (2017) points out that it is increasingly being used by scholars around the world in different fields including, political science, public administration, public analysis, international relations, climate change, and environmental governance.

Despite concerns about applying the MLG in an authoritarian setting, Ongaro, Gong, and Jing (2019) argue for the applicability of MLG theory in the political administration of China. Hensengerth and Lu (2019) examined if political protests and public participation has caused the emergence of MLG in environmental policies in China. Daniell and Kay (2017) applied the MLG in the Australian policy context analysing policies ranging from social, housing, and climate change planning, education, agricultural and environmental policies. In Africa, Veeneman and Mulley (2018) examined the application of MLG to public transport provision in South Africa.

Notwithstanding its attractiveness to scholars, the MLG theory has seen limited application in analysing the policy situation in Africa and, specifically, Ghana. This study, therefore, seeks to apply the MLG to analyse the levels and actors involved in and influencing the policy process in Ghana. This is done by focusing on the environmental policy process in Ghana with the policy engagements concerning Atewa Forest as the case for the study.

Four C's Model of NGO-Government Relations

The rise of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) has resulted in unavoidable and increasing interactions with governments. Adil Najam proposed what he referred to as the four C's model to conceptualise and enhance the rigorous analysis of the relations that ensue between government and NGOs. Proposed in 2000, the four C's model responded to the lack of conceptual understanding in the literature of NGO-government relations (Najam, 2000). Prior concepts and models focused on NGOs' attitude toward the state or the government's approach towards the NGO sector.

The four C's model sought to address the challenge associated with analysing the NGO-government relations from either the perspective of government or NGOs. Therefore, the four C's model moves away from the one-sided approach in analysing the relations between NGOs and government to a more comprehensive approach to explaining the relations through the "lens of strategic institutional interests of both the government and NGOs" (Najam, 2000, p.383).

The four C's model focuses on the interest of government and NGOs as they interact over a particular issue or policy and how that shapes their relationship. The model establishes that NGOs and governments pursue goals

25

or aim to achieve a certain end on a particular policy or issue. NGOs and governments also pursue strategies or means that they prefer to be employed to achieve these goals. These preferred goals and means by government and NGOs on a particular issue, according to Najam (2000), are either similar or dissimilar.

The similarity or dissimilarity in the policy goals and means pursued by the government and nongovernmental organisations results in four possible combinations or relations. Each possible combination is the kind of relation that ensues between NGOs and the government. These four combinations are explained by Najam (2000):

As these organizations float within the policy stream, they bump into each other in one of four possible combinations: (1) seeking similar ends with similar means, (2) seeking dissimilar ends with dissimilar means, (3) seeking similar ends but preferring dissimilar means, or (4) preferring similar means but for dissimilar ends (p.383).

These four combinations are represented in the diagram below:

		Goals (Ends)	
		Similar	Dissimilar
Preferred Strategies (Means)	Similar	Cooperation	Co-optation
	Dissimilar	Complementarity	Confrontation

Figure 2: A diagram depicting the Four C's Model of NGO-Government Relations

Source: Najam (2000)

These four combinations translate to cooperation, confrontational, complementary, and co-optation, which indicate the relations of government

and NGOs. Cooperation is when the government and NGOs have similar policy goals and prefer similar strategies for achieving these goals. Since both stakeholders agree on the preferred policy (ends) and the means to achieve it, they cooperate without frictions.

A confrontational relationship is when the government and NGOs oppose each other's policy goals and the means to achieve these goals. Confrontational relations (also called adversary) are prominent "where NGOs emerge precisely as forces of reaction or resistance to particular government policies" (Najam, 1996, p.243), and when governments are willing to repress and harass such opposition through the use of their coercive powers (Fisher, 1998).

A complementary relationship is when both government and NGOs pursue similar policy goals but vary on the strategies to achieve such goals. In such relations, government and NGOs work separately towards achieving the same policy goal but through different means. Co-optation relationship exists in a situation where nongovernmental organisations and government shares the same means but contradicts the end goal of policy (Najam, 2000).

A central premise of the model is that the relationship between NGOs and government is the result of the strategic interests, decisions, and actions of both government and non-governmental organisations (Najam, 2000). The simple and global nature of the four C's model implies that it can be applied in several policy situations and settings across developed and developing countries (Najam, 2000; Zimmer, 2010).

The model is especially important, as it encompasses a wide variety of relationship structures (Zimmer, 2010). The model can be applied to NGO-

government relations in different political spectrums and varying policy engagements. A limitation of this model is that it does not expound on the conditions, especially external factors, which may influence the relationship between NGOs and government over a certain issue.

The model has been widely applied in the study of NGO-government relations. Ramanath (2009) applied the model to examine the relationship of India's government and NGOs over urban housing issues. Batley and Rose (2011) have also used the model to analyse the relationship between governments and NGOs engaged in service provision in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. Zimmer (2010), in the book, *Third Sector Research,* evaluated the four C's model, referring to it as one of the two best-known heuristic models, to better understand the partnership arrangement between NGOs and government. The use of the model in these studies indicates that it is a significant model in assessing NGO-government relationships.

My study examines the relationship between environmental NGOs and the Government of Ghana (GoG). A case of which has been their interaction over Atewa Forest, and as such, the four C's model is adopted for this study. The model is adopted because it allows for scrutiny of the holistic decisions, actions, and posture of both the GoG and the international NGOs to ascertain their relations on the issue of the Atewa Forest. This model helps avoid analysing the relationship from a one-sided perspective and examines the goals and preferred strategies of both government and international NGOs on issues relating to the Atewa Forest.

Justification for using two theories

The study adopts two theories because it ensures that all variables and questions addressed in this research are theoretically grounded. The following reasons are advanced for the use of two theories and their interlinkages. First, the central tenet of the multilevel governance theory is that there are varying actors involved in the policy-making process alongside the state. However, the theory does not explain the relationship that exists between these actors in the policymaking process, which is the focus of this study. The four C's model, on the other hand, focuses on the relationship between NGOs (an actor in the policymaking process) and government and, as such more useful and fills the shortcomings of the MLG in applying it to this study. Therefore, the theories are not applied to explain the same variable but to cover the various shortcoming of the others.

Both theories also advance the broader liberal argument that the states' political space is not entirely controlled alone. The theories are formulated on the premise that non-state actors, including NGOs, have become increasingly involved and important in the policymaking process.

A Framework to Analyse NGO Influence

Concerns have been raised by scholars on how the influence of NGOs can be assessed (Mitchell, 2002; Zurn, 1998). To systematically measure the influence of NGOs, I adapt the qualitative framework to analyse NGOs' influence developed by Betsill and Correll (2008). Betsill and Correll (2008) developed five qualitative indicators that can differentiate between three levels of NGO influence: low, moderate, and high levels of influence.

29

Betsill and Correll (2008) argued that in the past, scholar's analysis of NGO influence had focused mainly on whether NGOs activity is reflected in the final document or final decision without concentrating on the process. By focusing on only the outcome, scholars may miss instances of NGO influence. The framework therefore aimed at providing a more robust framework for a reliable assessment of NGO influence. The framework established five indicators: issue framing, agenda-setting, positions of key states during negotiations, procedural issues, and substantive issues.

Issue framing focuses on how NGOs framed the environmental problem and if it had any correlation with the frames used by the negotiators. On agenda setting, Betsill and Correl (2008) entreat scholars to ponder whether there is a linkage between the activities of the NGOs and how the environmental problem attracted the attention of the international environmental community before the negotiations. NGOs' influence may also be observed on their effects on key states involved in the negotiation process. For instance, a state may change its position as a result of efforts by NGOs.

The procedural issues and substantive issues for the analysis of NGO influence focuses on the final agreement. Procedural issues include how decisions are to be taken in the future, such as the need to expand opportunities for involvement in future decisions through the development of new institutions. Substantive issues analysis focuses on whether specific demands or ideas proposed by NGOs appeared in the final agreements. Betsill and Correll (2008) state that analysts should provide specific evidence showing a correlation between NGOs' activities and observed effects.

30

Low influence is when NGOs participate in negotiations without effect on any of the indicators. When NGOs participate and are observed to have some success in influencing the negotiation process, but not the result, the effect is classified as moderate. Lastly, when NGOs' demands and activities can be linked to specific effects on the final policy or decision, NGOs are said to have exerted a high level of influence (Betsill & Correll, 2008).

The framework was used to assess the influence of NGO diplomats in international environmental negotiations, a political arena that is not precisely the same as the interactions of NGOs and governments in a specific country. Many scholars have also adopted it to assess NGOs' influence on international negotiations (Senit, 2020).

Owing to that, I have modified the framework to suit the policy process in a national context and the case under study. *Issue framing* and *procedural issues* are omitted from this adapted framework because they do not fit the current context. *Positions of key states during negotiations* is altered to positions of key stakeholders. Since this study is limited to one country, this indicator will focus on how NGOs influenced stakeholders' positions in the environmental policy process. For instance, attention will be paid to the influence of NGOs on key governmental agencies (like Forestry Commission, Environmental Protection Agency) and stakeholders outside of government.

Therefore, the adapted framework has three indicators: agenda-setting, positions of stakeholders, and substantive issues. The agenda-setting focuses on whether NGOs activities resulted in the issue at hand gaining the attention of stakeholders and the international community. In agenda-setting, the goal is to

assess if NGOs were able to attract the attention of stakeholders and the wider community to the issue at hand or their policy demands.

Positions of stakeholders concentrate on whether NGOs were able to influence key stakeholders to change positions or support their policy goals. This indicator assesses whether the advocacy of the NGOs successfully resulted in key stakeholders shifting their policy goals. It should be observed that some stakeholders support the campaign and policy goals of the NGOs.

The last indicator, substantive issues, focuses on whether the demands and objectives of the NGOs are reflected in the decisions and policies advanced by the government. For NGOs to have influenced the substantive issue, their policy goals must have been adopted or accepted by the government, either in whole or in part. If government formulates or changes a policy due to the demands of NGOs, they can be said to have influenced the substantive issue.

In a situation where NGOs are found to influence only the agenda-setting, the influence will be categorised as low. Moderate level influence is when NGOs have an influence on agenda setting and are able to influence the positions of key stakeholders. High-level influence is when NGOs successfully influence the policy process to achieve their policy objectives.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the key concepts of the study and theories propounded on the policymaking process and NGOs-government relations. The multilevel governance theory and the four C's model were discussed in detail. The multilevel governance theory posits that there are different actors and levels in the policy-making process. The four C's model indicates that NGO-

32

government relations can be categorised into four types. The next chapter reviews previous empirical studies that are related to the study.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews some related and relevant studies on nongovernmental organisations and policy influence. First, I trace the field of environmental politics of which this study is situated by reviewing the major studies on NGOs involvement in environmental politics. The review is further categorised under various themes: tactics and strategies adopted by NGOs, NGOs-Government relations, and non-state actors' involvement in the policy process in Ghana.

Tracing the Field: Selected Studies on Environmental Politics

This thesis addresses problems that cut across the interdisciplinary field of International Studies and Political Science in general. However, the questions and problems that the study seeks to address are directly related to the subfield of environmental politics, also referred to as global environmental politics or international environmental politics.

According to Dauvergne (2005), environmental politics is situated in the discipline of political science, however, its researches are varied and cut across "disciplines like geography, environmental studies, economics, law, sociology, history, philosophy, development studies, biology, and human ecology" (pg. 8). Although Dauvergne (2005) acknowledged that the strength of environmental politics is its interdisciplinary range of research, he pointed out that a researcher cannot keep track of the growing research in this field.

As such, scholars who have attempted to review studies in the field have limited their scope depending on their interests. Zurn (1998) undertook one of the earliest stock of the field. Zurn classified the research in the field into five

different themes and argued that researches on regime effectiveness and transnational networks had the most potential to shape research in the field in the future. On transnational networks, he focused on studies relating to the role of epistemic communities and international nongovernmental organisations in international environmental politics. Mitchell also presented a brief history of the field, and just like Zurn, raised methodological concerns with the field (Mitchell, 2002).

Dauvergne (2005) traced the history of research in global environmental politics, grouping the literature into three themes. These themes are states, institutions, governance and security; the global political economy; and civil societies, knowledge, and ethics. This review extended the boundaries of previous studies by including studies on international political economy and knowledge and ethics.

Similarly, Stevis (2010) limited his review to environmental politics research, specifically by international relations scholars, indicating that it is not feasible to review environmental politics studies in the other social sciences and management. The significance of this review is that it stretches beyond the 1960s and starts from studies conducted in the middle of the 1940s, and divides the development of the field into four periods. This review did a good job of including research from the global south, particularly in Latin America and India.

Following these previous detailed reviews on the field, I briefly review some key studies and events that have shaped the field with a special focus on the involvement of transnational actors or NGOs in environmental politics. I

35

also focus on major studies on Africa in environmental politics, which have not been of interest to the previous reviewers.

Environmental politics has its roots in the late 1960s and early 1970s, coinciding with increased emphasis on environmental change. This culminated in the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment in 1972 organised by the United Nations. Dauvergne (2005) revealed that the most influential works on the environment during this period were outside the discipline of international relations. Some of these studies include; *The Tragedy of the Commons (1968)* by Garrett Hardin, *Silent Spring (1962)* by Rachel Carson, and *Limits to Growth (1972)* by Donella Meadows, Dennis Meadows, Jorgen Randers, and William Behrens.

However, after the 1992 UN Conference on the Environment and Development (Rio Conference), research on global environmental politics became more pronounced. This period saw the commencement of academic journals (including; Environmental Politics, The Journal of Environment and Development) dedicated to environmental studies. These studies either focused on international regimes (e.g. Young, 1989), epistemic communities (e.g. Haas, 1992), national governments (e.g. Benedick, 1991) and intergovernmental organisations (e.g. Boardman 1981), and non-state actors, transnational actors, or NGOs (e.g. Princen & Finger, 1994; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). The growth in global environmental politics research also resulted in the growth in research specifically on the involvement of transnational actors or NGOs in environmental politics.

One such study is the book *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: Linking Local and the Global* by Princen and Finger (1994). The study, which

36

has become an invaluable reference for researchers in this field, first started with a discussion on the theoretical perspectives of NGOs and why existing social movement theories were not sufficient to theorise NGOs' role. Using four case studies (NGOs and the Great Lakes Quality Agreement, the ivory trade, the Antarctic Environmental Protocol, and United Nations Conference on Environment and Development), the study espoused that the critical role of NGOs is to link the knowledge base to world politics and serve as a link between the local and global.

While the authors acknowledged that environmental NGOs transform politics, they argued that NGOs are not a replacement for states and not the "saviours" of the environment as argued by other authors. This research presented a significant shift from the previous studies mostly focused on national governments in environmental politics. However, the case studies were mostly presented as 'narrative and interpretive history' of the role played by NGOs and did not present a rigorous analysis of their influence.

In 1996, David Potter edited the volume *NGOs and Environmental Policies: Africa and Asia.* The study is significant as it takes up the often-neglected southern NGO perspectives, strategies, and influence. The study's findings questioned the conventional assumption that democracy provides a more favourable political context that enhances NGOs influence on policies. Potter concluded from his case study that the extent of democracy in a local political setting was not the determining factor for NGO influence. A concern with the study is that despite being a comparative study, it examined NGO advocacy in Asia by their influence on the different policy processes: agenda setting, policy choices, and policy implementation. In examining the advocacy

work of NGOs in Africa, the study focused on forms of policy influence (collaboration, confrontation, complementary activities, and consciousness-raising). This made it impossible to compare the influence of NGOs on the case studies across the two continents.

In 1998, Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink published their seminal work on transnational advocacy networks (*Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*) which dedicated a chapter to transnational environmental networks. The chapter does an excellent and detailed work of tracing the institutional contexts and environmental concerns that resulted in the rise of environmental advocacy networks. Case studies of NGOs rainforest campaigns in Brazil and Malaysia revealed that campaigns are hinged on knowing the essential causes, using varying strategies, including blame to influence the actors involved (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). The North-South dimension in network campaigns is apparent not only through power and access to resources but also differences over meanings.

The studies discussed above and other major studies on NGOs in environmental politics in the 1990s (e.g. Wapner, 1995; Willets, 1996) generally used case studies descriptions as the methods. This resulted in several scholars calling for more rigour in the methodology for the studies in this field (Mitchell, 2002; Zurn, 1998).

In 1999, Corell published the article, *Non-State Actor Influence in the Negotiations of the Convention to Combat Desertification* that addressed some of these methodological challenges, especially on NGOs influence (Corell, 1999). The article particularly espoused what is meant by influence and provided six indicators to measure the level of influence of NGOs and scientific

advisers on the negotiations of the conventions. The use of indicators to measure influence allowed for comparison of the influence of these two non-state actors, and findings revealed that NGOs were more influential than the official scientific advisors. This finding was significant as it challenged the conventional wisdom that scientific advisers wield more influence than NGOs in international negotiations.

The effort to enhance the methodological rigour for the study of NGO influence continued and became a major focus at the turn of the 21st century. Betsill and Corell specifically aimed to address the weaknesses in the methodology by developing a framework for analysing NGOs' influence in the negotiation of international environmental agreements (Betsill & Corell, 2001). The authors emphasised the need for scholars to define the type of NGO influence, link NGO participation with influence, and use multiple data and sources to ensure a reliable and precise qualitative assessment of NGO influence.

The lack of a clear definition and a framework for analysis meant that scholars could use instances like NGOs' access to negotiation, resources, and campaigns as evidence of influence. Betsill and Corell argued these instances could translate to influence but do not directly indicate if they altered the behaviours of the authors involved. Using the framework, researchers could establish whether NGOs influence was low or high and can be compared across cases. Beyond analysing NGOs influence, the study also advanced the need for scholars to examine the conditions that affect NGOs influence in international negotiations.

In Africa, Alan Thomas, Susan Carr, and David Humphreys wrote *Environmental Policies and NGO Influence: Land Degradation and Sustainable Resource Management in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2001). Using case studies from three African countries (Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Botswana), the study sought to answer the question of why NGOs are effective in influencing certain environmental policies and not others. Giving credence to the generally increased effort to improve on the methodology of the field, this study also established a framework for analysing the factors that affect NGOs influence on policies. The framework, however, stopped short of encouraging comparison between the discussed cases and could not aid researchers to establish the level of influence of NGOs in the cases discussed.

The involvement of transnational actors or NGOs in environmental politics has been captured as a chapter in many edited volumes in the 21st century (e.g. Betsill, Hochstetler, Stevis, 2006; Dauvergne, 2005). Betsill (2006), in her conclusion, indicated the need for researchers to shift the focus to analysing only cases that NGOs had a positive influence. She indicated that there is a need for researchers to analyse cases where NGOs failed to have influence. This, she argued, would be essential to analyse the conditions that affect the ability of transnational actors' impact world politics. My study responds to this call as it analyses an NGO campaign that has failed to influence the substantive issue at play.

In 2008, Betsill and Corell published their book *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations* to understand the impact of NGOs on intergovernmental negotiations on the environment and the means used by NGOs to achieve such

impact. The study improved the framework for analysing NGO influence which the authors developed in 2001 (Betsill & Corell, 2001). The framework was then applied to five (5) cases to examine NGOs influence on international negotiations.

Kate O'Neill briefly discussed the roles and influence of NGOs, activist groups, and the global environmental movement in environmental politics in the book, *The Environment and International Relations (2009).* Recent chapters on transnational actors in environmental politics have also focused extensively on tracing the development of these actors (NGOs), their roles, strategies to influence governments and intergovernmental organisations, and their impact on environmental politics (e.g. Ahmed & Potter, 2006; Chasek, Downie, & Brown, 2017). The major issues that stand out from these studies are that; NGOs possess expert knowledge on environmental issues and are transnational with substantial membership that commands attention from policymakers.

The review of the field has indicated that scholars of environmental politics have paid considerable attention to the role and influence of transnational actors. While this review cannot be said to be an extensive review of the field (as I paid less attention to research articles and focused mostly on major books), it has highlighted the major studies and themes on transnational actors in environmental politics.

Most of the earlier studies merely described and narrated the perceived influence of transnational actors without rigorous methodology to examine the extent of these influences. Scholars became more particular on the methods and proposed a rigorous and systematic analysis of NGOs influence. As such, there have been improvements in the methodology of examining the influence of

NGOs on international negotiations. However, the same cannot be said of studies that have examined the influence of NGOs using case studies in a particular country. I make a humble contribution to the field in this regard by proposing an adapted framework to examine the influence of NGO campaigns to protect the environment in a national setting.

Tactics and Strategies Adopted by NGOs

Although NGOs are not officially in charge of policy formulation, they attempt to influence the policy process in different countries. To achieve that, NGOs adopt varying tactics and strategies in their bid to influence policymakers. These tactics may differ according to the policy area and the size of the institution.

Gais and Walker (1991) categorised the tactics of NGOs into two, insider tactics and outsider tactics, depending on whether the tactics would be used by the groups that are insiders to the political process or groups outside the dominant political subsystem. Insider tactics include providing direct comments on negotiating documents, sharing scientific information, and lobbying political leaders and policymakers (Betsill & Correl, 2008). Through these tactics, NGOs or their representatives communicate information to policymakers to influence policy choices. According to Mohd and Lee (1999), common insider strategies include personal opinion presentation, conducting and reporting research findings, and legislative and administrative lobbying.

On the other hand, the outsider tactic or strategy is an indirect approach, which relies on media campaigns, citizen mobilization, and protests to pressure policymakers (Weiler & Brändli, 2015). The purpose is to garner and build massive support within the public for a new set of values (Gais & Walker,

1991). Letter-writing campaigns, involving the media, and organizing meetings and conferences are some of the popular outside tactics.

Ohemeng (2015) posited that research is one of the common insider strategies adopted by NGOs to influence policies. NGOs conduct an in-depth analysis of certain issues and present their findings in easy-to-read, condensed form for policy-makers to absorb (McGann & Johnson, 2005). Research highlights the situation at hand and aims to influence the targeted agencies, institutions, and individuals. Hess (2009) found that a sample of researches from large, mainstream, U.S. environmental organizations reveals that most of their research reports are oriented toward documenting environmental problems and providing policy solutions. This indicates that NGOs document evidence concerning a particular issue that they intend to influence.

Electronic and print media and, recently, social media are vital tools in NGOs advocacy campaigns. Richards and Heard (2005) found that the most effective approaches by European marine NGOs to influence policies involved the media. Environmental NGOs were also found to organise protests and demonstrations to gain media attention which aided in influencing negotiations (Betsill & Correl, 2008). Similarly, Abelson (1992) and Rich and Weaver (2002) opined that civil society organisations use the media to attain and sustain visibility, sensitize the public, and achieve their objectives of influencing policymakers. Tied to the media and also aimed at increasing pressure on targeted organisations is public campaigning.

Leipold (2000) argued that in recent years, campaigns as a strategy by NGOs have gained rising visibility. According to Chapman and Fisher (2000), campaigns can raise awareness, galvanise millions of people, and bring together

43

several groups worldwide to pursue a particular goal. The triumph of the modern campaign has encouraged organizations that used to restrict themselves to project work, developing a campaigning arm as well (Leipold, 2000). It is important to note that Southern NGOs, like their counterparts in the North, are increasingly relying on campaigning and advocacy work for societal change. For a campaign to be effective, Chapman and Fisher (2000) suggest that work must be conducted at many different levels and in different areas targeted at different groups. NGOs usually form coalitions and networks to enhance the effectiveness of their campaign.

Yanacopolous (2005) examined NGOs as strategic organizations that form networks and coalitions to influence significant actors such as international financial institutions (IFIs). He stated that having strategic partners within the target institution or other organizations that control the target institution is important when trying to influence policies. The existence of such an ally in the corridors of power increases the insider strengths of the organisation and gives them a good chance to influence policy (Yanacopolous, 2005).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) established the importance of the coalition (transnational advocacy network) in influencing policies. Transnational advocacy networks through coalitions of organisations from different countries aid in internationalising an issue or campaign. By internationalising an issue, brings international attention to southern issues and increases pressure on the targeted institutions (Betsill & Correll, 2008). A coalition, therefore, has the advantage of enhancing the capacity of the NGOs involved and moving an issue

beyond a country which results in powerful actors in the global arena pressuring the local government.

Bennett (2005), on the other hand, indicates that coalition can be ineffective and disruptive if not properly managed. There are concerns that in coalitions involving Northern and Southern NGOs, Southern NGOs are marginalised in the decision-making (Potter, 1996). The Northern NGOs are perceived to dominate the coalition and dictate to the Southern NGOs the cause of action. Lewis and Kanji (2009) warn that southern NGOs are likely to lose their autonomy when engaging in international coalitions. Similarly, Pallas and Urpelainen (2013) reveal that southern NGOs do not have reasonable control over campaigns when coalition with Northern NGOs. On the critique of a coalition, Leipold (2000) admitted that though coalitions improve credibility, they are slow and end up creating positions that represent the need for internal consensus rather than external significance.

Capturing political leaders and social elites is one of the tactics that NGOs use to control and alter policies (Schlesinger, 2009). This is a highly effective insider strategy that NGOs use in dealing with the government. Political leaders and social elites have enormous power over the policy process and can hinder the efforts of other actors to engage in policy (Ferretti, Pluchinotta & Tsoukiàs, 2019). It is, therefore, significant that NGOs capture these individuals and institutions to aid them in their effort. According to Abelson (2010), the relationship and contacts between organisations that seek to influence policy and policymakers can explain why some organisations successfully engage policy at the various stages than others.

45

Ohemeng (2015) revealed that civil society organisations (CSOs) could capture individuals through their research or relationships and networks. He argued that groups attempt to influence policy by involving various decision-makers who either serve as active or ceremonial leaders, contribute to the writing of the organisation's periodicals, or engage in workshops and conferences (Ohemeng, 2015). Similarly, Oulath (2015) found that personal relationships are crucial for effective policy influence in Laos. NGOs in Laos, therefore, attempt to establish a relationship with and influence policymakers by investing in capacity development, including training and study visits for officials involved in policy-making. These capacity trainings are intended to establish a relationship with the participants and influence policymakers (Oulath, 2015).

NGOs combine insider and outsider strategies to influence policies. They adopt varying strategies based on issues being contested as well as the severity of the issues. NGOs, therefore, do not have an exclusive stand of using only insider strategies or outsider strategies but choose, depending on the dynamics, of the policy or issue they attempt to influence. NGOs can adopt varying tactics concurrently in their bid to influence policy.

NGOs-Government Relations

NGOs-Government relation is complex and takes different forms. Many scholars have developed typologies to categorise the relationship between NGOs and governments (Clark, 1991; Coston, 1998; Najam, 2000; Young, 2000). These typologies are developed based on different issues like the attitude of the government towards NGOs, the availability of public space for NGOs, the strategies adopted by NGOs, and others.

One group focuses on the government's attitude towards the existence and role of NGOs. Coston (1998) differentiated the relationships based on government acceptance of institutional pluralism. To her, the relationship can take the form of repression, rivalry, and competition when government resents institutional pluralism. On the other hand, if the government is receptive to institutional pluralism, the relationship that develops is more of cooperation, complementarity, and collaboration. In an earlier study, Gidron, Kramer, and Salamon (1992) also differentiated the relationships between NGOs and government depending on if the government or the third sector controls NGOs, with dual or collaborative relations falling between the two extremes.

Ahmed and Potter (2006) argued that the functioning and practice of NGOs are severely influenced by the legal and political atmospheres of the states that an NGO is located. Laws and policies determine the framework in which NGOs work and lay down guidelines for interaction with the government (Mayhew, 2005; Teamey & Mcloughlin, 2009). The laws, policies, and governmental attitudes may limit or allow the activities of the non-state sector and grant or withdraw their legitimacy (Mayhew, 2005). The laws governing NGOs in a particular country may make the relationship rift or cordial, promote cooperation or necessitate hostile relationships. In countries where laws restrict the operations of NGOs, a hostile relationship develops between them and the state.

There are occasionally strained NGO-State relations across the globe, where a government is afraid of being replaced by NGOs and exposed for its lack of transparency and clarification to donors (Ahmed & Potter, 2006; Mayhew, 2005; Mcloughlin, 2011). Several countries have passed legislation

requiring NGOs to register with the state and banning NGOs from participating in certain types of activism (Heiss & Kelley, 2017).

Another dimension to categorise the NGOs-government relations is based on the objectives and strategies adopted by the NGOs and the nature of NGOs. Young (2000) conceptualised NGO-state relations depending on the objectives and actions of the NGOs and classified them as either to supplement (supplementary), complement (complementary) or oppose (adversarial) the state. In supplementary relations, NGOs can operate independently as a supplement to governments. This usually applies to NGOs that provide service to citizens. In this case, NGOs are not influenced by governments. In complementary relations, NGOs are good partners to governments. The concept of adversarial relations is that NGOs monitor policymakers and often question their responsibility to the public.

Some NGOs are professed as confrontational against the state, and that mars the relationship. Human rights and environmental NGOs are particularly critical of governments and have come to signify the intense nonaggressive clash between citizens, organisations, and states (Betsill & Corell, 2008). Also, NGOs that assume political posture may be seen as a threat to the government and may strain the cooperation between the two. NGOs that are formed to oppose a government policy specifically are likely to have a confrontational or oppositional relationship with the government.

Another category argues that the relationship between government and NGOs is a result of the tactics and goals pursued by both government and NGOs. Najam (2000, p.376) rejects the simplistic categorisation of NGOs-government relations based on "isolated factors such as the nature of

government (democratic or authoritarian), the state of development, and economic ideology". To him, the relationship depends on the interest of the government and the NGOs. Where the interest aligns, the relationship is cordial, whiles it is an adversary when the interests differ.

Moving from just the conceptualisation of the relationship, Mcloughlin (2011) attempted to explore the underlying factors that affect the formation of the relationship. By examining the literature of case studies on NGO-state relations, Mcloughlin (2011) identified three dominant and recurring factors. These factors are; the historical context of the organisation and the state it operates, the nature of the NGO, and the nature of the informal and formal relationship.

According to Batley and Mcloughlin (2010), the historical context is significant because the policies and objectives of NGOs have been shaped by their history and the histories of the society they emerged from and operate in. On the nature of the organisation, Kamat (2004) argued that government would be more inclined to endorse community-based organizations that are known for their professional experience in working with local communities than advocacy groups in which they are likely to compete within formulating public policy.

One country with strong NGO influence and dynamic NGO-state relations is Bangladesh. Haque (2002) pointed out that factors such as intense competition between the two dominant political parties, overpopulation, rural poverty, and landlessness in Bangladesh have increased the role of NGOs in such regards and have deepened the power struggle between the NGOs and the state. Haque asserted that due to internal and external forces, the authority and

49

impact of NGOs have considerably increased compared to the government, a development he deems as risky.

In sharp contrast to the development in Bangladesh is the NGO-government relations in Afghanistan, where the government exercise dominant control over the operations of the NGOs (Jelinek, 2006). NGOs are compelled to develop their programmes and projects according to the Afghan Government's national development policies (Jelinek, 2006; Olson, 2006). The huge variation in the state-NGOs relations between the two states can be attributed to the different political atmospheres and systems of government practised in these countries.

According to Ahmed and Potter (2006), cooperation is the ideal approach of states and NGOs. An instance of NGO-states collaboration can be found in the Philippines, where NGOs are given legal status, and state institutions must cooperate. However, Baruah (2007) argued that the opposition and strains between NGOs and states are inherent and may even be 'inevitable' due to the different structures, working styles, and motivations.

This view aligns with Najam (2000), who described the strains between states and NGOs as "unavoidable". Strains between NGOs and the states can be extreme and violent, as in the case of the infamous 1985 bombing of Greenpeace's ship (Rainbow Warrior) by agents of France's security service (Ahmed & Potter, 2006). Clark (1991) opines that NGOs and states must first be willing to pursue such a relationship to foster a strong collaborative relationship between states and NGOs.

In Ghana, Gary (1996) attempted to investigate the relationship between NGOs and government during the period of 'structural adjustment and

neoliberal hegemony in Africa'. Gary argued that NGOs' increasing prominence and resources meant there was bound to be confrontations between NGOs and the state. However, through its coercive powers, the African state was able to co-opt with NGOs and control the growing sector at times. Gary concludes that the state has a natural advantage to define the relations to co-opt or coerce the NGOs.

Opoku-Mensah (as cited in Najam, 2000) argued that contrary to the rhetoric of the conflict in relations between the (citizen) sector and the state, these two groups in Ghana have generally been collaborative. Opoku-Mensah extended his discussion to Africa as a whole and claims that collaboration between citizens' organizations and governments is now on the rise across the entire continent.

Development of Environmental Policies in Ghana: A Snapshot

The development of environmental policies in Ghana can be traced to the British colonial administration in the 1900s. Since that period, Ghana's environmental policies have been reminiscent of European models of environmental policy. Attuquayefio and Fobil (2005) indicated in their study that the first attempt to develop a formal forestry policy in Ghana (then Gold Coast) was in 1906, when legislation was enacted to regulate the felling of commercial tropical tree species. This was followed by the establishment of a Forestry Department in 1909. The colonial government was giving the authority to establish forest reserves as means of protecting the forest resources through the Forest Ordinance Bill.

In 1949, the colonial government adopted a Forest Policy to fulfil the need for guidance and control of forestry activities in the country (Attuquayefio

& Fobil, 2005). The means to achieve this included creating and managing permanent forest estates, research into all branches of scientific forestry, and maximum utilization of areas not dedicated to permanent forestry.

Biodiversity conservation in Ghana was boosted when in 1988, the government of Ghana initiated a major effort to bring environmental issues to the forefront of national development efforts. A National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) was formulated to provide the foundation for national environmental policies. Despite these bills and policies by the colonial government, the forest resources in Ghana continued to get depleted. Reasons advanced for the loss of forest resources, including agricultural activities and lumbering. As such, in 1997, a Timber Resource Act (Act 547) was enacted to provide for the grant of timber rights in a manner that secured the sustainable management and utilization of the country's timber resources (Attuquayefio and Fobil, 2005).

The Forest and Wildlife Policy was formulated in 1994 as a holistic framework to manage forest and wildlife resources in the country. In the same year, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was established to replace the EPC. This was to ensure efficient policy formulation, planning, monitoring, problem-solving, and implementation in the sustainable utilisation of national biological resources and the protection of the environment.

This also resulted in the establishment of the Forestry Commission in 1999, through the Forestry Commission Act (Act 571). The Forestry Commission was tasked with regulating the utilization of forest and timber resources, managing the nation's forest reserves and protected areas, and

assisting the private sector and other bodies with implementing forestry and wildlife policies.

Despite the Forest and Wildlife Policy, the establishment of FC and EPA in the 1990s, issues of environmental degradation persisted. Illegal chainsaw operations and illegal mining particularly thrived in forest areas. These factors, coupled with contemporary issues like climate change, triggered the need to make changes to the existing policies to address such contemporary issues. As such, in 2012, the new Forestry and Wildlife Policy was formulated to explore new measures to halt and reverse the pace of deforestation and forest degradation in Ghana. The policy seeks to; consolidate good governance and accountability, enhance active participation of communities in forest resource management and increase biodiversity conservation (GFWP, 2012).

Previous policies had encouraged the establishment of forest reserves as means of protecting forests rich in biodiversity. However, these reserves still faced the threat of depletion from wildfires and, most especially, from mining. The Environmental Guidelines for Mining in Production Forest Reserves in Ghana (2001) was formulated to protect forest reserves with mineral deposits from the threats of depletion due to mining. The guidelines were specifically produced to "ensure that the negative environmental impacts of mining specifically in Production Forest Reserves are fully addressed, and all significant issues are fully taken into account in the decision making process for each potential mining project" (EGMPFRG, 2001,p.2).

The Guidelines have been a key document for the environmental NGOs that are seeking to influence government policy on the Atewa Range Forest Reserve. Though the Atewa Forest has been designated as a forest reserve since

1926, the environmental NGOs argue that it is not a production forest and should not be opened for mining minerals.

Studies on Non-State Actors Involvement in the Policy Process in Ghana

Policy-making in Ghana has been referred to as a top-down approach (Torpey, 2012). That is, political leaders and government institutions are largely in charge of policy formulation. However, several studies have attempted to investigate the involvement of non-state actors and their impact on the policy-making process in Ghana.

Kpessa (2011) highlighted the gradual shift in the policy-making process in Ghana from elite and bureaucratic centred to an approach that is participatory and involves the citizens. Relying on secondary data and 'elite interviews' and the old-age pension scheme as the case study, Kpessa comparatively analysed the policy-making process from 1957-1987 and that of the 1990s to 2010s. The study concluded that though there are structural challenges, the policy-making process in Ghana between the 1990s and 2010 is more participatory than the previous approach, which authoritarian governments hugely dominated.

While the study is noteworthy in highlighting the increasing participation of citizens and civil society in the policy-making process, it did not critically assess the extent of their contributions to these policies. As Kim (2011) highlighted, it is important to not confuse participation with influence as the government may involve stakeholders for its sake and appeal to donors but still control the major decisions in the policy-making process. Also, the author indicated that he used 'elite interview' to collect data but stopped short of

54

explaining what he meant by elite interview, the participants involved, and the criteria for the selection of the participants.

Similar to Kpessa (2011), Abdulai and Quantson (2009) attested to the shift in civil society participation in the policy-making process in Ghana in the last two decades. Through qualitative and quantitative methods, the researchers examined the participation and impact of CSOs on the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers II (GPRS II). Ninety (90) per cent of the respondents claimed that there had been improvements in CSO participation over the past few years. However, the role of civil society was found to be superficial, restricted to exchanging knowledge and consultation instead of collective decision-making, initiation and regulation. The study is important as it attempts to examine the impacts of the CSOs beyond their participation and compares their impact with their international counterparts.

Ohemeng (2015) was concerned with the impact of policy think tanks on policy outcomes in Ghana and the conditions under which think tanks are more effective. Unlike previous studies on civil society and policy outcome in Ghana, Ohemeng conceptualised policy outcome and when civil society can be said to have influenced policy. However, a clear framework for analysing influence was not established. CSOs like Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) played a significant role in the Presidential (Transition) Bill (2012). A research conducted by the IEA on the chaos surrounding political power transfer in Ghana highlighted the lack of an established protocol for political transition as one of the main contributing factors. Through dialogues and workshops, IEA appealed to the political elites to establish such a protocol. This resulted in the enactment of the Presidential (Transition) Bill in March 2012.

55

A qualitative study by Foli (2016) moved beyond the local organisations to assess the influence of transnational actors (TNA) on the adoption of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) in Ghana. In contrast to the coercion viewpoint, which emphasizes that TNAs control policymaking by 'conditionalities' tied to material rewards, the author found that TNAs had to use multiple strategies to influence policies in developing countries like the case of LEAP in Ghana. The author used Orenstein's (2008) framework of transnational actor influence (TAI) for analysis. A point of concern is the lack of definition of TNAs and which organisations constituted TNAs. The author included development partners and intergovernmental organisations like DFID and the World Bank's influence on the programme.

Specifically, on environmental policies, Adom (2017) pointed out that non-governmental organisations and governmental agencies responsible for the conservation of biodiversity have spearheaded the formulation of policies to manage and sustain wildlife and forest resources in Ghana. This opposes the findings of Torpey (2012) that the political leaders encourage top-down, bureaucratic, and exclusionary decision-making and problem-solving approach to addressing the environmental challenges in Ghana. Torpey indicated that a larger segment of the general population has little or no opportunity for any significant involvement or participation in decision-making related to the environment. With these different findings, it is important to assess the influence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on environmental policies to ascertain their level of influence.

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on reviewing empirical studies that are related to the study. The review reveals that NGOs employ numerous tactics that can be categorised as either insider strategies (direct) or outsider strategies (indirect). On NGO-government relations, the literature revealed that different scholars had forwarded several typologies to conceptualise the relations. Some scholars focused on the political space offered to NGOs by the government, and another group of scholars concentrated on the strategies adopted by the NGOs. This study aligns with the third group that advances typologies based on both government and NGOs' strategies, actions, and policy goals.

Researchers have also found that the policy process in Ghana is shifting from the top-down and elitist approach to a more participative approach that has offered CSOs and NGOs political space to engage with policymakers. Some researchers have argued that CSOs and NGOs in Ghana have been able to influence the change, abolition, and formulation of certain policies in Ghana. The next chapter is the research methods employed to conduct the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This chapter discussed the methods and procedures adopted in investigating the influence of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on environmental policies in Ghana. The major areas discussed under this chapter include; research approach, research design, sampling procedure, data collection instrument, data collection procedure, data processing, analysis, and ethical considerations.

Research Approach

There are two major research approaches, and these are quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Aliaga and Gunderson (as cited in Muijs, 2010) described quantitative research as "explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods". Similarly, Creswell (2009) defined quantitative research as a means of measuring objective theories by looking at the relationship between variables. In turn, these variables can be measured, usually on instruments, so that numerated data can be examined using statistical procedures. The major theme that runs through these definitions is that quantitative research requires enumerated data and the use of a statistical method for analysis.

On the other hand, qualitative research tends to assess the quality of things using words, images, and descriptions (Lune & Berg, 2017). Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.3) defined qualitative research as involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach whereby researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings

58

people bring to them". In effect, qualitative research includes paying more attention to the interpretive essence of the research and placing the analysis within the political, social, and cultural settings of the researcher and the participants (Cresswell, 2009).

The study adopted the qualitative research approach. In this study, I aimed to extract insights and experiences of participants on the extent and ways in which NGOs relate with government and attempt to influence environmental policies. The research also sought to explore the tactics employed by NGOs, and the qualitative design is the appropriate method for exploring such a phenomenon. Other research questions of the study sought in-depth information on NGOs influence on environmental policies. This phenomenon needs to be placed in a political and social context and best examined through collecting and analysing in-depth and complex data. Qualitative inquiry, therefore, is the more appropriate methodological approach to employ for the extraction of such comprehensive information from participants. The qualitative approach enabled me to give a detailed and rich description of the phenomenon under study, which might not be possible with the use of enumerated data (quantitative approach).

Research Design

There are different qualitative research designs (Cresswell, 2009); however, the descriptive case study research design is preferred for this study. Berg (2007) describes a case study as a method that systematically gathers enough data about a given individual, social environment, event, or community to enable the researcher to accurately understand how the participant performs or behaves and how they behave that way. Hagan (2006, p. 240) simply defines the case study method as "in-depth, qualitative studies of one or a few

59

illustrative cases". Creswell (2009, p.32) provides a detailed description of a case study as an approach in which the "investigator explores a case or multiple cases over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case-based themes".

Specifically, Yin (2009) posits that a descriptive case study is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred. This study intends to describe the influence and interactions of government and NGOs as it plays out in a real-life context. Focusing on a single case (the Save Atewa Forest Campaign) ensured thorough scrutiny and comprehensive analysis of the policy processes and the activities of NGOs in their bid to influence policy. The descriptive case study allowed for multiple sources of data collection like newspaper articles, letters, reports, and interviews. In selecting a case for the study, it aided the researcher in conducting a detailed investigation that would not have been possible if the researcher had set out to investigate the entire environmental policy process with many cases.

Population

The study population comprised both international and local NGOs involved in the Save Atewa Forest Campaign, government agencies mandated to manage the forest, and the Chiefs of the communities within the Atewa enclave. The NGOs involved in the Save Atewa Forest Campaign are organised under the Coalition of NGOs Against Mining Atewa (CONAMA). CONAMA consists of over 100 local and international environmental NGOs. These NGOs have been interacting with the government as a group with the same policy objectives. As such, selecting only a few NGOs (especially the leading and vibrant organisations) reflects the target population's characteristics. I

60

specifically targeted the international NGOs that are involved in the campaign since they are the focus of the study.

The study also targeted the Forestry Commission (FC), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and Ghana Integrated Aluminium Development Corporation (GIADEC). EPA and FC were targeted because they are the government agencies directly mandated to preserve the environment and manage the country's forest resources. GIADEC was targeted because it was set up to promote and develop a new aluminium industry in Ghana. GIADEC is, therefore, in charge of developing and exploiting the bauxite deposits in the Atewa Forest. These three organisations represent and pursue the policy interests of the government. The study also targeted the Chiefs of communities in the Atewa Forest enclave.

Sampling Procedure

The study adopted the purposive sampling technique to sample the participants. The purposive sampling technique is a form of non-probability sampling that is useful when one wants to research a social issue with well-informed experts (Tongco, 2007). The researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can provide the information due to their rich knowledge or experience in a particular field (Bernard, 2006; Tongco, 2007). Purposive sampling is preferred for the study because the study required government agencies mandated to protect the environment and those involved in NGOs who attempt to influence environmental policies. Participant organisations were chosen purposively because they have the needed rich knowledge and expertise on the subject under study.

In total, eight (8) participants were sampled for the study. This includes NGOs, government agency and traditional leaders. Letters were sent to eight NGOs of which six responded positively and were interviewed. Letters were also sent to four government agencies, but only the Forest Commission responded positively. For the traditional leaders, only one was purposively sampled.

Selected ENGOs were A Rocha Ghana, Friends of the Earth Ghana, Save the Frogs Ghana, Tropenbos Ghana, Forest Watch, and Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape (CCAL). A Rocha was selected because it has led and coordinated the Save Atewa Forest campaign activities since 2012. As the leading organisation, it was important to seek data from them as they have been deeply involved in the campaign.

Friends of the Earth was the first established environmental NGO in Ghana and one of the largest grassroots organisations in Ghana and the world at large. The organisation has also been involved in the Save Atewa Forest Campaign since 2012. Save the Frogs Ghana is one of the coalition's founding members and has been an active member since. Tropenbos Ghana, a member of Tropenbos International, is one of the vocal members of the coalition. These four organisations are members of larger international NGOs; A Rocha International, Friends of the Earth International, Save the Frogs International, and Tropenbos International. These mother organizations have also been involved in the campaign in different ways.

Two local NGOs involved in the campaign were also selected. Though the study focuses on international NGOs, most of their activities have been through the coalition (CONAMA), which includes local and international

NGOs. It was important to solicit data from the local NGOs to synchronise their experiences with that of the international NGOs. The perspectives of the local NGOs were also significant to ascertain if there are differences in the strategies and relations of the local NGOs and the international NGOs. Forest Watch Ghana is a campaign vehicle and comprises over 40 local environmental NGOs and individuals. Their secretariat (Civic Response) serves as the mouthpiece for different local NGOs, and as such, it was important to solicit data from them as they have engaged in CONAMA to promote the Save Atewa Forest campaign. CCAL was selected because it was formed to protest the government's decision to mine in the Atewa Forest. It is made up of indigenes of communities around the Atewa Forest. As an organisation made up of indigenes, it was important to solicit information from them. The selected NGOs (aside from CCAL) have operated in Ghana for more than eight years, indicating that they are well exposed to environmental policies and are well-grounded to influence such processes.

I also selected the Forestry Commission, which is charged with the management and protection of the country's forest resources. The Commission is therefore in charge of the management of forest reserves like the Atewa. Since this study focuses on policy in relation to a forest reserve, it was imperative to involve such an agency to solicit data on their interactions with NGOs.

The Kyebihene, Osabarima Marfo Kwabrane, was purposely selected because I intended to clarify the stance of Chiefs on whether the forest should be mined for bauxite or not. As major stakeholders of the Atewa Forest, the position of the Chiefs was important to ascertain the influence of NGOs on stakeholders. The Kyebihene was specifically selected because he was the

leader of a group of Chiefs that released a press statement on the government's decision to mine in the Atewa Forest and the opposition by the NGOs.

Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used for the study. Secondary sources included books, journal articles, and research reports. The data from the secondary sources were valuable to lay the groundwork for the study and analysis of the influence of NGOs on environmental policies. The researcher made use of both physical libraries and online sources to access relevant literature on the topic.

Primary sources of data included letters from individuals and organisations, newspaper articles, webpages of the NGOs, and personal interviews conducted with participants. The interviews made it possible to actively engage respondents and get pieces of information that are not captured in reports, policies, and web materials. Primary data were also gathered from social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook. I retrieved press conferences and media briefings by government officials shared on the Ministry of Information's page on Facebook. This included President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo's speeches and the then Minister of Environment Science and Technology, Prof. Frimpong Boateng. I also retrieved tweets on Atewa Forest by individuals and NGOs, including the tweet by Leonardo DiCaprio.

Data Collection Instruments

A semi-structured interview was the instrument for the collection of data. Semi-structured interviews promote flexible interaction and the exchange of information between interviewers and interviewees. This creates a free-flowing dialogue, enabling interviews to go into more depth on particular topics

for which knowledge is not currently available in the literature (Davidson & Tolich, 2003). Using a semi-structured interview, I asked extra questions to seek further responses and clarification on some responses, particularly about unexpected and controversial issues.

A semi-structured interview also allowed me to adjust the interview questions to suit participants' particular context, knowledge, and experience to gain relevant and in-depth information (Bryman, 2016; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Since I interviewed participants of different backgrounds and expertise, a semi-structured interview was useful in enhancing flexibility to meet the needs and expertise of the various participants to extract rich and essential information from them.

The interview guide was self-developed. To ensure the validity of the questions, supervisors of the study perused the interview guide for consistency and soundness. It is important to mention that the interview was not confined strictly to the guide, and the questions were asked based on the responses and the need for follow-up questions. The interview was flexible, but I ensured that it followed the general outline of the interview guide. The interview guide for the NGOs was in four sections and was aligned with the research objectives. The guide solicited information on the background information of the NGOs and the interviewees, the tactics and strategies that NGOs adopt to influence policy, the influence of NGOs, and the NGO-Government relations in Ghana.

The interview guide for Forestry Commission also solicited for information on government's engagement with NGOs, their perceived relations with NGOs, and how NGOs campaign influences the government's decision. The interview guide for the Chiefs in the Atewa Forest enclave focused on the

position of the Chiefs, their perception of and relations with NGOs, and whether the NGOs campaign influences them on Atewa Forest.

Data Collection Procedures

Introductory letters collected from the Centre for African and International Studies (CAIS) were sent to the various organisations, agencies, and individuals outlining my intention to interview a resource person from their organisations. The organisations also demanded a sample of the research instrument for their perusal before the interview. The organisations called me for the interview sessions at their convenient time. The respondents consented that the interviews could be recorded with a tape recorder.

Three of the interviews were conducted via skype and phone call because of the prevalence of the COVID-19 pandemic. As such, the interviewer and interviewees thought it was safe to interview without face-to-face interactions. These participants also consented that the interviews could be recorded. The interviews, both in person, on skype, and by phone call, lasted between thirty minutes to one hour. It is important to state that the absence of face-to-face interaction did not affect the quality of the interview in any way.

Data Processing and Analysis

The data from the interviews and videos of government officials retrieved from Facebook were transcribed and, along with other documents collected, coded to generate themes for the analysis. Data coding is a way of classifying and categorizing data by themes and patterns (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Data collected from interviews, newspapers, journals, public speeches, press conferences, Twitter, news broadcasts were quite diverse and scattered. Also, the interview questions were different for the target groups,

which in turn resulted in a variety of information. Coding, therefore, helped to effectively organise and generate the meaning of the data in a more structured way. I used a Microsoft Word processor for the colour coding to generate the major themes that were more pronounced in the data.

Content analysis was employed to analyse the coded data. Content analysis is a careful, thorough, logical scrutiny and interpretation of a particular body of material in an attempt to ascertain patterns, subjects, assumptions, and meanings (Berg & Latin as cited in Lune & Berg, 2017; Walliman, 2015). I systematically analysed the interviews, policies, reports, and newspapers to answer the research questions. A content analysis of policies and reports on environmental policies aided the researcher to compare and contrast with the data gained from the interview. The different sources and types of data that were collected and analysed ensured triangulation which strengthened the reliability and robustness of the findings.

The second research question is analysed with specific reference to the four C's model, which guided the study. To ensure a more robust and reliable analysis of NGOs' influence, the analysis of the third research question was guided by an adaptation of Betsill and Correll's (2008) framework, which has been discussed extensively in Chapter 2. The adapted framework has three indicators that determine three levels of NGOs influence on environmental policies.

Ethical Considerations

Empirical research that involves human participants should adhere to some moral codes or ethics (Biggam, 2011). According to Bernard (2006), abiding by ethics in conducting social research is one of the biggest challenges

67

for researchers. With that in mind, I thoroughly considered and adhered to all ethical issues involved in researching as that provides safety for both the participants and researcher (Biggam, 2011).

First, the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the intended use of the study's findings. The participants gave their oral consent to participate in the research voluntarily, and these participants could withdraw their consent at any stage of the research process. The consent ensured an agreement between the participant and the researcher and the consequences involved when the researcher breaches the agreement. To avoid any harm to participants' professions and organisations, confidentiality was of utmost importance; the information they shared was used for the intended purpose only. The identities of the respondents were also kept anonymous. The identities of the participants are anonymised by representing them with pseudo names like NGO official 1, NGO official 2…NGO official 6. This is to ensure confidentiality and anonymise what a particular participant said or revealed.

Limitations Encountered during Fieldwork

In conducting the research, the following challenges were encountered. I could not interview all government agencies and institutions targeted for this study as several attempts proved futile. The contacted agencies either delayed to respond or expressed that they were not willing to partake in the research. To overcome this challenge, press conferences, public speeches, and newspaper articles by government officials on the Atewa Forest were retrieved and analysed by the researcher. Information retrieved included speeches by the President of Ghana, the Minister of Environment, Science and Technology, former Chief Executive Officer of the Forestry Commission, the Municipal

Chief Executive Officer of Suhum, and the CEO of Ghana Integrated Aluminium Development Corporation (GIADEC). These pieces of information provided enough data for analysis to draw sound conclusions.

Also, some of the international environmental NGOs involved in the campaign do not have offices in Ghana, which made it difficult to contact them for data. However, I retrieved information on their activities concerning Atewa Forest from their websites. These included letters and press statements on issues relating to the Atewa Forest.

The global Covid-19 pandemic, which ravaged the world in 2020, also posed a major challenge to this study, especially during the data collection phase. These measures to control the spread of the virus limited movements and physical contacts, which affected my movements for data collection. I was unable to travel to certain places during the peak of the pandemic, and some participants were reluctant to conduct a face-to-face interview. To overcome this, I used virtual means (video calls through Zoom and Skype) to conduct interviews with participants unwilling to have physical contact with me.

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the method that was used in conducting this research. A qualitative research approach, specifically the descriptive case study design, was used for the study. NGOs and government agencies that had significant knowledge of the research were purposely sampled for the study. Environmental policies and reports, newspaper articles, press conferences, press statements, tweets, journal articles, etc., were collected for analysis. A semi-structured interview was used to collect the data, and the data were transcribed

and coded into themes. The coded data were then subjected to content analysis.

The next chapter deals with the analysis and discussion of the gathered data.

70

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study sought to examine the influence of international nongovernmental organisations on environmental policies in Ghana using their campaign on Atewa Range Forest Reserve as a case study. This chapter presents the results and discussions from the data that were gathered from primary and secondary sources. The discussion is based on the interpretation of the interviews, newspapers, public speeches, documents, and online sources collected compared and contrasted with the literature reviewed and the theories underlying the study. The presentation is thematised in line with the three research questions that guided the study. These themes are the tactics and strategies employed by NGOs in their interaction with the government, the relationship between NGOs and government, and the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies.

Tactics and Strategies Employed by NGOs to Influence Environmental Policies in Ghana

This section of the chapter answers the first research question.

1. *What are the tactics and strategies employed by NGOs to influence environmental policies in Ghana?*

NGOs, unlike the government, are not the legal representatives of the citizens of a country. As such, they do not have legal control over issues and policies concerning the environment and need to engage the government to advocate for their concerns to be addressed. Therefore, NGOs employ varying strategies in their interaction with the government to promote an agenda or seek

policy change. This research question explores the tactics and strategies adopted by NGOs in Ghana as they aim to influence government policies on Atewa Forest.

The use of research and position papers for advocacy

In engaging with the Government of Ghana (GoG), NGOs have used research and position papers to pursue their interests. NGOs have adopted the strategy of using evidence gathered from research to influence the government or set an agenda. An NGO official indicated that the main tactic that they use is the position paper. He argued that the position paper allows them "to present arguments and put it side by side with other popular arguments" (NGO official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020). The position paper allows the NGOs to present their argument and further contrast and compare with other arguments advanced by the government and other stakeholders.

Research for advocacy has been a key tactic used by NGOs in Ghana to seek policy change on Atewa Forest. In their interaction with the government, NGOs in Ghana made the Atewa Forest a national park commissioned research in collaboration with the International Union for Conservation of Nature-the Netherlands. The Economics for Atewa Forest Range research was prepared to inform and support policy reform (Schep *et al.,* 2016). This research presents the economic basis for actions needed to enhance the conservation and sustainable use of the forest ecosystem and its contributions to meeting human needs. After analyses of four different scenarios of the Atewa Forest, the researchers concluded that the scenario with the best long-term economic and environmental gain is when the forest is designated as a national park with a buffer zone around it.

Other studies conducted to gain evidence to influence environmental policies in Ghana are *The Biodiversity of Atewa Forest (2019)* and *Justification to Upgrade Atewa Range Forest Reserve into a National Park (2016)*. The research on the justification to upgrade the forest into a national park argued why the current management regime is not adequate to deal with the threats and challenges facing the Atewa Forest and hence the need for a paradigm shift to a national park. These researches and reports were presented to the various stakeholders and authorities to make a compelling argument on the need to adopt a certain environmental policy. An NGO official noted that:

> In engaging the government, we conducted many research works on Atewa, we have the TEEB report, eco-tourism assessment, and community beneficiary assessment. We have conducted all these studies, and we presented these documents to the government and other key institutions (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

This affirms the findings of McGann and Johnson (2005) that NGOs conduct an in-depth analysis of issues and present their finding to policy-makers to absorb. The use of research also contributes to promoting understanding and provides access to useable empirical data and information essential to support the government's policy on how land-use planning and investment decisions may positively or negatively affect the long-term conservation of the Atewa Forest. Other civil society organisations like the Christian Council of Ghana have relied on the findings of the study as the basis for their campaign demanding for Atewa Forest to be upgraded to a national park (Nyabor, 2019).

73

These research papers are also used to contest government positions or policies deemed harmful to the environment. NGOs have consistently confronted the government to present alternative evidence to prove that mining bauxite in the Atewa Forest will not harm the forest and its biodiversity. An NGO official stated that:

> For us, if you are contesting the facts that we have put out there, what do you have to show? The government can also do a parallel environmental or social impact assessment and compare their results with ours, but the government has not been able to do that (NGO Official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020).

Research is, therefore, a key instrument used by NGOs to attempt to influence decisions on the environment by the authorities relying on evidence and knowledge. Although the research and reports present arguments based on evidence gathered by the NGOs, a participant expressed pessimism about its effectiveness. He stated that the "government tends to react more to the press briefings and conferences even though research and position papers lay out the argument more clearly" (NGO official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020).

Research is an inside strategy that intends to convince policymakers through evidence and scientific findings. The government may ignore these findings as they may not be in the public domain. Also, research conducted by NGOs to affirm their objectives may be questioned based on reliability and biasedness. Despite these, research is a significant tactic that serves as the authoritative motive of the advocacy pursued by NGOs.

74

The use of petitions

NGOs have also used petitions as one way of influencing government policies on the Atewa Forest. The NGOs have petitioned several key government officials and institutions in their attempt to influence policy. On 22nd March 2018, the Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape, a coalition of NGOs, Youth Groups, Interfaith Groups, Farmer Based Associations, Opinion Leaders, and Community Leaders within the targeted forest landscape, petitioned the president of Ghana on the Atewa Forest (Kenarku, 2018). The petition called for the President to remove the threat of bauxite development as it is the only option that will ensure Atewa Forest continues to fulfil its contribution to Ghana's capacity to meet Goal 6 of the SDGs (CCAL, 2018). The petition was also copied to the Minister of Finance, Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, and Minister of Water and Sanitation.

The Coalition of NGOs against Mining in Atewa Forest (CONAMA), on Friday, June 21, 2019, presented to the Parliament of Ghana a petition which concerns the mining of Bauxite in the Atewa Forest (GBC Ghana, 2019). The petition sought to draw parliament's attention to the need to make informed decisions to protect and effectively manage the Atewa Forest by ensuring the landscape is excluded from any form of mining exploitation. The petition entreated parliament to use its oversight responsibility to ensure transparency and accountability with regards to the mining of bauxite in Ghana (GBC Ghana, 2019).

The coalition also presented petitions to several influential dignitaries, including the King of the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panyin; the Chief of Suhum, Osabarima Ayeh Kofi, and the

former Executive Director of the Forestry Commission of Ghana, Kwadwo Owusu Afriyie. They also presented a 0petition to the Municipal Chief Executive for Suhum, Madam Margaret Darko (Adogla-Bessa, 2018). Again, the Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape also petitioned the president of Ghana in January 2020 (Folley, 2020).

Also, A Rocha International has started an online petition to the President of Ghana, His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo. At the time of writing this analysis, over thirty thousand (30,000) people had signed the petition calling on the president to declare Atewa Forest a National Park to protect it from bauxite mining (Change.org, n.d). An online petition has fast become a popular tactic used by NGOs worldwide, especially in developed countries. In Ghana, however, its efficiency is questionable as government officials and institutions may not be compelled to respond to online petitions. As a relatively recent phenomenon, an online petition is not an established tactic used by pressure groups to influence the GoG.

The use of the media

The media, both traditional and modern, are vital tools in NGOs advocacy campaigns. Cummings (2005, p.176) notes that "think tanks are more likely to influence the climate of opinion through the popular media". NGOs in Ghana use their websites, other news portals, radio, television, press conferences, and social media to create awareness, highlights environmental dilapidation, present their arguments and engage the government in environmental discourse.

NGOs usually use press conferences to counter government or set the agenda on an environmental issue. Press conferences are deemed as an effective

strategy as NGOs have "realised that the government turns to react more to the press briefings and conferences" (NGO official 5, personal communication, June 2, 2020). NGOs coalitions consistently organise press conferences to counter claims by the government that they deem as misleading. One such press briefing was organised on 4th June 2019, where the coalition strongly condemned the creation of a thoroughfare into the Atewa Forest (A Rocha Ghana, 2019).

The NGOs have also used the media to sensitize the public and court their support. Participants specified that they use the media to inform the general public of what government intends to do, present their position to the public and call on them to support their fight against the government (NGO officials 3 and 5). An NGO official explained why the media had been a significant tool in their advocacy:

> The media has been on the Atewa issue for a long time. For us, the more the media talk, it delays the movement of government. For instance, somewhere last year we had them (government) coming to construct some roads in the Atewa and we got the media to be out there and once the media started talking, they pulled back. (NGO official 4, personal communication, May 24, 2020).

This corroborates the findings of Abelson (1992) that NGOs use the media, both electronic and print, to acquire and maintain visibility and sensitize the general public. Issues on the Atewa Forest have been covered in the national and international media, including the BBC and the Washington Post. Therefore, the media have offered NGOs the opportunity to reach a wider audience and garner support from the public.

Social media is one of the most powerful platforms for the dissemination of information in the 21st century. Presidents, Ministries, and other government agencies have accounts on various social media platforms (for example, Facebook and Twitter) to engage and inform the populace of various policies. Likewise, NGOs have social media accounts to engage and educate the public on environmental issues and highlight the severity of environmental problems to the government. Asked on the importance of social media as an advocacy tool, an NGO official pointed out that:

Social media has been helpful in getting people talking about the issues of the environment, especially when we are able to get celebrities or key social icons to make statements about the Atewa Campaign that we do. There have been times that issues on Atewa Forest trended for days [on Twitter]. The fact that it is an issue out there for people to talk about is important to us because that means people are hearing us, and people are willing to make the necessary changes (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

This response indicates that NGOs use social media mostly to create awareness and induce the citizens to be involved in the environmental discourse. They, therefore, deem it a success when people express varying interests on an environmental issue. It needs to be pointed out that the environmental NGOs do not have a strong following and presence on the various social media platforms (e.g. Twitter and Facebook). It affects the number of users they are able to reach and the level of engagement on the issue of Atewa Forest on the various social media platforms.

Engagement of celebrities as ambassadors

Another tactic used by NGOs in pursuing the Save Atewa Forest campaign is the engagement of celebrities. Celebrities are popular individuals, especially in entertainment and sports. NGOs have engaged celebrities as ambassadors of the Atewa Forest to actively involve them to safeguard the forest and influence the government. In 2017, Bice Osei Kuffour (Obour), who was then the President of the Musicians Union of Ghana (MUSIGA), teamed up with some Ghanaian musicians to add their voices and efforts to "save the Atewa Forest" (Ntumy, 2017).

The involvement of the entertainers is to educate the general public on the need to maintain and preserve the natural forest. Obour added that the group will lobby to get the government to pass legislation to designate the Atewa Forest as a national park to protect the forest (Amartey, 2017). The NGOs engage these celebrities because they are believed to have substantial followers and can influence such followers and the general public to support their cause. Smith and Fink (2015) noted that influential people have the power of compliance to advocacy messages. They express that celebrities' endorsement of a particular product or campaign presents a higher chance of influencing other individuals to purchase the product or join the campaign.

Obour, MzVee, Sherifa Gunu, Nero X, Heleen Den Homberg, Kojo Rana, Kuami Eugene, and the Patch Bay Band joined forces to record a song and shoot a video titled 'Atiwa Till Eternity' to amplify the Save Atewa Forest campaign. Speaking at the unveiling of the video Obour said the continuous mining and destruction of the Atewa Forest posed a threat to all Ghanaians. He

made a passionate call on the government, parliament, and Ghanaians to help secure the forest by upgrading it into a national park (GBC Online, 2017).

When celebrities with large following support an environmental campaign, it is likely that many people will find such campaign as relevant and therefore will join or support. This is highlighted by an official who expressed that the celebrities "have the potential of raising awareness and encouraging the people to demand environmental accountability from the government" (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020). It is difficult to accurately measure or forecast the extent of the impact of celebrities in awareness creation and amassing support for the campaign. Nevertheless, celebrities as ambassadors and a song on Atewa Forest is a tactic to reach the general populace and impress the need to conserve the forest.

The use of protests

Protests have become popular means that are widely used to influence and oppose the decisions of governments and other organizations (Opp, 2009), and popular protests may force a policy response (Weiss, 2006). Shifting from the more cooperative tactics and strategies, NGOs have also employed some outside strategies like protests. NGOs have resorted to protests to create awareness on the Atewa Forest. Also, several protests have been organised by NGOs to influence government policy on Atewa Forest.

The Coalition of Non-Government Organisations Against Mining in Atewa (CONAMA) and the Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape collaborated to organize a 6-day walk covering an estimated distance of 95km from the forest area to the Flagstaff House in Accra to protest against the government's intention to mine bauxite in the forest reserve (Bentil, 2018).

80

According to the deputy national director of A Rocha Ghana, the main purpose of the walk was to organize and rally citizens' attempts to push the government to cancel its plans to mine bauxite within the Atewa Forest (Bentil, 2018).

In June 2019, together with members of the general public, the NGOs took to the streets of Accra to peacefully protest the government's decision to mine bauxite in the Atewa Forest. A convener and the national deputy director of A Rocha Ghana, Daryl Bosu, said: "This was only one of many activities planned to get the government to rescind its decision to mine in the Atewa Forest" (Adogla-Bessa, 2019). More recently, in January 2020, the Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape (CCAL) marched three kilometres from Segyemase to Kyebi in the Eastern region. The protesters indicated that they had embarked on this protest to pressure the government to back down on its policy to mine in the protected forest area (Folley, 2020).

An NGO official noted that "protests go a long way to impact the government on its decisions" (NGO official 4, personal communication, May 25, 2020). He continued that:

> Protests indicate that the people are not happy with certain actions or inactions of the government, and when the people rise against the government, they have to listen because they are there for the people (NGO official 4, personal communication, May 25, 2020).

However, another NGO official expressed worry about the effectiveness of their protests since the number of people that partake in these protests is low (NGO official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020). He lamented that:

> We do not have the needed public support; the number of protesters also counts. If the government notices that huge numbers of people are taking

action and protesting against them, the government will become more concerned and alarmed. Our numbers are rather low, and the government can afford to stay silent (NGO official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020).

Similarly, NGO official 5 expressed that "it is a setback when people living close to critical ecosystems do not see the importance of it beyond getting non-timber resources and as such do not partake in advocacy to conserve the forest" (NGO Official 5, personal communication, June 2, 2020). The worrying expression of the officials is backed by the fact that around 150 people participated in the 6 Day Walk protest, even though it was organised by a coalition of environmental NGOs, civil society, and other organisations. The subsequent protests also garnered only hundreds of protestors which are not significant enough to exert substantive pressure on the government. Ramanath (2009, p.34) posits that the "intention of a protest is to create room for negotiation by exerting pressure through a show of numbers", and as such, protest with comparatively low participants may not yield the needed pressure.

Despite the potential positive effect of protests, NGOs have had negligible numbers or cannot gather a huge number of protesters. This makes the usage of this tactic problematic since it relies on numbers to show those in authority that the people want a change or demand for the implementation of a particular policy.

Internationalising the issue

To influence environmental policies, NGOs, in some cases, try to go beyond the nation-state and internationalise the issue at hand (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Potter (1996) found that one of the factors that are more likely to

determine whether NGOs can influence is the potential for internationalisation of the issue or campaign. Eccleston (1996) argued that internationalising an issue can galvanise the policy-making system and global support into becoming more effective proponents of their cause. NGOs involved in the Atewa Forest campaign have used varying methods to galvanise support from individuals and environmental organisations in the global arena. This, coupled with the forest reserve's international significance, has attracted the attention of environmental activists and environmental organisations in the global community.

In their attempt to internationalise Atewa Forest's issue, NGOs persuaded an American biologist, recognized as the world's leading authority on ants, and a global environmental activist, Edward Osborne Wilson, to add his voice to the campaign. Wilson wrote a letter "to draw the attention of the President on global concerns for the future of the Atewa Forest in Ghana" (Wilson, 2018). Wilson (2018) pointed out that the Atewa Forest is so unique that it is classified in his book, *Half-Earth: Our Planet's Fight for Life,* as one of the most important places on earth that humanity should set aside for nature. The biologist, supporting the Atewa Forest Campaign, therefore, called on the president to abandon the policy of mining bauxite in Atewa Forest.

Dr Russ Mittermeier, Chair of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Primate Specialist Group, also wrote a letter to the president of Ghana expressing that the Atewa Forest should be protected as a matter of urgency. The Chair urged that "Ghana's commitments to the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Sustainable Development Goals take precedence in this case and that Atewa Forest is removed from mining plans once and for all and made into a National Park" (IUCN, 2017). Potter (1996) reveals that

global south NGOs engage Global North NGOs to urge their members to write letters to environmental policy-makers in a southern country. By doing this, they invite pressure from the global actors to the authorities of the Southern country.

In a tweet, Leonardo DiCaprio, an Oscar-winning American actor and a staunch environmentalist, also urged the GoG to prioritise the protection of the Atewa Forest. The environmentalist reiterated the concerns raised by the NGOs on the importance of the forest as diverse biodiversity and source of water for five (5) million people.

> Ghana's #Atewa Forest Reserve provides drinking water to 5 million+ people & harbours 100+ wildlife species at risk of extinction. We must prioritize the protection of these irreplaceable places for a healthy planet (Leonardo DiCaprio, 2019).

Attached to the tweet was a link to an analysis of the effects that mining bauxite in the Atewa Forest will have on the environment, including water supply. The statement was heavily covered by the local and international media and was highly engaged on social media, especially Twitter.

Aside from these individuals, NGOs have also garnered the support of international NGOs to add their voices in pressuring the government on the Atewa Forest. An NGO official expressed her hope in this strategy:

> We have tried getting letters and support from key environmental organisations in the international arena. We believe that these letters will highlight to the government that the global community is counting on the government to save one of the most important forests in the sub-region (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

International environmental organisations with more than 15 million combined members and supporters worldwide wrote to the President of Ghana to "express concern at the current threat to Atewa Forest at Kyebi from bauxite mining" (A Rocha International, 2018). These organisations include; A Rocha International, Amphibian Survival Alliance, BirdLife International, Global Wildlife Conservation, Rainforest Trust, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, and WWF International. These globally powerful environmental activism groups with their large following are believed to impact governments and international institutions significantly. This finding of NGOs attempts to internationalise the issue corroborates Ojakorotu (2008) findings, who also found that NGOs in Nigeria internationalised issues on the Niger Delta to invite international actors and pressure on the government.

One significant effort by the NGOs to internationalise the Atewa Forest Campaign is tabling the motion at the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) World Conservation Congress 2020 for the Atewa Forest to be regarded as a critical global environmental concern. An NGO official explained that:

We tabled the motion on Atewa, and it has been accepted, so at that conference (IUCN Congress 2020), they will vote on it. If it gets the majority vote, IUCN will add it as a critical issue that needs global attention. IUCN is the scientific authority when it comes to biodiversity and nature conservation, so once they pick it up as a critical issue, the government would have to reconsider their decision because we have signed on to many international treaties that mandate the government has to adhere to. If the government still goes against these, it will affect

85

our relationship with other actors in the international arena (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

This interview was conducted before the IUCN held its congress. At the end of the IUCN 2020 Congress, the Union announced that its members have voted to adopt the Motion on Atewa Forest as a critical issue that requires urgent measures by global actors to safeguard it. This is a momentous step in the NGOs' effort to internationalise the issue. IUCN after adopting the motion, requested that in case GoG goes ahead to exploit the bauxite in the forest, all companies in the mining sector should not participate in any mining in the forest, and the aluminium companies to ensure that no aluminium from Atewa Forest should enter their supply chain (IUCN World Congress, 2020).

In campaigning against mining in the Atewa Forest, NGOs have also sought support from foreign governments through their embassies in Ghana. NGOs have particularly targeted China. This is the case because China is involved in the barter trade, which will see the Atewa Forest mined for bauxite. In an interview with an NGO official 4, he affirmed that the "NGOs have been engaging with the Embassy of China to abandon the prospect of funding the mining of bauxite in the forest".

These instances indicate that NGOs when struggling to influence environmental policies in Ghana, attempt to invite external pressure from both individuals and groups in the global environmental arena. Betsill and Correll (2008) indicated that internationalising an issue brings international attention to the issue and increases pressure on the targeted institution or government. Government is the supreme source of power in a state; NGOs, therefore, attempt to move the issue beyond the state to the international arena where other

86

powerful organisations can influence the government. The multilevel governance theory (MLG) underlines this study posits that policy actors include those within and beyond the state. The involvement of international actors in the Atewa Forest campaign highlights the argument advanced by the theory that national actors in their attempt to influence policy may bypass the national government to involve international organisations.

One setback of this tactic is that the involvement of major international environmental NGOs (like Royal Society for the Protection of Birds-UK, Birdlife International-UK, World Wide Fund for Nature-International, Global Wildlife Conservation-UK) have been limited to writing letters to the government, supporting petitions, and publicising the campaign. As evident in the analysed data, the majority of the individuals and organisations in the international arena have been involved in the campaign by writing to the president. Writing letters is regarded as an easy, effective advocacy tool by which a group of constituents voices their opinions about specific issues. However, letter writing without public campaigns and inside strategies does not pile enough pressure on governments to change their stance, especially on issues with high political and economic stakes like the Atewa Forest.

Legal action

The last strategy employed by the NGOs in the Save Atewa Forest campaign is a legal action against the GoG. In January 2020, the NGOs initiated legal action against the GoG for its policy to mine in the Atewa Forest (Hawkson & Agbenorsi, 2020). This process was in line with Section 10 of the State Proceedings Act that stipulates that anyone who intends to file a civil action against the State must serve the Attorney-General a written notice of the

intention at least 30 days before the commencement of the action (Hawkson & Agbenorsi, 2020).

On July 1, 2020, eight environmental NGOs and four private citizens filed a suit against the Attorney General at the General Jurisdiction Court (High Court) Division (A Rocha Ghana, 2020). The NGOs, which are made up of A Rocha Ghana, Flower Ghana, Concern Citizens of Atewa Landscape, Ghana Youth Environment Movement, Ecocare Ghana, Kasa Initiative Ghana, and Save the Frogs Ghana, are seeking the Court to restrain the Government, its agents, workmen, allottees, and guarantees from undertaking mining and its related activities in the forest. The NGOs also demand that the government and its agents declare the Atewa Range Forest Reserve as a "Protected Zone" (A Rocha Ghana, 2020). At the time of writing this thesis, the court had not adjudicated this case.

The NGO tactic of taking legal action against the government on an environmental issue is a new phenomenon. It has seen some successes in countries like the Netherlands and, at the same time, some setbacks in other countries (Mosley, 2020). This is the first time that NGOs have sued the GoG on issues relating to the environment. It is, therefore, a mammoth step in environmental activism in Ghana, and the outcome will have pronounced effects on future environmental campaigns not only in Ghana but the entire world.

NGOs tactics: the need for a more nuanced approach?

The data analysed indicates that NGOs have adopted varying tactics and strategies to influence policy formulation and policy change. However, the data analysis reveals that some key strategies are missing in the NGOs advocacy for

policy influence. There is an indication that the NGOs have not been able to create a significant network with key policy decision-makers in government.

This is problematic as personal relations with influential policymakers and capturing of political leaders are regarded by scholars as remarkable and effective in altering policies (Abelson 1992; Ohemeng, 2015; Oulath, 2015; Schlesinger, 2009). The lack of network and connections in government and among policy-makers is a key missing link in the advocacy strategies of the NGOs. Abelson (2010) argued that the level of relationship organisations establish with policy-makers explains why some organisations are successful in influencing policy and others are not able to. A lack of effective insider strategy is a concern as most scholars regard the inside strategies more efficient in influencing policies (Gereffi, Garcia-Johnson, & Sasser 2001; Newell, 2000; Weiler & Brändli, 2015).

In sum, NGOs have employed more complex and varying tactics to engage the government: research, media visibility, celebrities, petitions, international pressures, protests, among others. These tactics shifted from a more collaborative (inside) strategy to a confrontational (outside) one aimed at exerting public and international pressure on the government while stirring public participation and awareness on the need to preserve the Atewa Forest. These tactics and strategies did not follow one another, and NGOs sometimes used multiple tactics at a time.

Relationship between Environmental NGOs and the Government of Ghana

This section of the chapter presents an analysis of the relationship between NGOs and the GoG over their interaction on issues concerning Atewa Forest. It specifically answers the second research question, which is;

2. *What is the NGO-Government relation with regards to environmental policy engagements in Ghana?*

To answer this research question, the data is analysed with specific reference to the four C's model developed by Najam (2000) and which has been explained in detail in chapter 2 of this thesis. Therefore, the relationship is analysed based on the policy goals and strategies of NGOs and GoG as they engage on issues relating to the Atewa Forest.

As revealed in the literature, the general relationship between NGOs and government is not consistent but varies depending on the issue at hand and the particular sector being engaged. The relationship is expressed in the level of engagement afforded to NGOs by the government on issues and NGOs' strategies and policy goals. Reflective of the democratic practice in the country, the government has provided NGOs space to engage not only at the implementation level but the policy formulation stage as well without any intimidation. As indicated by Ahmed and Porter (2006), the functioning and practice of NGOs are severely influenced by the legal and political atmospheres of the states that an NGO is located. The freedom afforded to NGOs stems from the general atmosphere of freedom of speech and expression in the country.

However, specific issues and sectors being dealt with effects the relationship that ensues between government and NGOs. An NGO official

90

asserted in a personal interview that the level of engagement varies from sector to sector (NGO official 1). This assertion is supported by another participant who affirmed, "each sector has its approach in terms of policy formulation, and there are sectors that are a little more open to civil society engagement" (NGO official 3, personal communication, May 21, 2020).

Mcloughlin (2011) establishes that the nature of issues being tackled plays a key role in defining the relationship between states and NGOs. In cases where collaboration yields a much higher benefit for both the government and NGOs, the relationship is improved. These relationships, according to Najam (2000), can be referred to as cooperation. He explains that cooperation is possible when government and non-governmental organisations share similar policy goals and similar strategies on a particular environmental issue.

Therefore, the case under study offers an important scenario to examine the relationship between government and NGOs. An analysis of the data indicates that the relationship between government and NGOs can be separated into two periods; a period of cooperation and a period of confrontation.

A period of cooperation: 2012-2018

From the beginning of the Save Atewa Campaign (2012) to 2018, the policy end goal of the NGOs was to preserve and protect the Atewa Forest, and the means to achieve that, they argued, was to upgrade the status of the forest reserve to a national park. In an interview with an official of the leading NGO of the campaign, it was pointed out that:

> This campaign was started because Atewa Forest is facing severe threats
> from different activities. There is the need for concrete action to protect
> the forest and the current management regime is not efficient enough to

ensure that. To fully protect the forest, there is the need to upgrade its status from a forest reserve to a national park (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 21, 2020)

During this period, the GoG also shared similar policy end goals and means as the NGOs. Writing the foreword to a research report on the economic benefits of the Atewa Forest Range, the then Minister of Land and Natural Resources, Nii Osai Mills, indicated that government recognizes healthy ecosystems and the invaluable services they deliver to the country. He, therefore, stated that "…we simply cannot continue doing business as usual [concerning the management of Atewa Forest] and to this, I reiterate the commitment of the GoG to designate Atewa Range Forest Reserve as a National Park" (Schep et al., 2016). The policy goals and means to achieve them have been represented in table 1 below.

Table 1: NGOs and GoG Relationship on Atewa Forest from 2012-2017

	NGOs	**Government**
Goals	Preserve Atewa Forest	Preserve Atewa Forest
Means	Upgrade its status to a National Park	Upgrade its status to a National Park

Source: Fieldwork (2020)

Table 1 signifies that NGOs and the GoG shared a similar policy goal to protect the forest and shared similar strategy/means to achieve the goal of upgrading the status of the forest to a national park. When the government and NGOs share similarities in the end goals and means, it results in a cooperative

relationship (Najam, 2000). This is also evident in some cooperative activities between government agencies and NGOs during this period.

The Forestry Commission particularly collaborated with A Rocha Ghana (the leading NGO for the campaign) to conduct research to justify and support the decision to upgrade the forest reserve status to a national park with a buffer zone around it. The Forestry Commission and A Rocha commissioned the report titled the *Justification to upgrade the Atewa Range Forest Reserve into a National Park* in 2016. The Water Resources Commission was also a partner to the report. The Forestry Commission and Water Resource Commission also supported the research report (*The Economics of the Atewa Forest Range in 2016)* by IUCN and A Rocha Ghana to ascertain the economic benefits of the forest reserve under four different scenarios, including an upgrade of the status of the forest.

Also, the NGOs in this period used more cooperative tactics like research, dialogue, and petitions to government agencies to appeal to them on the need to upgrade the status of the forest. Several stakeholder consultations organised by NGOs involved key government agencies like the Forestry Commission, Water Resources Commission, Ministry of Agriculture, and the Environmental Protection Agency. In November 2013, NGOs organised the Atewa International Summit, which brought together over 150 stakeholders, including government representatives, traditional leaders, and civil society groups (Osei-Owusu, 2016). Similarly, a Stakeholder Consultation and Engagements for the Living Water Launch Event drew participants from key government institutions. At the end of these engagements, the participants agreed on the need to change the legal framework of Atewa Forest and its

protection status to be upgraded to that of a national park (A Rocha, 2016). The consistent involvement of the government agencies and the NGOs indicates the cooperative relationship in this period.

These cooperative activities reflected the relationship between the two stakeholders as their aims and strategies were aligned. Government agencies and NGOs cooperated and worked together towards achieving the policy goal of upgrading the forest to a national park. This supports the argument of Najam (2000) that when government and NGOs agree on the preferred policy (ends) and the means to achieve it, they tend to cooperate without frictions.

From cooperation to confrontation: 2018-2020

Despite the cooperative efforts of government and NGOs as discussed earlier, the policy end goal and means of the government concerning the Atewa Forest shifted. In 2018, Government unveiled its policy to extract the bauxite deposit in the Atewa Forest, which effectively changed the previous strategy of preserving the forest by upgrading its status to a national park. The government, however, insisted that it aims to protect the forest from destruction by ensuring that mining is done responsibly (GIADEC, 2019).

The decision by the government to exploit the bauxite in the forest reserve meant that its policy end goals and means were now dissimilar to that of the NGOs who still maintained that the forest should be preserved and protected by upgrading its status to a national park. NGOs have therefore fervently opposed the policy of mining in the forest reserve, arguing that mining will destroy the land cover, water resources, and the diverse biodiversity of the forest reserve.

94

Some government officials express that the government's strategy to protect the Atewa Forest is to mine responsibly. The Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Kwaku Asomah-Cheremeh, stated that. "…we have done some pilot work to the extent that the forest at Atewa will not be destroyed in terms of mining…that is why we insist on doing mining in that area" (Ministry of Information-Ghana, 2019b). Similarly, the CEO of GIADEC, Mr Michael Ansah, emphasized that "…what we [GIADEC] want to assure the people of Ghana and ourselves is that we are doing the right thing; we are going to be very responsible in what we do" (Adombilla, 2019). He continued that "people think that there will be problems with disposal and clearing of the forest and that there are possibilities of us losing or destroying our rivers and things like that, but you can do it in a very responsible way" (Adombilla, 2019). The relationship between NGOs and GoG is represented in table 2 below.

Table 2: NGOs and GoG Relationship on Atewa Forest from 2018-2020

	NGOs	Government of Ghana
Goals	Preserve Atewa Forest	Mine in and preserve Atewa Forest
Means	Upgrade Atewa Forest Reserve to a National Park	Mining responsibly with advanced technology

Source: Fieldwork (2020).

Table 2 indicates that the government and NGOs have opposing policy end goals and means at the opposite ends. The goals and means of NGOs and GoG are dissimilar as NGOs aim to preserve Atewa Forest by upgrading its status to a forest park whiles the government intends to mine the forest

95

sustainably. According to the four C's model guiding this study, when government and NGOs have dissimilar end goals and means, the relationship ensues can be described as confrontational.

This confrontational relationship has manifested in several intense public speeches by government and NGO officials and a major shift in the tactics employed by NGOs in their engagement with the government. In March 2018, the Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape were severely condemned by the then Municipal Chief Executive of the Suhum Municipality when they presented her with a petition calling for the government to rescind its mining decision Atewa Forest. The MCE was outraged and questioned the intentions of the protesters. She stated that:

> About 15 years ago, when the small-scale miners were destroying farmlands and water bodies, where was this group called Concerned Citizens? But now that the President wants to provide jobs for the youth, suddenly this group comes out protesting…this act of yours is very bad, I am really not happy about this thing you are doing and I do not support your walk. When people come to influence you to do such things ask yourselves, what you guys will achieve in the future and the implications of it. I must say you cannot force me to take your petition but I am offering you a piece of advice, next time think about the implications of your acts (Kenarku, 2018).

The accusation by the MCE of the area is an indication of how some government officials regard the Atewa Forest campaigners. The protestors are negatively viewed as doing the political bidding of others instead of their argument. The friction in the NGO-Government relations also came to bear

96

when the Minister for Environment, Science and Technology (MEST), Prof. Frimpong Boateng, remarked that individuals and groups protesting against mining in the forest are exhibiting double standards. In an interaction with the media, the minister stated:

> In this country, sometimes, some people are against mining bauxite in Atewa, but the same people are actively engaged in 'galamsey' (illegal mining) in Atewa, destroying Brim and other water bodies. So, when you see them, they have international collaborators, people from the West talking about the environment, they join them, and so on. But they …as at now, there is no bauxite mining going on but Atewa Range is a polluted area…People are doing illegal mining in Atewa and some of them are saying we should not do bauxite there… (Ministry of Information-Ghana, 2019a).

In a rejoinder, the Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape (CCAL) referred to the Minister as the one "exhibiting double standards and acting in bad faith" (CCAL, 2019). The group stated:

> The statement by the Minister is not only unfortunate but definitely a travesty of justice and betrayal of the confidence we have placed in our public officers. Nonetheless, we of the Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape are not the least worried because that has been the behaviour of government functionaries since we committed to stay true to our convictions and resist any attempts to mine in Atewa (CCAL, 2019).

The strong-worded response from the CCAL attests to the frictional and deteriorating relationship between the government and the NGOs in this period. Some participants interviewed for this study indicated that the government

regards NGOs as being incessantly oppositional to the project (NGO official 4) and "as people who do not see eye to eye with the government" (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020). Some government agencies and political appointees consider that NGOs are always against the government but NGOs, on the other hand, argue that they are only trying to hold the government accountable for their actions so that all stakeholders work together to make Ghana a better place (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

In a personal interview with an official of the Forestry Commission, he revealed that the Commission has collaborated on several projects with environmental NGOs aimed at eradicating illegal lumbering. He, however, disclosed:

> NGOs and government have been at loggerheads in the past year or two. Sometimes the NGOs do not understand the goal of the government which brings misunderstanding. This misunderstanding can be solved when we sit down as stakeholders to fully explain the objectives of the government and the NGOs. Maybe we are even pursuing the same thing but in different ways (Forestry Commission official, personal communication, June 5, 2020)

From the perspectives of NGO officials, the government is reluctant to involve NGOs when it is evident that the two stakeholders have opposing views. The government perceives NGOs against a particular policy as an impediment and, as such, are side-lined from the policy process. It was revealed in an interview that:

When the government knows civil society is against a particular policy, they intentionally avoid involving civil societies. The government knows that we are against mining in Atewa, so they behave as if we do not even exist (NGO Official 6, personal communication, July 20, 2020).

The confrontational nature of the relationship between NGOs and government is also mirrored in the shift in NGOs tactics and strategies. NGOs' campaigns (from 2012-2018) started with research, dialogues, and petitions, evidence of the non-oppositional relationship during that period. However, as government policy end goal changed to mining in the forest, the strategies shifted to more confrontational and aggressive ones. NGOs started to voice their concerns through the media, public petitions of government agencies and foreign embassies and resorting to public protests against the government. Public protest, in particular, is regarded as a strategy that indicates a deteriorating relationship and, according to Ramanath (2009), a clear incident of discontent between government and NGOs.

Najam (1996) also highlights that the confrontational relationship is likely where NGOs are formed to resist particular government policies. This notion is evident in the highly confrontational relations between government and the Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape, which was specifically formed in the wake of the government's decision to mine in the Atewa Forest. Since the CCAL was formed to oppose the policy of the government, their end goal and strategy do not conform to that of the government, and their relations have been one of confrontation. In an interview with the Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape leader, he described the relationship between his

99

organisation and the government as "antagonistic and chaotic" (NGO official 4, personal communication, May 25, 2020).

This finding of this study particularly contrasts the conclusion made by Opoku-Mensah (as cited in Najam, 2000) that relations between NGOs and government in Ghana (and Africa in general) are collaborative and dismissed confrontational relations as being mere "rhetoric". This study has shown that relations are dependent on the issue at hand and that the relationship between government and NGOs, particularly on issues relating to Atewa Forest, is confrontation and as such confrontational relation is not "mere rhetoric".

To conclude, the NGO-government relations in Ghana are not constant and depend on the nature of the issue being engaged. On the Atewa Forest, the relations at the earlier stage were one of cooperation where government and NGOs shared similar goals and means and worked in harmony towards achieving the policy goal. However, the relationship shifted to a more confrontational one when the government changed its policy goal and intended to extract the minerals in the forest reserve. The change in the government's policy and, subsequently, its relationship with NGOs on the same policy supports the tenet of the four C's model that NGOs and government are not monolithic and can change their policy goals or means (Najam, 2000). A change in policy goals or means by one of the actors affects the relationship as it has been found in this study where relations changed from cooperation (2012-2018) to confrontation (2018-2020).

Level of Influence of NGOs on Environmental Policies in Ghana

Regarding the Atewa Forest

This section of the chapter examines the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana with specific reference to policies on Atewa Forest. The analysis specifically answers the third research question:

3. *What is the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana?*

The Save Atewa Forest campaign is intended to influence the government to abandon its policy to mine in the Atewa Forest and upgrade its status to a national park. This section is analysed using the adapted framework for the analysis of NGO influence on environmental policies developed by Betsill and Corell (2008) (the adapted framework has been discussed in detail in chapter 2). There are three indicators to ascertain the level of influence of NGOs in their bid to influence the government on Atewa Forest. This section presents evidence on NGOs activities on agenda-setting, the position of key stakeholders, and the substantive issue.

NGOs have been at the forefront in setting the agenda on the need to preserve the Atewa Forest. This has generated conversations among stakeholders and the general public. The campaign by the NGOs was intensified in 2018 when the GoG indicated its plans to extract bauxite in the forest reserve. NGOs have consistently campaigned against the decision and have been largely responsible for the increased national discourse and interests on issues concerning Atewa Forest.

The campaign by NGOs has successfully attracted the attention of government officials, including members of parliament, ministers, and the

101

president of the country. The Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr Asomah-Cheremeh, responded to the NGOs after the group presented a petition to the parliament of Ghana. He acknowledged that the fear of the NGOs stemmed from the massive destruction of the environment by illegal mining practices across the country. In an interview with journalists, the minister pointed out:

> We [members of government] have listened to the people's concerns, which is why we are coming up with reasonable methodology and sustainable ways of doing bauxite mining so that the water bodies and forests will be maintained so that there will be no problems (Arthur-Mensah, 2019).

The President of Ghana also responded to the NGOs campaigns and shared similar sentiments with the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources. President Nana Akuffo Addo, in response to the concerns by NGOs over mining in Atewa Forest, assured that he had been made aware that the best technology will be used to mine bauxite in the Atewa Forest (Ghana Web, 2019). Similarly, the Senior Minister, Yaw Osafo Marfo, during the Ghana Beyond Aid engagement with civil society organisations, explained that the government is considering the technology and that "if the technology is not available today, let's forget about it and leave it till the time we have the technology to extract bauxite without destroying the environment" (Daily Graphic, 2019).

GIADEC, the body mandated by the government to promote and develop the aluminium industry, responded to the NGOs and assured them that measures had been put in place to ensure that the mining activities do not destroy Atewa. The CEO of GIADEC, Michael Ansah, further stated that only

a relatively small area of the forest would be mined and a reforestation programme has been put in place to restore areas to their natural state (Adombilla, 2019).

The campaign also exerted enough pressure on the government to seek technical advice from the United States Forest Service on the feasibility of mining in the Atewa Forest. The technical consultation team recommended that a strategic environmental and cost-benefit assessment of the plan be conducted (USFS, 2019). The USFS technical team consulted A Rocha Ghana, the NGO, leading the campaign against mining in Atewa Forest as part of their stakeholder consultations. These recognitions of the need to preserve the Atewa Forest, particularly by government officials, are due to the agenda set by the NGOs. Through the campaign, Atewa Forest has become a matter of national and international discourse among governments and NGOs and individuals.

NGOs have also attempted to influence the position of key stakeholders on issues surrounding Atewa Forest. NGOs have petitioned key and influential stakeholders like the traditional rulers around the Atewa Forest, the East Akim Municipal Assembly, Forestry Commission, Parliament of Ghana, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, and Minister of Water and Sanitation, Municipal Chief Executive for Suhum and others. The petitions aim to enlist the support of these key stakeholders and influence them to join the NGOs in their bid to influence government policies.

However, some traditional leaders, like the MCE for Suhum, have rather declared their support for the government and the decision to mine in the Atewa Forest (Kenarku, 2018; GhanaWeb, 2020). Even though NGOs petitioned various traditional authorities of the area, they have not been able to secure the

backing of these traditional authorities. Some traditional leaders in the Atewa enclave released a press statement in January 2020 that they support the government's intention to mine in the forest. The Chiefs stated that:

> "…we are not aware of any chief or community that is against the bauxite mining, but rather, the consensus is for us to continue engaging the government to ensure the project is implemented in a responsible and sustainable manner" (GhanaWeb, 2020).

The Chiefs included the Osabarima Marfo Kwabrane-Kyebihene/Abontendomhene; Nana Oye Gyau-Asiakwa Amankrado, who represented towns such as Afisa, Ahwenease, Adadientem, Pano, and others. In a personal interview with Osabarima Marfo Kwabrane, he reiterated their position and commitment to supporting bauxite mining in the Atewa Forest. He emphasized that "we support the government; we support the mining of bauxite in the forest because we believe this will be helpful for the community and the youth as well" (Osabarima Marfo Kwabrane, personal communication, July 22, 2020).

Also, an NGO official bemoaned the difficulties in influencing the various government agencies revealing that "there are a lot of people in the ministry and government agencies that believe that we have a good cause, but they are not willing to support the campaign" (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020). Stakeholders like the Parliament of Ghana, Water Resources Commission, and Environmental Protection Agency have generally remained silent on the issue and have not supported the course of the NGOs. This highlights that NGOs have not been successful in their attempt to

104

influence the stakeholders that are key in decision-making with regard to environmental policies in Ghana.

On substantive issues, NGOs are demanding that the government completely abandons the idea of mining in the Atewa Forest and that its status should be upgraded to a national park. However, since 2017, the government has consistently insisted on mining and advanced that the mining would rather be done in a way that will ensure the forest is not destroyed. In this regard, NGOs and government are highly divided on their objectives on the Atewa Forest. These huge difference in demands seems to be irresolvable.

In a personal interview, NGO officials acknowledged that it seems the government is eager and poised to mine in the forest (NGO officials 5 and 6). Therefore, the government "only engages civil society and asks them to recommend better ways of mining and not engagement on the need to stop mining and upgrade the forest's status" (NGO official 3, personal communication, May 31, 2020). Another participant lamented that "we have done our best, but the government is adamant" (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020). Asked whether they have been able to influence the government with the Save Atewa Forest campaign, an NGO official had this to say:

> I will not say we have influenced the government to stop entirely because it looks like the government is poised. We have not been able to influence the government to drop the idea. Today, as we are speaking government, is eager to mine, the process has been slowed but they are poised to do it (NGO official 2, personal communication, January 27, 2020).

These sentiments are shared by the other NGO officials interviewed for the study. They conceded that their campaign has not been able to persuade the government so far and that as it stands, the government has not changed its policy goal of mining in the Atewa Forest. Neither have they been able to influence the government to upgrade the forest's status (NGO officials 4, 5, and 6).

Despite their inability to persuade the government to abandon the policy of mining in the Atewa Forest, NGO officials believe that the Atewa Forest campaign has slowed the process. GIADEC envisioned that all permits for mining should be ready by January 2020. However, this has not been the case, and NGOs claim that the delays in the process are because of the "noise" that they made (NGO officials 2, 4, and 5). Another NGO official affirmed that the campaign has slowed down the process and "delayed government movement" (NGO official 3). The official narrated:

> Early last year we had them coming to construct some roads in the Atewa and we got the media to be out there and once the media started talking about it, they pulled back. They would have moved faster, if we did not say anything when they constructed the roads, they would have started mining. Once they make an attempt, we talk, get the media out there, and get the facts, which slows them down (NGO official 3, personal communication, May 21, 2020).

Even though NGOs believe they have been able to slow down the process of mining in the Atewa Forest, they expressed pessimism about their influence on the government in this regard. Scholars like Betsill and Corell

106

(2008) reveal that when it is difficult for NGOs to influence government, they sometimes settle for claims of influence.

From the preceding discussion, it is evident that the Atewa Forest campaign so far has not been able to successfully influence the government on any of the substantive issues pursued by the campaign. As evident from the discussion, both government officials and NGOs acknowledge that the government is keen and on course to mine in the forest reserve.

It is, however, important to note that the campaign is not over yet as NGOs have launched a last-ditch attempt to restrain the government. As mentioned earlier, eight NGOs and some private citizens filed a suit against the Attorney General, praying the Court to restrain the Government from undertaking mining in the forest (A Rocha Ghana, 2020). This action seems to be the last tactic by NGOs to restrain the government from mining as other strategies have failed to persuade the government to abandon its decision.

Again, though NGOs have not been able to influence significant local stakeholders, they have gained a lot of support in the international community. The acceptance of the Motion on Atewa Forest by IUCN as a critical global conservation issue is a major boost to the campaign by the NGOs. The ICUN, as a global body, has the appeal to recommend to mining companies not to engage in the bauxite extraction in Atewa Forest.

Also, the press release by three global manufacturing companies expressing their concerns over the extraction of bauxite in the Atewa Forest is a major indication of global support for the campaign. BMW Group, Tetra Pak, and Schüco International expressed that they are unwilling to bauxite mined from Atewa Forest in their supply chain due to the irreversible catastrophic

107

effect the mining will have on the environment and surrounding communities. The communique from the companies came after a coalition campaigning against the government wrote to these companies highlighting the risks of mining in the forest. These instances indicate though NGOs have had low influence, especially on local stakeholders, they have made significant gains in gaining support from the global arena. In the near future, the NGOs' tactics of 'internationalisation the issue' of saving Atewa Forest might successfully exert enough pressure on the Government of Ghana to abandon its policy of extracting bauxite in Atewa Forest.

Without recourse to what happens in the future, it can be concluded that, after eight years of the Save Atewa Forest Campaign, NGOs have successfully set the agenda on Atewa Forest and have attracted the attention of government officials and increased national and international interests and discourse on the subject. However, the campaign has not been able to change key stakeholders' positions on Atewa Forest policies. Also, NGOs have not been able to successfully persuade the government to adopt any of its two main campaign objectives: to abandon the policy of mining bauxite in the forest and upgrade the forest's status to a national park.

With reference to the framework guiding this analysis, NGOs successfully exerted influence on only one of the three indicators: agenda-setting. NGOs were thus unsuccessful in exerting influence to shape the position of key stakeholders and achieve their substantive demands. It can be concluded that NGOs have therefore exerted low-level influence in their attempt to influence policies on the Atewa Forest.

Conditions Constraining NGOs Effort to Influence Government

Betsill and Correll (2008) entreated that researches on NGO influence on the policy process should identify the conditioning factors that enable or constrain the NGOs effort to influence environmental policies. Following that, this section examines why NGOs have had a low level of influence in their bid to influence policy on the Atewa Forest. The identified conditions are broadly categorised as the conflicting interest in the use of Atewa Forest, the inability of NGOs to influence stakeholders, and the lack of transparency on the part of the government.

Conflicting interests in the use of Atewa Forest

The inability of NGOs to influence government so far is due to some identified conditions and factors. The most significant of these is the fact that the government and NGOs have conflicting interests on the most profitable means of using the Atewa Forest. NGOs have argued that it is economically and environmentally beneficial if the Atewa Forest is upgraded to a national park and used as an ecotourism centre. On the other hand, the GoG has insisted on exploiting the bauxite deposits for economic and infrastructural development. Despite the various arguments and research conducted by environmental non-governmental organisations, the government has not budged on its stance as it deems mining bauxite in the forest as important for infrastructural development in the country.

The issue under study has high economic benefits for the government. Like Thomas, Carr, and Humphreys (2001) argued, issues that directly affect the interests of powerful actors are less likely to be amenable to immediate NGO

109

influence. As such, an attempt to change state policy may be much harder if the issue concerns a matter of central economic or political importance.

The government has a keen interest in mining bauxite in the Atewa Forest and is a matter of central economic importance to the government, as revealed by government appointees and the president. For instance, speaking at the 61st Independence Day Celebration, the President of Ghana disclosed that the barter or exchange of refined bauxite for infrastructure was to make it possible for Ghana to move beyond aid (Arku, 2018). Ghana Beyond Aid is a major policy goal pursued by the government, and as such, a conflicting interest by NGOs which will derail the achievement of such a policy might not be successful.

Also, during a Media Encounter for 2019, President Nana Akufo-Addo stressed that:

> I'm hoping that by the end of the first quarter of next year, we will be able to announce to the world the investors and the partnerships for the development of our deposits in Nyinahini and Awaso a reality. You must know that the ones [bauxite deposits] in Kyebi are of a particular concern to me and whatever we can do to make sure that it happens, I'm going to make sure that it happens. Same with Nyinahini, same with Awaso (Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo, 2019).

The President of Ghana stated that mining the bauxite in Kyebi (Atewa Forest) is of particular interest to him because the president hails from that locality. This indicates the government's entrenched position on the use of Atewa Forest as the bauxite deposit is regarded as a significant resource to aid in the development of the country.

Thomas, Carr, and Humphreys (2001) also stated that when proposed development aims to meet clear and immediate needs, it may be difficult for an NGO to advocate caution and oppose development. Mining in Atewa Forest offers clear and immediate development opportunities and is valued more by the government and some key stakeholders. There is, therefore, conflicting interest between government and NGOs on how the Atewa Forest should be used and managed. The government's economic interests have been prioritised over the NGOs' demand for environmental protection and the low-level influence.

Inability of NGOs to influence key stakeholders

To impact the government on a policy that it has an entrenched position on, NGOs need to exert substantial pressure, including enlisting other stakeholders' support. However, stakeholders like the traditional leaders around the Atewa Forest have rather expressed their support for the government and the mining of bauxite in the forest. The absence of support from the chiefs around the Atewa enclave weakens the NGOs campaign against the government. As custodians of lands for the people, traditional leaders have enormous influence, especially on issues relating to land usage, as is the case of the Atewa Forest.

NGOs also lament a lack of support from stakeholders within the government. Ronald Abrahams, chief officer of the Water Resources Commission, in an interview on mining in the Atewa Forest with the Washington Post, opined: "When you take the mountain off, you change the hydrology and ecology," adding that "it will not be the same, it will change

everything, and we won't have a source of the river which is so reliable and has saved the nation for ages" (Knott, 2019).

Despite these government officials publicly stating the need to preserve the forest as argued by the NGOs, they have not joined the NGOs in opposing the government. A participant indicated that:

There are people in other institutions that could give us the support we need, like the Forestry Commission and Water Resources Commission. They are managing the forest and water resources and know-how important the Atewa Forest is, but you do not get their support (NGO official 5, personal communication, June 2, 2020).

The inability to enlist the support of key stakeholders also points to the argument advanced earlier that a key strategy missing in the NGOs advocacy is their inability to capture or lobby individuals that have a substantial influence on the policy-making process. As evident here, environmental non-governmental organisations have not been able to capture or lobby important stakeholders like traditional leaders, the Forestry Commission, and the Water Resources Commission to support their advocacy.

Another condition that has affected the campaign's effectiveness is the absence of massive public and civil society (CSOs) support. The Atewa Forest campaign has garnered little public and CSOs' support. Only a few CSOs like the Christian Council of Ghana have publicly supported the Save Atewa Forest campaign and declared their stance, urging the government to abandon the policy of mining in the forest (Njabor, 2019). CSOs that are not directly into environmental protection has remained silent on the issue and have not offered their support to the campaign. Several calls from CSOs, especially the powerful

112

ones, could have yielded significant pressure than what is being exerted by only NGOs at the moment.

The campaign has also failed to garner massive public support. The NGOs' protests have been attended by marginal numbers and have largely been restricted to communities around the Atewa Forest. The absence of massive support from the public can be attributed to the general attitude of the general public towards the environment. Environmental protection is not a matter of priority for the general public and is passive and shows less interest in such issues.

Issues of transparency on the part of the Government of Ghana

On what affects the effectiveness NGOs attempt to influence policy, it was found that lack of transparency and data availability from government institutions is a major factor. An NGO official revealed that a lack of government transparency is an issue (NGO official 2), as the government is unwilling to make contractual agreements available for NGOs to review (NGO official 1). NGO official 1 continued that "even with the passage of the Right to Information, the government is still a bit hesitant to make certain contracts and information, especially with external and third parties available for NGOs to review" (NGO official 1, personal communication, January 9, 2020). The USFS technical team in their consultation with stakeholders concerning the Atewa Forest, also noted: "a general lack of transparency to what is being planned and how impacts will be addressed" (USFS, 2019).

In engaging with the government, NGOs rely on data to advance their argument. However, it was found that the data and information are not easily

113

accessible and in some cases not available. One of the NGOs officials had this to say:

> Before you can engage you need to have information, but there are some of the engagements that information is unavailable. For instance, in Atewa and Offin, there is scanty information, so some you need to make speculations. Government is not open to give out data, so of them, you need to siphon information from people unofficially or make your observation. So, access to information is a key challenge (NGO official 3, personal communication, May 21, 2020).

Another NGO official shared the same sentiment highlighting the difficulties in getting data to support the Save Atewa Forest campaign. He noted that NGOs recognize the need to base their campaign on reliable and consistent data, which is "a bit lacking and sometimes unavailable in government departments" (NGO official 4, personal communication, June 2, 2020).

In addition to the NGOs, the technical team from USFS also found that no water quality reports or data on Atewa have been made available by the appropriate institutions (USFS, 2019). This highlights the problem of having access to reliable data to support the Atewa Forest campaign by the NGOs. These conditions affect the quality of argument advanced by the NGOs and subsequently on their attempt to influence government policies.

China's Involvement in Bauxite Extraction in Atewa Forest: The Trigger for NGOs Opposition?

Environmentalists and researchers have raised a lot of alarm regarding the poor environmental footprint of China in Africa, and Ghana is no exception (Tawiah, Zakari, & Khan, 2020; Tan-Mullins & Mohan, 2013). The majority of

these criticisms have come from western scholars, whiles few African scholars have also voiced such concerns. In Ghana, concerns have been raised in various circles on whether the NGOs who oppose bauxite mining in the Atewa Forest are doing so because the project will be funded by a Chinese company (Sinohydro Corporation Ltd). For instance, Purwins (2020) argued that "the politicization of Atewa Forest is closely connected to the involvement of China" as their funding appears to have prompted the conflict. Such critics advance that the NGOs would not have been this vociferous if the agreement to mine bauxite in the Atewa Forest was between the Government of Ghana and companies from western countries instead of China.

While it is difficult to substantiate or dispute such claims, the data available indicates the contrary. As highlighted earlier in this study, the campaign to upgrade the Atewa Forest commenced in 2012 to respond to the threats facing the forest, which included illegal mining and indiscriminate lumbering. The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining in Atewa Forest was formed in 2012, led by Arocha Ghana. Several stakeholder consultations were organised by this coalition in their bid to influence the government to upgrade the status of the forest. As revealed in the analysis of the second research question, this period saw a harmonious relationship between this coalition and the Ghanaian Government as the government supported the campaign to upgrade the status of the forest. This instance highlight that the 'fight' by NGOs to "Save Atewa Forest" preceded the involvement of China (from 2017) in the planned mining of bauxite in the forest.

The data also reveal that while three sites have been earmarked to extract bauxite, the NGOs are contesting the only one, the Atewa Forest (Kyebi/Kibi).

The Government of Ghana has stated that the bauxite extraction will be carried out in Nyinahini, Awaso, and Kyebi (Atewa Forest). In their letter of intent to take legal action against the government, the Coalition stated that there was no need to allow for mining in the forest because "out of the estimated 900 million tonnes of bauxite deposit in the country, Kyebi [Atewa Forest] contained only 160 million tonnes. Over 82 per cent of Ghana's bauxite can be mined without compromising the existence of the Atewa Forest" (Hawkson & Agbernosi, 2020)

It can be inferred from the above that the Coalition argued that they are not against the extraction of bauxite, but the extraction should not be at the expense of endangered species and a key biodiversity area. As such, they only protest against the mining of bauxite in Atewa Forest and not Nyinahini and Awaso, which the same Chinese company also funds.

It is evident in the data that the period (from 2017) of heightened confrontation between NGOs and the Government of Ghana and NGOs' use of aggressive tactics coincides with the involvement of China in the mining of bauxite in Atewa Forest. However, such tension and aggression by the NGOs are not necessarily because of China's involvement but due to the need to protect the Atewa Forest. The mining of bauxite in the forest will effectively dwindle the call to make it a national park, as such, the NGOs adopted aggressive tactics as desperate attempts to protect the forest but not to target China's investment. This can be inferred as the NGOs are not opposing the mining of bauxite in Nyinahini and Awaso, where China is also involved but specifically opposing the extraction of bauxite in Atewa Forest.

116

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented and analysed the data gathered in line with the three research questions that guided the study. The first section assessed the tactics and strategies employed by environmental non-governmental organisations in their bid to influence environmental policies. It was discovered that NGOs employed more cooperative and direct tactics earlier in their campaign but adopted more aggressive tactics later. The second section found that the relations between government and NGOs were cooperative but turned to a confrontational relation from 2018. The analysis observed that NGOs had exerted a low-level influence on environmental policies concerning the Atewa Forest. It was also observed that the NGOs have been unable to influence the government on Atewa Forest because of the conflicting interests on the usage of Atewa Forest, their inability to influence key stakeholders, and issues of transparency on the part of the government.
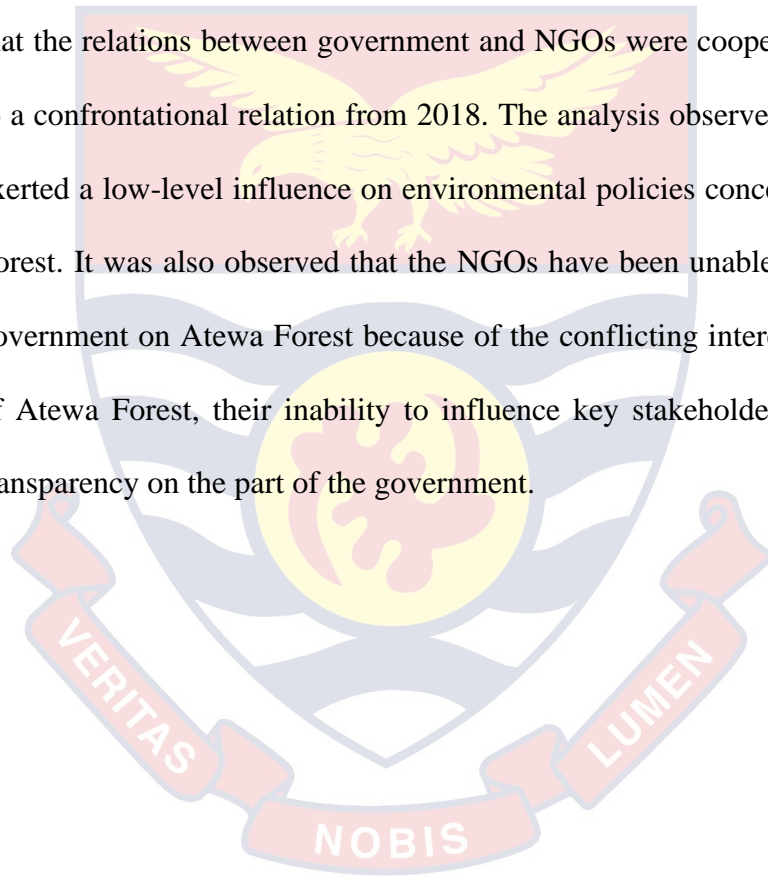
CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter primarily summarises the study, findings, and conclusions drawn from the analysis of data. It also proffers recommendations for non-governmental organisations, government, and other stakeholders involved in environmental governance in Ghana and suggestions for future researches in the area. The purpose of this study has been to examine the influence of international nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) on environmental policies in Ghana, using the Atewa Forest as a case for the study.

Summary of the Study

To achieve the main purpose of the study, three research objectives were developed to guide the study. The first objective sought to explore the tactics and strategies employed by NGOs in their bid to influence government policies on Atewa Forest. The second objective aimed at examining the relationship between NGOs and government in their interactions on issues relating to the Atewa Forest. The last objective was to examine the level of influence of NGOs on environmental policies in Ghana with specific reference to Atewa Forest.

The study adopted the qualitative research approach, specifically the descriptive case study design, to answer the stated research questions. The descriptive case study allowed for in-depth and detailed scrutiny of a single case, an NGO campaign to influence government policies on the Atewa Forest. The study focused on international environmental NGOs and solicited data from two local NGOs since the international and local NGOs have been working together through a coalition. Both primary and secondary data were collected

118

for the study. The secondary data included journal articles, newspaper articles, web pages, and books.

The primary data was acquired through press statements, press conferences, letters, petitions, web pages of targeted NGOs and government agencies, and interviewing selected participants with rich knowledge on the topic under study. The officials interviewed were selected from key NGOs such as; Friends of the Earth, A Rocha Ghana, Forest Watch Ghana, Concerned Citizens of Atewa Landscape, Save the Frogs Ghana, and Tropenbos Ghana. These NGOs were purposively sampled because of their critical role in the campaign attempting to influence government policy on Atewa Forest. An official of the Forestry Commission and the Kyebihene were also interviewed for this study.

The gathered data was coded and subjected to content analysis. The content analysis allowed for thorough scrutiny of the documents and interviews of the participants. The analysis of the second research objective was guided by the four C's model of NGOs-government relations developed by Adil Najam (2000). A framework for qualitative analysis of influence developed by Betsill and Correll (2008) was adapted to analyse the NGOs' level of influence. The adapted framework made it possible to examine NGOs' influence on Ghana's environmental policies relating to Atewa Forest.

Key Findings

The study revealed that NGOs deploy varying tactics and strategies in their attempt to influence the government. At the initial stage of the NGOs' campaign, they employed more insider tactics like; research and position papers and petitions. However, the tactics shifted to more aggressive outsider tactics

like internationalising the issue, protests, and legal action against the Government of Ghana (GoG). The shift in tactics coincided with the government's decision to mine bauxite in the Atewa Forest.

The study further discovered that the relationship between the government and the NGOs shifted from cooperation to confrontation. The relationship between government and NGOs from 2012-2017 was cooperative, where both stakeholders shared the same policy goals and the means to achieve these goals. NGOs and the government collaborated on activities towards upgrading the status of the forest reserve to a national park in this period.

However, a change in the government's policy goal in 2018 to mine in the Atewa Forest occasioned a confrontational relationship. From 2018 to 2020, NGOs and the government had dissimilar policy goals on Atewa where the government aimed to allow for bauxite mining, and NGOs demanded that the forest is preserved. The confrontational relation is evident in public accusations by both government and NGO officials, lack of cooperation, and oppositional strategies adopted by the NGOs against the government, culminating in legal action.

It was also found that despite NGOs adopting varying tactics and strategies, they have only been able to exert low-level influence on issues relating to the Atewa Forest. NGOs have had significant influence in bringing to the fore the need to protect the Atewa Forest in the national and international arena. However, NGOs have not been able to influence key stakeholders involved in the policy process relating to the Atewa Forest. Also, NGOs have not influenced the government to abandon its mining policy in the Atewa Forest and the need to upgrade the forest's status to a national park with a protected

120

buffer zone. Despite these shortcomings, NGOs tactic of internationalisation of the issue and their successful motion on Atewa Forest at IUCN can potentially exert enough pressure on the GoG to abandon its policy of extracting bauxite in Atewa Forest.

Finally, it was revealed that the factors that have impeded NGOs' influence on the Atewa Forest include their inability to influence stakeholders like the traditional rulers of the area, civil society organisations, and government agencies. The government's entrenched position on its policy to mine in the forest reserve and its lack of transparency with NGOs have also substantially affected NGOs' effort to influence policy on Atewa Forest. There is a conflict of interest among the primary stakeholders on how the Atewa Forest should be utilised to benefit the people fully. While the local and international NGOs believe that an upgrade of the status of the forest to a national park and as a tourist centre offers the best economic and ecological returns, the government believes that mining the bauxite deposit in the forest reserve is the best option.

Conclusions

NGOs have been responsible for consistently bringing issues of environmental sustainability to the fore internationally and have therefore exerted significant influence on some international agreements and specific government policies in various countries. Notwithstanding the increasing influence of NGOs on environmental policies across the globe, this study concludes that despite adopting various strategies ranging from researches, petitions, protests, and legal action, NGOs have a low-level influence on environmental policies regarding Atewa Forest in Ghana, especially when such policies present immediate economic benefits for the country. It suggests that

in cases where a government policy has immediate economic benefits, NGOs cannot influence the government since the government prioritises economic benefits over environmental concerns.

The study also highlights that for NGOs to significantly influence environmental policies in Ghana; there is the need to secure the support of the general public, civil society organisations, and traditional rulers. Campaigns without the support of these stakeholders are likely to be ineffective to influence the government on highly contested environmental policies.

The study also contends that the relationship between the government and NGOs varies depending on the environmental policy at hand. In situations where the two stakeholders have different policy goals and strategies, a confrontational relationship develops. Such a relationship is characterised by a lack of collaboration, public squabbles, and accusations.

In terms of theory, the case of Government-NGO relations provides further empirical evidence to support Najam's four C's model of NGO-Government relations. The study's findings are also consistent with the argument espoused by Najam (2000) that the policy end goal and strategies of government and NGOs are not monolithic, and as such, change in one's policy end goal and strategies result in a change in the relationship.

The internationalisation of the Atewa Forest campaign and the attempt by international NGOs to influence the government's policy gives credence to the multilevel governance theory, which espouses that different actors at different levels, including the international level, attempt to influence the policies of states. Internationalising the campaign strengthens the tenets of the multilevel governance theory that actors in a particular state sometimes attempt

to go beyond the state and the government to involve international actors in their bid to influence the policy of such states.

In assessing the Save Atewa Forest campaign, this study has provided invaluable empirical evidence on the most protracted and internationally relevant environmental advocacy pursued by international NGOs against the GoG. One emerging issue is the legal action pursued by the NGOs. This is the first time that NGOs have sued the GoG on an environmental issue. The outcome will have pronounced effects on the future advocacy of local and international NGOs in Ghana and Africa and environmental governance in general.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made to various stakeholders. It is recommended that the government should be transparent, open, and make available contractual agreements on policies and projects that impact the environment to the various stakeholders. The government should also make available other data on environmental policies to enhance stakeholder's appreciation of the issue at hand. This will enhance trust and open dialogue among stakeholders.

Also, the government should engage environmental NGOs and other stakeholders in formulating policies that have a substantial effect on the environment. Engaging stakeholders at the early stage of environmental policy formulation will prevent opposition and confrontation at a later stage. Engaging with NGOs will also be important to the country's effort to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, especially those relating to the environment.

123

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) should conduct a thorough and comprehensive Strategic Environmental Assessment and Environmental Impact Assessment to include analysis on the long-term effects of mining bauxite on water supply, farming, tourism, and sacred activities. Reliable social and environmental impacts assessment will clarify to the various stakeholders the more beneficial and environmentally friendly policy to pursue. The findings of the assessment should also be made public or available to stakeholders like

In their bid to influence policy, NGOs should endeavour to lobby other significant stakeholders like civil society organisations and traditional rulers to support their campaign. The support of these significant stakeholders enhances the advocacy of the NGOs.

Also, NGOs should prioritise creating a substantial network with government policymakers that are influential in the policy formulation process. NGOs can achieve this by working to develop the capacity of government policymakers to broaden their perspectives on environmental policies. This will create an open environment to engage in policy dialogue and openness to policy change.

Suggestions for Further Research

In the course of conducting this research, a few areas that needed to be studied further were identified. In perusing the literature, I discovered that few studies have been conducted on the engagement of environmental NGOs in the policy formulation process in Ghana compared to studies on think tanks and policy formulation. I, therefore, suggest that further studies should be conducted to examine how NGOs influenced policies like the Ghana Forest and Wildlife

124

Policy (2012), the National Climate Change Policy (2013), and subsequent policies that will be formulated.

This study mainly focused on the policy objectives of environmental NGOs and the government; further studies need to examine the preference of the indigenes living around the forest. Such studies can focus on whether the indigenes prefer that the Atewa Forest is upgraded to a national park or mined for bauxite. The study can also further investigate the extent to which the government and the international NGOs engage the indigenes in formulating their policy goals. This will be important to establish which of the stakeholders is pursuing the preferences of the indigenes.

Since this study specifically focused on the campaign on the Atewa Forest, I suggest that this research can be replicated on other environmental policies or issues to ascertain the relations between NGOs and government and NGOs' level of influence. This will be significant in conceptualising NGO-government relations and for comparative analysis across different cases.
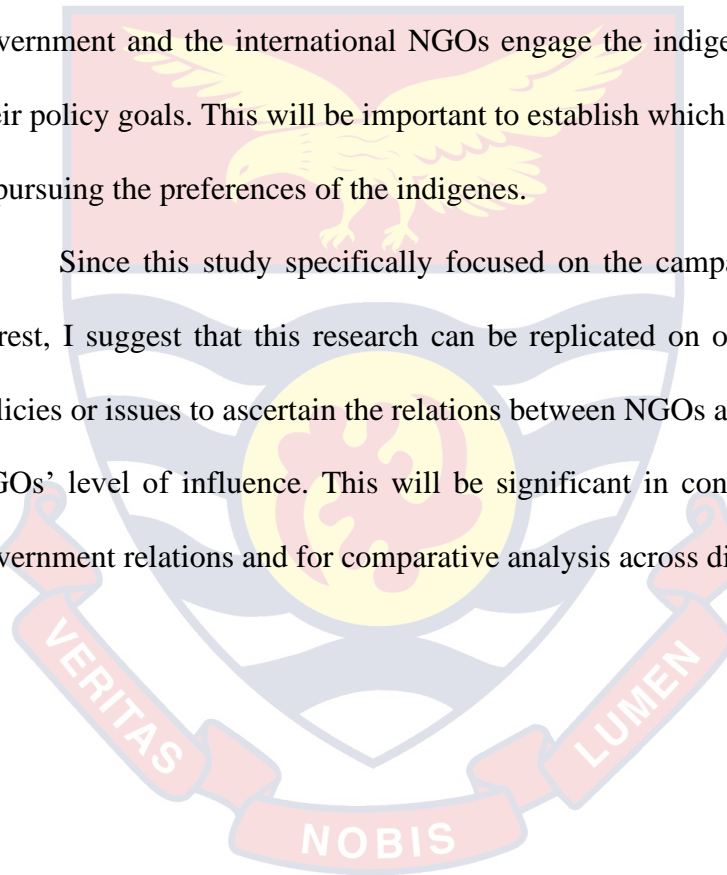
REFERENCES

A Rocha Ghana (2019, June 7). Environmental NGOs comes strongly on Gov't for 'illegal' activities in the Atewa Forest. *A Rocha Ghana*. Retrieved May 13, 2020 from https://ghana.arocha.org/news/environmental-ngos-comes-strongly-on-govt-for-illegal-activities-in-the-atewa-forest/

A Rocha Ghana (2020, July 3). Gov't of Ghana taken to court over Atewa. *A Rocha Ghana.* Retrieved August 11, 2020 from https://ghana.arocha.org/news/govt-of-ghana-taken-to-court-over-atewa/

A Rocha International (2018, July 6). Re: Threat and opportunity regarding the Atewa Forest as a key Biodiversity Area. *A Rocha.* Retrieved March 8, 2020 from https://www.arocha.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Atewa-forest-KBA-letter-5-July.pdf

Abdulai, A. G., & Quantson, R. (2008). The changing role of CSOs in public policy making in Ghana. *Ghana Social Science Journal*, *5*(1), 114-151.

Abelson D. E. (1992). A new channel of influence: American think tanks and the news media. *Queens Quarterly 94*(4): 849–872.

Abelson, D. (2010). Is anybody listening? Assessing the influence of think tanks. In: A. Garcé & G. Uña (Eds.) *Think tanks and public policies in Latin America* (pp. 11-32). Buenos Aires: Fundación Siena and CIPPEC.

Adjei, O. S., Agyemang, S., & Afriyie, K. (2012). Non-governmental organizations and rural poverty reduction in northern Ghana: perspectives of beneficiaries on strategies, impact and challenges. *Journal of Poverty Alleviation and International Development, 3(2)*, pp. 47-74.

126

Adogla-Bessa, D. (2018, March 23). Suhum MCE slams protests against mining in Atewa Forest. *Citi Newsroom.* Retrieved from https://citinewsroom.com/2018/03/suhum-mce-slams-protests-against-mining-in-atewa-forest/

Adogla-Bessa, D. (2019, June 21). CSOs march to demand protection of Atewa Forest from mining. *Citi Newsroom.* Retrieved from https://citinewsroom.com/2019/06/csos-march-to-demand-protection-of-atewa-forest-from-mining/

Adom, D. (2017). Challenges to the efficacy of forestry and wildlife policies in Ghana for environmental protection: A review. *African Journal of Agricultural Research*, *12*(39), 2858-2876.

Adombilla, M. A (2019, September 10). We won't plunder Atewa Forest to mine bauxite-GIADEC. *Daily Graphic.* p.38.

Agbo, V. M. (2019). *From conflict to collaboration: Atewa Forest governance* (Master's thesis, University of Waterloo). Retrieved from https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/15028

Ahmed, S., & Potter, D. M. (2006). *NGOs in international politics*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Ailon, G. (2006). What B would otherwise do: a critique of conceptualizations of 'power' in organizational theory. *Organization*, *13*(6), 771-800.

Akkucuk, U., & Sekercioglu, C. H. (2016). NGOs for environmental sustainability: The case of Kuzeydoga Foundation. *Fresenius Environmental Bulletin*, *25*(12), 6038-6044.

Amartey, N. N. (2017, February 27). Obour, Richie, others join fight against galamsey in Atewa Forest. *Citifmonline.* Retrieved from http://citifmonline.com/2017/02/obour-richie-others-join-fight-against-galamsey-in-atiwa-forest

Anyebe, A. A. (2018). An overview of approaches to the study of public policy. *International Journal of Political Science*. *4*(1), 08-17.

Arku, J. (2018, March 6). Bauxite earnings to finance Ghana beyond aid projects. *Graphic Online.* Retrieved from https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/bauxite-earnings-to-finance-ghana-beyond-aid-projects.html

Arthur-Mensah (2019, June 4). Minister responds to a petition against mining in Atewa Forest. *Ghana News Agency.* Retrieved from https://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/minister-responds-to-a-petition-against-mining-in-atewa-forest-151986

Arts, B. (2006) Non-state actors in global environmental governance: New arrangements beyond the State. In M. Koenig-Archibugi & M. Zürn (Eds.) *New modes of governance in the global system* (pp. 177-200). *International political economy Series.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ataman, M. (2003). The impact of non-state actors on world politics: A challenge to nation-states. *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, *2*(1), 42-66.

Attuaquayefio, D. K., & Folib, J. N. (2005). An overview of biodiversity conservation in Ghana: challenges and prospects. *West African Journal of Applied Ecology*, *7*(1) 1-18.

Auerbach, C. F., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis.* New York: New York University Press.

Awuah-Nyamekye, S. (2018). Ecological resistance movements: A case study from Ghana. *Oguaa Journal of Religion and Human Values (OJORHV)* 4(2018).

Baafi, A. A. (2017). The Netherlands commit €1.5m to Atewa Forest project. *Graphic Online.* Retrieved from https://www.graphic.com.gh/business/business-news/the-netherlands-commit-1-5m-to-atewa-forest-project.html

Bache, I. and Flinders, M. (2004). Themes and issues in multi-level governance. In I. Bache and M. Flinders (Eds.) *Multi-level governance* (pp.1-11). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baruah B. (2007). Assessment of public-private NGO partnerships: Water and sanitation services in slums. *Natural Resources Forum 31(3),* 226–237.

Batley, R., & Mcloughlin, C. (2010). Engagement with non-state service providers in fragile states: Reconciling state-building and service delivery. *Development Policy Review*, *28*(2), 131-154.

Batley, R., & Rose, P. (2011). Analysing collaboration between non-governmental service providers and governments. *Public administration and development*, *31*(4), 230-239.

Benedick, R. E. (1991). The diplomacy of climate change Lessons from the Montreal Ozone protocol. *Energy Policy*, *19*(2), 94-97.

Bennett, W. L. (2005). Social movements beyond borders: Understanding two eras of transnational activism. *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, *203*, 26.

Bentil, L. N. (2018, March 20). Atiwa residents walk to Flagstaff House against bauxite mining. *Graphic Online*. Retrieved from https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/atiwa-residents-walk-to-flagstaff-house-against-bauxite-mining.html

Berg, B. L. (2007). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* Long Beach: California State University.

Bernard, H.R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Betsill, M. M. (2006). Transnational actors in international environmental politics. In M. M. Betsill, K. Hochstetler, & D. Stevis (Eds.) *Palgrave advances in the study of international environmental politics* (pp. 172–202). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Betsill, M. M., & Corell, E. (2001). NGO influence in international environmental negotiations: A framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics*, *1*(4), 65-85.

Betsill, M. M., & Corell, E. (Eds.). (2008). *NGO diplomacy: The influence of nongovernmental organizations in international environmental negotiations*. London: Mit Press.

Betsill, M. M., Hochstetler, K., & Stevis, D. (Eds.). (2006). *Palgrave advances in international environmental politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biggam, J. (2011). *Succeeding with your master's dissertation: A step-by-step handbook (*2nd Ed.*)*. Belkshire, UK: McGraw-Hill Education.

Blom-Hansen, J. (2005). Principals, agents, and the implementation of EU cohesion policy. *Journal of European Public Policy, 12(4),* 624-648.

Boardman, R. (1981) *International organization and the conservation of nature.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bourne, L., (2005). *Project relationship management and the stakeholder circle.* Unpublished Doctoral thesis, RMIT, Melbourne.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bulkeley, H., & Betsill, M. (2005). Rethinking sustainable cities: Multilevel governance and the 'urban' politics of climate change. *Environmental Politics*, *14*(1), 42-63.

Carson, R. (1962). *Silent spring.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

CCAL (2019, July 4*). Rejoinder: Atewa district bauxite deal opposers are galamseyers-Minister of Environment.* Retrieved from https://atewa.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Rejoinder-Atewa-Bauxite-Deal-Opposers-are-Galamseyers.pdf

Change.org (n.d). *Atewa Forest for National Park not mining*. https://www.change.org/p/atewa-forest-for-national-park-not-miningsaveatewa-petitioning-president-nakufoaddo-of-ghana

Chapman, J., & Fisher, T. (2000). The effectiveness of NGO campaigning: Lessons from practice. *Development in Practice*, *10*(2), 151-165.

Chasek, P., Downie, D. L., & Brown, J. (2017). *Global environmental politics.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Chriistopher, N. (2018). *Assessing the role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Ghana's development: The case of the World Vision International in the Jirapa District of the Upper West Region*. Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Ghana. Ghana.

Clark, J. (1991). *Democratizing development: The role of voluntary organizations*. Hartford, CT: Kumarian.

Corell, E. (1999). Non-state actor influence in the negotiations of the convention to combat desertification. *International Negotiation*, *4*(2), 197-223.

Corell, E., & Betsill, M. M. (2008). Analytical framework: Assessing the influence of NGO diplomats. In M. M. Betsill, & E. Corell. 2008. *NGO diplomacy: The*

influence of nongovernmental organizations in international environmental negotiations (pp. 19-42). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Coston, J. M. (1998). A model and typology of government-NGO relationships. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *27*(3), 358-382.

Cox, R.W., & Jacobson, H. K., (1973). *The anatomy of influence: Decision making in international organization.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Cummings D (2005) Think tanks and intellectual authority outside the university: Information technocracy or republic of letters? In: Finnegan R (Ed.). *Participating in the knowledge society: Research beyond university walls*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Daily Graphic (September, 2019). Rejoinder: GIADEC's empty assurances and Osafo-Maafo's obscured reality. *Daily Graphic*-Accra. p.12

Daniell, K. A., & Kay, A. (2017). Multi-level governance: An introduction. In K. Daniell, & A. Kay, (2017). *Multi-level governance: Conceptual challenges and case studies from Australia* (p. 3-32). Australia: ANU Press.

Dauvergne, P. (2005) Research in global environmental politics: History and trends. In P. Dauvergne (ed.) *Handbook of global environmental politics* (pp.8-32). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Dauvergne, P. (Ed.). (2005). *Handbook of global environmental politics*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Davidson, C., & Tolich, M. (2003). *Social science research in New Zealand: Many paths to understanding.* Auckland, NZ: Pearson Education New Zealand.

Denzin N. and Lincoln Y. (Eds.) (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research.* London: Sage Publication Inc.

DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education*, *40*(4), 314-321.

Dodds, F. (2001). From the corridors of power to the global negotiating table: The NGO steering committee of the Commission on Sustainable Development. In M. Edwards and J. Gaventa (Eds.), *Global Citizen Action* (pp. 203-213). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Duffy, R. (2006). Non-governmental organisations and governance states: The impact of transnational environmental management networks in Madagascar. *Environmental Politics, (15*(5), 731-749.

Eliasu, A. (2017). Addressing gender inequality in enrolment and attendance in basic education: The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the Northern Region of Ghana. *UDS International Journal of Development*, *4*(2), 59-74.

Ferretti, V., Pluchinotta, I., & Tsoukiàs, A. (2019). Studying the generation of alternatives in public policy making processes. *European Journal of Operational Research*, *273*(1), 353-363.

Fisher J. (1998). *Non-Governments: NGOs and the political development of the Third World.* West Hartford, Conn: Kumarian Press.

Florini, A. M. (Ed.). (2012). *The third force: The rise of transnational civil society*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Foli, R. (2016). Transnational actors and policymaking in Ghana: The case of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty. *Global Social Policy*, *16*(3), 268-286.

Folley, G. (2020, January 22). Mining of bauxite in Atewa Forest: Residents of communities protest. *Graphic Online.* Retrieved from https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/mining-of-bauxite-in-atewa-forest-residents-of-communities-protest.html

Gais, T. & Walker, J. (1991). Pathways to influence in American politics. In J. Walker (Ed.) *Mobilizing interest groups in America: Patrons, professions, and social movements* (pp. 103-122). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Garrett, H. (1968). The tragedy of the commons. *Science*, *162*(3859), 1243-1248.

Gary, I. (1996). Confrontation, co-operation or co-optation: NGOs and the Ghanaian state during structural adjustment. *Review of African Political Economy*, *23*(68), 149-168.

GBCGhana Online (2017, June 5). Atiwa Forest depletion: Campaign song launched. *GBC Ghana Online*. Retrieved from https://www.gbcghana.com/1.11053420

GBCGhana Online (2019, June 15). Coalition petitions parliament over Atewa bauxite deal. *GBCGhana Online.* Retrieved from https://www.gbcghanaonline.com/news/coalition-petitions-parliament-over-atewa-bauxite-deal/2019/

Gemmill, B., & Bamidele-Izu, A. (2002). The role of NGOs and civil society in global environmental governance. In D. C. Esty, & M. H. Ivanova (Eds.), *Global environmental governance: Options and opportunities* (pp.77-100). Yale School of Forestry & Environmental Studies.

Gereffi, G., Garcia-Johnson, R., & Sasser, E. (2001). The NGO industrial complex. *Foreign policy*, (125), 56.

GhanaWeb (2019). *Bauxite mining won't hurt Atewa wildlife.* Retrieved from https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Bauxite-mining-won-t-hurt-Atewa-wildlife-Akufo-Addo-751321

GhanaWeb (2020, January 24). Ignore youth protests, we support bauxite mining-Atewa Chiefs. *GhanaWeb.* Retrieved from https://www.ghanaweb.com/Ghana HomePage/NewsArchive/Ignore-youth-protests-we-support-bauxite-mining-Atewa-Chiefs-846541

GIADEC (2019). *GIADEC media engagement.* Retrieved from https://ghana.arocha.o rg/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2019/12/GIDEC-Media-Briefing.pdf

Gidron, B., Kramer, R. M., & Salamon, L. M. (1992). Government and the third sector in comparative perspective: Allies or adversaries? In B. Gidron, R. Kramer, & L. M. Salamon (Eds.), *Government and the third sector: Emerging relationships in welfare states* (pp.1-23)*.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gutman, P. (2003). What did WSSD accomplish? An NGO perspective. *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, *45*(2), 20-28.

Haas, P. M. (1992). Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, *46(1),* 1-35.

Hagan, F. E. (2006). *Research methods in criminal justice and criminology* (7th Ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Haque, M. S. (2002). The changing balance of power between the government and NGOs in Bangladesh. *International Political Science Review*, *23*(4), 411-435.

Hawkson, E. E. & Agbernorsi, J. (2020, January 16). Coalition initiates legal action against mining in Atewa Forest. *Daily Graphic* p.52.

Heiss, A., & Kelley, J. (2017). Between a rock and a hard place: International NGOs and the dual pressures of donors and host governments. *The Journal of Politics*, *79*(2), 732-741.

Hensengerth, O., & Lu, Y. (2019). Emerging environmental multi-level governance in China? Environmental protests, public participation and local institution-building. *Public Policy and Administration*, *34*(2), 121-143.

Hess, D. J. (2009). The potentials and limitations of civil society research: Getting undone science done. *Sociological Inquiry*, *79*(3), 306-327.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2003). Unraveling the central state, but how? Types of multi-level governance. *American Political Science Review*, 233-243.

IUCN World Congress (2020). *103 - Urgent measures to safeguard the globally important Atewa Forest, Ghana.* Retrieved from https://www.iucncongress2020.org/motion/103

IUCN, (2017, December 21). Endangered primate discovered in threatened Atewa Forest, Ghana. *IUCN*. https://www.iucn.org/news/species/201712/endangered-primate-discovered-threatened-atewa-forest-ghana

Jafaru, M. Y. (2018, July 30). Parliament approves $2bn barter deal with China. *Daily Graphic.* p.16.

Jelinek, E. (2006). *A study of NGO relations with government and communities in Afghanistan.* Agency Coordinating for Afghan Relief.

Kamat, S. (2004). The privatization of public interest: Theorizing NGO discourse in a neoliberal era. *Review of International Political Economy*, *11*(1), 155-176.

Kavaarpuo, G. (2012). *Contribution of NGOs in promoting basic education in Wa West District: NGOs in basic education, Ghana*. Ghana: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics.* London: Cornell University Press.

Kenarku A. N. N (2018, March 19). Group begins 6-day walk to protest mining in Atewa forest. *Citifmonline.* Retrieved from http://citifmonline.com/2018/03/group-begins-6-day-walk-protest-mining-atewa-forest/

Kessey, K. D., & Arko, B. (2013). Small scale gold mining and environmental degradation, in Ghana: Issues of mining policy implementation and challenges. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, *5*(1).

Kim, Y. (2011). *The unveiled power of NGOs: How NGOs influence states' foreign policy behaviors.* (Doctoral Dissertation: University of Iowa). Retrieved from https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/1153/

Knoke, D. (1990). *Political networks: the structural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knott, S. (2019, October 25). Mining Ghana's bauxite would bring in billions from China. But it could also taint the water for 5 million people. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/mining-ghanas-bauxite-would-bring-in-billions-from-china-but-it-could-also-taint-the-water-for-5-million-people/2019/10/25/e4726518-e3a7-11e9-b0a6-3d03721b85ef_story.html

Kpessa, M. W. (2011). The politics of public policy in Ghana: From closed circuit bureaucrats to citizenry engagement. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *27*(1), 29-56.

Leipold, G. (2000). Campaigning: A fashion or the best way to change the global agenda?. *Development in Practice*, *10*(3-4), 453-460.

Leonardo DiCarprio. (2019, November 12). Ghana's #Atewa Forest Reserve provides drinking water to 5 million+ people & harbors 100+ wildlife species at risk of extinction. We must prioritize the protection of these irreplaceable places for a

healthy planet. http://wapo.st/2oDUBFi @arochaghana #SaveAtewaForestNow [Tweet]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/LeoDiCaprio/status/11943003394 42241536

Lewis, D. (2010). Nongovernmental organizations, definition and history. *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, 1056-1062.

Lewis, D., & Kanji, N. (2009). *Non-governmental organizations and development*. New York: Routledge.

Lu, Y. (2007). Environmental civil society and governance in China. *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, *64*(1), 59-69.

Lüdert, J. (2016). *Conditions apply: Non-state actors challenging state sovereignty through intergovernmental organizations: An analysis of national liberation movements and indigenous peoples at the United Nations*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia). Retrieved from https://open.libra ry.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0314170

Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. London: Pearson.

Marfo, K., Anchirinah, V., & Wiggins, S. (2002). *Environmental policies and livelihoods in the forest margins of southern Ghana*. Kumasi, Ghana: Crops Research Institute.

Marks, G., (1993). Structural policy and multilevel governance in the EC. In A. Cafruny & G. Rosenthal (Eds.). *The state of the European Community* (pp. 391-411). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Marks, G., Scharpf, F. W., Schmitter, P. C., & Streeck, W. (1996). *Governance in the European Union*. London: Sage Publications.

Martens, K. (2002). Mission impossible? Defining nongovernmental organizations. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *13*(3), 271-285.

Mayhew, S. H. (2005). Hegemony, politics and ideology: The role of legislation in NGO–government relations in Asia. *Journal of Development Studies*, *41*(5), 727-758.

McGann, J. G., & Johnson, E. C. (2005). *Comparative think tanks, politics and public policy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mcloughlin, C. (2011). Factors affecting state-non-governmental organisation relations in service provision: Key themes from the literature. *Public Administration and Development*, *31*(4), 240-251.

Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. W. (1972). *The limits to growth.* New York: The Club of Rome.

Ministry of Information-Ghana. (2019a, July 2). *Meet-the-Press session addressed by Prof. Kwabena Frimpong-Boateng, Minister for Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://touch.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=477387576344559&id=1259771767391320&ref=bookmarks

Ministry of Information-Ghana. (2019b, September 11). *Meet-The-Press Session with the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://touch.facebook.com/watch/?v=1184474045056261

Mitchell, R. B. (2002), International environment, In T. Risse, B. Simmons and W. Carlsnaes (Eds), *Handbook of international relations* (pp. 660-681). London: Sage Publications.

Mohd, R., & Lee, K. C. S. (1999). Tactics of environmental NGOs in influencing public policy in Malaysia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, *7*(2), 71-77.

Mosley, T. (2020). *Dutch court says government inaction on climate change violates human rights.* Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2020/01/13/ netherlands-climate-change-human-rights

Muijs, D. (2010). *Doing quantitative research in education with SPSS*. New Delhi: Sage.

Najam, A. (1996). NGO accountability: A conceptual framework. *Development Policy Review, 4*, 339-353.

Najam, A. (2000). The four-C's of third sector-government relations: Cooperation, confrontation, complementary, and co-optation. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 10(4), 375–396.

Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo. (2019, December 13). *An Encounter with the Media* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://touch.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid= 1237163776494707&id=7893934835

Newell, P. (2000), *Climate for change: Non-state actors and the global politics of the greenhouse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Njabor, J. (2019, May 31). Don't mine in Atewa forest; make it a National Park-Christian Council to gov't. *Citi Newsroom*. Retrieved from https://citinewsroo m.com/2019/05/dont-mine-in-atewa-forest-make-it-a-national-park-christian-council-to-govt/

Ntumy, K. E., (2017, February 28). Celebs to 'protect' Atewa Forest. *Graphic Showbiz*. Retrieved from https://www.graphic.com.gh/entertainment/music/celebs-to-protect-atewa-forest.html

140

O'neill, K. (2017). *The environment and international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ohemeng, F. L. K. (2015). Civil society and policy making in developing countries: Assessing the impact of think tanks on policy outcomes in Ghana. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *50*(6), 667-682.

Ojakorotu, V. (2008). Environmental activism and the struggle for justice by the non-governmental organisations in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, *4*(2), 40-55.

Olson, L. (2006). Fighting for humanitarian space: NGOs in Afghanistan. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, *9*(1), 1-25.

Ongaro, E., Gong, T., & Jing, Y. (2009). Toward multi-level governance in China? Coping with complex public affairs across jurisdictions and organizations. *Public Policy and Administration, 34*(2), 105-120.

Opp, K. D. (2009). *Theories of political protest and social movements: A multidisciplinary introduction, critique, and synthesis*. London: Routledge.

Osei-Owusu, Y. (2016). *Justification to upgrade Atewa Range Forest Reserve into a national park.* Retrieved from https://ghana.arocha.org/wpcontent/uploads/sites/15/2017/02/Atewa-National-Park-Justification.pdf

Ostrom, E. (2010). Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change. *Global Environmental Change*, *20*(4), 550-557.

Oulath, S. O. (2015). *The influence of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) on primary education policy in Laos.* (Master's Thesis: University of Wellington). Retrieved from http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/5230

Pallas, C. L., & Urpelainen, J. (2013). Mission and interests: The strategic formation and function of north-south NGO campaigns. *Global Governance*, *19*(3), 401-423.

Piattoni, S. (2010). *The theory of multi-level governance: Conceptual, empirical, and normative challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potter, D. & Taylor, A. (1996). Introduction. In D. Potter (Ed). *NGOs and environmental policies: Asia and Africa.* London: Frank Cass Publishers.

Potter, D. (Ed.). (1996). *NGOs and environmental policies: Asia and Africa*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.

Princen, T., and Finger, M. (1994). Introduction. In T. Princen. & M. Finger., (eds.), *Environmental NGOs in world politics. Linking the local and the global*, Routledge, London, pp.1-28.

Purwins, S. (2020). Bauxite mining at Atewa Forest Reserve, Ghana: a political ecology of a conservation-exploitation conflict. *GeoJournal*, 1-13.

Ramanath, R. (2009). Limits to institutional isomorphism: Examining internal processes in NGO-government interactions. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *38*(1), 51-76.

Rich, A. & Weaver, R.K. (2002) Advocates and analysts: Think tanks and the politicization of expertise. In A. J. Cigler & B. Looumis (Eds) *Interest group politics* (pp.235-530). England: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Richards, J. P., & Heard, J. (2005). European environmental NGOs: Issues, resources and strategies in marine campaigns. *Environmental Politics*, *14*(1), 23-41.

Saito-Jensen, M. (2015). *Theories and methods for the study of multi-level environmental governance*. Center for International Forestry Research.

Sandhu, D., & Arora, P. (2012). Role and impact of environmental NGO's on environmental sustainability in India. *Gian Jyotie Journal*, *1*(3), 93-104.

Schep, S., Guzman, A., Beukering, P., Moel, H., Eiselin, M., Ayesu, S., Birikorang, G., & Ansah, K. B. (2016). *The economics of the Atewa Forest Range, Ghana.* Retrieved from https://ghana.arocha.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2016/11/ Atewa-brochure-compleet-compressed1.pdf

Schlesinger, P. (2009). Creativity and the experts: New labour, think tanks, and the policy process. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *14*(1), 3-20.

Senit, C. A. (2020). Leaving no one behind? The influence of civil society participation on the Sustainable Development Goals. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *38*(4), 693-712.

Simmons, B. A., & Martin, L. L. (2002). International organizations and institutions. In W., Carlsnaes, T, Risse., & B. A., Simmons (Eds.) *Handbook of international relations*, (pp.192-211). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Smith, R. A. & Fink, E. L. (2015). Understanding the influential people and social structures shaping compliance. *Journal of Social Structure,* 16(4), 1-15.

Speth, J. G. (2003). Perspecitves on the Johannesburg Summit. *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, *45*(1), 24-29.

Stephenson, P. (2013). Twenty years of multi-level governance: 'Where does it come from? What is it? Where is it going?' *Journal of European Public Policy*, *20*(6), 817-837.

Stevis, D. (2010). International relations and the study of global environmental politics: Past and present. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.

Tan-Mullins, M., & Mohan, G. (2013). The potential of corporate environmental responsibility of Chinese state-owned enterprises in Africa. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, *15*(2), 265-284.

Tawiah, V., Zakari, A., & Khan, I. (2020). The environmental footprint of China-Africa engagement: An analysis of the effect of China–Africa partnership on carbon emissions. *Science of the Total Environment*, 143603.

Teamey K, Mcloughlin C. (2009). *Understanding the dynamics of relationships between government agencies and non-state providers of basic services: Key issues from the literature,* No. 38, NGPA working paper series. London: London School of Economics.

Thomas, A. (1996). Non-governmental organizations and environmental policy in Botswana-opposition or collaboration? *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, *10*(1), 47-59.

Thomas, A., Carr, S., & Humphreys, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Environmental policies and NGO influence: Land degradation and sustainable resource management in sub-Saharan Africa* (Vol. 3). New York: Psychology Press.

Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications*, *5*, 147-158.

Torpey, V. (2012). *Politics of environmental management and policy: A case study of Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University). Retrieved from https://curve.carleton.ca/system/files/etd/2e351d53-8a7c-4981-9bab-af2e6d9b2919/etd_pdf/3ace116d88dcd35bc8cc0c05c8f07762/torpey-politicsofenvironmentalmanagementandpolicy.pdf

United States Forest Service (2019). *Technical consultation on proposed bauxite mining in the Atewa Forest Reserve: 25-29 March 2019 (Summary Report).*

Retrieved from https://www.arocha.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Final-USFS-Atewa-technical-mission_summary-report.pdf

United States Forest Service (USFS) (2019). *Technical consultation on proposed bauxite mining in the Atewa Forest Reserve: 25-29 March 2019* (Summary report).

Varella, M. D. (2013). The role of non-governmental organizations in international environmental law. *Available at SSRN 2237677*.

Veeneman, W., & Mulley, C. (2018). Multi-level governance in public transport: governmental layering and its influence on public transport service solutions. *Research in Transportation Economics*, *69*, 430-437.

Walliman, N. (2015). *Social research methods: The essentials* (2nd Ed). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Wapner, P. (1995). Politics beyond the state environmental activism and world civic politics. *World Politics*, *47*(3), 311-340.

Weiler, F., & Brändli, M. (2015). Inside versus outside lobbying: How the institutional framework shapes the lobbying behaviour of interest groups. *European Journal of Political Research*, *54*(4), 745-766.

Weiss, M. L. (2006). *Protest and possibilities: Civil society and coalitions for political change in Malaysia*. Stanford University Press.

Weisse, M & Goldman Liz (2019, April 25). The world lost a Belgium-sized area of primary rainforests last year. *Global Forest Watch.* Retrieved August 24, 2020 from https://blog.globalforestwatch.org/data-and-research/world-lost-belgium-sized-area-of-primary-rainforests-last-year

Westman, L. K., Broto, V. C., & Huang, P. (2019). Revisiting multi-level governance theory: Politics and innovation in the urban climate transition in Rizhao, China. *Political Geography*, *70*, 14-23.

Willetts, P. (ed.) (1996). *Pressure groups in the global system: The transnational relations of issue-oriented non-governmental organizations.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wilson, E. O., (2018). *Letter to the president of Ghana.* Retrieved from https://eowils onfoundation.org/ghana-atewa-forest/

Yanacopulos, H. (2005). The strategies that bind: NGO coalitions and their influence. *Global Networks*, *5*(1), 93-110.

Yin, R.K., (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Young, D. R. (2000). Alternative models of government-nonprofit sector relations: Theoretical and international perspectives. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector quarterly*, *29*(1), 149-172.

Young, O. R. (1989), *International cooperation: Building regimes for natural resources and the environment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Zimmer, A. (2010). Third sector–government partnerships. In R. Taylor (Ed.) *Third sector research* (pp. 201-217). New York: Springer,

Zürn, M. (1998). The rise of international environmental politics: A review of current research. *World Politics, 50*(4), 617-649.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PHONE: (233) 332092181/0552481788
EMAIL: cais@ucc.edu.gh

OUR REF: CAIS/I/13/81

YOUR REF: **DATE: 28TH NOVEMBER, 2019**

To Whom It May Concern,

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
(MR. COSMOS SAVIOUR ANSAH)

This is to introduce the above-named M.Phil. Student of the Centre to you for your kind assistance.

Mr. Ansah is currently undertaking his academic research work on the topic: *International NGOs and environmental politics in Ghana: The case of "Save Atewa Forest" Campaign.*

He is seeking to collect data from your institution to aid his research.

We would be most grateful if you could accord him the needed assistance he may require from your outfit.

The Centre appreciates your kind gesture to us in this regard.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Joseph Obeng (Mr.)
Junior Assistant Registrar
For: Director

147

Appendix B

Interview Guide for Non-Governmental Organisations

1. How long has your organisation been involved in environmental protection in Ghana?

2. Are NGOs officially involved in environmental policy formulation?

3. How has your organisation been involved in environmental policy dialogues or participated in policy decision-making?

4. How has your organisation been involved in the NGOs advocacy to influence government policies on Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

5. What are the strategies that your organisation (and other NGOs) have used in the attempt to influence government on Atewa Forest?

6. Which of the strategies seem to be the most effective? Why?

7. Which of the strategies seem to have been the least effective? Why?

8. Has the government officially engaged with environmental NGOs on issues concerning mining in Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

9. How will you describe how government's relation with NGOs regarding the interaction over Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

10. Will you say environmental NGOs are able to influence government policies in Ghana? With reference to the Atewa Forest Campaign.

11. What have been the main obstacles facing NGOs in the Save Atewa Forest campaign?

Appendix C

Interview Guide for Forestry Commission

1. Does the Forestry Commission collaborate with NGOs? What are some of the instances?

2. Does the government of Ghana engage NGOs in environmental policy development?

3. How have government incorporated NGOs in the implementation of existing environmental policies?

4. What are the mechanisms and platforms that the government has provided to NGOs for environmental policy dialogues?

5. Did the government engage NGOs on its policy to allow for bauxite mining in the Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

6. Has government officially engaged NGOs on their campaign to upgrade the status of the Atewa Forest to a national park?

7. What is the government's policy end goal with regards to Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

8. How will you describe NGO-state relations with regards to interaction on the Atewa Range Forest Reserve?

Appendix D

Interview Guide for Traditional Ruler

1. Have the government of Ghana engage traditional rulers on issues relating to the Atewa Forest? How?

2. Have NGOs engaged with traditional rulers on issues relating to the Atewa Forest? How?

3. What is the position of the traditional rulers on whether the Atewa Forest should be mined for bauxite or not? Why that position?

4. Does the position of the traditional rulers reflects the choice of the people?

5. How will you describe the relationship that traditional rulers have with NGOs and government with regards to interaction on the Atewa Range Forest Reserve?