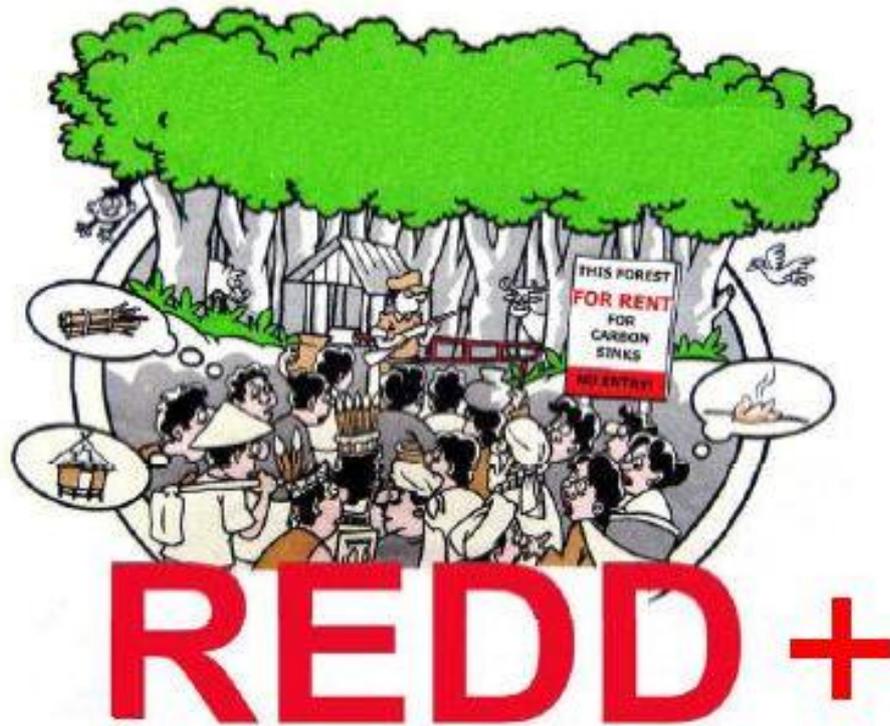# REDD+, pie in the sky?

The institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana and (possible) affects for local farmers

M.Sc. Thesis by Kim Geene

Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group

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For quality of life

Wageningen University – Landscape Centre of the Environmental Sciences Group

Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group

REDD+, pie in the sky?

The institutionalisation of the REDD+ mechanism in Ghana and possible affects for local (migrant) farmers in Ghana

February 2012

MSc Programme:

Forest and Nature Conservation

Thesis code:

FNP-80436

Name of student:

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PREFACE

When I had to choose a study in 2000, my first thought was that of forest and nature conservation. I chose law, but never let go of my interest in tropical forests. This is why I decided to do another master, this time Forest and Nature Conservation at Wageningen University. One of the first courses especially raised my interest, because its topic, land and tree tenure and local people's rights, combined my interest in nature and my juridical background. REDD+ typically is a topic in which these both aspects are combined and thus it was interesting for me to research what affects REDD+ could have for local farmers.

With the help of ICCO I was able to conduct a three month field research in Ghana. ICCO provided me with the means and contacts to perform this research. In return I carried out an additional research that was interesting for ICCO, but also related to the topic of my research, REDD+.

It was my first time in Africa, and it made an indelible impression. I am touched by people's friendliness and willingness to answer my questions and take me on trips. Doing a research in Ghana made it possible for me to really get to know the country and its inhabitants, and the work of especially NGOs and timber firms related to forests in general and REDD+ in particular.
For three months I travelled to different regions of Ghana, spending most of my time in Accra and Asunafo North Municipal in the Brong Ahafo region. In five villages in Asunafo North Municipal I experienced the daily life of local farmers, sharing meals like *fufu*, drinking water from sachets, taking part of traditional ceremonies, going to the farm with the whole family and going to the bathroom, which consists of no more than three walls and an open space. This was an experience that I will never forget.

This research would not have come about without the help of several people, both in The Netherlands and in Ghana. In the first place I would like to thank Judith Grootscholten of ICCO, who saw possibilities to combine my thesis research with research for ICCO and introduced me to Gert de Gans and Manon Stravens of ICCO, with which I further discussed and organised the research.
I also want to express my gratitude to all ICCOs local partners and Rudeya in particular. One of their employees, Kobia, assisted me with my research in Asunafo North Municipal, arranged my bed and breakfast, translated, organised transport for me on the back of the motorcycle and put me in contact with many interesting people to interview. I also want to thank Esi Johnson for organising much of my stay and acclimatise in Ghana. She introduced me to important contacts and helped me understand the culture better. It was nice to have a person you feel you can fully trust.

Special thanks to Christian Aid, and especially to Rebecca Dottey, who allowed me to work in their office and gave me a basis, which was very important to me, because I was travelling so much. Two other persons earn my special gratitude, Baiden Wellington and Daniel Bewong. They took me to their REDD+ pilot projects and gave me good insights of what REDD+ actually means. I will never forget the time that the car got stuck in the middle of nowhere, and we had to cut a tree to free it. I am grateful of our discussions and willingness to take with you to your plantations whenever I wanted. I also want to thank IUCN Ghana for taking me on a trip to Amenfi West to get to know more about their REDD+ activities, and FORM Ghana where I had a very pleasant and informative stay.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCI	Cocoa Carbon Initiative
CO_2	Carbon Dioxide
COCOBOD	Ghana Cocoa Board
CoP	Conference of the Parties
CRIG	Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FC	Forestry Commission
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FIP	Forest Investment Program
FLEGT	Forest Law Enforcement and Trade
FoE	Friends of the Earth
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoG	Government of Ghana
IPCC	International Panel on Climate Change
KWC	Kumasi Wood Cluster
MLF	Ministry of Lands and Forestry
MLNR	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MRV	Monitoring Reporting and Verification
NCRC	Nature Conservation Research Centre
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRSC	National REDD+ Steering Committee
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Products
PAA	Policy Arrangement Approach
PES	Payments for Environmental Services
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation in Developing countries; and the role of conservation, sustainable forest management and enhancement of carbon stocks in developing countries
R-PP	Readiness Preparation Proposals
SFM	Sustainable Forest Management
TBI	Tropenbos International
UNFCCC	United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-REDD	United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries
VPA	Voluntary Partnership Agreement

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In this chapter I first introduce the topic of my research after which I discuss the reason for this research, the main objectives and research question(s). In this chapter also the methodologies used to answer the main research question are discussed.

1.1 Introduction

"Forests are the lungs of the land,
purifying the air and giving fresh
strength to our people."

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945)

"The places that are most likely
to grow trees for carbon sequestration
are places where trees aren't growing now."

Robert Jackson (1892-1954)

Rising sea levels causing floods and contamination of fresh water reserves, shifting weather patterns threatening agriculture through unpredictable precipitation and a warming atmosphere, according to many the overriding issues of our time caused by climate change. To constrain the impacts of climate change the global average temperatures must be stabilised within two degrees Celsius (UN-REDD, 2011).

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) definition of climate change refers to anthropogenic activities causing global warming through increased greenhouse gas levels as opposed to changes in the climate resulting from natural processes.

In 2005 the Kyoto Protocol, an international agreement of the UNFCCC, entered into force. This was an important step towards global greenhouse gas emission reductions, since it sets binding targets for industrialised countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. The Kyoto mechanism recognise that developed countries are in principal responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions into the atmosphere, a result of more than 150 years of industrial activity. However, deforestation and forest degradation, primarily in developing countries, account for some 18% of the global carbon dioxide emissions (IPCC, 2007). In 2005 in Montreal at the Conference of the Parties (CoP), the Parties of the UNFCCC (representatives of national governments) recognised the contribution of greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation in developing countries to climate change and the need to take action to reduce such emissions. This formed the first hint of the development of a programme aiming at Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation in developing countries (REDD) (Varghese, 2009). In 2007 a UNFCCC study on investment and financial flows for forestry reported that additional global investment and financial flows are needed to address the mitigation potential of forest-related measures. As a reaction to this, CoP 15 in Copenhagen extended Reducing Emissions from avoiding Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD) with *conservation, sustainable forest management and the enhancement of carbon stocks* in developing countries (REDD+). REDD+ was negotiated by the UNFCCC, as an extended version of REDD going beyond deforestation and forest degradation. Current negotiations aim at broadening REDD+ further by adding another plus, REDD++, focusing on high biodiversity forestlands.

REDD+ serves as a performance-based instrument creating financial value for the carbon stored in forests to combat global warming as a result of deforestation and forest degradation. The United Nations and the World Bank respectively set up the UN-REDD programme and the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) to assist developing countries to assist developing countries to prepare and implement national REDD+ strategies. To be accepted into the official REDD+ programme readiness efforts such as Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP) need to be prepared by participating governments and submitted to the FCPF or UN-REDD programme to request for funds to prepare for REDD+. The R-PP functions as a roadmap towards achieving REDD Readiness (R-PP, 2010). It indicates what activities could be undertaken to reduce emissions and provides a guide to how these activities can be undertaken and what resources will be needed.

Climate change is a hot topic for Western donor countries and many NGOs, among which the Dutch Interkerkelijke Organisatie voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (ICCO), are interested in being involved in REDD+ actions. ICCO is particularly interested to generate carbon credits from existing projects under this new international policy arrangement combating climate change. Existing projects could save carbon, and the credits coming from the saved carbon could among others be used to compensate the people who are believed to log the forests for their livelihoods. Generating carbon credits under REDD+ taking into account to local people's rights (rights to benefit from the REDD+ carbon credits, rights to land and trees, rights to use forests that are protected because of REDD+) is one of ICCO's aims for Ghana. ICCO made it possible for me to carry out my research in the area where one of their local Ghanaian partner organisations, Rudeya, is carrying out project activities. This was the reason to choose Ghana to do the fieldwork for this thesis. In return I researched

whether the projects ICCO is funding, would be suitable for REDD+. The findings of this research, apart from being the input for this thesis, have been used for an informative report for ICCO.

Ghana, located in West Africa, is one of the countries preparing for the international REDD+ regime. Ghana is bordered by Ivory Coast to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. The word Ghana means "Warrior King" and is derived from the ancient Ghana Empire.

Currently, Ghana is preparing the framework necessary to be able to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in an international accepted way. In other words, REDD+ in Ghana is being shaped and structured.

REDD+ is not the only forestry related programme that is being implemented. Currently, Ghana is among others also participating in the Forest Law Enforcement and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan and Voluntary Partnership Agreement (VPA). The FLEGT Action Plan lists measures to prevent the import of illegal timber into the European Union, to improve the supply of legal timber and to increase demand for timber coming from responsibly managed forests. The VPA is a bilateral agreement between the European Union and timber exporting countries, in this case Ghana, which aims to guarantee that the wood exported to the EU, is from legal sources and to support partner countries in improving forest related regulation and governance. This is the national situation in which REDD+ comes in as an additional programme on forest use.

1.2 Problem statement

Like I stated above, deforestation and forest degradation is estimated to account for 18% of the global CO_2 emissions (IPCC, 2007). This shows the intimate relation between forests and climate change and the potential of REDD+ as an instrument to mitigate climate change effects.

Ghana's forests can be found in two main zones; the savannah woodlands covering about two-third of the total land area in the north, and the tropical high forest zone covering about one-third in the south. The Ghanaian government embarked on the establishment of forest reserves starting from the 1920s with the intention to maintain climatic quality, provide a conducive environment for cocoa production and to protect watersheds (Forestry Commission, 2011). Currently about 1.77 million hectares representing about 7% of the total land area of Ghana is under reservation in the High Forest Zone, of which 1.634 million ha is under the direct control of the Forest Services Division (FSD), whilst the remaining 136,000 ha is under the Wildlife Division (WD). The FSD estimates that about half of this forest area (about 900,000 ha) is in reasonable condition whilst the remaining is mostly degraded (Forestry Commission, 2011). The area outside forest reserves is a mosaic of agricultural lands, settlements, fallow lands and forest patches.

Following the last 50 years of a fast growing timber industry, the forests of Ghana are under serious threat from deforestation and structural degradation. In Ghana commonly recognised causes of deforestation are poverty-driven agriculture (mostly cocoa), lack of alternative rural wage employment other than farming, increased household population and rampant illegal logging to supply the domestic timber market. (Appiah, et al., 2009; R-PP, 2010). Ghana participates in REDD+ developments to halt further deforestation and degradation of its forests. Currently, the REDD+ mechanism is being shaped and structured (institutionalised) in Ghana. Ghana is getting 'Ready' for

REDD+, which means that activities are carried out to prepare Ghana for the internationally recognised reduced CO_2 emissions. Among others, these activities include demonstration/pilot projects, policy making, reviewing laws etc. The R-PP is a document providing the "roadmap for the preparation activities" needed for REDD+ (R-PP, 2010, p. 8). Concepts used in this and related documents such as governance, benefit sharing, participation and multi-stakeholder consultation seem to indicate a certain notion of how REDD+ should be developed. The underlying research critically engages with showing how exactly the REDD+ policy arrangement is being shaped and structured in Ghana.

Recently a critical eye has turned on policies which call themselves participatory (Mosse, 2004, 2005, 2010). The critics' opinion is that often these policies do not reverse the hegemony of certain actors with their agenda's, but provide more effective instruments that benefit these external agenda's. This critical view sees policy as a "rationalizing discourse concealing hidden purposes of bureaucratic power or dominance, in which the true political intent is hidden behind a cloak of rational planning" (Mosse, 2004, p. 641). Mosse, however, argues that both approaches fail to do justice to the complexity of policy making. The use of the concept "roadmap" in the R-PP seems to imply that REDD+ is something that could be unfold or implemented just like that. But how does this road of implementation go, and what complexities could be encountered on the way?

Many people and organisations view REDD+ as a win-win situation, because it, apart from contributing to emission reductions, holds potential for co-benefits such as biodiversity conservation, poverty alleviation, forest service provision and good governance (Kanninen, 2007). However, as many authors and NGOs recently stress, REDD+ might not sufficiently take people's rights into account. Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation possibly results in carbon credits, which can be dealt in on the international market leading to cash benefits. The question of who has the right to a tree or the land and who is likely to lose his or her rights are in this respect the most important REDD+ related questions. The complex land and tree tenure arrangements consequently is one of the issues that is supposed to be dealt with when REDD+ is being institutionalised, also in Ghana. Henley (2008) has indicated that local Indonesian elites in the name of *adat* (customary law) appropriated much of the village land that was under community rule, because they claimed to be more productive. Since land and trees in Ghana are becoming economically more interesting due to REDD+, REDD+ is likely to cause changes in local farmers' positions and especially their rights and responsibilities.

Ghana's R-PP indicates cocoa farming practices as one of the main drivers of deforestation and high local dependence on wood and forest products as an important reason for degradation. Proposed activities under REDD+ mainly include those ones that relate to cocoa farming and protecting the forest reserves: eco-system friendly cocoa farming, improve productivity of farmland, improve law enforcement on forest reserve encroachment, measures to address degradation by slash and burn develop alternatives for fuel wood etc. (R-PP, 2010). Most of these REDD+ activities directly relate to local farmers' activities and consequently seem to imply a behavioural change request directed at local farmers.

The shaping and structuring of REDD+ is thus likely to affect local (migrant) farmers in Ghana in several ways. This research therefore engages with researching how the institutionalisation of REDD+ could affect local (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

An analysis of how REDD+ is institutionalised in Ghana is carried out, using the Policy Arrangement Approach and its four dimensions of actors, discourse, rules and power.

To be able to understand people's everyday activities related to trees and forests and their relation to REDD+ one should have an understanding of the local farmers' practices related to trees and forests To analyse this practice theory is used.

The PAA and its dimensions and practice theory are discussed in Chapter 2 'Theory and concepts'.

1.2.1 Research objectives

1. To explain how REDD+ in Ghana is shaped and structured (institutionalised) using the Policy Arrangement Approach with its four dimensions; actors, discourse, rules and power and the relations among these dimensions;
2. To analyse local practices related to on-farm trees and the forests using practice theory
3. To identify the social complexities related to local farmers that could be or are encountered when shaping and structuring REDD+.

1.2.2 Main research question

How could the shaping and structuring of REDD+ in Ghana affect local (migrant) farmers ?

1.2.3 Research questions

My objective results in several research questions:

1. How is REDD+ shaped and structured in Ghana?
   Actors:
   - How are different actors involved in national REDD+ activities and how do they shape and structure REDD+?
   Discourse:
   - How do discourses shape and structure REDD+ in Ghana?
   Rules/institutions:
   - What rules/institutions are concerned with the institutionalisation of REDD+?
   Power:
   - To what extent do the actors control power/resources and how does power influence the institutionalisation of REDD+?

2. What local practices can be distinguished related to on-farm trees and forest reserves and what role do they play in the institutionalisation of REDD+?

3. What are the social complexities that are or could be encountered when shaping and structuring REDD+ at the local level?

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Choosing methods

For this research I used qualitative ethnographic methods to collect the data needed for answering the research questions. Ethnography is one of the many approaches that can be found in social research. Ethnography does not have a well-defined meaning, so I focussed on the practical level, namely what ethnographers actually do. Ethnography usually involves the participation of the researcher in the daily lives of people for an extended period of time, watching what happens, what is said, asking how and why questions. For three months (June, July and August 2011) I explored the institutionalisation of REDD+ and local practices in Ghana in depth and from the perspective of different participants. Qualitative research was particularly suitable for this. Within a qualitative approach I conducted a case study because this empirical inquiry investigates phenomena within its real-life context and provides context-dependent knowledge (Yin, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2006). A case study approach fits my theoretical frameworks because it takes a middle ground position in between objectivism and constructivism (Flyvbjerg, 2006). According to Flyvbjerg (2006) case studies contain a substantial element of narrative and a good narrative approaches the complexities and contradictions of real life. A case study is particularly suitable for answering my research questions.

1.3.2 Data collection

Selection of respondents and study site

The selection of respondents already started back home in the Netherlands. For the part of the research that is relating to the institutionalisation of REDD+ I wanted to interview and talk to many different actors; government, private companies (timber and cocoa), NGOs and traditional authorities etc. This would enable me to get a full picture of what is going on in terms of REDD+ in Ghana. First of all I selected interviewees purposely, because I wanted to interview people who have expert knowledge on REDD+. I started to contact organisations in the Netherlands that have local partners in Ghana who are involved in REDD+. Soon I had an invitation for a government organised REDD+ meeting held in Accra, the capital, in the first week of my arrival in Ghana. This first meeting provided me with further contacts. I made use of the snowball effect; people I met at meetings put me in contact with other people and invited me to other meetings where I met more people etc. etc. I selected actors who are deeply involved in REDD+, but also actors who are not that much involved, are against or are even unaware of something that is called REDD+. To fully understand the REDD+ process I also visited four projects that have a good chance of being selected by the government as official REDD+ pilot projects. My selection was partly dependent on whom I met during meetings and who was willing to take me to the field. In the Netherlands I already contacted one of the organisations that have a reputation of having much knowledge on carbon measurements related to REDD+, the Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC). The director of NCRC at first seemed to be very cooperative, but when I asked him directly if I could go into the field and visit their projects, on my own costs, his answer was that they did not allow researchers into the field. Reason for this was that they did not want researchers to talk with the local people who do not have any idea about REDD+ and by doing so raise their expectations too high. I felt disappointed because he let me think

he was more than willing to help me with my fieldwork.

The selection of the area for my in depth case study of local practices depended on several aspects. First of all because I partly carried out my research for ICCO, I had access to the area of Asunafo North Municipal in the Brong Ahafo region (see Appendix III) where Rudeya, a local ICCO partner, is carrying out its project activities. For practical reasons this was rather useful because this organisation could help me with housing, logistics and translation during the interviews. I looked at all the local ICCO partners and their activities and I selected Rudeya, because they carry out project activities in an area that has a lot of forests, where the local people are somehow involved in practices that relate to forests, either forest reserves or trees and forest patches on their land, and the area is officially interesting for REDD+. Soon it became clear how important this region was for REDD+, because just after I started my research in this area, NCRC started REDD+ pilot activities there. After a previous rejection, I was allowed to join this NGO with their expanding project activities for REDD+. Two of the three villages we visited were already included in my research the first time I was there by the end of June 2011.

For my case study within Asunafo North Municipal I selected five villages (for village names see Table 2. in Chapter 5) to which I would go to. These five villages are thus the case study. Four of the villages lie very close to a forest reserve (1-3 km), one of them lay further away (7,5 km). It was important to select villages that are very close to forest reserves, since I wanted to understand the relation of the people from the villages with the forest reserve. . During my research I stayed in the capital of the municipality, Goaso, where the offices of local government officials and private companies are located. Because it is a small town, it was easy to get in touch with people, and also my interpreter and employee of Rudeya put me in touch with a lot of people. I selected government officials from different departments and of different hierarchical levels, timber companies operating in the area and NGOs carrying out different projects, both development and environmental.

Within the villages mostly I first met the Chief or Queen mother of that particular village. He or she had to give permission to me to do the interviews and often this resulted in interviewing them first. In order to gain access to the village officially and to encourage cooperation I wanted to stick to the tradition to bring drinks for the Chief and food for the Queen mother. Mostly some of the elders were also present and at times when we met them in a public place in the village after 10 minutes we were surrounded by a lot of curious people. Near the end of the 'interview' we asked the Chief or Queen mother for permission to interview more people from the village. I always got permission to do this. I then asked the people who were there if they wanted to be interviewed in a one-to-one setting. Because a lot of villagers are actually farmers, I actively asked for people with a variety of occupation, gender and age. I wanted to have opinions of people with different backgrounds and social positions. Most of the times a lot of people were making haste to go to a certain hut where the teacher or someone else was living to ask him/her to be interviewed. I also specifically selected people that in my opinion were not agreeing with what was said during the meeting/interview with the Chief or Queen Mother and elders.

I collected my data through a triangulation of methods; studying literature on REDD+, participant observations and individual (in depth) interviews and two focus group discussions. This research was carried out in different parts of Ghana. For many meetings and organisations are located in Accra I spent about one (1) month of the three (3) months I was in Ghana, in Accra. One (1) month I spent in Asunafo North Municipal (this includes the visit of the REDD+ pilot project activities of NCRC, because this was in the same villages I already selected for this research). Of the remaining one (1) month I spent one (1) week to visit the FORM Ghana REDD+ pilot project in Akumadan, in the Ashanti region two hours north from Kumasi, one (1) week to visit the IUCN Ghana REDD+ pilot project in Amenfi West district and one (1) week visiting the Portal ltd. REDD+ pilot project in Ghana's Southwestern region. About one (1) week was lost due to traveling from and to all the different places. The one month in Accra is a total of different shorter visits, in between which I visited the Asunafo North Municipal twice and the three other REDD+ pilot projects each once. My first visit in Asunafo North Municipal was for two weeks with Rudeya, the second visit was also two weeks, without Rudeya. Two of the villages were only visited once. In these villages I conducted a focus group discussion. The other villages were visited several times, sometimes I stayed there for a whole day, but I always returned to Goaso.

In this thesis I compare the data I gathered and analyse the differences and similarities between the data collected making use of the different methods (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). It is important for triangulation that at least three different techniques are used (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Hammersley and Atkinson stress the importance of triangulation of methods because "data must never be taken at face value". Different methods are necessary to increase the validity of the research.

Literature study

To answer my research questions I first performed desk research by studying literature on REDD+ and literature that enabled me to develop a theoretical framework, allowing me to look at the issues from a certain perspective. This also provided me with sufficient background information to talk with people about the topic and ask the right questions to experts. It also helped me to focus on specific aspects when going into the field of a REDD+ project and while doing the in-depth study on local practices.

Participant observations

As a researcher I participated in the situation that I studied. My role was that of the participant observer. I participated in the "REDD+ network" by going to several meetings and by staying in the villages, walking around and participating in daily rituals like making dinner. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state rightly that outsiders and insiders have access to different kinds of information and can be exposed to different kinds of methodological dangers. Being a complete outsider can result in not understanding the perspectives of the participants and as a result completely misunderstanding the behaviour of the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Being an insider can result in too much identification with (part of) the participants, so that the researcher is not able to distance him/herself anymore from the participants and does not have a clear scientific

perspective on his/herself and the situation. When this identification only takes place with a specific group of the potential participants, the situation of what Hammersley and Atkinson call 'over rapport' can occur (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Over rapport is establishing friendship with one group and consequently only collecting data from that group of participants and/or identifying uncritically with that group's perspective, and therefore not having a clear look at the different points of view in a specific situation or of other groups of people. The best position for me as the researcher was to take a marginal one "thereby providing access to participant perspectives but at the same time minimizing the dangers of over-rapport" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 88/89). I tried to avoid over rapport by interviewing many different actors, switching between the two 'parts' of my research (meaning going back and forth from Accra to Asunafo North and areas where REDD+ pilot projects were carried out) and always keeping in mind that I was an independent researcher who was trusted with the information the respondents gave me.

Interviews

For this research I used both formal and informal interviews. Interviewing allows the researcher to ask in-depth questions, using the 'think out loud' method and have a higher response than using a written questionnaire. There is much scientific debate about the importance of these interviews or 'oral accounts' for an ethnographic researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Some researchers use the oral accounts of people as sources of information about these people and their environment. Others say that oral accounts are socially constructed and can therefore only be used to study the social structures in which they are constructed. I am of the opinion that the validity of oral accounts should not be denied and can themselves be the direct source of information for the researcher, contributing to the analysis, because they produce knowledge. But every researcher should take into account that the conversations and interviews are framed by their personal and cultural experiences and values of the researcher and the interviewee. In addition to contributing directly to the analysis of local practices, oral accounts can also be used indirectly as evidence about the wider social structures in which the interview takes place (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). For this research I used oral accounts and observations as data for answering my research question. While interpreting the oral accounts I take the context in which they are produced into account. I have tried to think like a Ghanaian, but I noticed that sometimes I was biased by my Western background and related ideas and preferences. Several times I noticed that I already drew conclusions that did not turn out to be true. But being a Westerner also provided me with the capability to look to certain issues from a distance and be able to be critical to what was said. It allowed me to make certain connections that I think were difficult to make if you are bound to one particular context.

The data were gathered through unstructured and semi-structured one- to-one in depth and (in)formal (group) interviews: they were based on questions thought out beforehand, but there also was the possibility to deviate from these questions to get better insights into a respondent's experiences or point of view (O'Reilly, 2005). I interviewed about 69 people belonging to different organisations; NGO, governmental, companies and local people possessing different positions.

When I started interviewing people from the local level, who mostly did not speak English, I had to deal with how I phrased my questions and how the interpreter translated them. I learned that I had to rephrase the questions I had thought out beforehand, because they were often too direct. For example when I asked how they would describe their relation with the Forest Service Division (FSD) (a government organisation) they always answered "cordial". But when I asked them what the FSD could do for them, the stories came and people seemed to open up. This often resulted in them showing how they felt; they sometimes even seemed really angry and disappointed. Mainly in the beginning I closely watched people's reaction when the interpreter translated and that resulted in the feeling that the interpreter was not translating my questions correctly all the time. Mostly this was the case when it concerned questions that were somehow related to Rudeya project activities. I discussed with him that for me it was not important what the answers are and whether this would or would not be in favor of his project. I explained the importance of honest answers. I felt that he understood what I meant and when time passed our collaboration really improved. He told me he really liked it and that he got to understand what my intentions were to ask certain questions. He started to help me to rephrase my questions. Often early in the morning around 7.00am we met at his office in Goaso, a small blue room with two desks, two chairs and a bunch of reports, but no computers or printers or more of that kind. We started discussing where we were going that day, what questions I wanted to ask etc., before leaving on the motorbike to one of the villages or to interview people in Goaso.

Reflexivity

It is important to recognise your role as researcher when collecting data. As a researcher I am aware of the fact that I also influence the data. Hammersley and Atkinson say that "We are part of the social world that we study" (2007: 18) and that it is therefore very important to be reflexive on your own position at all times. It will never be possible to collect every aspect of social reality: I made certain choices and therefore selected the data I think are most important. Also my presence influenced the data. I am a Western young woman, doing research in their villages, which for sure influenced people in what they did and did not tell me. In the discussion of this thesis, chapter, 8 I further reflect on this aspect.

Picture 2: Kejetia market in Kumasi, the largest market in Ghana. In Ghana it is not polite to photograph these kinds of settings, but when you buy anything and ask them if you can make a picture they often agree. If you do not follow this procedure they can become very angry.

In this chapter I discuss what theoretical frameworks I chose to answer the research question(s). This could not be done without choosing a position in social science debates about agency, structure. This chapter starts with a short introduction into different schools of thought related to the management of resources. This enables one to understand where REDD+ can be placed.

2.1 Theoretical framework(s) and concepts

Choosing a theoretical framework forced me to think about to what debate I wanted to make a contribution. Dealing with Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest degradation, conservation, sustainable forest management and carbon enhancement (REDD+) makes clear that a solution(s) to environmental problems such as degradation of natural resources, in particular deforestation and its consequences (among which climate change), is the issue at stake. Through the years much debate has focussed on the causes of deforestation and how to solve it. Opinions on how and by whom the forests should be managed have changed. Below I elaborate shortly on the development of these discussions just to provide some background from which REDD+ came on the agenda as another tool to manage natural resources to combat deforestation.

For a long time the discourse was dominated by the romantic idea of wilderness as an equilibrium, human presence in it was seen as representing its fall (Cronon, 1996). State protected areas were the answer. When time passed people came to understand that this dichotomy between nature and

culture could not resolve the problem of natural resource degradation. The myth of the 'Noble Savage' came forward. According to several scholars local people know best how to use natural resources sustainably, because they have done so for many years (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976; Castleden et.al., 2009). In 1968 Hardin made an often cited contribution to this debate, opposing this idea of the Noble Savage. With the 'Tragedy of the Commons', Hardin illustrates the common use of natural resources and causes overexploitation and degradation of the resource. He illustrates this idea by picturing a pasture open for all. He argues that every herdsman will maximise his gain by adding more and more animals to the herd. This at the end leads to overgrazing, because the herds are increased without limit, "in a world that is limited". To avoid this tragedy Hardin argues for structure and well defined responsibilities in which individuals become responsible. Consequently, his article can be seen as a plea for privatization or state regulation. Ostrom (1992) as one of many authors criticizing Hardin's theory, argues that common property could be managed sustainably, because common properties are not open access systems without organisational structures. Ostrom states that over the years people have created their own institutional arrangements regarding the natural resource, which could contribute to the sustainable use of it.

Current ideas about how natural resource should be management gather around the concept of environmental governance. Although it is argued by Rametsteiner (2009) that there is a broad consensus on the main elements of global governance, there was and is much debate on how exactly (environmental) governance should be understood. The main elements of which Rametsteiner argues there is consensus are rule of law, effectiveness and efficiency, participation, and accountability and transparency. Here, I refer to environmental governance as an analytical concept describing dynamic interactive processes between different actors, making it possible to provide solutions to a given global problem, but at the same time being aware of the fact that this is a very instrumental approach to governance that might be debatable.

Economic perspectives have influenced forest governance thinking, because according to some market instruments can generate income for local people, which can form the incentive to sustain the forest. These so called Payments for Environmental Services (PES) include among others forest certification, carbon offset standards, ecotourism and REDD+ etc. and are referred to as market-based governance (Rosendal and Andresen, 2011). Recent reviews on environmental, climate and forest governance suggest that promising approaches should have a multiple scale focus on how state-based policy measures can be integrated with bottom up, private-public and market-based governance.

This study is critical about ideas that policy instruments like REDD+ can be implemented and rolled out just like its 'road map' does presume. This study tries to reflect on the complexities that might be or are encountered when REDD+ is shaped and structured in Ghana. Specifically, this study focussed on how the shaping and structuring of REDD+ could affect local (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

2.1.1 Reflexivity

While thinking about theoretical frameworks several issues crossed my mind: whether I wanted to test a theory, wanted to study the world in its natural state, and how I would position myself as a researcher. I felt most comfortable choosing an epistemology that, different from positivism and naturalism, takes into account the fact that social researchers are part of the social world they study. Hammersley and Atkinson (2009) argue that both these realms have in common that they try to

understand social phenomena as 'objects' existing independently from the researcher. This critique has arisen from what can be called "the reflexive character of social research" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2009, p.15). The concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the accounts of the world the researcher produces are shaped by his or her own social-historical background and the values and beliefs following from it. Reflexivity refers to researchers acting in the social world and yet being able to reflect upon themselves and their actions.

2.1.2 Rational choice versus structure

Within social sciences there has always been a tension between rational-choice and structuralist approaches (Arts and Goverde, 2006; Greig et al. 2007). The former claims that people are able to make their own rational decisions in life and have more 'agency', a capacity to act in the world (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). The latter say that people are 'trapped' in social structures in society that they cannot change (Greig et al. 2007, p. 26-27). According to scientists like Giddens (1984), actors are still able to make choices within these structures. Giddens provides a counterweight for sociological theories which either focus on rational choice or which consider structures of central importance. Giddens presents rational action and structure as two sides of the same coin, which one cannot analyse in isolation of another (Giddens, 1984; Calhoun, et al, 2002). Central in the work of Giddens is the notion of 'duality of structure', a concept with which he directly links rational choice and structure (Giddens, 1984). This concept acknowledges that people are constrained by structural factors, consisting of rules (law and social norms) and resources (money, power, social relations), but at the same time have agency to shape these structures. The idea that people can make strategic choices does in my opinion not mean that they are completely free agents in this process.

Since this research is about the institutionalisation of policy it is interesting to discuss rational choice-structure debates within the different institutional approaches.

New institutionalism came up as a critique to the too deterministic and functionalist character of classical institutionalism (Schmidt, 2005). Classical or traditional institutionalists focus on formal institutions, in particular state, laws and regulations (March and Olsen, 1984; Lowndes, 2002; Schmidt, 2005). Rather than focussing on formal institutions and how their functioning determines human behaviour, these new institutionalists have found each other on the importance of institutional analysis (Schmidt, 2005). Different perspectives ranging from positivistic static ones to constructive and more dynamic explanations exist within this new school of thought. Roughly four perspectives within this school can be distinguished: rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and the fourth newer one, discursive institutionalism (Hall and Taylor 1996, Schmidt, 2005; De Koning, 2011).

Rational choice institutionalism as a more positivist and static perspective looks at rational action within given institutions. Actors can be seen as rational calculators following a logic of consequence, strategically weighing the costs and benefits of certain behaviour trying to maximise preferred outcomes but being constrained in their ranking of options by the rules of the game. Rational choice institutionalists view rational actors as able to create and control institutions (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Lowndes, 2002; Schmidt, 2005, Arts, 2011). A much cited and authorative rational choice scholar is Ostrom (1992, 2008). She assumed that institutions are *designed* for a specific rational goal. Although she has been paying attention to informal institutional arrangements, her focus was more on the

visible, formal institutional arrangements of natural resource management.

Influenced by classical institutionalism historical institutionalism focuses on the state and all the structures through which governing occurs (Schmidt, 2005). Actors follow the path dependency of behaviour resulting from historical development (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Historical institutionalists combine views by seeing actors as rational calculators which interests and choices are shaped by historical structures, meaning that decisions in the past determine or rather limit current possibilities to choose..

Sociological institutionalism directly opposes rational choice institutionalism (Schmidt, 2005). This school of thought views behaviour as socially influenced, leading humans following the logic of appropriateness (norms how to act appropriate) in their behaviour. Sociological institutionalists view institutions as expectations that are "crystallized over time in normative rules and values" (De Koning, 2011).

My position is much like Giddens, because I argue that people have agency, they have the ability to act within and even against these social structures, making their own, free independent choices, but are also constrained and influenced by these structures.

2.1.3 Forest policy analysis

Because my first objective 'analysis of the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana' deals with forest and climate policies, it is logical to choose a theoretical framework that is used in forest policy. Taking the position as explained above excludes already theoretical frameworks used in this scientific field which take the rational-strategic capacities of actors as a starting point, such as the Rational Policy Analysis. It also excludes Critical Policy Analysis, since such a more extreme constructivist position assumes that ideational and not material aspects do shape the choices of actors. This does not match my idea that actors are to a certain point able to act in the world.

2.1.4 Analysis of people's everyday activities

To be able to say something about how REDD+ could affect the local (migrant) farmers in Ghana, I also needed to understand local farmers' everyday activities related to trees and forests. In addition a second theoretical framework was required to allow me to analyse local practices and that would fit my position in the agency-structure debate.

Wrapping up the above mentioned accents, the theoretical framework(s) I used, needed to meet the following requirements:

1. Reflexive
2. Balanced agency/structure
3. Forest policy
4. Local level analysis of people's everyday activities

With these points of interest I position myself in on-going debates in (social) scientific research about agency versus structure, and ideational versus material.

2.1.5 Policy Arrangement Approach

As I discussed above, to research the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana and the driving forces behind it, I find it important to balance rationality and structure. But I also think that broader social and political structures influence the institutionalisation of a policy arrangement such as REDD+.

The Policy Arrangement Approach can be used as an explanatory tool of how a policy domain is (temporarily) shaped and structured in terms of actors, discourse, rules and power (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Arts et. al. 2006; Veenman et. al., 2009). The Policy Arrangement Approach is based on three concepts: institutionalisation, policy arrangement and political modernisation. Arts et. al. (2006) explain the first concept in terms of people's behaviour slowly consolidating into structures, but structures at their turn structure or influence people's actions. Applied to a policy arrangement, institutionalisation means "more or less fixed patterns of divisions of tasks and interaction develop between actors, policy processes develop in accordance with more of less fixed rules" (Arts et. al., 2006, p. 96). A policy arrangement is the "temporary stabilisation of the content and organisation of a policy domain" (Arts et. al., 2006, p.99), which can be analysed with the aid of four dimensions, actors, discourse, rules and power (discussed below). The last concept that informed the PAA, political modernisation, refers to processes of transformation within the political domain. Theories of political modernisation refer to the inadequacy of traditional state interventions (state failure) and suggest fundamental changes in the relation between state, private actors and society (Mol, 2003; Van Tatenhove and Leroy, 2003). The inventors of the PAA refer to the concept as structural processes of social change that, besides the strategic actions and interaction of actors, influence the institutionalisation of policy arrangements. Using this approach to the concept allows me to look at broader structural processes that influence the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. Arts et. al. (2006) and Van Tatenhove and Leroy (2003) distinguished three structural phases, early modernism, anti-modernisation and late modernisation. The former is dominated by government steering, the second deals with mistrust in government and science and the latter is characterised by concepts like participation and governance.

Arts and his colleagues (Arts et. al., 2006; Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Veenman et. al., 2009) use the PAA to explain how a certain policy domain is shaped, focussing on policy making processes. The PAA can be used to both understand the institutionalisation of REDD+ and how this could affect local (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

The PAA is inspired by the structuration theory of Giddens (1984). Just like Giddens does with his 'duality of structure' it seeks for a middle ground between rational policy analysis and radical social constructivism. It integrates structuralism and agency, the ideational (ideas, beliefs) and material (rules, resources). The PAA therefore fits my personal preferences as explained above. The PAA is what the inventors of the PAA (Arts et. al, 2006; Arts and Goverde, 2006) call a reflexive approach, since it looks for a position in between positivism and radical constructivism. Reflexivity acknowledges that humans are able to reflect upon the world. For the first objective of this research 'to analyse the shaping and structuring of REDD+ in Ghana' I use the PAA and its four dimensions actors, discourse, rules and power.

Because the institutionalisation of REDD+ seems to imply a request for a behavioural change for local farmers and is likely to change their rights and responsibilities, I also tried to understand contemporary local level practices related to on-farm trees and forest reserves. For this analysis I choose practice theory. Practice theory tries to bridge actors, structure, ideational and material in practices. Practice theory is further discussed in subsection 2.1.6.

Below I first operationalise the concepts related to the four dimensions of a policy arrangement. This was necessary to be able to use the concepts in this study, in order to understand what I had to look for when interviewing and observing and what questions I had to ask.

Actors

Actors are the players of the REDD+ game. The institutionalisation of REDD+ is among others dependent on the interactions of actors (Arts et. al. 2006). I identify what actors and coalitions (groups of actors operating from the same discourse because they are attracted to the same story-lines) are involved in REDD+ and what actors are not and how these actors strategically act to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. I map out the relevant actors, their coalitions and oppositions. But I also discuss the role of those actors that are not directly involved in REDD+, but whose role is important since many efforts are aiming at their behaviour change in order for REDD+ to be successful.

With this approach I try to understand the various roles of the actors involved or excluded from REDD+ in Ghana, and what possibilities and constraints each of these actors is experiencing to strategically influence the REDD+ game. But it should be noticed that actor is only one aspect of the duality of actor and structure. The emphasis on only actors does not sufficiently do justice to the duality of actors and structure influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+. Therefore below the dimensions discourse, rules and power are discussed and operationalised.

Discourse

Discourse is a central term within social constructivism, where it is used to describe how people construct the social world around them. In 1972 Foucault made a significant contribution to the concept of discourse. In his opinion 'regimes of knowledge' are historic rules that determine what is true and what is false, since there is no objective truth (Foucault, 1972; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). According to Foucault (1972) discourses are the main structures in society. Foucault sees these historic rules as the main structures in society that 'discipline' individuals how to think, speak and act. Since Foucault gave his interpretation of the concept, different authors have given different meanings to it.

The main change is that many contemporary authors, among which the ones of the PAA, (Hajer 1995; Fischer 2003; Arts and Buizer, 2009, Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004) see a bigger role for human agency, for the capacity of people to construct and change discourses. Hajer (1995) describes that discourses are ideas, interpretations and meanings that shape how people look at themselves and the world, but are themselves also created/constructed by human agencies in their interaction with each other. In this way discourses are both the medium and the outcome of human interaction. According to Arts et. al. (2010) forest discourse can be considered as a set of ideas, concepts, categorisations

that are created and changed in forest-related social practices and which give meaning to forests as both physical and social phenomena. The latter interpretation of discourse is the one I use for this research.

It is important to know what actors are and are not involved in REDD+ and what their ideas and preferences are and to what discourse these can be related, legitimising and influencing their behaviour. In this research by using discourse analysis under the umbrella of the PAA, I asked for ideas, preferences and interpretations actors have related to forests and the broader landscape, but also to REDD+. I looked for them while interviewing, going to meetings, looking at policy documents, reports and in other ways of communication. I also looked for concepts and I related these to different discourses. In this thesis I discuss the different discourses from which actors are operating and how these are used to shape REDD+. I also show how the discourse related to REDD+ (see chapter 4) is influencing actor's behaviour.

Rules or institutions

When I refer to institutions I do not talk about organisations like companies or governments, but I refer to rules as the rules of the game that guide and constrain people's behaviour (Arts and Goverde, 2006). Because I do not focus on the functioning of the state, I move away from traditional institutionalism and enter the field of new institutionalism. My experience as a lawyer working in the field of forensic psychology makes that I have a preference for a middle ground approach, which presumes that the behaviour of actors is conscious and unconscious, deeply embedded in their cultural milieu but nonetheless capable of analysing and to some extent acting upon the circumstances that confront them (Cleaver, 2001; De Koning, 2011; Arts and Goverde, 2006; Giddens, 1984). A brief discussion about the definition of institutions is relevant to understand the interpretation of rules that I chose.

The different schools of thought discussed in the paragraph on rational choice and structure interpret institutions differently. Taking a rational choice perspective institutions refer to the crafted rules that affect the range of the alternatives that an individual can chose. Social institutionalism defines institutions not only as procedures and formal rules, but also as symbols, myths and morality (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Discursive institutionalism makes an attempt to bridge discourse analysis and institutional theory (Arts and Buizer, 2009). In this perspective institutions are seen as more dynamic, not static. Post-institutionalism, as at least Cleaver (2005) and De Koning (2011) use it, recently emerged arguing that new institutionalism is "not able to fill in the gap between theory and reality" (Cleaver and Franks, 2005; De Koning, 2011). Post-institutionalists claim that they, different from new institutionalism, do acknowledge the interaction between formal and informal socially embedded institutions and messy character of institutional domains present in practice. A critique to new institutionalism from this school of thought is that this approach leaves no room for institutions which are already socially embedded and therefore is not taking the dynamic and variable contexts into account. Post-institutionalists do conceive institutions as both formal and informal socially embedded.

The basic assumption of the Policy Arrangement Approach about institutions in my opinion fits with my idea of institutions. The inventors of this approach define institutions as the "rules of the game" defining possibilities and constraints for actors, arguing that both formal and informal institutions and their interplay matter (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004). I tried to identify the rules of the REDD+ game by looking at who and how agendas are set, decisions made, issues raised, policies formulated and measures implemented in relation to REDD+ (Arts et. al., 2010, p.342). Because REDD+ particularly deals with trees and forests and the potential carbon credits coming from them, land and tree tenure issues (rights to trees) become an important issue. The institution of property rights is discussed in particular, because this governing mechanism is important for how REDD+ is shaped and structured. Current property rights to land and trees define possibilities or constraints for actors to benefit from REDD+.

Different perceptions of property exist and are influenced by what property is at a certain time. Major changes can happen in the definition, norms and values of legitimacy that assert themselves in relation to property (Roth, 2009). Where Hardin (1972) and De Soto (2002) understand property as an economic concept linked to the formal rights system, throughout the years more layers have been added to this notion. Von Benda-Beckmann et. al. (2006) for example also offer an alternative general analytical framework to the one offered by economists, for dissecting property relations. They argue that property thinking is a mix of social philosophy, ideology and theoretical-conceptual debate, offering a reinterpretation of the metaphor of the 'bundle of rights'. This framework could be used to elucidate the reasons why policies based on private ownership fail. These might not take into account that different legal orders can exists, in which property relations are differently embedded.

Ribot (1998, 2008) theorises the concept of property, by stating that property is a legal rights concept, not naturally leading to the ability to actually benefit from the resource. Access as a descriptive concept would mean a broadening of the property concept, being an extra-legal mechanism entailing both right and ability. Ribot uses the charcoal case in Senegal to demonstrate his ideas, by showing how the different actors involved in the charcoal industry use different mechanisms to maintain and control access to the forest; marketing, labour opportunities, (urban) distribution etc. He argues that control access to forests does not naturally imply that people are also benefitting from this resource. Benefitting is not only dependent from controlling access, but is subordinated to a repertoire of mechanisms, such as power relations.

Looking at the above three analytical 'tools' or ways to analyse property can be distinguished. The first is to consider property rights as a 'bundle of rights' and responsibilities pertaining to property, polished throughout the years. The second is the layered character of property, as in norms and values of cultural tradition, political and legal regulations, social relations and practice (Von Benda-Beckmann *et. al.*, 2006). The third way to analyse property is legal pluralism, analysing the complex character of rules and legitimations of property.

Here the definition of property rights is chosen that recognises that a formal property right to a resource does say little or nothing about access to the resource (Ribot, 1998, 2008). How a resource is managed and who has and has not access to the resource depends on power relations and embeddedness of property in social processes. I therefore approached property as a bundle of rights and responsibilities and take into account the layered character of it (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2006).

An early work on power can be found in the work of Machiavelli, the Prince (Machiavelli, 1515). Machiavelli analysed power and the way Italy could gain enough power to become its own state and keep control. The book goes directly to the unarguable axioms of power for the leader to follow like a strategy.

Since then scholars from different schools of thought have added different meanings to the concept of power. Much debate on power consequently also revolves around the agency-structure debate. Just like Foucault did with the concept of discourse, he made an important contribution to the notion of power. In his post-structuralist opinion the concept of power is fluid and diffuse. He argues that power is not an institution or structure but a complex strategic situation in a given social setting disciplining people (Foucault, 1980; Afshar 1998; Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004).

Lukes work evolved alongside Foucaults work on power. In his work *Power: A radical View* (1974) he added a third dimension to the concept of power in addition to the ones that were thought out by Bachrach and Baratz (1962), arguing that the first two dimension were too much actor oriented. According to Bachrach and Baratz power is not only exercised through decision making itself, but also by excluding issues from the political agenda, hence by *non*-decision-making. Lukes adds to these dimensions the hidden power mechanism, which occurs through individual actions, social forces or institutional practices (Lukes, 1974).

Rowlands (1997) also defines three dimensions of power. On the one hand it can be power *over*, having control over people and resources (Rowlands, 1997). This means that the more power one has, the less another agent has. On the other hand there is power to, or 'productive power' (Rowlands, 1997, p.13), to, for example, 'make a change' or 'stimulate others'. This kind of power does not go at the expense of someone else's power. Then there is power *with*, when people feel that they can accomplish more together than alone. And power *within*, which means "conscientization of one's own possibilities, which together with self-acceptance and self-respect makes a person powerful" (Idem: 13).

Giddens (1984) defines power as the capacity of actors to change the social and material world. His 'duality of structure' shows how he is of the opinion that agency and structure cannot be conceived separately. As Giddens (1984) states it, social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the medium of this constitution.

Clegg (1989) based his conceptualization of power on an electric circuit board, consisting of three interacting circuits; *episodic, dispositional* and *facilitative* circuit. Arts and Tatenhove (2004) explain to what aspects the different circuits relate. The episodic circuit relates to agency and outcomes, the dispositional one to rules of the game and socially constructed meanings that inform relations and legitimate authority and the facilitative circuit to "disciplinarian power and domination at the systemic level of societies as a whole" (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004, p. 348). These three circuits are assumed to highly depend on each other.

My understanding of power links up with how it is understood by the inventors of the PAA, acknowledging that both agency and structures influence behaviour. Power is an important dimension of the PAA. It was deliberately brought back to policy analysis, because the inventors of this approach regret the loss of this concept in policy analysis (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004). The authors again seek for a middle ground in adopting a conceptualization of power which assumes that

both actor and structure are important in policy making and policy arrangements. They used the general format of Clegg to develop a three-layered model of power; relational, dispositional and structural power. The first refers to that actors are able to achieve certain outcomes, the second relates to the positions of actors in organisations and how this co-determines outcomes. The last layer of structural power refers to how "discourses and institutions mediate how agents give meaning to the social world, consider some acts and thoughts legitimate, and others not, and are enabled or constrained to mobilise resources to achieve certain outcomes in social relationships" (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004, p. 351). This means that agents might have uneven access to the constitution and use of resources. Arts and Van Tatenhove thus argue that power is not only the ability of actors to have access to resources, but also the ability to use them.

To identify power and how this is shaping REDD+, I looked at the distribution of benefits and revenues, I looked at who has and has no knowledge or expertise and technology, also related to REDD+, I looked at the decision making processes, and who actually decides. I looked at who is shaping REDD+ at the local level, and how this coincides with forced behaviour requests.

2.1.6 Practice theory

The PAA enabled me to say something about how REDD+ is shaped and structured in Ghana. In Ghana the institutionalisation of REDD+ seems to request a behavioural change from local farmers. The REDD+ R-PP of Ghana is rather specific on what is necessary to reduce CO_2 emissions from avoiding deforestation and forest degradation. This concerns above all local farmers and their daily activities related to trees and the forests. According to the R-PP local farmers' activities are one of the most important causes for deforestation and degradation. To be able to say how the institutionalisation of REDD+ could affect local farmers I am of the opinion that it is important to understand people's everyday activities related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve.

Theory of practice, practice theory or practice perspective as some refer to it, could be used for my analysis since the unit of analysis are people's everyday activities. Secondly, it also meets the 'requirements' which I define as important and with which I position myself as a researcher in social science debates. It bridges actors and structure.

Taking into account many publications written about the topic of practices (Schultze and Orlowski, 2004; Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Reckwitz, 2002; Orlikowski, 2002; Brown and Duguid, 2001; Lave, 1996; Jarzabkawski, 2005; Ward, 2005; Schatzki, 2005; Marabelli and Newell, 2011) the first thing that could be noticed, is that there is not one acknowledged "theory of practice". In the work of these social theorists, different elements of the theory of practice can be found, and sometimes the scholars seem to disagree to a certain degree

In most scientific work related to practice, Bourdieu is acknowledged as one of the founders of the Theory of Practice. In his works "Outline of a theory of practice" of 1977 and "The logic of practice" of 1990, Bourdieu developed a theory of practice to understand human action. He positions himself in the social ontology debate in which the question, do social structures determine people's behaviour, or does human agency so?, is central. With his theory of practice Bourdieu tries to reconcile structure and agency, seeing the two concepts as complementary instead of separating them. Bourdieu argues that structures influence human behaviour, but humans are also capable of changing the social structures. According to Bourdieu practices are not only rational or consciously oriented and determined by social structures, but social agents also act according to an implicit practical sense

and bodily dispositions. Dispositions refer to the way of standing, speaking and feeling (Bourdieu, 1990). In the concept of dispositions lies Bourdieu's preference where social structures and agency meet. Dispositions enact a preference; this is why according to Bourdieu dispositions should be the unit of analysis. Bourdieu also uses the key concept of habitus to the theory of practice to overcome the agency-structure or objectivism-subjectivism debate. Habitus refers o the sustained way of dispositions that enables actors to maintain themselves.

Also Giddens is often referred to as an important author for practice theory. Like discussed before, Giddens (1984) provides a prominent example of reconcilement of the concepts of agency and structure: the structuration theory or what Giddens calls the 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984). Duality of structure, he argues, is that human actions constitute structures but enacted structures also determine people's actions. According to Giddens practices are therefore on-going and dynamic. Recent work applying a practice perspective comes from Schultze and Orlikowski (2004). They see the dynamics of the duality of structure in which humans produce and reproduce the structures that shape their behaviour in network relations and the use of information technology.

Much work on practice theory directly links practices with the concept of knowing. The concept of knowledge itself is much discussed (mostly in organisational studies) in terms of leaky (external and undesirable flow of knowledge, in particular the loss of knowledge across the boundaries of the firm) and sticky (moving knowledge inside organisations) knowledge.Giddens for example argues that everyday activities suggest "immense knowledgeability involved in the conduct of everyday life" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, p. 90). Human knowledgeability according to Giddens is the ability to go on within the routines of social life. Knowledgeability or knowing-in-practice is continually enacted through people's everyday activity (Giddens, 1984, p.4).

Orlikowski (2002) through elaborating on organisational knowledge argues that knowing is enacted in people's practices. According to her knowing and practices are therefore reciprocally constitutive. Orlikowski argues that know-how implies a capacity to perform or act in particular circumstances. She shows that a view of "organisational knowing as an enacted capability" suggests that competencies or capabilities of the organisation are not fixed, but formed in the "on-going and situated" practices of the members of the organisation (Orlikowski, 2002, p.270). Brown and Duguid's paper 'Knowledge and Organization: A Social-Practice Perspective' of 2001 is tasked with finding a perspective that can account for both perspectives on knowledge, leaky and sticky. They argue that this divergence is best solved from a practice perspective, which supports a view of learning and knowing. Brown and Duguid (2001) look at knowledge and organisation through the "prism of practice - the way in which work gets done and, we would argue, knowledge is created" (p. 200). They argue that practice is the way in which work gets done and knowledge is created. Knowing implicates learning and learning involves the ability to act in the world. The authors underpin Ryle's (1949) early ideas of know-how and know-what, in which know-how is learned by practice/doing. Also Lave (1996) elaborates on the concepts of practice and learning. According to her situated activity or practices involve changes in knowledge and action, which is learning. Furthermore she argues that activities of acting persons cannot be analysed in isolation from the social world in which they take place. By arguing so, she underpins Bourdieu and Giddens' dialectical ideas about agency and structure.

Jarzabkowski (2005) argues that a practice perspective has an assumption of knowing as a practical wisdom. According to Jarzabkowski the ability of actors to get things done within the possibilities of

the here and now is implied by knowing. The above makes clear that much work using a practice perspective comes from scholars mostly involved in organisational studies.

A scholar who in my opinion gives an understandable and meaningful overview of the main characteristics of the practice theory, under while acknowledging the fact that there is not one agreed upon approach is Reckwitz (2002). He explains practice theory by showing how this theory conceptualises five key terms: body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse, structure and the agent. According to Reckwitz practices involve bodily activities or movements of the body in cooperation with mental activities meaning desires, know-how, interpretations etc., and using things or objects. Practices also include particular mental activities or according to Reckwitz "ways of understanding, wanting and feeling that are linked to each other" (p. 253). Discursive practices are one type of practices embracing different forms in which the world is constructed in language or in other sign-systems. According to Reckwitz for practice theory, the nature of social structure consists in routinisation. Social practices are routines: routines of moving the body, of understanding and wanting, of using things, interconnected in a practice. But Reckwitz seems to leave out what theorists like Bourdieu and Giddens do argue, that these structures at their turn influence human behaviour. Relating to the last concept 'agent' Reckwitz argues that practice theory recognises that there are "diverse social practices, and as every agent carries out a multitude of different social practices, the individual is the unique crossing point of practices, of bodily-mental routines" (p. 256). Finally Reckwitz comes to the clarifying definition of practices as a "body/mind/things complexes" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 258).

I argue that I can use practice theory or a practice perspective in addition to the Policy Arrangement Approach to focus on the daily activities of the local people in Ghana, specifically those activities related to trees and forests. I argue that practice theory can be used in addition to the PAA, because both frameworks are looking for a solution to the rational choice-structure debate. The latter framework is seeking for a middle ground between rationality and structure, acknowledge the importance of both agency and structure. The former is trying to reconcile rational choice and structure, suggesting that social agents act according to an implicit routinised practical sense and bodily dispositions, which enact social structures. Despite the fact that practice theory up to now is used in organisational studies, I am of the opinion that this approach perfectly fits my objectives and methods, since these all aim at understanding the social activities or practices of local people. To be able to research local practices, I mainly drew on Reckwitz's operationalisation of practices as body/mind/things complexes, but I also focussed on how structures influence people's behaviour. To discover practices I looked at people's bodily behaviour (by observations) related to trees and forest reserves, both in real life as well as interpreting it from their oral accounts (by interviewing). I asked why they did what they did and when relevant why they are still doing it. I asked for their desires, preferences and interpretations related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve.

2.2 Conceptual framework

This research attempts to shed light on the institutionalisation of REDD+ and how this could affect local (migrant) farmers. This study is based on the insights derived from applying the Policy Arrangement Approach and its four dimensions; actors, discourse, rules and power in combination

with practice theory.

The four dimensions of a policy arrangement approach shape and structure REDD+. I try to identify how they do so by:

- Actors: Mapping out the players of the REDD+ game and their coalitions and oppositions and what actors are not involved. I also identify what actors strategically do and cannot do to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana.

- Discourse: Mapping out the ideas, preferences and interpretations actors have related to forests and the broader landscape, but also about REDD+. I looked for them while interviewing, going to meetings, looking at policy documents, reports and in other ways of communication. I also tried to discover concepts to relate these to the relevant discourse. I also participated in meetings and experienced how they went and what was discussed. I researched reports and ways of communicating to look for ways in which these discourses are used to legitimise behaviour that shapes and structures REDD+.

- Rules: Searching for which norms are legitimate, how issues may be raised, agendas set, interests articulated, decisions made and measures implemented in relation to REDD+. I particularly focussed on the institution of property rights related to trees and forests. I spoke with lawyers specialised in customary land arrangements and formal arrangements. In addition I interviewed both land owners and tenant farmers to get to understand these arrangements.

- Power: Looking at the capacity of actors to argue and negotiate and the possession of 'hard' resources such as money, knowledge, communication possibilities and technology and the distribution of them. These are important aspects that determine power and therefore determine outcomes in REDD+ deliberations.

Processes of transformation informing the institutionalisation of REDD+ were identified by looking for ideas of participation, governance, openness, and closer cooperation between government, society and private sector, which can be linked to late modernisation. But I also looked for elements of top down approaches such as neo-corporatist ways of decision making, meaning that certain actors make use of their powerful positions to settle things behind closed door..

Practice theory is used to understand local practices. To identify practices I observed people's bodily behaviour related to trees and forest reserves, both in real life as well as interpreting it from their oral accounts. I asked why they did what they did and when relevant why they are still doing it. With asking why and how questions I tried to discover to their desires, preferences and interpretations related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve.

Finally, I combined the findings of the two frameworks I applied to draw conclusions on how REDD+ could influence local (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework
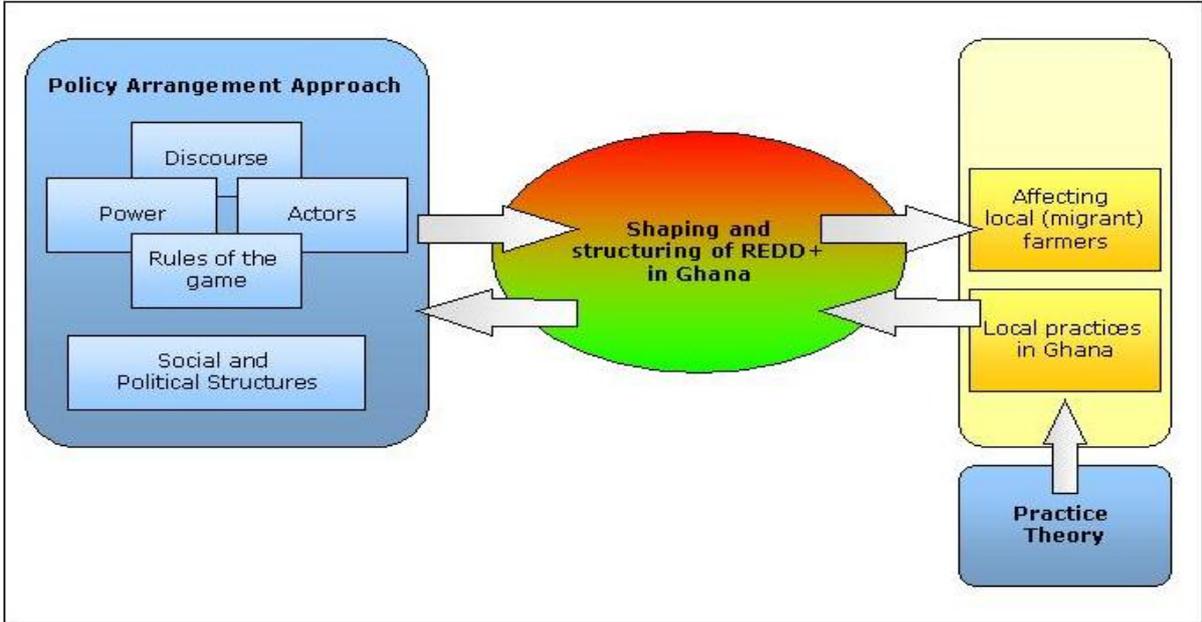
2.3 Conclusion

With this research I like to provide insights of how the shaping and structuring of international forest policies, in case REDD+, could affect local actors like (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

I needed two different theoretical frameworks to be able to live up to my three objectives. The first theoretical framework aims at analysing the institutionalisation of the policy arrangement REDD+ with the aid of four dimensions (actors, discourse, rules and power) and the influence of social and political structures (political modernisation), together forming the Policy Arrangement Approach. The second is the practice perspective or practice theory that is aimed at analysing people's every day's activities. The latter I used to understand practices of local people in Ghana, specifically related to on-farm trees and forest reserves, since these are the core aspects of REDD+. I argue that a juxtaposition of both approaches is possible because they share common ground in seeking a solution for the on-going agency-structure debate in social science.

Picture 3: A *trotro,* a public transport van stuffed with people, animals and vegetables on one of the few subsidised highways crossing Ghana from north to south

This chapter engages with some general information about Ghana, in particular forests, cocoa and land and tree tenure arrangements. These topics are important to elaborate on to be able to put the results of this study into perspective and therefore in different parts of this study links are made to these topics.

3.1 General

Ghana, with the capital of Accra, is situated in West Africa, and shares borders with Ivory Coast in the west, Togo in the east and Burkina Faso in the north. In the south Ghana's coastline meets the Gulf of Guinea. Ghana was the first sub-Saharan nation to gain independence. The country's first president Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence from the British in 1957. Before independence Ghana was known as Gold Coast, with Dutch, Danish and finally British colonial influences. Today remnants of this past can be found especially along the coast in the many slave trade fortresses (in Elmina, Cape Coast). The political system also inherited some colonial influences; the contemporary political system is based on both British Common Law and customary law. After approving a new constitution in 1992 Ghana turned to a multiparty democracy (CIA World Factbook, 2011). The two largest political parties are the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the National Patriotic Party (NPP). John Atta Mills from the NDC was elected as president in 2008. New elections are scheduled to take place in 2012.

Ghana's climate can be described as tropical; warm and dry along the southeast coast, hot and humid in southwest, hot and dry in the north (CIA World Factbook, 2011). Ghana is well endowed with natural resources that contribute massively to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Gold and cocoa are

the economy's major drivers as foreign exchange earners. Timber used to be another source but its importance is decreasing. Export commodities listed are: gold, cocoa, timber, tuna, bauxite, aluminium, manganese ore, diamonds and horticulture (CIA World Factbook, 2011). Ghana's workforce is mostly working in agriculture. The agricultural sector is composed of small holders that grow food crops such as maize, yam, cassava, rice, plantain and millet, and cash crops. The most important cash crops grown in Ghana are cocoa and cassava (Kabki, 2007). More recently Ghana became an oil producing country.

Ghanaians come from six main ethnic groups: the Akan (Ashanti and Fanti), the Ewe, the Ga-Adangbe, the Mole-Dagbani, the Guan, and the Gurma. 'Akan' is the name for the broad ethnic group living in the Ashanti Region (see Appendix III for a map of the regions of Ghana) and some surrounding regions. The Akan in the Ashanti Region are a sub-group of the Akan and are usually specified as 'Ashanti'. In a lot of literature, the words 'Akan', 'Ashanti' and 'Asante' are used interchangeably, referring to both the Ashanti and non-Ashanti Akan. This study refers to the respondents, who originally came from the Ashanti Region but now live in the Brong-Ahafo region just across the border, as 'Akan'. The Akan have a matrilineal family structure, which means that paternal family members are regarded as those who pass on the 'spirit' from one generation to the next, while 'blood' reaches the next generation via the maternal side (Twumasi, 1975). The paternal family is not perceived as kin and Akan generally feel less connected with their paternal side. Generally speaking, support relations with the paternal side are therefore less intensive. Maternal family members on the other hand are regarded as real family. Traditionally the Akan consider their sisters' children as their own children and, in the same way, all their mother's sisters are referred to as 'mother'. For an Akan man, the care for his maternal family traditionally used to be more important than that provided for his nuclear family (Kabki, 2007). The village is a social as well as an economic unit. People participate in the major ceremonies, the most frequent of which are funeral celebrations which last several days, up to a week.

As mentioned before, Ghana's political system and legislation is a mix of British Common Law and customary law. Chieftaincy arrangements and customary law play a very important, if not crucial role in land tenure systems and ownership of for example trees. This aspect is of tree tenure is important, and will be elaborated upon in paragraph 3.3.

3.2 Forests

Ghana's land area is 24 million hectares (similar to the size of the United Kingdom). The natural landscape comprises four major ecological zones; tropical moist forest in the south and south west (the high forest zone (8 million ha.); transitional zone in the middle belt between north and south; savannah woodlands in the north; and the Accra coastal plain (Agyarko, 2007; Kortatsi & Jorgensen, 2001). The greatest above-ground carbon stores can be found in the high forest zone. The high forest zone is divided into forest reserves (both production and protection forest reserves, mostly gazetted in the 1920s and '30s) and off-reserve areas. Most of the off-reserve areas is degraded (Fairhead and Leach, 1998), and is largely used for agricultural purposes. The off-reserve forest area is variously claimed to be between 100,000 – 350,000 km2 (World Bank, 2006).

Forest resources have played a central part in Ghana's historical development, and continue to do so to this day. This is evident not only in the prominence of forest products (mainly timber and cocoa) in Ghana's export trade, but in the whole structure of the society, being reflected in the country's distinctive social structure (particularly in the Akan areas) and in the unusual complexity of its land and labour markets. However, with few exceptions, Ghana's high forest areas are now in a severely degraded condition, and it is recognised that without urgent and radical remedial action, the prospects for the forest industry are poor.

Ghana has been dealing with large scale deforestation ever since the colonial times, when state-sanctioned conversion of forest land into farmland took place. In the second half of the 20th century deforestation accelerated and the stock of trees declined rapidly (Forestry Commission, 2010). Deforestation and forest degradation were exacerbated in the 1980s due to the acceleration and expansion of timber exports (Benhin and Barbier, 2000). Today the main drivers of deforestation are expansion of food crops and cocoa, related to this the introduction of full-sun (hybrid) cocoa varieties that perform well without the shaded trees required by traditional cocoa production systems, illegal logging on- and off- reserve, overcapacity in the forest industry and market and policy failures.
REDD+ is one of the current mechanism to combat deforestation and forest degradation.

There is a wide range of stakeholders involved in the forestry sector of Ghana. These include traditional land and forest holding authorities, forest fringe communities, farmers, the state and its forest sector agencies, NGOs and the timber industry. The government, the timber industry and the land owners or Stool[1]-holding communities have primary responsibility for the management and exploitation of forest resources. However, the land owners or stool-holding communities in reality may have little or no participation in decision-making processes regarding forest management, exploitation and utilization.

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[1] 'Stool' refers to the chair or seat that a king or chief sits upon, and the term symbolically represents a chieftaincy or the traditional authority for a given ethnic group or clan.

3.3 Property of trees and forests

In Ghana land and tree tenure issues are rather complex. In Ghana a division is made between on-reserve and off-reserve areas. Forest reserves are indicated either as timber concessions or in very few cases as conservation or wildlife areas. Much of the forest reserves present on maps, do in fact not exist anymore. Several times during this research I was looking for such an area, and signs indicated that I was at the right spot, but no trees were present, only fallow lands with some bushes. Former policies earmarked off-reserve areas for progressive conversion to agriculture and other non-forest uses. The introduction of the new Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana of 1994 has failed to arrest deforestation. The result is a highly mosaic off-reserve landscape with agriculture and scattered trees or small forest patches.

Rights over land are held by the traditional authorities, who hold it on behalf of the people. However, according to the Concessions Act of 1962 (Act 124: Section 16 (4)) all economic rights to trees are vested in the President in trust for the Stools concerned. This effectively means that the government through the Forestry Commission has the right to manage, harvest and sell the timber. Income from the logging activities is distributed according to a Constitutional formula in which revenues, after 50% is taken by the Forestry Commission, are shared between District Assembly, Stool and Traditional Authorities. Land-users receive nothing. An obvious problem with this revenue-sharing arrangement, if applied to REDD+, is that there is no (cash) compensation to farmers or land users, so it does not adequately incentivise the farming and land users population to retain a tree. Although according to the Timber Resources Management Act 617 it is illegal to cut any tree for economic reasons, it is allowed to cut trees for agricultural reasons. This makes it profitable for farmers to cut a naturally regenerated tree and as soon as possible plant cash crops on the cleared land. Leaving the land cleared for too long increases land ownership conflicts.

Timber Utilization Contracts (TUC) allowing timber companies to cut trees are issued for both off- and on-reserve areas. The Timber Resources Act 547 obliges an inspection of the affected farms when a TUC is issued in land with farms, and a written letter by the landowner authorizing the timber harvesting. In 2002 this Act was amended to specify that a TUC should not be issued without prior authorization from the concerned groups or individuals. Chapter 5 shows that reality is often different. The Timber Resources Management Amendment Act 617 and the Economic Plants Protection Decree of 1979, that respectively state that a TUC should not be issued on lands with farms and that timber should not be felled where cocoa or other plants are cultivated (Ashley Asare, 2010) are making the issue more complex. However, like the research also indicates, most off-reserve concessions are in fact in cocoa-farming landscapes. Another problem can be found in the right of farmers to be compensated for damages to their cocoa trees during logging activities according to Timber Resources and Management Regulations (1998). Since there are no guidelines that specify the amount of compensation or the way in which it should be paid many cocoa farmers complain about little or no payments being made to compensate for the damage on their crops. This is shown in chapter 5.

Lastly, land tenure issues are most complex within the traditional landowner/user system. Different titles regarding the land, mostly without having these rights and interests properly documented, exist (allodial title (= full ownership, mostly held by Stool, kins or families and not by individuals), usufruct, tenancy) and often the person working on the land is renting the land from another person who's interest is often not that of full ownership, but for example only usufruct (right to benefit from the

land). A usufruct or sub-paramount title is carved from the paramount or allodial title and can be acquired in two ways: first being a member of the paramount stool or family. This right could also be vested in more people, in a family or stool. The rights coming from this title are to benefit from the land and sometimes to sell, lease and transfer the land. But the paramount title has to be acknowledged. In the olden days land was often given, but every year the Paramount chief should be brought something to drink or a goat for holding the land. Nowadays, payments of money are more common. Secondly the usufruct title could be transferred by means of a *Guaha* ceremony. This transfer of power was customarily done with witnesses from both parties and is often not documented (Interview with legal expert (LE1), 2011).

Roughly, two tenancy systems exist in which the farmer enters an agreement with the landowner, but has to give the latter part of his harvest income. The first is called *Abusa*, which means that $^2/_3$ of the harvest income goes to the landowner, and *Abunu*, of which 50% goes to the landowner. The more steps there are in this chain the more complex and the more problems there will be when REDD+ comes in. Also these arrangements are mostly not documented (Djokota, 2011). *Guaha* is elaborated in chapter 5.

3.4 Cocoa

According to the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) at present about 1.6 million hectares of land in Ghana is under cocoa. Cocoa farm sizes in Ghana are relatively small with over 70% of cocoa farms falling within the size range of 0.4 to 4.0 hectares (Kwapong, 2011). Ever since the start of cultivation of cocoa in the late 19th century, it has played a crucial role in Ghana's economic development. Until the mid-1970s Ghana was the world's largest cocoa producer. In 1947 the colonial government established the Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) as the main responsible agency for the development of the industry (Ghana Cocoa Board, 2011). The 1980s were characterised by draught, decreasing world market prices, the high price of Ghanaian cocoa because of the overvalue of the Cedi, the national currency and the low price COCOBOD paid to the farmers had a severe impact on farmer's income. In an effort to increase productivity the hybrid or sun tolerant cocoa was introduced (Gockowski and Sonwa, 2010; Millard, 2011).

It is not clear what rationale has been behind the planting of this sun-tolerant variety (Bouma, 2011). Hybrid cocoa can mostly be found in West Ghana, where the most recently established farms can be found. Here very few trees are seen among the cocoa trees. Bouma found several possible explanations, but argues that no concrete evidence could be found to support them. Some argue that popularity of 'sun-tolerant cocoa' has been influenced by Ivorian cocoa farmers. The Western Region borders Ivory Coast. Ivorian cocoa is managed in large-scale cooperatives mostly under full sun. Others argue that the idea has been supported by Cocoa Board and others argue it was the forest sector that contributed to the promotion of sun-tolerant cocoa, because the trees in cocoa farms could then be felled for timber. Another reason might be introduction of hybrid varieties and government led policies to increase productivity.

Forest areas provide good environments for cocoa. The natural habitat of the cocoa tree is in the

lower storey of the evergreen rainforest and climatic factors, particularly temperature and rainfall, are important in encouraging optimum growth (ICCO, 2011). Forest soils offer the cocoa farmer a rich soil which Ruf (1995) describes as 'forest rent'. These soils offer good possibilities to grow crops such as cocoa, without the need for inputs such as fertilisers. Famers are faced with a situation where inputs were and are not generally available. Cocoa farms are often established by slash and burning the (forest) land (Gockowski & Sonwa, 2010) or by planting the cocoa under a thinned forest. Forest is also necessary for rainfall and temperatures to provide ideal circumstances for growth (Appiah et. al., 2009). In addition, young cocoa plants need shade to survive. Cocoa is a seasonal crop, and does not yield throughout the year. Cocoa prices have been volatile and have affected farmer's income. Therefore intercropping is very common at cocoa farms. This means other food crops such as plantain, cassava and yam are planted in between (young) cocoa trees.

Traditionally (before 1970) cocoa was grown in the Brong Ahafo, Eastern and Ashanti Regions, also known as the 'cocoa-belt' where soils and climatic conditions are believed to be very suitable for cocoa. In Ghana, land conversion to cocoa farms has been commonly recognised as one of the predominant drivers of deforestation (Wade, et al., 2010; Appiah et. al. 2009), especially in the Western Region of Ghana, where currently 50-60% of Ghana's cocoa is produced.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides information about several topics that are useful to put the findings of the next chapters into perspective. REDD+ related developments and local practices can be better understood when understanding the important role cocoa plays in household incomes and in relation to trees and forests and the complexity of land and tree tenure issues. Many customary arrangements regarding land renting exists. Farmers often have use rights but ownership often remains with chiefs, while the economic benefits for a big part go to the government.

Picture 4: NGO NCRC conducting a REDD+ initiative in Kumaho, Asunafo North Municipal

This chapter deals with research question one and analyses how REDD+ in Ghana is shaped and structured (institutionalised) with the aid of the dimensions actors, discourses, rules and power. But bearing in mind that policy arrangements are in continual flux. When necessary, links are made to the international level or to the regional or local level. First a more general overview of REDD+ in Ghana is given, after which the paragraphs are linked to the four dimensions of the policy arrangement approach, starting with actors. The relation between the four dimensions is elaborated on in the next paragraph, after which the influence of transformation processes influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+ is discussed.

4.1 In general

Ghana has a long history as a timber trade nation and earlier policies on timber were in favour of economic profits and export of timber. As a result of this Ghana's forests have been in decline for many years. Many forest reserves are heavily degraded and off-reserve forest stocks are being rapidly depleted. This was reason to 'ask' Ghana to prepare for REDD+ (interview with G2). The idea was to include one country in the REDD+ process that has high deforestation rates and not much forest left. Ghana submitted a Readiness Plan Idea Notes (R-PIN) to the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) in 2007. This was approved and on the 21st of July 2008 Ghana was named among 14 countries to benefit from the World Bank's FCPF for the REDD mechanism. With money from the FCPF Ghana prepared a Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP) for REDD+, which was approved in 2010.

The R-PP aims to assist Ghana to prepare itself for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest

Degradation (REDD), sustainable forest management, conservation and carbon enhancement (plus), and become 'ready' for the implementation of an international mechanism for REDD+. The R-PP document provides "an approach to strategy development and establishment of the technical, policy, legal, management and monitoring arrangements" necessary to enable Ghana to fully participate in a mechanism for REDD (R-PP, 2010, p. 10). With an annual deforestation rate of 1,7% (Asare, 2011) and with a poor remaining carbon stock, in Ghana activities focusing on carbon enhancement are likely to have the most potential for REDD+ (R-PP, 2010).

Ghana is in the process of shaping and structuring REDD+. Basically on all important aspects of the R-PP (Consultations and Participation; Policy Development; Strategic Environmental and Social Assessment; Demonstration Project; Baseline Survey and Reference Scenario; a Monitoring, Reporting and Verification (MRV) system; and Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Framework) action plans are being developed by the Working Groups assigned to the particular aspects. The action plans together will form the actual National Strategy for REDD+. At the time of the research for this study, activities regarding the development of the action plans and thus the National Strategy are delayed, since the waiting is on money from the World Bank to finance the development of the National Strategy. One of the steps of the R-PP is the pilot or demonstration phase, in which different models (activities that contribute to reforestation, cocoa carbon, avoiding deforestation/degradation etc.) are tested for REDD+. It should be noted that issues like land and tree tenure are not yet solved, but supposed to be taken into account with the revision of laws.
To date when talking about REDD+ activities in Ghana, two different things are aimed at. The first relates to developing REDD+ pilot sites that demonstrate different models to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the second is that of awareness raising and capacity building with respect to REDD+.

The Forestry Commission, and more specific the Climate Change Unit of the Forestry Commission, responsible for the regulation of utilization of forest and wildlife resources, the conservation and management of those resources and the coordination of policies related to them, serves as the REDD+ secretariat. At the ministerial level a National REDD+ Steering Committee (NRSC) was put in place, a multi-stakeholder body, chaired by the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) to advise the Minister of MLNR on REDD+ issues. The REDD Steering Committee put in place multi-stakeholder Working Groups on all important aspects of the R-PP (see previous paragraph) for the development of the action plans to develop the National Strategy. In practice this Steering Committee is not active anymore, because the Natural Resources and Environmental Governance Development Policy Operation's (NREG) Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC+) (responsible for coordinating Ghana's Forest Investment Program (FIP), FCPF (REDD+) and other initiatives) has taken over the tasks of this Committee. The existing Steering Committees, including REDD+, VPA, National Forest Forum and the FIP are converted into Working Groups and report to the TCC+ (R-PP, 2010).

In Ghana a shared opinion is that REDD+ has the potential to fit existing frameworks on sustainable forest management, forest governance etc., bringing in an additional incentive to avoid further deforestation and forest degradation of Ghana's remaining forest. REDD+ pilot projects therefore are often projects that build on existing project activities. This thesis (see also chapter 5 and 6) shows how exactly this relation looks like.

4.2 Actors and sense of agency

Different actors play different roles relating to REDD+ and have different relations with each other, which influences the REDD+ process. Actors can be seen as ´players of the game´ often grouping together in coalitions to enhance certain discourses and to constrain others. I also elaborate on actors as ´strategic actors´ having a certain level of agency to act in the world, but are also constrained by social and political structures. But not to narrow my view I also focus on actors that are, because of whatever reason, excluded as players of the REDD+ game having the opportunity to influence how REDD+ is shaped and structured.

My findings show that the actors involved in REDD+ have the ability to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana, but that they sometimes to a certain extent are constrained by social structures. An important aspect influencing the extent to which agency is used is what is referred to as 'sense of agency': to be aware of your own capabilities (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Sense of agency' is important because it relates the *power within* with the *power to* make a change: being aware of your capabilities is a condition for change (Rowlands, 1997).

One of the most obvious actors involved in REDD+ is the government of Ghana (GoG). The GoG decided to participate in the international REDD+ mechanism and submitted a proposal for World Bank funding to develop REDD+ in Ghana. Although one could argue that the GoG also could have decided not to participate in REDD+, the following shows that the social structure 'the image of Ghana' at least played a role in this positive decision. One of the respondents explained that participating in REDD+ is all about image, Ghana's image. Apparently REDD+ is important for the position of Ghana in the whole of Africa.

> *REDD+ is here among others because it gives Ghana the change to position itself better in Africa. Previously we missed chances and REDD+ is supposed to make up for that (G8).*

But also the interviews and my observations during REDD+ meetings make clear that pressure from the Western world change the current situation and to halt illegal logging and the availability of resources (money) might have greatly influenced the decision to participate in REDD+.

Once Ghana decided to be involved in REDD+, for funding it is bound to rules and criteria of the funder, in case the FCPF of the World Bank. One important criterion is that everything has to be decided through a multi-stakeholder consultation process. These rules and criteria are constraining Ghana in making choices how REDD+ should be developed. On the other hand, Ghana has the capabilities to steer the process in a certain direction. One example of this I noticed when I visited 'REDD+ pilot projects'. Two actors were asked by the FC to submit a proposal for piloting, even after the closure date for submitting. A respondent from another REDD+ pilot project told me that although officially it was not decided yet what projects would be chosen as pilot projects, he was told his project would be one of them. It made clear that although an independent panel of experts has to decide on this matter, these decisions are often made in a different, informal way.

But not only the government of Ghana is influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. Many NGOs are involved in the REDD+ process in Ghana, both environmental and development NGOs. A couple of them are very actively involved in REDD+. These NGOs have different tasks and aim at different outcomes with respect to REDD+. They function as REDD+ 'watchdogs' but also closely cooperate with the government on REDD+. NGOs try to shape the REDD+ process in many different ways. I discovered one clear example when I interviewed respondents from two NGOs and visited one of their REDD+ projects; the negotiations over the definition of forests. The two NGOs seem to try to stretch the definition of forest and activities that qualify for REDD+ by defining cocoa as forest and by doing so to qualify cocoa for 'REDD+ carbon'. This is an important aspect since Ghana has much more cocoa trees than forest, which means that when cocoa is accepted as REDD+ carbon, more CO_2 could be taken up, meaning more carbon credits, meaning more money from REDD+. Both NGOs play important roles in the REDD+ process and have much expertise on cocoa carbon and carbon measurements which is recognised and used by the government of Ghana. The NGOs seemed to be fully aware of their capabilities and use these to change the REDD+ process in their favoured direction.

A clear example of a coalition on REDD+ cocoa carbon is an initiative by one of the above mentioned NGOs together with actors from private sector, semi-governmental organisations and other NGOs from Ghana and outside all involved in cocoa. This group of actors tries to establish a strong incentive for the recognition of cocoa carbon under REDD+.

Another important actor with agency to shape REDD+ in Ghana are timber firms. Timber firms have lease contracts with the FC to exploit forest reserves and establish plantations within degraded forest reserves. Several interviews indicated that the FC at its turn receives revenues and bribes from the firms to deplete the forest reserves. The relation between the timber firms and especially the FC is thus crucial when talking about REDD+. Timber firms have greatly influenced the depleted state of the forests and consequently influence the remaining carbon stocks both on reserve and off-reserve. Secondly, one could argue that they influence illegal logging, since timber firms mainly only provide the international timber market not the domestic market. Because of this practical power, but also because of the relation between the timber firms and the FC, the timber firms can influence the FC and other government officials to steer the REDD+ process in a certain direction. To preserve or sustainably manage the on-reserve carbon stock for REDD+, timber firms are needed.

At one of the meetings I attended for this research the timber companies present expressed their fear that the timber industry eventually would have to pay for REDD+. Their concern is that REDD+ only brings stricter regulation and that this will affect the timber market. Their plea was not for changing current policies and laws, which is needed for REDD+. It should be noted that these same firms have submitted proposals for REDD+ piloting.

Government, NGOs, private sector are visibly forming REDD+ coalitions to strengthen their positions in favour of REDD+, bundling knowledge, resources and technology. The above makes clear that separate actors and the interplay between the different actors shape and structure REDD+.

However, this analysis of actors is not complete without discussing the role of local actors, and of local farmers in particular. As indicated in the problem statement, according to the R-PP local farmers are supposed to change their behaviour related to trees and forests in order to reduce emissions from

avoiding deforestation and degradation. It was therefore at the least remarkable that this group of people did not seem to be well represented in REDD+ discussions and did not seem to have much to say in how REDD+ is shaped and structured. At the "REDD+" meetings I visited for this research, no representatives of the Traditional Authorities and/or Stool were present, let alone representatives of local (migrant) farmers. When this question was asked by one of the attendants of a meeting the answer from the organising party was that "*although they are not present, they are certainly very much involved in the process*". Since travelling in Ghana is rather difficult, especially from the north, and most meetings are held in Accra, certain actors are easily excluded. The interviews reveal that local farmers, but also government officials at district and local level are often ignorant of a mechanism called REDD+, not to mention what REDD+ means. This again indicates a poor representation of these actors in the REDD+ development process. In the next chapter I give a possible explanation for this ignorance.

4.3 Discourses

In this subchapter I elaborate on one of the aspects shaping and structuring REDD+, namely discourse. Not only actors are important in shaping REDD+ in Ghana. Also the discourses of the actors are shaping REDD+. The preferences and ideas, also about REDD+, that the different actors have results in the discourse they unconsciously and consciously identify themselves with (Arts et. al., 2010). Discourses represent actors' interests. Actors within and outside the Government of Ghana involved in REDD+ have different ideas and opinions with respect to the benefits and risks associated with REDD+. It becomes clear that different actors have different reasons to be against, in favour of or critical towards REDD+. The reasons given for how the respondents position themselves towards REDD+ tell something about the ideas and preferences the respondents have with respect to how forests in general and forest resources in particular should be handled. These opinions, ideas and preferences can be linked to specific discourses. Discourses at their turn influence and legitimise the behaviour of these actors, in particular how they make efforts to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+.

Arts et. al. (2010) identify several forest (related) discourses; *meta* discourses such as ecological modernisation, sustainable development, global governance; *regulatory* discourses such as state regulation, de-regulation and smart regulation; and *forest* discourses, such as industrial forestry, sustainable forest management, forests and climate change and illegal logging. Some of these discourses interact and overlap. When this is the case in my findings, I will point to it.

Below an impression of the ideas and preferences of the different actors is given based on the interviews I held, the meetings I attended and the (policy) documents I read. These oral accounts reveal the different discourses I summarised above and show how these discourses are of influence on how people view and/or are involved in REDD+.

4.3.1 Industrial forestry and SFM

The findings from my interviews with the different respondents show that some respondents strongly link forests to economic development and prioritise forests as production units, seeking for economic

profit, sometimes even personal profit. The discourse of industrial forestry, and to a certain extent also sustainable forest management with its broader interpretation of the role forests and their multiple-use management (Arts et. al. 2009), can be linked to these concepts and ideas. Below I explain how these discourses play a role in influencing actor's behaviour related to forests in general and to REDD+ in particular.

A nice example of the idea that forests are important because of economic reasons can be found in what two employees of the FC told me. According to them forests is a very important source of income for Ghana. REDD+ is seen as a mechanism with potential since it does not cut off this important revenue. REDD+ allows for sustainable forest management and the construction of plantations to provide the international market with timber. Not clear is whether they in fact understand the role of forests broader than forests solely as production units, the first would indicate a more sustainable forest management point of view.

Ghana's history makes one think the latter is often the case. Ghanaian society and particular groups within it seem to have prioritised deforestation and forest degradation over conservation to serve broader economic development objectives. Although in the late 1980's and early 1990's the timber harvesting rules were reformed in line with principles of sustainable management, and the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy called for the "perpetual flow of optimum benefits from forest and wildlife resources to all segments of society" (MLF, 1994, section 4.1) these rules have not been effectively enforced (Hansen and Treue, 2008). This becomes clear when looking at 1) the still existing high deforestation rates, 2) the persistence of low forest fees (royalties/stumpage fees) while channelling the main share of the revenues to the central forestry administration (Forestry Commission) and 3) the discretionary allocation of timber or logging rights in the form of Timber Utilization Permits and Timber Utilization Contracts(Hansen et. al., 2009).
It is argued by Hansen et. al. (2009; 449) that the "political and administrative elite has landed itself in a catch-22 situation". This refers to the objective of economic development through among others industrialization and satisfaction of the domestic timber demand can only be achieved by poor law enforcement and as a result causes the depletion of forest resources.

But, not only more general objectives like economic development for the whole of Ghana prevail, also more individual reasons like personal rent seeking and the legitimisation of the position of political and administrative elites play an important role in maintaining the situation in practice just as it is, leading to forest depletion.
A meaningful example of how these reasons are influencing the decision to be involved in REDD+ is provided by what I (unofficially) heard from several government respondents. Within the FC the rumour goes that the head of the Climate Change Unit is benefitting personally from REDD+ before retiring and that this is the only reason why he took this job. It seems that personal gain is an important influence.

> […] is not a forestry person. He was just assigned to the FC to do this particular project [REDD]. He is filling his pockets with REDD money before retiring (G1).

Also one of the respondents, a South-African white man, in charge of the FORM Ghana REDD+ pilot project told me that it is a constant battle not to take part in the corrupt system of bribes. To get things done from the FC it is common to bribe the officers, and when you refuse they play it hard. He explained that an important reason for FORM Ghana to submit a REDD+ proposal was the request from the FC.

The poor enforcement system in Ghana is exploited by members of lower administrative bureaucracies like forest officers who extract informal payments from agents in the forestry sector for allowing breach of regulations (Hansen et. al., 2009). One respondent and owner of a timber company operating in the area where part of the research for this study is conducted confirmed this. He explained that the core business of a timber firm is cutting trees. He told me that forests are degraded by timber firms, because they cut too much and not according to the rules (size of the tree, selective logging etc.). Timber firms do not replant because they do not own the land. The respondent explains that this has to do with the feeling of responsibility:

As a timber contractor I am interested in cutting timber. We are depleting the forests, almost all the trees [read: trees suitable for logging] are finished. Why do we not replant? Because we do not own the land! We are proceeding with our loggings as long as we are allowed to (LT1).

This respondent also explained the relation of timber firms with the FC. Like stated in the previous subchapter the FC receives an amount of money from logging, depending on logging volumes.

On paper the FC paints a nice picture, so they can cut more from the forest. Both the FC and the timber firm benefit from this activity (LT1).

A retired customer service officer of the FC in Asunafo North district confirmed this story of depleting the forest because of the cooperation between the FC and timber firms.

The technical officer of the FC is corrupt. Give him a little handshake and the forest can be depleted (LG6).

The above confirms the general perception that seems to predominate in Ghana that from the local up to the national level government officials are benefiting from the current system and also the development of REDD+ in Ghana. There is a system in place of deliberate poor law enforcement and corruption, benefitting only a small number of people. This discourse of economic development, personal rent seeking and preserving elite positions is of influence on how people deal with REDD+. Many of the respondents I interviewed think that REDD+ is just another instrument that will only benefit a small group of government officials and people with power. Often this was not the official opinion, but it was told to me confidentiality, also by by the people who are benefitting. In reality these people were all somehow involved in REDD+ activities.

4.3.2 Illegal logging and forest governance

Concepts like governance, participation, equitable sharing of benefits and land tenure security relate to what can be referred to as the meta discourse civic environmentalism. Arts et. al. (2010) refer to this discourse as a discourse related to global economics, politics and culture affecting forest discourses. A critique by several authors to the reformist type of this discourse (reformist stands for enhancement of the legitimacy and accountability of multilateral institutions by increased stakeholder participation), is the dominance of moderate NGOs leaving no room for grassroots movements or fundamental critiques (Arts et. al. 2009). A second critique is that certain groups might have few or no opportunities to participate at all.

Some of the respondents obviously relate to the discourses of illegal logging and (forest) governance that closely relate to and are influenced by the meta discourse civic environmentalism. Concepts like illegal logging and forest governance dominate current debates about forests in Ghana. Practice often showed a different picture. A good example of an expression of the above mentioned discourses is the West Africa Forest Governance Forum of which a meeting was held on the 7th and 8th of June in Accra organised by the EU.

From this meeting and my interviews with people from the particular NGOs it becomes clear that civil society NGOs like Forest Watch Ghana, Civic Response and FERN seem to worry most about land and tree tenure and what the complexity of this topic means for the local people's rights and benefit sharing in relation to REDD+. One of the respondents expressed it as follows:

> *REDD+ is developed by carbon addicts. The biggest risk for REDD+ is tree tenure. Relying on the current situation, the poor have no rights. Clarification and formalization of rights is needed (N4).*

Although these NGOs are critical towards REDD+, they do not fully reject the mechanism if it turns out to be a fund-based mechanism and not a market-based mechanism. The way that a funded-based mechanism works is by centralizing money from different sources (private) which together form the 'fund' from which countries are paid for their reductions. The latter option is about generating marketable carbon credits from good practice to trade them on the international market. Main arguments of these NGOs against such a carbon-trading-based or market-based mechanism are the supposed inefficiency of such a system, bias against forest communities, conceptual flaws and no relevant fight against climate change. It is often believed that not the developing countries cause deforestation, but that the Western countries with their industries should be hold accountable for climate change. Many respondents are of the opinion that allowing high emitters of GHGs to take credit for reductions in carbon emissions elsewhere in the world (usually in a third world country), while taking the focus off the actual domestic emissions reductions that those developed countries ought to be pursuing is ethically not correct. These ideas and preferences were clearly communicated; several reports discussed them and at almost all meetings I attended it was also discussed.

One of the employees of the FC explains that in Ghana the main problem of deforestation and forest degradation is illegal logging to fulfil the local timber demand. In the past policies and laws have failed to address this problem. According to the respondent to make REDD+ work one should focus on the drivers of deforestation, and especially on illegal logging by local chainsaw loggers, since that is Ghana's number one cause for deforestation.

> *Due to major law and policy failures we have still a lot of illegal chainsaw logging to provide the domestic market. We need to look at illegal logging issues first in order to make REDD+ deliver (G5).*

At the moment Ghana is also involved in the EU VPA/FLEGT process to combat illegal logging and to provide the European market with certified legal timber. This provides a good example of the illegal logging and governance discourse and their influence. The VPA/FLEGT programme is also placed with the FC. The Forest Governance meeting in Accra made clear that government officials working for the FC on FLEGT/VPA have great concerns about REDD+ undermining the FLEGT/VPA process. One of the attendants expressed it as follows:

> *I am working for the FC, but I don't believe in REDD+. We should focus on forest governance and not on carbon measurement (Anonymous).*

But, not only the government, also NGOs worry that REDD+ will undermine the FLEGT/VPA process. One of the respondents working for a NGO clearly and publically opposed REDD+. According to this respondent REDD+ is not focused on one of the actual drivers of deforestation, illegal logging, but too much on carbon measurement and carbon credits. He explained that FLEGT/VPA, different from REDD+, not only is combating the drivers of deforestation, but also focused on forest governance and tenure rights and already working towards this for a long time.

> *REDD+ is a pain in the neck for the VPA/FLEGT process. Now REDD+ comes in and the government gets $ signs in its eyes. The government is much less interested in FLEGT/VPA and more in REDD+, this is not good (N13).*

NGOs in favour of the FLEGT/VPA policy are of the opinion that the focus on REDD+ in terms of carbon measurements will shift the focus in the wrong direction. Consequently money will move away from the FLEGT/VPA process and related actions, such as law reviews, improved enforcement to combat illegal logging and improved forest governance.

> *REDD+ will only deliver when the focus changes from carbon to governance.*
> *There is no global carbon market yet and no large sums of money will come from the carbon market. (N14).*

Interestingly, even though many of the attendants of the Forum seemed to be positive about the progress booked so far on FLEGT/VPA, another stakeholder meeting concerned with this topic revealed many concerns. It became clear that Ghana is not as far as it may seem regarding reviewing its laws and enhancing and improving enforcement to tackle illegal logging activities. It should be

noted that these discourses have produced powerful representations of who is to blame for Ghana's deforestation. The oral accounts of many respondents from the FC, timber firms and NGOs provide images of local people illegally cutting trees and depleting the forests.

The West Africa Forest Governance meeting put forward a strong critical position towards REDD+, influenced by the discourses of governance and illegal logging that are directly connected to forest policy. This idea was clearly expressed during the meeting and seemed to have the purpose of influencing people to be in favour of REDD+. Discourse coalitions try to influence the REDD+ process among others by organising these kinds of meetings where REDD+ is discussed, lobbies etc.

4.3.3 Forest and climate change

Although many respondents seem to connect more directly with different discourses than the forests and climate change discourse, the latter discourse does play an important role in Ghana at the moment and influences and legitimises many actors' behaviour. The forest and climate discourse has to do with finding economically efficient solutions for different problems at once such as deforestation, livelihoods and climate change (Arts et. al. 2009). The development of REDD+ at international level by the Parties of the UNFCCC and at the national level in Ghana, typically is an example of this particular discourse. Developed concepts related to this discourse, used in many documents such as the R-PP, pilot proposals, reports, and communications are climate change, carbon sinks, carbon measurement, and cocoa carbon.

The influence of the forest and climate change discourse in Ghana can among others be found in the many communications about REDD+ and the many activities related to REDD+. In the short period I was in Ghana, at least once or twice a week a meeting was organised with REDD+ as main topic. In other meetings REDD+ was put on the agenda because it somehow linked with the other forest and agricultural related topic(s) discussed. The R-PP of Ghana and the meetings make clear that REDD+ is supposed to be a governmental programme, connecting the different ministries.

From my findings it appears that, next to the Ghanaian government, it are mostly the larger NGOs (such as NCRC, Rainforest Alliance, IUCN) and timber firms (such as Samartex, FORM Ghana, Portal Ltd.) whose ideas and practices can actually be directly linked to the discourse of forests and climate change. It is remarkable that none of the REDD+ pilot projects is actually a grass root project.
Two NGOs (NCRC and Rainforest Alliance) in particular are deeply involved in REDD+ and especially in carbon measurement activities. The ideas prevailing with these NGOs is that forest can be seen as carbon stocks which generate marketable carbon credits from good practices to trade them on the international market. Both NGOs submitted a REDD+ proposal to the FC for REDD+ piloting. Both NGOs also seek linkages with the cocoa industry. For example they strive to enhance the tree stock in cocoa plantations and presume that cocoa trees themselves could qualify for REDD+ since they uptake carbon. Their activities directly involve local cocoa farmers, who are expected to leave the trees on their land. However, as chapter five will show, local farmers often have their own reasons for how they deal with the on-farm trees.

The influence of the forest and climate change discourse becomes also very clear from the following example. On request of the FC one of the more critical NGOs, mainly involved in awareness raising and capacity building of local people with respect to REDD+, submitted a proposal for a REDD+ pilot project *after* the closing date. Despite its position, this NGO closely cooperates with the government on many issues relating to among others REDD+ and is taken rather seriously. This example shows that most often there is no clear cut picture and many NGOs also have a hidden agenda mainly due to (donor) money.

The forest and climate change discourse seemed to have such a big influence that even the most critical environmental NGO seemed to consider REDD+ despite this NGO is in fact against REDD+ and even one of the managers clearly stated against REDD+. Western donors providing money for REDD+ activities is an possible explaining factor for this willingness to be involved in REDD+.

> *I know that we are supposed to be against REDD+, but if our donor wants something with REDD+ I think we should be involved (N15).*

A manager of this NGO explained that Ghana is going in the wrong direction choosing for REDD+. According to him REDD+ will not deliver and it will undermine sustainable forest management in Ghana since REDD+ is only focussed on carbon. The respondent is of the opinion that the whole system needs to change in order to solve climate change problems.

> *Let the whole chain of production come to Ghana, we should not only export raw materials. This will provide jobs and income and these alternative livelihoods can contribute to solve deforestation and climate change issues (N8).*

The above is also an example of how multilateral institutions and Western governments to a certain extent determine national and local policies putting climate change high on the political agenda.

Also timber firms play an important role concerning forest and climate change in general and REDD+ in particular. The following makes clear how timber companies are influenced by this discourse. One of the respondents owns a timber company and submitted a REDD+ pilot proposal to the FC. The aim of this 'REDD+ project' is to combine a rubber plantation and producing essential oils with conservation of some remaining forest patches and community involvement. This respondent is rather clear about REDD+. He is of the opinion that REDD+ will not deliver. But, to be able to execute all of his plans, he needs a lot of funding. Money can be obtained by doing something with climate change and this is the main reason why he submitted the proposal. See Box 1 below for the full story.

Box 1. The REDD+ pilot project of a timber company.

Portal ltd., an agro-forestry company, covers 210 acres of land situated in the Southwestern region of Ghana. Different timber species (plantation), herbs like black pepper and essential oils are grown. The activity that would qualify for REDD+ is leaving 75 acres of degraded forest to regenerate. At the moment people from the nearby village are employed to work in the plantation. A carbon pre-feasibility study costing $20.000 was conducted recently and a REDD+ pilot proposal was submitted to the FC also just recently. Although not officially confirmed, this project is likely to be selected as an

official pilot site, because of the uniqueness of the model in Ghana (someone within the FC unofficially confirmed this). Unique because of the following aspects: the economic benefits will come from a new to build eco-lodge (at the moment of writing two French students are building huts), a flower farm and by producing honey and soaps on-site. The people from the village are supposed to be the beneficiaries and will be employed. Director and owner of Portal ltd. however does not believe that REDD+ will deliver. The director does not expect any money to come from being selected as an official REDD+ pilot project.

At the moment a conflict is going on between Portal ltd. and the people from the village who are also employed by Portal ltd. According to the owner of Portal ltd. the villagers are illegally farming (using private forestland for own agricultural purposes) on forestland owned by Portal ltd. which caused the director to stop the payments of the employees coming from the village. These employees expressed their anger, because they were working on the plantation and therefore had the right to be paid wages. During our visit to the village the chief of the village expressed its willingness to work with Portal ltd. and attempts were made to settle the dispute.

The owner of Portal ltd. explains that in the earlier days he had many fights with his father about the latter being too dictatorial. But now he runs the company himself he agrees with his father that trying to live up to how the international community thinks that things should be done in Ghana does not work. For a company or project to be successful, one has to act strongly and disciplined, like a father.

4.4 Rules of the game

In the context of this thesis, rules or institutions refer to the rules of the game that are regularizing structures that influence people's behaviour. For REDD+ this refers to "which norms are legitimate, how issues may be raised; agendas set; interests articulated; policies formulated; decisions made; and measures implemented" (Arts et. al., 2010, p.342). But a broader view needed to be applied. An institution that is also important to consider in relation to REDD+ is property rights to trees and forests, since this social institution (Bruns et. al., 2005) for a big part is influencing how REDD+ is shaped and structured.

Often the rules of the game can be the focus of contestation (Roth, 2009). For REDD+ this specifically is the case with property rights to trees and forests. Important questions such as what is recognised as REDD+ carbon, who owns the land and the trees and would therefore have the legal rights to the carbon credits from REDD+ are being discussed. Property rights or the lacking of these rights relate with how local farmers deal with the on-farm trees which they are expected to protect. Below I show what rules are concerned with REDD+ and how these rules shape and structure REDD+ in Ghana.

On international level many aspects of REDD+ are far from clear and no international agreement on a follow up of Kyoto exists yet. The Parties of the UNFCCC together decide for a big part how the REDD+ framework looks like. Rules around the allocation of credits, how carbon inventories (carbon measurements) should be done and reported to the Climate Change secretariat are set at international level. According to the Convention the Parties of the Convention should make every effort to reach an agreement on consensus, but if that does not work, a three-fourth majority vote is admitted. Recent discussions on international level hint at a national emission reduction level. But how and if sub-national projects may 'nest' within a government-led framework is still unclear. The

sub-national projects would first need to be assessed against national criteria, and an internationally approved third party would need to review the project against international criteria. The decision of and how subnational initiatives may fit the national REDD+ frameworks seems to strongly depend on international developments and decisions made by the UNFCCC, but also what is decided upon at national government level. Secondly, it is not decided upon yet whether REDD+ will be a market-based or fund-based mechanism or a combination of both. According to many this decision has a big influence on whether REDD+ will succeed. Mainly NGOs are most obviously lobbying concerning these decisions, by launching reports, organizing meetings or bring the topic up during meetings. This happens at international level, but also in Ghana.

In Ghana various Ministries are involved in the REDD+ development and international conferences/meetings, expert groups and NGOs made substantial efforts to influence this process. Due to the greater openness in the policy making process required by the FCFP through the R-PP (stakeholder consultation), several opportunities are offered to actors to influence the policy process; raise issues and articulate interests of which they are of the opinion are relevant to take into account. Like explained in the first paragraph of this chapter, several working groups are established to work on several aspects, and non-state actors play their various roles in the process. These working groups, at least on paper, are multi-stakeholder groups, which enable different actors to raise issues and influence the process. The list of working group members revealed that it are often the same people that sit in different working groups. In practice it is thus a very selective group of people that actually participate in the REDD+ process. Lack of knowledge of other actors is one of the reasons for this (see also 4.4 Power), but also lack of other resources and logistical reasons play a role. A neo-corporatist way of decision making still seems to be very common in Ghana, especially when it concerns forests, but also when it concerns REDD+. Elite representatives of the timber industry and policy makers closely work together. In exchange for influence on the content of these policies, stakeholders cooperate with the Ghanaian government in the faithful implementation of the policies.

The following examples show to what extent the REDD+ process is actually an open process for all actors to influence:
One of the REDD+ working groups has the task to specifically focus on multi-stakeholder participation and consultation. During the development of the R-PP, consultation with multi-stakeholders was one of the aspects that was not executed sufficiently; some groups of people were not invited. Although the R-PP was not established behind closed doors, the consultation process had to be done over again. This was reason to postpone the approval of the R-PP until this consultation process was done sufficiently.

A clarifying example of who actually decides or at least made a great effort to influence the shaping of REDD+ concerns the definition of forests. It is still unclear what the definition of forests in Ghana will be, and related to this what can and cannot be accepted as REDD+ 'activity', an activity that qualifies for REDD+. How a country defines its forest cover depends on national circumstances like it was agreed upon in the Kyoto Protocol. It is likely that international agreements will allow for such definitions to be decided by a country within certain guidelines. However, this is not totally clear yet.
In Ghana this is of utmost importance since many of the REDD+ projects involve cocoa carbon. Cocoa carbon means that cocoa trees are accepted as trees that uptake carbon. Consequently cocoa trees

could deliver REDD+ carbon credits. Question is whether cocoa trees will fall under the definition of forests or not. The current definition of forests includes cocoa trees and is the following:

"A piece of land with a minimum area of 0.1 hectares, with a minimum tree crown cover of 15% *or with existing tree species having the potential of attaining more than* 15% *crown cover, with trees which have the potential or have reached a minimum height of 2.0 meters at maturity in situ"* (Forestry Commission, 2011)

The Forest and Wildlife policy of 1994 of Ghana is currently being reviewed and discussions about the definition of forest are on-going. Most recent information is that the minimum height of 2,0 meters might be increased to 5,0 meters, excluding cocoa trees for REDD+ carbon. NGOs that are involved in cocoa carbon related to REDD+ seem to use their REDD+ knowledge and power to influence these discussions to include cocoa into the definition. The final agreed upon definition will show how much influence these actors in the end actually had.

At the time that the research for this study was conducted 17 Proposals for REDD+ pilot projects were submitted to the Forestry Commission. About six projects, spread around the three main ecological zones of Ghana involving different models (activities that contribute to reforestation, cocoa carbon, avoiding deforestation/degradation etc.), are chosen to function as REDD+ pilot/demonstration projects. One of the selection criteria is that the projects have the potential to be up scaled when Ghana enters the REDD+ 'Ready' phase in 2013 (according to the R-PP). This means that the activities involved can be copy pasted to the surrounding area, but also to similar landscapes spread around the country. Other criteria concern the clarity of land and tree tenure, adaptability (especially with respect to potential for emerging markets e.g. organic cocoa), estimated emission reduction, probability of leakage risks, permanence, benefit-sharing arrangements, stakeholder involvement, sustainability of project in terms of finances, and capacity of the proponent to implement the project (Forestry Commission, 2011). A panel of independent experts associated with the FC decides in this matter. Like I stated in subchapter 4.2 the actual decision is often made informally and behind closed doors.

Like stated in Chapter 3, land and tree tenure is a complex issue in Ghana. Reform of the tree tenure regime is widely viewed as a necessary precondition for REDD+, and will be addressed in the REDD+ National Strategy, however unclear is how and depend on the influencing actions of powerful actors that benefit from the current system (R-PP, 2010). Like stated in chapter three, in Ghana the allodial or full ownership title is vested in the Stool, held in trust by the chief for the benefit of the members of that group. The rights to natural resources such as trees and forests are vested in the President. Effectively, for forest reserves this means that the title to the land is held by the Stool, while the rights to the trees are vested in the President. For the off-reserve areas are the rights founded on customary land tenure systems, but again the commercial rights to the trees are held by the President. Ownership of land thus does not necessarily translate into ownership of naturally occurring trees the land holds. Planters of trees are entitled to keep 90% of the harvest revenue, with the remaining 10% going to the state.

Who is the rightful owner of the REDD+ carbon credits depends on whether the carbon rights will be tied to the land or to trees (respectively carbon seen as natural resource or ecosystem service

provided by trees acting as sinks being responsible for the carbon credits generated). When carbon rights are tied to the land, the carbon belongs to the traditional owner (Stool). Bearing in mind, the government still has the legal right to issue Timber Utilization Contracts (TUC) that allows the cut of the trees on this land. When carbon rights are tied to naturally grown trees this would mean the rights to the carbon sit within the government.

Planted trees are owned by the planter, but problems do arise here because of the complex customary land arrangements. In the Brong Ahafo region where a big part of the research for this study is carried out, four land arrangements have been identified by Abdulai et. al. (2011): Owner with full property rights, owner with restricted property rights, renting and sharecropping. The owner with full rights involves mainly (paramount) chiefs owning (and cultivating) their own plots. Farmers cultivating these parcels have transfer rights, including rights to sell the parcels, although in some cases family approval has to be acquired before the land can be sold. Ownership with restricted rights involves plots that are acquired as grants, but cannot be transferred or inherited, although they may be rented out. The usufruct or renting arrangement involves chiefs renting out parcels to farmers, who are often migrants from other areas. Under a sharecropping (or tenancy) contract, an arrangement is made between the landlord and the farmer, such that part of the yield is given to the landlord as compensation for using his land. The two forms are called *abunu* and *abusa* (see also chapter three).

Often these customary arrangements are not documented, as was the case for the migrant farmers interviewed for this study. Since the off-reserve areas are seen as having most potential for REDD+, it is interesting to discuss to what extent the rights of local (migrant) farmers are secured when they plant trees on the farmland to reduce emissions. The migrant farmers interviewed for this research do not own the land they farm, but have a not documented right to use it for agricultural purposes. When the naturally occurring or planted trees on their parcel are becoming REDD+ carbon sinks and thus economically interesting, two scenarios can be thought of. First, landlords could claim parts of the carbon credits, secondly they might reclaim the land as rightful owner, because the land has increased in value. Often these landlords do have their ownership rights legally registered, which makes the position of migrant farmers insecure.

Another problem relates to the difference between naturally occurring trees and planted trees. When the tree is 'used' for REDD+ it is important that it is clear who has planted the tree. This means that tree x should be officially registered as being planted by farmer x at location x and that this registration results in formal recognised rights to this tree. This is not yet the case. One could imagine that 30 years later without any legal document, the farmer has few rights against the government or powerful individual claiming the tree as naturally occurring.

How exactly the money or benefits potentially coming from REDD+ will be distributed and whether the local farmers will actually benefit from REDD+ activities highly depends on if and how policies and laws on land and tree tenure will be changed and what benefit sharing mechanism will be put in place or what existing benefit systems will be chosen.

4.5 Power

The capacity to argue and the possession of 'hard' resources such as money, knowledge and technology, but also social capital such as having relations and networks, determine outcomes in policy deliberations and are often distributed unevenly (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004). For the REDD+ process in Ghana this is of utmost importance, since actors are trying to shape policy arrangements and influence outcomes of REDD+ deliberations.

Like mentioned before, the group of people that is actually fully participating (either in favour of, against or critically) in the REDD+ process in Ghana is a small and selective group of experts, from NGOs and government officials. Most prominent are NGOs such as NCRC, IUCN Ghana, Civic Response, Rainforest Alliance and Forest Watch Ghana and at government level the Forestry Commission, and the government associated organisation FORIG. Representatives of local and traditional actors such as (migrant) farmers and chiefs are conspicuous by their absence.

With donor money the NGOs were able to build REDD+ knowledge and technology, especially relating to carbon measurements. NGOs and private companies are grouping together in discourse coalitions to strengthen their position in favour of REDD+. One example of such a discourse coalition is the Cocoa Carbon Initiative (CCI), aiming at establishing REDD+ projects related to cocoa. The CCI led by NCRC is a collaboration of NGOs such as Forest Trends, Climate Focus and the Katoomba Group. One of Katoomba's specialists is even posted with NCRC. But the CCI also consists of actors from the cocoa industry such as COCOBOD. Because of their international network, NGOs are able to have an updated overview of the most recent REDD+ related information and developments at international level. This expertise and technology also makes them an interesting party to work with for the Ghanaian government, enabling them to have a bigger say in REDD+ deliberations

NGOs that are more critical towards REDD+ have a strong and visible lobby for how REDD+ should be shaped, since they have the knowledge and means for it. Reports on the issue appeared, and meetings were and are organised or attended at which their views and concerns are clearly put forward. An example is the 'Civil Society Consultative meeting on REDD and Forest Governance in Ghana', organised by Civic Response held on the 28th and 29th of April 2011 in Accra. The meeting discussed and agreed among others on minimum standards of consultation on forms of forest governance initiatives in Ghana (Civic Response, 2011).

But also NGOs that are much in favour of REDD+, especially those that opted for being a REDD+ pilot project, seemed to visibly influence the shaping of REDD+. Their expertise is much asked for and a close cooperation with the FC and other organisations and companies exists. Their relation with influential people and institutions easily results in those actors having more power. A rather clear example is also that those NGOs have the money, knowledge and technology to develop REDD+ pilot projects, meaning that their REDD+ activities are most likely to be officially recognised by the government. NCRC, in cooperation with the Katoomba Group, has much developed expertise and technology for carbon measurement. It is at least very likely that NCRC has a big say in the process, since most respondents, including government officials, referred to this NGO. Like I stated before, these NGOs strongly influence debates important for REDD+, for example the one about the definition of forests, but also how carbon measurements and MRV should take place.

Although it is intended that the REDD+ mechanism results from a culture of consultation and

consensus-building (R-PP, 2010), in practice groups of people are excluded from having influence to shape REDD+. During the REDD+ meetings that I visited for this research and following from the interviews, it is most obvious that most people have little or no knowledge of REDD+ and could therefore not fully understand what is going on.

> *It is difficult to get answers to questions like when exactly do you get carbon credits? Also different ideas of what REDD+ is, exist and so far nothing seems very clear yet (LG7).*

Some actors like the Traditional Authorities and representatives of (migrant) farmers are not or not well represented in the REDD+ process (see also previous subchapters). This seems to be the result of a combination of not inviting them, logistical reasons and lack of knowledge and consequently lack of involvement. However, since REDD+ is such a difficult matter, knowledge of REDD+ can only be obtained when participating to a certain extent in the process. This results in a vicious circle. Consequently these actors lack the means to influence the shaping and structuring of REDD+ on issues that are of utmost importance for them, such as rights to land and trees.

The interviews indicate that most of the REDD+ knowledge only resides in Accra, the capital of Ghana. This becomes most clear when looking at decentralised government institutions. Government officials at the regional and local level interviewed for this research hardly know anything about REDD+.

> *Yes I have heard about REDD+, but I don't really know what it is (LG3).*

A possible explanation for this could be the poor condition of the decentralisation process. In Ghana a three-tier structure of sub-national government was created by the 1992 Constitution at regional, district and sub-district levels. The latter comprises Regional Co-ordinating Councils, District Assemblies and urban, zonal, town and area councils, plus unit committees (Nkrumah, 2000). Based on the interviews with government officials the conclusion could be drawn that decentralisation has not yet fully succeeded in "entrusting downwardly accountable representative actors with significant domains of discretionary power" (Ribot, 2008). In Ghana there rather seems to be deconcentration of power than devolution of power; the latter involving significant discretionary powers while the former means that local authorities are much more subject to the central government.

> *Decentralisation does not work yet, it sounds appealing but people like to maintain their power. Regional (forestry) officers still need to get national government approval for everything (G5).*

The lack of participation and knowledge of government officials outside Accra is strongly interwoven with the decentralisation process. Decentralised government agencies and officials did not seem to be much trusted with knowledge and power related to REDD+.

A factor that influences the amount of power that resides with central government officials closely relates to the system of personal rent seeking. It is believed by many of the respondents that if there is money coming from REDD+, it is most likely that it for a big part goes to the government for 'administrative duties' relating to REDD+. One respondent expressed it as follows:

I am sure that no money is left when the government gets its part for managing tasks etc. (G7).

This closely relates to a system of corruption that seems to exist in Ghana. Like stated before government officials, private companies and individuals are believed to benefit from this system. Although the current forestry and wildlife laws and policies are believed to be quite sufficient (although some changes and updating are needed) there is a system in place of poor law enforcement and corruption, also related to forestry issues. The FSD is responsible for supervising logging activities of timber firms and to make sure that the latter do not log more trees and smaller trees than is allowed. Despite current laws and policies to regulate logging, the forest reserves of Ghana are depleted. Also because technical officers from the FC allow the timber companies to cut more and smaller sizes than what is legally allowed. The technical officer receives direct benefits from allowing this (retired forest guard). One of the respondents and manager of a timber company stipulated the corrupt nature of these technical officers.

The FC benefits from our activities. The technical officers know that we deplete the forest and cut more than allowed. But still logging continues. They allow it because they get money. The timber firm is just proceeding with their cuttings, because it is their business, as long as they are allowed to. The system is not strict, we can cut small trees. All of them (FC, companies, FSD, workers) benefit from loggings, so this is a big incentive to continue how it is going (LT1).

There is a culture of I scratch you, you scratch my back (LG8, LG7).

It is questioned to what extent these people are actually in favour of changing a system (which is need for REDD+) and consequently policies and laws that is benefitting them to a system that is based on equitable benefit sharing and equal rights.

The uneven distribution of power to influence the REDD+ process seems to result in a small group of people, sometimes coalitions, in charge and consequently determine the REDD+ show in Ghana. Consequently this could result in only a small group of people that really benefit from REDD+ in Ghana.

4.6 Relations of the four PAA dimensions

The shaping and structuring of the policy arrangement REDD+ is determined by actors, discourses, rules and power separately, but these cannot be seen as separate aspects, since they are strongly interwoven. It is a circle of actor's actions influenced by the climate change discourse, that are in their turn influencing other actors to act in accordance with ideas fitting the forest and climate change discourse. This forest and climate change discourse causes changes in the distribution of power. The discourse is also causing actors to group together in discourse coalitions to strengthen their position and increase possibilities to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+. The discourse legitimises this influencing behaviour.
Like I showed in the previous subchapters, certain actors or discourse coalitions have (more or less)

agency to influence the shaping of REDD+. The extent, to which actors can act upon the world, make strategic decisions concerning REDD+ in Ghana, strongly depends on the resources these actors possess. The amount of resources one has depends strongly on one's social and political position. For example in Ghana it has been a small group of powerful elites that is determining what is happening with Ghana's forests and who are benefitting from forest practices. Representatives from Traditional Authorities, the Stool or local (migrant) farmers are often excluded from decision making processes, because they lack resources such as knowledge and money or are deliberately excluded. Social structures resulting in exclusion and lack of power are thus constraining actors from having full agency with regard to REDD+.

But actors and coalitions do influence the institutionalisation of REDD+. It becomes clear that for example certain NGOs (NCRC) possess knowledge, money and an international network and a well established reputation to make a successful effort to steer the REDD+ process in a certain direction. They have the means to influence important debates, to communicate their opinion and ideas widely, even globally, and to put REDD+ into practice in pilot projects. How much power they actually have, is not clear yet since REDD+ deliberations are still on-going. However, what becomes clear from this research it that power is enabling and used by these actors to express their truth claims, especially those related to REDD+. More power often means more means to communicate their ideas, preferences and interests and group together in discourse coalitions to strengthen their position. A good example of this was given of a coalition of NGOs and the private sector strongly putting forward their cocoa carbon ideas and preferences in relation to REDD+.

So, dominating discourses closely relate to actors with power. Actors with power and especially REDD+ knowledge do determine the rules of the game; making the actual decisions, setting agenda's etc. But, I argue that this power could only be obtained because these actors already possess resources. Because of donor money, knowledge and international networks these actors have better access to resources that come with REDD+.

Once having the power to be involved in REDD+ several resources such as foreign and government subsidies (for example money from the Forest Investment Program) can become available. Local actors seem to have little or no resources to be of much influence in shaping and structuring REDD+ - on for example the issue of property rights - and are sometimes even deliberately excluded from decision making processes. They lack money, knowledge and technology to access REDD+ resources.

In summary, the forest and climate change discourse causes the free up of resources for those who want to be involved in REDD+. But it are mostly those actors that already possess a certain amount of resources that can be involved and make an effort to influence the REDD+ deliberations, excluding less powerful actors.

What can be viewed is that changes in one dimension influence other dimensions and that these changes are embedded in a political modernisation (see 4.7 Structural processes). The climate change discourse at the global level results in the legitimisation of strategic actions of actors at international level to develop REDD+, a global mechanism in which both Western and developing countries are involved. These actors, including national governments, multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the World Bank, strategically connected to the climate change discourse, strongly influenced actors in Ghana to express this discourse and to be involved in REDD+.

4.7 Structural processes

The premise of the Policy Arrangement Approach, of the duality of actor and structure, results in linking the institutionalisation of REDD+ to broader structural social processes influencing the shaping and structuring of REDD+. Changes on the four dimensions of the policy arrangement REDD+, and consequently a change to the policy arrangement does not only result from strategic actions and interactions of the different actors, but also from broader processes of transformation towards Western democratic models (Arts et. al. 2006), in other words what can be referred to as political modernisation.

Below I argue that the phases of early modernism and some signs of late modernisation distinguished by Arts et. al. (2006) in the political development of Western countries are, to a certain extent, visible in Ghana. Both are influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. Elements of these two phases co-exist and do therefore not follow a unilinear process. Signs of these phases have been discussed in the previous subchapters, but are brought together here and linked to the particular phases. What was found in this study is that mainly NGOs, multilateral institutions and Western donor countries are bringing in the idea that Ghana should be on the way towards establishing a Western democratic models with regard to REDD+. Ideas of participation, governance, openness, and closer cooperation between government, society and private sector, which can be linked to late modernisation, are transferred and brought into the political domain mainly by those actors to bring about change. In meetings attended for this research, reports read and other ways of communication observed, the Western concepts of mainly NGOs and the World Bank , but also of the European Union, such as governance, participation etc. clearly dominated. Rules related to REDD+, for instance decision making processes, are influenced by these notions, in the sense that they become more open en multi-actor-based. However, behind doors it was shown in previous subchapters (4.4 Rules of the game) that neo-corporatist and top down approaches belonging to early modernisation are often still present and influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana.

4.8 Shaping and structuring REDD+ at the local level

The above shows that many aspects are still unclear because REDD+ is being developed at the moment. However, for this research Ghana's R-PP, several proposals for REDD+ pilot projects and four REDD+ pilot projects were visited, that according to government officials involved in REDD+ are very likely to be selected as official REDD+ demonstration projects, which will be up scaled when Ghana enters the REDD+ Ready phase. REDD+ pilot project activities can be seen as one of the aspects of the shaping and structuring of REDD+. Like stated before, most REDD+ pilot projects are often projects that already run for some time. For REDD+ to be able to have a big enough area to generate enough carbon credits existing project activities are often expanded.

> *I am trying to expand the activities from our CREMA (Community Resource Management Area) project to involve more villages and land for REDD+. We try to encourage them to leave the trees on their farmland (LN1).*

When I was conducting my research in the villages in Asunafo North Municipal, NCRC decided to start their REDD+ pilot activities in this area, and specifically in three of the researched villages. I was allowed to participate in some of the meetings they scheduled with the villages they wanted to include in the project. The core idea of this REDD+ project is twofold: the first is an off-reserve initiative to avoid deforestation and degradation of off-reserve forest patches in the farming landscape that are under considerable threat from cocoa expansion, and to enhance carbon stocks in the cocoa system through tree planting and/or natural regeneration. The second is an on-reserve initiative to reduce cocoa expansion into forest reserve.

The project officer in charge of this project and I went to three villages where we had meetings of approximately 2 hours. To let the people know we were there a bell was rung. After a while almost the whole village, including children, goats and chickens were gathered. The project officer then started explaining what climate change is and why trees are important and need to be preserved. He illustrated his talk with several drawings (see picture 4.1).

Picture 4.1: NGO NCRC conducting their REDD+ project in Kumaho, Asunafo North Municipal

Then he explained that he wanted to establish a committee of five people (both men and women) who would get training in forest management practices. On the one hand the incentive for the village to participate in this project would come from harvesting the planted trees (this would take about 30 years). On the other hand they were told to generate income from ecotourism because of a rare bird, the Rock fowl, breeding in the forest reserve not far away from the village. The village would participate in protecting that piece of the forest where the Rock fowl is breeding, be tour guides for tourists that want to catch a glimpse of this rare bird and to provide them with bed and breakfast. Villagers seemed quite sceptical towards these ideas and asked question like "what happens when there is no Rock fowl when the tourists come?", and "why do we have to protect the trees, while the timber companies cut so many trees from the forest?" Despite this scepticism, a committee of five people was formed by the end of the meeting and the chief emphasised willingness to cooperate.

During the meetings REDD+ was not mentioned once and this was on purpose. NGOs in general and also this NGO are afraid to raise expectations too high when talking about REDD+ and carbon incentives. They rather do not mention REDD+ at all, and stick to the importance of trees and ecotourism. This is also found in the study of De Royer (2010). In his study on REDD+ implementation

in two villages in Indonesia, he found that NGOs are not really in favour of bringing in the REDD+ topic and carbon credits at village level in an early stage as it could "generate new hopes too fast and as a result exacerbate internal conflicts" (p. 35).

Having studied the R-PP, pilot proposals and other relevant documents and interviewed people from the pilot projects, it becomes clear that a change of the behaviour of local people and especially local famers is commonly viewed as a condition for a successful REDD+. I discovered that REDD+ is interpreted in such a way that there are certain rules coming from REDD+, determining what local people are and are not allowed to do (behaviour requests) and which potentially reduce people's rights to resources. Below these rules are discussed.

What people are and are not allowed doing because of REDD+ pilot activities are not necessarily 'new rules'. For Ghana carbon enhancement and avoiding further deforestation are the most important activities to reduce emissions. The rules that seem to come from REDD+ discussed in table 1 are therefore mostly related to these two activities.

Table 1. Rules following from REDD+ institutionalisation

Rules	Goal	Activity
1. Not cutting trees on cocoa farmland and in the forest reserve	A key aspect in all projects is preventing people from cutting trees that occur naturally on their farmland and the forest reserve and/or make clear that they should not have the trees cut by illegal chainsaw loggers.	Establish Forest Community Committees, train and educate members so they can train people from the village. Benefits for local people from ecotourism, employment.
2. Tree planting on farmland / off-reserve	People are encouraged to plant timber trees on their farmland, in between the cocoa trees or other crops. The idea is that once planted one has a say over this tree. In about 30 years this tree can be harvested and generate income.	
3. Protecting forest reserves - **no fire** - **no picking NTFPs** - **no hunting** - **no encroachment**	Local people need to help protect the FR. i.e. Clear boundaries of weeds, no fire, no picking NTFPs and hunting without permit etc.	

In Chapter five it is showed how these behaviour requests might influence local farmers' activities.

4.9 Conclusion

Because of the influence of the climate change discourse at global level, REDD+ in Ghana is being shaped and structured at the moment. This chapter engages with the idea that a policy arrangement like REDD+ is institutionalised by actors, discourses, rules and power. These dimensions are strongly interwoven and changes in one dimension cause changes in the other dimensions.

It was shown that different actors are involved in REDD+ playing different roles and have different

perspectives on the REDD+ process and make efforts to influence the process of institutionalisation in a certain way. Dependent on the amount of resources actors have more or less agency to make strategic decisions regarding REDD+, but are also constrained by social structures. An example of the latter are the neo-corporatist decision making processes still present and it are mostly powerful elite groups that seemed to determine the rules regarding the forests of Ghana.

Different actors have different ideas and preferences determining the discourse they identify themselves with. It was showed that discourses at their turn influence and legitimise the behaviour of these actors and changes the distribution of resources. Being involved in REDD+ could mean more power to determine the rules of the REDD+ game.

It becomes clear from this chapter that NGOs and private sector actors have the power to express their ideas and preferences and make major efforts to influence other actors with their discourses. In particular certain NGOs and their discourse coalitions seem to take leading roles in making an effort shaping REDD+. The extent to which these actors are in the end actually influencing the shaping and structuring of REDD+ is not yet clear. The early political modernisation could be one of the reasons why these actors eventually cannot establish their so much wanted change. Actors, like representatives of the local people and traditional authorities are often excluded because they initially lack power, like knowledge and money to get more power coming with being involved in REDD+. This results in those groups having less means to determine the rules of the REDD+ game or are able to group together in coalitions to strengthen their discourse.

Picture 5: Village life in Mpamase village in Asunafo North Municipal

During the fieldwork period in Asunafo North Municipal I collected data, which are used to answer the second research question: What local practices can be distinguished related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve? To understand these practices is important, because they directly relate to the behaviour change requests (do's and don'ts), that seem to come from REDD+ and to the rights and responsibilities of local farmers. To know these practices gives an idea of what these behaviour requests actually mean for the local farmers.

In this chapter I present the data that were collected through personal interviews, focus group discussions, observations and documents all related to the local practices in Asunafo North Municipal using a practice perspective. Within these data I discovered what people are doing and why they are doing so. These aspects of what and why together form the practice which I studied. The 'why' can be referred to as the mental part of a practice, the activity as the bodily part of the practice. From Reckwitz (2002) I derived the definition of practice which I use to structure my findings. According to Reckwitz practices are consisting of routinised bodily performances, mental activities and the usage of things.

I discovered two overarching practices in my findings that kept coming back during interviews and observations and that caught my attention over and over again: removal of trees from the farm land and the use the forest reserve for daily livelihoods. They consist of bodily movements, mental activities and things. These practices are key to understand the data and finally to answer my research question.

Therefore I present my data in terms of these two practices. I show what practices people have related to trees on their land and the forests close to their villages and the reasons for these bodily behaviours by presenting illustrative quotes from the interviews and anecdotes from my

observations. This chapter engages with stories of people from five villages in the Asunafo North Municipality in the Brong Ahafo region in Ghana (see table 2). They share their experiences about farming, the forest and their daily lives. This chapter engages with the local practices related to trees and forests that are present in the five villages and the forest reserve close by the villages. First an introduction of the Asunafo North Municipal is given.

Because most of the local people I interviewed did not speak English or not sufficient for an in-depth interview, I hired an interpreter to translate from their local language 'Twi' to English. Sometimes the interpreter translated literally ('I am not afraid'), sometimes indirectly ('she says that she is not afraid'), in both cases the quote is reproduced as if there was no interpreter.

5.1 Welcome to Asunafo North Municipal

Asunafo North is a municipality in the Brong Ahafo region (see Appendix VI), covering a total land area of 1.093 km^2 located between latitudes 6°27N and 700N and longitude 2°52W, with a population of 130.502. The capital of the municipality is Goaso, from which most of this research is done. The municipality has a gently rolling landscape ranging between 150m and a little over 300m above sea level. Asunafo North lies within the wet semi-deciduous climatic zone and experiences a substantial amount of precipitation (mean annual rainfall between 125cm and 175cm). Major rains occur between April and June and a minor rainy season occurs between September and October. Although during my stay (from June-August) heavy rains occurred almost on a daily basis. The dominant vegetation type is the semi-deciduous forest occupying 578,63 km^2. There are five forest reserves covering these 578,63 km^2. The soil type of the municipality supports crops like cocoa, plantain, palm, cassava etc.

Most inhabitants in the Asunafo North Municipal originally came from the Ashanti region (therefore are called Ashanti's or Akan) and belong to the ethnic group of the Akans (79% of the population). Long ago the Ashanti king or *Asantihene* sent his people to the district to hunt. The area was originally the home land of the Brong people, which were chased of their lands. Nowadays, the (paramount) chiefs or *O(man)hene* in the Asunafo North district, who belong to the Ashanti clan, still owe allegiance to the Ashanti chief.

> *Some of the people tried to join the 'Brongs' or want to become independent, but the Ashanti chief does not allow them (LG2).*

In Asunafo North Municipality customary 'usufruct' system of land tenure is common. Ownership of land is vested in the Stool or paramount chief who holds the land in trust for the people. Individuals or families have the use-right of parcels, but they do not have the right to sell the land. Immigrant farmers usually obtained their farmland by providing some "drinks" (usually cash) to the head of a family or chief.

The Asunafo North Municipal is the second largest producer of cocoa in Ghana. The early settlers were farming 'traditional' cocoa and at that time more trees were found in the farms since this cocoa dwells well with shade. Since the introduction of hybrid or 'sun-tolerant' cocoa, most of the trees are gone. What remains is a mosaic landscape of cocoa farms, forest reserves and in between some lonely trees or small forest patches.

5.1.1 NGO involvement

At the moment several NGOs (Rudeya, Care, and NCRC) are executing their initiatives (development, sustainable forest management and REDD+ pilot) in the researched villages in Asunafo North Municipal. Development activities that are carried out are for example supporting the farmers to produce and distribute animal and plant based NTFPs (e.g. snails, black pepper), educate them on the best cocoa farm practices and distribute fertilisers.

It should be noted that sustainable forest management in this area mostly refers to educational activities on existing forest (by) laws and policies, the importance of trees and forests and implementing activities that help protect the forest reserve from fires, such as clearing boundaries, and illegal activities. Often Community Committees are established consisting of a few villagers who receive this training and education. In return they have to train and educate the other villagers. Remarkable is that those NGO initiatives are often not synchronised and that several different 'community forestry committees' exist in one village established by different NGOs and government institutions.

I was interested in how all these different, sometimes even conflicting, NGO initiatives concerned with preserving the trees and forests, were received by the local people, how they respond to them and why. The interviews revealed that respondents seem to have a rather opportunistic approach towards the NGO initiatives, because of the chance they might benefit in a way. The villagers seem to fully cooperate at the beginning and do what they are asked to (such as forming committees), but after this first step has been taken they often lean back to see how this project will turn out. This was also noticed during my observations of NGO meetings with several villages. Many people attended the meeting and were asking questions that showed their interest. However, in the interviews which I held after the meeting they expressed their doubts, often based on previous, in their eyes failed, experiences. So, although people showed some enthusiasm, they seem to be quite sceptical as well. The following quotes of some villagers clearly show this:

> *All these NGOs are coming, and want something different from you, but what are benefits for us? (LP23).*

> *We keep a journal of the NGOs that visit us. Sometimes more NGOs are coming on one day, and they all want something different (LP26).*

> *We have 3 committees; I am in the Community Forest Committee. Nothing came from it so far, but I also do not have to do anything. So I will just see what will come out of it and hopefully we will benefit. There is no communication between the committees (LP16).*

5.1.2 Climate change

Because this research dealt with the fight against climate change, it was interesting to ask the respondents the question how and if they experience climate change. Soon it became clear that most of the local people I interviewed were not familiar with the concept climate change. I had to rephrase my questions from "how do you experience climate change?", to for example "have you noticed any changes in the weather, if so, what are the effects and what do you think is causing this change?".

From the interviews it becomes clear that for farmers the weather is an important aspect to take into account when farming. More or less predictable seasons (wet and dry) are very important for good cocoa farming and other crops. It tells the farmer when to plant, weed and harvest the cocoa. When I asked the farmers if they experienced any changes in the climate lately, they mentioned changes in the rainfall pattern. Most of the respondents told me that normally the rains start in the spring, what would give them the green light to start planting. However, this year the rain did not come until the end of June. According to them rains are becoming much more unpredictable than a couple of years ago, which is negatively influencing the yields.

> *The rainfall pattern has changed (FG1).*

> *I noticed changes in the weather. Rain cannot be predicted anymore. This affects the yields. I don't know why the climate changes. I don't know how to adapt to changes in the rainfall pattern (LP2).*

> *When we came here the rainfall pattern was good, not unpredictable. Now it has changed, it is much more unpredictable (LP4).*

The majority of the respondents do not know why the rainfall pattern is changing. However some of the farmers told me that they believe that forests are important because trees are providing rain and clean air. They could not answer my question how. Some of them are of the opinion that the changes of rainfall are caused by industries in the Western world.

> *It is not fair that you (read: the West) are polluting the world, and that we have to pay for it (LP26).*

> *Trees provide clean air and rain (FG1 (Chief) and elders; LP17).*

5.1.3 The villages

This research was carried out in five small villages in the Asunafo North Municipality; Mpamase, Ahantamo, Fawohoyeden, Kumaho and Gyesikrom (see Appendix IV for locations of villages).

Of the researched villages four of the five lie between one and three km away from three connecting forest reserves, Bonsampepo, Ayum and Subim. In this chapter and the next I refer to these three connecting forest reserves as if they are one. Fawohoyeden is the only village that lies about 7,5 km away from the forest reserve.

Table 2. Researched villages in Asunafo North Municipal

Village	Distance from FR	Trees on farmland	Dependent on forest reserve	Methods used
Mpamase	1 km	Quite some trees left	No	Interviews, participant observations
Ahantamo	3 km	Few scattered trees	Yes, enter FR without permit	Interviews, participant observations
Fawohoyeden	7,5 km	Few scattered trees	No	Interviews, participant observations
Kumaho	1,5 km	Quite some trees left	Yes, enter FR without permit	Focus group discussion, observations
Gyesikrom	2 km	Quite some trees left	Yes, enter FR without permit	Focus group discussion, observations

Most inhabitants of the villages are migrant farmers from the Ashanti region and cocoa is their main business, but also palm oil, plantain and NTFP like voaganga and black pepper are produced. When I was driving to the villages I noticed a mosaic landscape. What might look like a forest to people who do not know much about forest, is in fact a combination of cocoa trees, plantain and other crops with trees or small forest patches scattered around.

The farmland of four of the villages visibly stretches to the border of the forest reserve. The borders of the farmland with the forest reserve were quite visible since they are cleared of weeds yearly. This to avoid fire crossing from farmland to the forest reserve when practicing slash and burn activities and to make the boundaries of the forest reserve visible to prevent encroachment.

When walking on the land belonging to the members of the villages it became clear that most of the land has been cultivated at the moment. When the land was obtained it was cleared for farming and most of the trees were logged by timber firms operating in the area at that time. Because most of the farmland directly borders the forest reserve, expansion of the farmland is often not possible. After a cocoa tree has reached its full potential, it is felled and replaced by new sun tolerant cocoa seedlings. To increase the production of cocoa fertilisers are frequently applied. I saw several fallow plots on which the old cocoa trees were cut and burnt to make place for sun tolerant cocoa seedlings.

Quisumbing and Otsuka (2001) argue that population pressure has led to the privatization of land rights on land converted and utilised for agriculture or agroforestry. Strong individual land rights are granted to cultivated land converted from forests, though such rights are weakened when the land is left fallow for long periods (Quisumbing and Otsuka, 2001).

This development can also be viewed in the Asunafo North Municipal. In the 1950s the respondents or mostly their grandparents decided to leave their home village in the Ashanti region in search of land where they could start cocoa farming. At that time it was common for young farmers in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, the Akan, to start farming in neighbouring regions where land was more abundant than in their own region.

In the 1950s the farmland belonging to the villagers was obtained from the Paramount chief in charge of the land in the Brong Ahafo region. Traditionally the land was obtained by means of what is called a *Guaha* ceremony. The person that 'gets' the land came with a gift, drinks or a goat and at least one

witness to the (Paramount) chief. Then both parties held the ends of a twig and water was poured on the ground while evoking the names of ancestors, since they should be witnesses as well. Then an animal was slaughtered and everybody was given something to drink. The twig was cut in two, which means the interest in the land is cut in two. Witnesses and other landowners were invited to the ceremony to avoid future conflicts. The right to sell the land was not transferred to the respondents, only the right to use the land. Remarkable is that most of the female respondents actually felt that they own the land. It seemed that the exact rights and restrictions are not yet that clear anymore, since much time has passed since the land was obtained and these customary arrangements are not documented.

I came with my husband and he bought me land from the Paramount chief (LP3)

I always entered the villages on the back of the motorbike of the interpreter. The villages could only be reached by following a red coloured dirt road and also within the villages all the roads are dirt roads. The villages consist of small huts in which whole families live together. Most huts are made of red mud for the walls and timber and have one entrance and maybe a small window without glass. Some people (mostly with more money) have separate cooking huts, but in most huts the cooking takes place right in the centre of the hut. Goats and chickens run around the villages freely and curiously came to see what was going on. The huts were situated in a 'circle', which is surrounded by farmland. Each hut separately did not have land around the hut. From the village to the farmland was always just a walk of a couple of minutes.

To enter the village it is tradition for visitors to bring a gift for the chief or the queen mother of the village. For the non-Muslim chiefs I brought Gin, for the queen mother I brought some food.

When I entered the village it was mostly during daytime. This meant not many people were present. Therefore we often stayed until the evening when the people, both men and women, came back from working the land. I was always first welcomed by the chief or, in one case, by the queen mother, in a half open building (called the palace) or an open space area located at the heart of the village, assigned for these kinds of occasions but also for village meetings. Chairs and benches were often quickly put in a circle, so that everyone could face each other. Left and right from the chief sat the elders, but they had to move a chair to the left or right (away from the chief) when an older elder arrived. Older elders have the right to sit closer to the chief or queen mother. The welcoming 'ceremony' started with shaking hands and providing everybody with a drink, in case water sachets. Than the spokesman of the chief welcomed us and asked us what the purpose for our visit was, which I then explained.

Because of the public location of the welcoming ceremony, often after some time I was surrounded by many villagers, one time even up to 60 people, men, women, children and even animals were gathered. Often the men entered the building or sat down in the circle, but the women, when not a queen mother or important older lady, stayed just outside of the building or meeting circle. However, I could easily see them and watch their expressions. I also used these observations to select my interviewees. For example one time I saw that a woman obviously did not agree with what was said, I decided to interview her.

Within the village, next to the 'palace', mostly there was one shop offering things like soaps, drinks and cookies and a small school building. Also the toilet was a public place, mostly only consisting of three, for Western people rather low, walls.

Authority and power within the villages

The role of power and authority is discussed here, because it is an important aspect that shapes relations within the villages and determines local practices.

Within the villages, chiefs and Traditional Authorities have the power to control the use of forest resources, including the power to determine how revenues (stumpage fees) paid to them by timber firms are utilised. This power derives from custom, but has been reinforced by various constitutional and statutory enactments. The Constitution and Timber Resource Management Act not only recognise the power and authority of (paramount) chiefs, but also give them specific rights relating to the control and distribution of the benefits flowing from timber resources. For instance, according to article 267 of the Constitution Traditional Authorities are entitled to a percentage of all revenues accruing from the exploitation of natural resources found on Stool lands.

A good example of how this asymmetry in power relations has implications for the distribution of benefits is found in analysing 17 Social Responsibility Agreements (SRA) established in Asunafo North Municipal. Legally, when a timber firm is logging in an off-reserve area, the holder of the Timber Utilization Contract or Timber Utilization Permit (the latter gives fewer rights to the holder, but is easier to acquire and therefore mostly used for the same purpose like the TUC is obliged to engage in a SRA with the affected villages. A SRA is an agreement between the Paramount chief on behalf of the village and a timber company. Based on this agreement no less than 5% of the annual stumpage fees should be used to provide amenities to the affected villages. The SRA however is signed by the Paramount chief and not by the people from the village. This results ina high percentage of the money or the provided materials such as cement and roof sheets agreed upon in the researched SRAs of the villages being used to restore the Palace of the chief. Chiefs have a strong perception that SRA proceeds are meant for their up-keep and maintenance. One of the sub chiefs in the region explained it as following:

We share SRA money also among the elders. They need new clothes. Also we need to maintain the palace (LP15).

Picture 5.1: Palace of divisional Chief Nana Appiah Kubi I, Ayumso, Asunafo North Municipal

But also the state exercises power, in case through the control of forest reserves and setting conditions to enter the forests under their jurisdiction and regulating conduct within their boundaries (Berry, 2009). Although local people have the right to pick a certain amount of NTFPs and hunt with a permit, timber firms and the Forest service Division are often not allowing people to enter the forest at all.

From the interviews with the people from the villages, it becomes clear that they have the feeling that their rights (to benefit) are being ignored by state and private actors, and sometimes also by chiefs and elders, exercising their formal rights and authority.

> *We should benefit from logging activities and taking care of the trees for the government but we do not receive anything. But I can decide what happens with the trees on my land, if I want to kill them I can (LP10.*

> *I know we do not have any formal authority to enter the forest reserve, because it is owned by the government, but we do enter the forest when the forest guard is not paying attention or when he is away (LP19).*

Local people seem to emulate or challenge the authorities over the local resources by entering the forests without permits and by continuing to kill or cut on farm trees. By doing so, farmers exercise authority over the trees and forests.

With exercising this actual on the ground power local people also seem to provoke other actors to take them more serious in negotiations over for example benefits. The indirect opinion of the local people is that these activities provide more negotiation possibilities for them than they would have without. Local people feel they do not possess many formal rights to benefit from trees and forests, and even experience negative effects of these trees. Since trees are the object of discussion and are valuable to the other actors, local people think that their negotiation options increase.

5.2 Contemporary local practices

Discussing practices related to trees and the forest reserve, it needs to be clear that for this research it refers to two different objects and related activities. The first refers to how the local people deal with trees and forest patches on the farmland, while cocoa farming is the main land use system. The second relates to activities of the local people related to the forest reserve.

Below, I elaborate on the two contemporary practices related to on farm trees and the forest reserve in the researched villages. This gives an idea of how people deal with trees and the forest reserve and why they do so in a certain way. As I explained above, local farmers' behaviour relates to the reasons why people deal with trees and forests, together forming the practice, of which I discovered two in the findings.

5.2.1 Removing on-farm trees

The first practice I discuss relates to the off-reserve farmland; the removal of on-farm trees. This practice of removing trees consists of several elements: routinised bodily behaviour, mental activities and things. Things refer to the trees. The routinised bodily behaviour is the routinised removal of trees that has become something rather normal. But also mental activities do play a role in this bodily behaviour and were asked for when interviewing. These mental activities are discussed below.

Enhance cocoa production

In Ghana cocoa farming is one of the most important sources of income, so it is in Asunafo North Municipal. In all the five villages cocoa farming is the most important source of income.
Most of the villagers have farmland on which they grow cocoa. Often wife, husband and children are all working the land. When I conducted my interviews they often just returned from farming, wearing their dirty working clothes and a big knife. Intercropping in between the cocoa trees takes place with among others plantain, cassava and yams. Most of the cocoa trees are hybrid or sun tolerant cocoa species, and at the moment farmland planted with traditional cocoa are being re-cultivated with hybrid cocoa with the help of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA).

From the interviews several reasons related to cocoa farming came forward of why most of the trees on the farm land have already disappeared or are still being removed. It should be noted that more indirect these reasons also relate to food security, because farm income also provide the means to buy food. But food security is discussed separately and for this research refers to the provision of food by means of gathering, hunting etc. in the forest reserve.
The first reason why hardly any tree is left on the farm has to do with getting the most out of the land, using all possible land for the main crop; cocoa. The second has to do with the commonly existing opinion that hybrid cocoa cannot grow with shade coming from the trees. It is believed by the majority of the respondents that the hybrid cocoa tree needs a lot of sunlight and cannot grow with any shade at all. For many of them this was and still is a reason to cut most of the trees when cultivating the land.

> There are still some trees on our farmland. The trees do not help for production, because we have sun cocoa. When the cocoa is fruiting, no trees are necessary. (FG1).

A third reason for the respondents to cut the trees is that they are of the opinion that cocoa is a much better cash crop than trees, because the latter need 30 years of caring before they generate any income. This is often too long, because direct cash is needed to feed their children today.

> We are not interested in planting trees, because cocoa is the best cash crop (LP3).

Several other reasons for not leaving trees or patches of forest on the farmland which relate to cocoa farming came forward in the interviews. The respondents indicated that killing the trees themselves prevents the destroying of the cocoa trees since no timber company will come and cut the trees without compensating for the damage done to the cocoa farm.

Trees are allowed to be killed for agricultural reasons, so they kill them by setting fire at the roots or cutting rings in the liber that results in the slowly dying of the tree.

When I started farming I left some timber trees on my land. They have matured now. But I do not want my farm to be destroyed by timber companies, so I kill the trees myself by putting fire to them or cut rings in the liber. This will cause the tree to slowly die (LP25).

Picture 5.2: Liber of tree cut, so the tree slowly dies.

During my visits in the villages the farmers I interviewed often took me to their farms to show me proudly their land and crops. I repeatedly noticed that there were not only very few trees present, but that the liber of these trees was often cut. I also saw ashes just right at the trunk of the tree, obviously of what was once a fire lit to kill the tree. From the interviews it becomes clear that another way to get rid of the trees is that the farmers allow illegal chainsaw loggers to come and cut the trees. They would get a little bit of money for that but at least no damage to the farm is done.

We fell the trees, fell them and let them rot or let chainsaw loggers have them cut (FG1).

Some of the interviewed farmers said that the trees on their land were illegally logged by chainsaw loggers from other villages in the area.

It does happen a lot that chainsaw loggers from other villages steel trees from our lands (LP6).

Twice when I was visiting a village my attention was drew to the noise of chain saws. Obviously illegal chainsaw loggers were cutting trees in the forest reserve close to the village. Illegal since logging by chainsaw is forbidden in Ghana.

It becomes clear that the villagers have the actual decision making power over what happens with the trees on their lands.

The above shows that cocoa farming practices closely relate to how people deal with the trees and forest patches on their land. The farmers mostly cut the trees because they are of the opinion that trees in some way lower the production of cocoa. In practice balancing the preservation of terrestrial biodiversity and ecosystem services with the demand for agricultural goods is a colossal challenge (Tilman et al., 2002; Green et al., 2005).

Another reason mentioned when I asked farmers why they prefer to cut the trees on their land relates to the complex tree tenure system in Ghana.

Although it appears that most of the forest patches in the researched villages are already logged, in three of the villages I noticed that there are still quite some trees and forest patches present. These naturally grown trees are owned by the government who holds it in trust for the Stool (Agidee, 2011). A small part of the forest benefits is distributed to the Traditional Authority and the Stool. Local people do not benefit directly from this practice.

The interviewed farmers feel that they have to take care of the trees on their land without benefitting from them or even worsen their position, because they do not own them. The trees are owned by the government, so most of the benefits go to the government and to timber companies. Farmers are of the opinion that the Forest Service Division should play a bigger role in making sure they do benefit.

> *We should benefit more from the trees. If we protect them, we do not get any benefits from it (FG1).*

> *The Forest Service Division is not helping us enough; we should benefit more from the trees (LP16).*

Since trees are often causing much trouble without resulting in any benefits for taking care of the trees, killing or cutting them is a preferred activity. By doing so, farmers redistribute the benefits that normally go to the timber companies and government to themselves. Next to benefitting indirectly by increasing cocoa production, the also benefit directlyfrom logging the trees, because the timber can be used for housing and firewood.

The fact that it concerns migrant farmers who often have no registered or documented rights to the land and who are not backed up by their clans and families and paramount chiefs since these are living in the Ashanti region is resulting in insecure rights to benefit when logging activities are carried out on their farmland. The Brong Paramount chief from which in the 1950's the land was obtained to use, is still the official traditional owner of the land. Therefore benefits from logging activities on his land go to him and his clan and not to the actual users of the land, the migrant farmers. The story of Nana Bempomaan in Box 2 clearly shows this.

Box 2. The story of Nana Bempomaan

This is the story of Nana Bempomaan, since 2002 Queen mother of the village of Mpamase. Her welcome was very friendly. She invited me into her house, which was a square concrete building with an open area in the middle. Toothbrushes, pots and pans and clothes were found all over the place and children, chickens and goats running around and chasing each other. Her main task as a Queen mother is solving problems between families or village members.

"Because we are all brothers and sisters, I first try to solve the problem. But criminal cases are for the police."

In the 1950's Nana's grandfather came to the Asunafo North Municipal area from the Ashanti region, obtained the land and settled the first traditional cocoa farm. The farm was named after a plant occurring in the area called Mpame. During the years after he settled down more people came and started a cocoa farm. The village of Mpamase was born.

Nana told me that they have a big problem because the number of farmers is increasing, but there is no land left to farm. Most of the land is cultivated at the moment. The land stretches to the borders of the forest reserve, therefore they cannot expand anymore.

Nana is concerned about the youth of the village, she thinks that they cannot stay in the village, but have to find jobs elsewhere.

"I do not know what to do…"

Nana explained to me how the villagers relate to the forest reserve. The first thing she said was that they do not have any authority to enter the forest. She told me that the government noticed that there were illegal activities going on related to the forest reserve. A forest guard was placed in Mpamase, and since then hardly any illegal activities took place anymore. Nana explained that the village does not solely depend on the forest for their income anymore. Next to cocoa they now buy and sell several provisions such as soaps and dry fish instead.

Also it became clear that she was educated on the importance of forests.

"I know the importance of forests…"

Nana knows that trees provide good rainfall, fresh air and provide good health for the people. She told me the NGO people taught her this.

Relating to the sharing of benefits from logging activities around their village she told me that some years ago a timber company was logging in the area of Mpamase. However, all the benefits were going to the Paramount chief who claimed the land as the original owner of the land.

The people of Mpamase invited the management of the timber company and they agreed on building a public toilet in the village. But then the elders and Queen mother of Mpamase were invited to Goaso where the FSD told them that this village could not benefit because they are not the official owners of the land. They were told that they actually do benefit, because their children go to the school of the Paramount chief.

This example clearly shows that because the people from Mpamase are migrant farmers and the land is still owned by the Paramount chief from whom they got the land, they have fewer rights. The benefits go to the official traditional owners of the land and his clan.

5.2.2 Using the forest reserve for daily livelihood

Forest reserves play an important role in the lives of the interviewed local people, both positively and negatively. The forest reserve brings about several rights and responsibilities for the local population living close to the forest reserve, but also friction takes place. The Forest Service Division (FSD) at the

local level is tasked with the daily management of the reserve(s) and to enforce forest laws and implement policies at the local level. In three of the researched villages forest guards live in the village close to the forest to be able to stay in direct contact with the people and to improve enforcement.

It seems there is not that much encroachment into the forest reserve. When I entered a forest reserve I could clearly see the boundaries and often there was a gate with a guard to pass. Also within the forest reserve at different spots guards were sitting in small wooden huts to keep a close watch on people entering the forest reserve. I was told that once or twice a year the villagers help to clear the boundaries between their farmland and the forest reserve.

Picture 5.3: Entrance of forest reserve in Amenfi West district

From the interviews it appeared that the respondents have different understandings of their rights and responsibilities with respect to the forest reserve. Most respondents seem to be fully aware of what they are not allowed to do concerning the forest, but seem to have poor understanding of their rights. A relation can be made with what the local people are told by the timber firms but also by the FSD and NGO workers. It is important to understand this process, because it offers a possible explanation for why people do enter the FR despite the ban.

A government initiative to install Community Forest Committees is a good example of how people are taught what they are not allowed to do regarding the forest reserve and how they can help to protect it. Several bureaucratic institutions exist with respect to the forest reserve and these rules are connected to what is referred to as community forest management. One of the most important rules is that local people are not allowed to use any fire in the dry season. Slash and burn is a common practice in the area, but also smoking and cooking is common and all three are forbidden on the farmland in the dry season. Respondents seemed to be very well aware of this rule and seem to obey it. Hunting is prohibited from August until January, because it is reproduction time. Fishing with chemicals is not allowed in forest streams to protect the soil. Weeding riverbanks and boundaries is another important activity of which the people feel they help protect the forest. The respondents strongly feel that by obeying these rules they help protect the forest reserve, without benefitting from it.

> *The village helps the FC in protecting the forest, so we should benefit (LP2).*

For this research I participated in several meetings between the villagers but also between the villagers and timber firms or NGOs. I noticed that the focus of these meetings was much on what is not allowed, such as cutting trees, collecting NTFP's, lighting fire, hunting etc. and not on local people's rights concerning the forest reserve. To keep the message simple people are told they are not allowed to enter the forest reserve. An example of how this message works out in practice, is

that although legally local people are allowed to pick a certain amount of NTFPs from the forest reserve for domestic use, the majority of the respondents think that they are not allowed to enter the forest reserve at all. Whether they obey to this is a different story.

> *The forest is from the FSD, we are not allowed to go in. The community does not have that authority (LP3).*

It seems that the respondents do not agree with the few rights they hold in practice to the forest reserve. They do not seem to agree with the distribution of the forest reserve benefits, both revenues and forest products, especially because they feel they are helping to protect the forest reserve. .

The respondents of Mpamase village and Fawohoyeden said they are not depending on the forest and think that they are not allowed to enter the forest reserve, because the forest is owned by the government. Different from the interviewed people from the other three villages they said not to enter the forest reserve. One of the female cocoa farmers explained their relationship to the forest.

> *We don't depend on the forest. We can decide to pick NTFP's but we do not go in. The forest is from the FSD, we are not allowed to go in. We don't have that authority* (LP3).

The interviews revealed that respondents in the other villages that lie close to the forest reserve do for a great part depend on the forest for many of the household products and for food. Some admitted that although it is only allowed to pick NTFPs for domestic use and enter the forest with a permit, they do pick them without a permit and sell the products on the local markets. Others do enter the forest although they think that they are not allowed to. One member of Ahantamo village explained that they do depend on the forest for several products for their daily livelihoods.

> *We collect NTFP's from the forest, such as timber to build our houses, bush meat and fufupistols (tool used to make local dish called fufu) (LP6).*

Products that the people from the researched villages collect from the forest are for example wood for fufu pistols and firewood, natural rope, snails, wrapping leaves, medicinal parts from trees, herbs, fruits , timber for building their houses, firewood and charcoal. At one time one of the farmers took me to the forest reserve and showed me the trees of which fufu pistols are made and wrapping leaves in which certain dishes are cooked. The leaves were growing alongside of the road crossing the forest reserve. He told me he came there on a regular basis to collect them. On almost every occasion that I was close to the forest reserve I saw men, women and children coming out of the reserve carrying firewood or sometimes whole trees on their heads.

Picture 5.4 Collecting firewood and timber from forest reserve

The focus group discussion in Kumaho revealed that the local people do get involved in was is considered illegal hunting activities to provide in their proteins but also to sell them at the local markets or at the side of the road.

> *We do enter the forest to collect raw materials, firewood and to hunt for meat (FG2)*

> *When the forest guard is away, we cut trees and hunt in the forest (FG2).*

Officially a hunting permit should be obtained from the Wildlife Division. Forest guards of the Forest Service Division sometimes stay in the village and are responsible for granting permits to enter the forest (for hunting, picking NTFPs etc.). In Gyesikrom village it was most evident that the relationship between the villagers and the forest guard was not good, because the forest guard did not allow the villagers anything related to the forest reserve. Despite this, people do enter the forest reserve for gathering and hunting.

> *The forest guard lives in our village. He is very strict and does not allow us to pick anything from the forest. It is difficult to deal with him (FG1).*

This paragraph shows that the bodily activity of entering and using the forest reserve has to do with providing in the daily livelihoods of the farmers, together forming the practice of using the forest reserve for daily livelihoods. It has also been shown that often their activity is restricted unlawfully if permitted at all, but these restrictions are to a certain extent ignored by the local farmers in Asunafo North Municipal.

5.3 Practices and structures

As discussed in chapter 2 practice theory seeks for a solution to the agency and structure debates. The premise of this theory is that structures influence behaviour, but actors are also capable of changing social structures. Local people's actions are shaped by actions of other people and structures, but also shape their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. This can be shown by illustrating the story of one of the farmers, who I call here Antwi, but that was directly or more implicit told by most of the farmers I interviewed.

Box 3. The story of farmer Antwi

Antwi told me that years ago a timber company had permission to log some of the trees on his farmland. The company came with big machines and trucks and ruined many of the cocoa trees on his farmland. Timber trees fell on the cocoa trees or were destroyed by the trucks. Although legally he has the right to be compensated for the destroyed cocoa trees, Antwi hardly got anything. According to him this is due to the fact that companies can decide on the amount of compensation. He felt angry and started to remove the trees himself, either by killing or cutting them. Currently, only very few timber trees are left on his land and he strongly believes this is due to the fact that he removed the trees before other companies had the chance to cut them. I then asked him why he thinks these timber firms are acting like they do. He explained this has much to do with social structures and a system of corruption in Ghana from which only a few people benefit. Timber firms closely cooperate with the FC to log as much as possible without taking into account the surrounding environment. Both parties and often even the paramount chief, benefit from this practice. Also these power relations allow timber firms to ignore the rights of the farmers to be compensated for the destroyed trees. When I asked Antwi how he thinks his behaviour of killing trees might have influenced other farmers, he told me that they saw what happened to his farm and were angry and afraid it would also happen to them. Most of the farmers in the village started to remove the trees from their farms, and are still doing it today.

According to Bourdieu actors act to implicit practical sense and bodily dispositions, the latter enact preference of actors. In this research it is shown that the preference of the local people concerns the removal of trees on the farm land, because timber trees directly relate to negative effects on the household income from cocoa farming.

This is also a good example of what several scholars call know-how within actions. Know-how implies the capacity of actors to act in particular circumstances (Brown and Duguid, 2002; Orlikowski, 2002). This research shows that local people have the capacity to act in circumstances that possibly reduce their income and food availability. The circumstances being timber firms that destroy their farms or rules that restrict them to supply in their food needs by hunting and collecting NTFP's in the forest reserve. Know-how is created since the found practices seem to a certain extent to work positively for the local people. Knowledge here refers to practices that favour themselves, causing the continuation of the practice. Local people have learned from doing that their actions at least for a certain period of time positively affects their income, food supply, benefits etc.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the practices of local migrant farmers in the Asunafo North Municipal. I used practice theory and the conceptualization of practices as routinised body/mental/things complexes to distinguish two main practices related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve: removing on-farm trees and using the forest reserve for daily livelihoods.

This chapter showed the relation between cocoa farming and how local people associate with trees and forest patches on their farmland. It makes clear that although farmers are not allowed to cut the naturally grown and therefore government owned trees on their land, their local practice is often different. Farmers have the know-how that trees cause trouble and negatively affect household

income and that removing trees reduces this risk.

In order to expand their farms to increase cocoa production and to protect their farms from logging damage by big timber firms, they rather kill the on-farm trees themselves or allow illegal chainsaw loggers to cut them. Related to the second practice of using the forest reserve for daily livelihoods, it can be concluded that the rights of local farmers to the forest reserve are often ignored and their activities criminalised, while some activities are simply rights and certainly not illegal.

This chapter also showed how differently positioned actors, in case local people, NGOs and government, command or try to command environmental goods and services that are instrumental to their well-being. It becomes clear that formal government rules or rules determined by power relation between timber companies, FC and NGOs are often not followed one-on-one by the local farmers.

Picture 6: Schoolchildren in Bopa village carrying their chairs, Sefwi Wiawsi district, Ghana

This chapter relates to research question three, which aims at discovering the social complexities that could be encountered when shaping and structuring REDD+ at the local level in Ghana, specifically in cocoa farming areas.

6.1 Discursive battlefields

Shaping and structuring REDD+ comes down to new actors with new ideas, behaviour requests and agendas entering the local level in order to generate carbon credits. Since climate change dominates many donor agendas, donor and government money for REDD+ projects is available and local NGOs make use of that. What was noticed during this research is that NGOs are expanding their current project activities in order to meet the amount of carbon necessary for a viable REDD+ project.

In Ghana REDD+ seems to be predicated in the assumption that both parties' goals (organisations carrying out REDD+ activities and local people) converge around desires to preserve the forest. In practice however, there are actually two partially contradictory agendas, possibly resulting in discursive battlefields. The aim of the organisations working on REDD+ is to promote sustainable systems of natural resource management or preservation and planting of trees. However, local people seem to ultimately seek self-determination and control over the resources and look for what they believe are economically the best options for their cocoa farming practices. Local people agree to participate in NGO projects and it might seem that the NGO discourses (illegal logging, governance etc.) are acceptably heard and comfortably left unchallenged within the praxis of the meetings (Fairhead and leach, 2000). But chapter five made clear that local people have their own ways of responding and resisting the effects. The degree to which these two sets of priorities coincide is debatable. The Western stereotype of the 'ecologically noble savage', like the earlier noble savage of

Locke and Rousseau, is in fact a myth. The need to participate in the cocoa market economy is a given reality for the vast majority of the local people in Asunafo North. They are subject to economic pressures and limited options for earning cash. The assumption that local people will always opt for long-term environmental conservation rather than short-term profits is untenable. This corresponds with what Redford (1990) observed in his study on the Ecologically Noble Savage, namely that "there is no cultural barrier to the Indians' adoption of means to improve their lives, even if the long term sustainability of the resource base is threatened" (p. 27). He asks rhetorically, "Why shouldn't Indians have the same right to dispose of the timber on their land as the international timber companies have to sell theirs" (p. 28). Conklin and Graham (1995) state that there are several examples in which communities in Brazil have asserted control over commercially valuable natural resources, they have chosen environmentally destructive options (p. 703). However, this is a debate on itself, which will not be further elaborated on in this thesis.

The climate change discourse already affects the local level. Organisations that are aiming at unfolding REDD+ at the local level, try to get the local farmers on their 'REDD+' side. At the moment these organisations' framing is aimed at convincing local people in Asunafo North of the potential of the project to preserve trees on the farmland. They try to incentivise local people to preserve the trees by means of including them in projects such as ecotourism, from which economic benefits would flow to the local level. Question is whether these alternatives can compete with existing practices to increase the cocoa production. It becomes clear that there is a dichotomy between external discourses and the local.

NGOs should become aware of the contradictions between perspectives they have been trained to promote, and the ways the local peoples in Asunafo North municipal deal with trees and forest. Escobar (1995) contributed to the discussion of development thinking by suggesting that it is only possible for the local to engage with the global on a basis that can be "productive and illuminating when a collective construction of alternatives to hegemonic discourses has been effectively produced" (p. 226). NGO tiredness is a potential pitfall, which also depends on the successes of previous projects. This could result in a chicken and egg situation, since the REDD+ implementing organisation in Asunafo North, NCRC, requires certain action that could possibly lead to a reward, but whether the reward is coming at all and in what form is still vague.

Another discursive battlefield can be found looking at the conflicting activities of NGOs and NGOs and government agencies. A clear example of this is that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) is helping the people in Asunafo North to re-cultivate their old traditional cocoa farms with hybrid or sun-tolerant cocoa and that MOFA provides fertilisers to increase the production. At the same time REDD+ NGOs are telling the local people that traditional cocoa is more profitable on the long term, that they should maintain the existing trees and plant more on their land. Also NGOs are telling the villagers that the use of fertilisers is not good taking long-term effects into account, causing confusing situations for farmers

> *MOFA is rehabilitating our cocoa farms with hybrid cocoa and provides us with fertilisers to increase our production, but other organisations are telling us that trees are important and that we should not use fertilisers because that is not good. We get different messages (LP20).*

It seems that rather than that organisations aiming at REDD+ credits are trying to establish agreements in which agency is distributed among the various actors, they try to get the local people on their 'preservation' side. This touches upon the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), which is discussed below.

6.2 Free, Prior and Informed Consent

At the moment local people in Asunafo North are not aware of the existence of REDD+. Partly this is because much knowledge still resides in Accra, but partly because local people are deliberately kept unaware of what REDD+ is. The REDD+ implementing organisation in Asunafo North holds the opinion that telling local people about REDD+ would mean raising their expectations too high. This results in no debates in which people are able to argue from the same terms of reference. NGOs seem to be quite disengaged from the local people and their practices, and are rather linked to what Fairhead and Leach call the "nature of colonial and postcolonial state-building and not citizen science" (2000, p.55). Talking about agreements in which agency is distributed and both sides have the 'power to', this would result in a level of "conscious knowledge and understanding of what is to be gained" and what is to be given up (Berman Arévalo et. al, 2009: p.744). The recent REDD+ organisations are framing REDD+ in such a way that REDD+ and its potential benefits are not mentioned; farmers are kept ignorant of the REDD+ mechanism, but are requested to change their behaviour using different motives to get them on their side. Keeping local farmers ignorant touches upon the principle of free and informed consent (FPIC) of local communities and indigenous peoples as it is laid down in many declarations, conventions, policy guidelines etc. Free, prior and informed consent refers to the engagement and decision making in which the free and informed consent of indigenous peoples and local communities is obtained in advance for a course of action (Szablowski, 2010). At the moment many multilateral institutions and international Conventions, such as UN Conventions, are working on the operationalisation of the FPIC principle. This because several countries have expressed their fear that FPIC would too easily lead to a veto for indigenous and local communities. This veto could hamper activities like logging, mining and development projects. An alternative interpretation of FPIC would be a 'balanced negotiation process'. But the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples is currently being accepted with the unchanged definition of FPIC. According to article 53 of the Convention on Biological Diversity free, prior and informed consent refers to "the rights, knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities; the use of appropriate language and process; the allocation of sufficient time and the provision of accurate, factual and legally correct information". For REDD+ in Ghana FPIC would mean that local farmers have an understanding of the facts, implications, and future consequences of REDD+. In order to give informed consent, the farmers concerned must have adequate reasoning faculties and be in possession of all relevant facts at the time consent is given

Another possible influence of REDD+ could be that local people are excluded from certain REDD+ activities. It is highly unsure whether local knowledge and manpower will be used for activities such as MRV and forest inventories. Based on current REDD+ activities it does not seem to be very likely.

6.3 Property rights and authority

6.3.1 Land & tree tenure

Previous chapters already elaborated on the complicated issues relating to land and tree tenure in Ghana, and in Asunafo North Municipal in particular. One of the ideas how to incentivise the local people to preserve and enhance forest/trees is encouraging them to plant trees which they can harvest in about 30 years. First of all this idea competes with the preferences of short term profit that is currently being framed by the local people. Secondly, there is a problem with ownership of these planted trees. Although planted trees are formally owned by the planter, there is no officially recognised registration system yet. Such a system is necessary to be able to dissolve ownership conflicts arising when the tree is harvested in 30 years. One could imagine that without any form of registration, 30 years from now it is impossible to distinguish a natural occurring tree from a planted one. However, to be able to develop a registration system that works, it needs to be clear how exactly tenure arrangements are organised. It is imaginable that the farmland, rented from a Chief, reclaims the parcel to use it or sell it because it has increased commercial value due to REDD+.

In the Amenfi West district in Ghana the Forestry Commission together with IUCN Ghana is doing an exercise to register planted trees. However, to date people in that region do not seem to find their way to the FC office to obtain these registration documents (interview with FC in Amenfi West) and this exercise does not have any legal basis, which results in local farmers still not having the ownership rights to the tree.

Another potential problematic factor in clarifying land and tree tenure arrangements necessary for REDD+ is the government's "policy of non-interference" in chieftaincy land affairs (Ubink and Quan, 2008; p. 204). This provides chiefs with room to manoeuvre and gives them little reason to fear state intervention in land matters.

6.3.2 Conflicts

Because land and tree tenure issues are rather complex, they often result in conflicts. Conflicts over land do occur quite often because land boundaries are not always clear or properly mapped and tenure arrangements often are not officially documented. When an economic benefit is involved like it is the case when REDD+ comes in, people might seek to convince authorizing officials that their claims to land are as good or even better than anyone else's. Like Berry (2009) argues, people may even turn to the past, basing claims to land on narratives of origin or ancestry that are difficult to repute. In an area mainly occupied by migrants, like is the case in the researched villages, this might easily lead to conflicts.

The following story shows that the chance of different claims to land increases when it becomes economically beneficial. One of the respondents told the story of a MTN (national telecom company) mast. The mast was planned on a plot of land over which at first two individual claims existed. However, because it was about an economic benefit, the owner would be compensated for the land lost, the Traditional Authority exercised its power and also claimed the plot as belonging to their traditional lands. The conflict was not resolved at the moment of this research.

Another source for conflict when REDD+ enters the local level lies in the matrilineal system. Because of the matrilineal system, land and trees are not inherited by the children of a man, but the land goes to his siblings or the children of his mother's brothers and sisters (maternal uncles and aunts). In case of a woman the land goes to her children. When a man in Asunafo North planted trees and these trees are used for REDD+, his children are not automatically benefitting from this activity, since the land is automatically appointed to his siblings or their children. This could be an incentive for a man not to invest in long term activities such as planting trees. Also it can result in conflicts within families, especially when the man's children have helped planting the trees and have been nursing them for years. This could establish a feeling of ownership, while the ownership of the land and the planted trees might not be passed to them when the father dies or was originally not theirs.

6.3.3 Access to forest reserves

within the legal framework of Ghana people are allowed to pick a certain amount of NTFPs from the forest as long as it is for domestic use only. However, timber companies and NGOs often are of the opinion that allowing people to enter the Forest Reserves brings in illegal activities such as illegal logging. Therefore many timber companies and the Forest Service Division have staff of which the main responsibility is to keep people away from the forest concessions. Local people are impoverished through fines and resource alienation. NGOs at their turn try to influence local people to stay out of the reserves. This is often stimulated by the state or government agencies exercising their power by setting strict conditions to enter the forest. People's everyday activities have become criminalised and their rights to forest products or traditional uses of the forests denied. REDD+ potentially has the risk to further reduce this access since it becomes one of the major concerns to fight against forest degradation and encroachment. Like Berry (2009) argues this may cause people to challenge state power and increase the forcing of negotiations for access to state resources. For the local non-migrant farmers (the Brongs) it means their right to FPIC is denied. FPIC also concerns the right of local communities to their lands and territories. The land of the forest reserve customarily belongs to the Stool and thus to the local non-migrant farmers. When people are restricted to make use of the resources that belong to the lands that they officially own, this is a denial of the free and prior informed consent. Migrant farmers do not seem to be a party at all.

6.3.4 Benefit sharing

In addition to existing literature, this research showed that at the moment benefit sharing structures in Ghana are often not benefiting the local poor. Unfortunately local people were often unaware of the existence of benefit sharing arrangements, or money was not flowing to them, but given to the traditional (Paramount) chiefs when there was money coming at all. An example of this could be found in the Social Responsibility Agreements, on which communities can agree with timber companies. This agreement should provide communities on which land the timber company is harvesting, with 5% of the stumpage fees. Practice often paints a different picture. But also a different situation was encountered, in which a meeting with a village and a timber firm made clear that the village was fully aware of the existence of the SRA and their rights to it.

None of the people involved in the REDD+ pilot projects visited for this research could or would answer the question how benefits in the particular projects are distributed when Ghana enters the REDD+ Ready phase and REDD+ money is coming. Partly this can be explained because of the vagueness of how and if local REDD+ projects will nest in the national REDD+ mechanism and also who will be responsible for distributing carbon credits. However, the fact that none of the organisations actually seems to have an idea how credits will be distributed within the REDD+ project boundaries is at least remarkable. It could mean that existing situations of uneven distribution of benefits and misuse of power for personal gain will continue when REDD+ delivers.

6.3.5 Who decides?

To relate discourse to power, I argue that discourses are embedded in micro-politics. Like Berman Arévalo et. al. (2009) argue, discursive shifts occur as a reflection of power balances at given moments. Discourses also possibly constitute indispensable resources with the potential to enhance actor's negotiating power and to create opportunity to compromise (Conklin and Graham, 1995).

In Asunafo North one the one hand it could be argued that local people lack the means to compromise and negotiate. But on the other hand they do have actual 'on the ground power' to decide to preserve or cut a tree and cannot be seen as victims only. The REDD+ discursive power battle is a constant negotiation of objectives and actions. According to Berman Arévalo et. al. (2009) risks inherent in these kinds of relationships between local people and NGOs often result from the failure to overcome power imbalances and to reconcile diverging interests.

6.4 Conclusion

Shaping and structuring REDD+ means new actors with new ideas and activities entering the local level in order to generate carbon credits. This could bring about various situations, varying from local people have an attitude of seeing is believing, conflicting situations between NGOs and between NGOs and local people relating to discourses, the exclusion of people from actively participating in the REDD+ mechanism and the disregard of certain rights, which could marginalise (migrant) farmers' position.

In Ghana REDD+ does not seem to be about trees or forest and their preservation, but about NGOs claiming money for REDD+ activities from donor organisations to secure their existence, about filling own pockets and legitimising positions.

REDD+ also has the potential to cause problems, since activities putting REDD+ in practice and local practices collide, exacerbation of potential conflicts regarding land and tree ownership, and the uneven or unfair distribution of REDD+ benefits. All can be related to existing power relations. But although REDD+ implementing organisations seem to have more power in terms of knowledge, money etc. to frame their discourses, local people have the power to decide to cut or preserve the trees concerned.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

Climate change is a hot topic causing much debate, power struggles, new money flows, floods, conflicts, food scarcity and the development of new policies to tackle the consequences. This research particularly looked into the latter aspect.

Next to mostly industries, quite recently it was agreed upon at international level that deforestation contributes heavily to the emissions of carbon dioxide (CO_2) in the atmosphere, which is, as believed by many, speeding up the warming up of the earth. Internationally a mechanism to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conservation, sustainable development and carbon enhancement in developing countries (REDD+) is being developed to halt the emissions caused by deforestation. This policy specifically aims at linking marketable carbon credits to good forest practices to trade them on the international market.

One of the countries getting ready for REDD+ is Ghana. With money from the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility Ghana is implementing its Readiness Preparation Proposal, a kind of action plan how to make REDD+ work. One of the REDD+ activities that is carried out currently, is testing different models or activities that contribute to avoiding deforestation/degradation, carbon enhancement etc. These models are referred to as REDD+ demonstration or pilot projects. Although much research exists related to REDD+, little or no scientific information exists dealing with the main research question of this thesis: how the shaping and structuring of REDD+ could affect local (migrant) farmers in Ghana.

To be able to answer the research question the theoretical framework of the Policy Arrangement Approach is chosen that offers the opportunity to look at the different dimensions of actors and discourse, rules and power related to the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. Secondly, to analyse local practices related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve, a theoretical framework is chosen that enables me to understand local farmers' everyday activities related to trees and the forest reserve. These practices are important to understand, because the REDD+ mechanism implies behaviour change requests for a big part directed at local farmers. Practice theory in addition to the Policy Arrangement Approach made it possible to analyse how the shaping and structuring of REDD+ affects local farmers. This chapter presents the main empirical conclusions that can be drawn from answering my research questions:

1. How is REDD+ shaped and structured in Ghana?
2. What local practices can be distinguished related to on-farm trees and forest reserves?
3. What are the social complexities related to local farmers that could or are encountered when shaping and structuring REDD+.

To answer my research question(s) I conducted a three month field research in Ghana. For this study several research methods were used; literature study, interviews, participant observations and focus group discussions. I selected 69 respondents from different groups of society: NGOs, private sector, government and local people. Also four REDD+ pilot projects were visited.

7.1 Institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana

The shaping and structuring of REDD+ in Ghana makes clear that policies that have recently turned their focus to participatory, governance etc. are potentially dangerous. The institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana shows that rather than viewing REDD+ as a process of social complexity, REDD+ is still about getting the right rules in place that easily advance the agendas of certain powerful actors. The institutionalisation of REDD+ is focusing on creating a more effective instrument to solve Ghana's problems of deforestation and forest degradation and in the meanwhile reducing international tradable carbon emissions. Ghana's Readiness Preparation Proposal is the recipe that recommends how to get these rules in place. These rules strongly focus on the behaviour of local farmers and how it should change. That it should change seems without a doubt. Despite the fact that farmers' behaviour seems the core of REDD+, farmers seemed to be (deliberately) excluded from REDD+ debates and thus from a direct influence to shape and structure REDD+. In reality a relatively small group of actors is shaping and structuring REDD+ in Ghana or are able to make efforts to do so. This research shows that these actors play different roles and have different perspectives on the REDD+ process. Depending on the amount of resources actors possess, they are more or less constrained to influence this process.

This thesis shows that these different actors who are somehow involved in REDD+, relate to different discourses, that fit their ideas and preferences related to trees and forests and REDD+ and legitimises their behaviour. Several discourses were identified among the actors in Ghana. Some actors obviously related to the idea of forests as economic production units, seeking for economic, sometimes even personal, gain. This can be referred to as industrial forestry. The discourse of sustainable forest management was much expressed is Ghana, and acknowledges that forests are production units but also fulfil other functions. The division between these two discourses was not always clear. Other actors related to discourses like illegal logging and forest governance. These two are often connected in Ghana, which became most clear looking at VPA/FLEGT processes that aim to stop illegal logging but also aim at increasing forest governance. Societal NGOs but also actors from the Government of Ghana seemed to relate to these discourses. But also the forest and climate change discourse itself of which REDD+ is an instrument was enacted by several actors, mostly NGOs and timber firms.

This research makes clear that the different actors somehow involved in REDD+ are trying to influence or actually influence the shaping and structuring of REDD+ in accordance with their own ideas and preferences. For example, actors from the illegal logging discourse argued that REDD+ should much more take into account the drivers of deforestation. Others argued that REDD+ should focus more on forest governance aspects such as land and tree tenure and benefit sharing. This research also shows that some actors, mainly NGOs, specifically expressed the forest and climate change discourse and REDD+, by focussing on carbon measurements and related local project activities.

The discourses of the different actors and how they are used to influence REDD+ became clear in several ways. First of all, many meetings that were organised, discussed REDD+, also when the meeting originally focussed on other forestry aspects. Also many reports and documents appeared discussing REDD+, both risks and possibilities. Most NGOs were somehow involved in REDD+, and also different government departments and private sector were involved.

An important conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that the climate change discourse and consequently of REDD+ has a strong influence on actors. A clear example was found by looking at

NGOs. A couple of NGOs strongly made efforts to influence REDD+ debates and developments with their ideas and preferences of forests as carbon stocks, generating marketable carbon credits. These NGOs submitted proposals for REDD+ pilot projects that would link carbon also to cocoa trees. They grouped together with private sector companies in discourse coalitions to steer REDD+ in the direction of recognizing cocoa as REDD+ carbon.

Another example of how the forest and climate change discourse is steering actor's behaviour was found because many actors (mostly NGOs and timber firms), even the most critical ones, considered or already were involved in REDD+ even though they are not of the opinion that REDD+ will be successful.

Looking at who is and is not involved in REDD+ and how, says something about the rules of the game, or regularizing structures that influence people's behaviour. One aspect that becomes clear from this research is the following. Because the Forest Carbon Facility Partnership, financing REDD+ in Ghana, determines multi-stakeholder influences, a greater openness in the policy making process is a result. But looking more closely, one realises that neo-corporatism is still often present when it concerns REDD+. Certain actors are excluded from the actual decision making, while a small group of elite often make the decisions. Another institution that is shaping REDD+ are the complex land and tree arrangements in Ghana. Property rights are often not clearly defined and documented, which is likely to cause problems because REDD+ is all about trees and forests and the carbon rights that potentially can be derived from them. Who actually owns the trees and the carbon rights is an important question still to be answered. Local migrant farmers who do have insecure rights to the lands they farm are not likely to benefit from these REDD+ carbon credits.

An important aspect influencing what actors and discourse coalitions are dominant, but also influencing the rules of the REDD+ game, is power. Power resources such as knowledge and money determine outcomes of REDD+ deliberations. This research shows that power is distributed unevenly among actors, resulting in some actors having more access to resources that come with REDD+. Some actors already have the power to be involved in REDD+ and consequently they have built REDD+ knowledge and invested in REDD+ activities related to carbon measurement. They also have the means to group together in discourse coalitions, which strengthen their position. Because these actors already have more knowledge and money, they have better access to resources, such as government subsidies and donor money that come with REDD+. This process resulted in the exclusion of certain groups of people from REDD+ debates, reducing the openness of the policy process and possibilities to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana.

This research also indicates, that the dimensions of a policy arrangement are strongly interwoven. This is exemplified by showing that REDD+ is a discursive innovation leading to the free up of new resources. This causes more actors to be involved in REDD+ or wanting to be involved, but others to be excluded. This because initially they are more constrained by social and political structures and consequently lack the means or resources to benefit from REDD+ resources and influence the institutionalisation of REDD+. The REDD+ discursive innovation leads to small changes in the rules of the game, from neo-corporatist to more multi-stakeholder decision making processes. But only limited, because the actual decisions were often still made by small groups of elite. Looking at putting policy in practice it were mostly NGOs and timber companies that made strong efforts to influence

the shaping and structuring of REDD+, especially at the local level. The institutionalisation of REDD+ at the local level was mainly done by NGOs and timber firms and is likely to affect local farmers. Researching four potential REDD+ pilot projects made clear that the activities of these organisations resulted in do's and don'ts (behaviour requests) for local farmers, of which the latter are dominant. Don'ts mainly included cutting or killing trees and not entering the forest reserve to hunt or collect NTFP's. These behaviour requests directly relate to farmers' every day activities and consequently are likely to affect farmers.

7.2 Local farmers' practices

The institutionalisation of REDD+ requests local farmer's to change their behaviour related to trees and forests. One should have an understanding of these practices in order to be able to say how REDD+ could affect local farmers. Five villages in the Asunafo North Municipal in the High Forest Zone were chosen to study local practices related to trees and forest with the use of practice theory. Cocoa is indissolubly connected to these practices, since cocoa is the main source of income for local farmers in Asunafo North Municipal. For this study practices were defined and operationalised as complexes involving routinised bodily movements, mental activity and things (Reckwitz, 2002). Mental activities consist of preferences, desires, feelings and know-how. Know-how is the capacity to act in certain circumstances. From the oral accounts of the local people, my observations, participating in meetings and several documents I distilled two main practices: the removal of trees from the farmland and the use the forest reserve for daily livelihoods. Several mental activities can be distinguished of which these practices consist. Income security closely relates to cocoa farming, since this is the main source of income of local farmers in Asunafo North. Farmers kill or cut the on-farm trees because they have experienced that these trees cause the devastation of cocoa trees. In the past timber companies got permission to cut on-farm trees, which resulted in destroying cocoa trees without compensating the farmer for his loss. This left them with feelings of anger. The know-how that is created is that cutting or killing timber trees is keeping the timber firms away and thus is protecting the farm and related household income. People's dispositions clearly enacted the preference of no trees on their farms since they negatively affect cocoa production and thus their household income.

Regarding the practice of removing on-farm trees two main reasons were discovered. The first is that removing on-farm trees enhances the cocoa production. First of all cocoa is seen as a much better cash crop than trees, because it immediately delivers cash. Secondly, removing trees is preventing the farm from being destroyed by timber firms that log the on-farm trees. Thirdly, removing trees means more land to be cultivated and the last relates to the fact that cocoa is viewed as a much better cash crop, since it immediately delivers cash. Trees first need to be nurtured for 30 or more years before they provide some income. The second reason relates to tree benefits. Local farmers felt that they have to take care of the government's trees without benefitting from it. Cutting the trees releases them from what they feel are unpaid investments.

The second practice that was discovered in this research is that of making use of the forest reserve for daily livelihoods. Although several informal and formal rules exists that aim at governing the behaviour of local farmers, farmers did not seem to agree with all of them. These rules are restricting what are sometimes even rights and often only focus on people's responsibilities to take care of the

forest reserve. But local farmers still depend on the forest reserve for their daily livelihoods, and continue to make use of the forest despite these restricting rules and rules that prohibit the entering the forest reserve.

To conclude, local people have learned from doing that their actions, at least for a certain period of time, positively affect their income, food supply and strengthen their authority over natural resources. This can function as an explanation of why local people keep doing what they are doing despite the influence of external discourses.

7.3 Local social complexities of REDD+

The results of this research indicate that REDD+ is not a mechanism that can be rolled out just like that. It should not be viewed as a one direction, top-down implementation that will not encounter any social complexities. These social complexities have become clear when taking the practices of local farmers into account. This study paid attention to the relationship between a state driven REDD+ strategy in the domain of resource management on the one hand, and local farmers and their specific practices and their (perceptions of) rights, responsibilities and authority over resources on the other. This study illuminates the competition for legitimate authority over resources between state arrangements and local practices in the domain of REDD+ against the backdrop of complex property rights to land and forests. It makes clear that this competition is often lost by the local farmers. The institutionalisation of REDD+ is facing several social complexities and how is (not) dealt with these under REDD+ is most likely to marginalise local migrant farmers in Asunafo North Municipal in several ways. One of the most important aspects that is marginalizing local farmers' position, is the denial of the principle of free, prior and informed consent of the local farmers in Asunafo North Municipal.

REDD+ in Ghana means (more) actors entering the local level to put in practice their, sometimes even conflicting, discourses. This influences the local level in ways that local farmers have to deal with more organisations and consequently with more requests from these organisations to behave in a way that fits the involved discourses and their premises. A potential danger of REDD+ is that local farmers become the play ball of organisations competing for the REDD+ carbon credits. REDD+ seems to be institutionalised on the premise that local people's activities are causing Ghana's deforestation and that this needs to be halted. Whether local farmers are the cause of deforestation or not, it clearly shows the dichotomy between external discourses and local desires and preferences. This dichotomy between external discourses and local practices is likely to cause discursive battlefields, since different sets of priorities exist and it is unlikely that these priorities coincide. Local farmers are pressured to change their behaviour, resulting in the criminalization of practices that are often not even officially illegal. The answer to the question of what activities are illegal and what are not does not seem to be one that could be answered by looking at the formal rules. The answer highly depends on whom it is asked and the agenda of these persons. Developments of REDD+ lead to a higher value of forest reserve and on-farm trees. Because local farmers' practices are believed to cause deforestation and degradation, their access to the forest reserves is restricted, or even totally prohibited. Local farmers, who for a big part depend on the forest for their livelihoods, are (deliberately) cut off from this important resource. Their rights to pick NTFPs from the forest are ignored. This example clearly shows Ribot's (2008) argumentation, that having formal rights, does say

little or nothing about access to a resource. Restricting access to resources that are traditionally owned by the people of Ghana touches upon the right of free, prior and informed consent and the right to pick NTFP's from the forest reserve.

Because REDD+ causes a greater value in money of forest reserves and trees, it might even come to a point that formal landowners reclaim the land customarily rented out to migrant farmers to use. Conflicts over land and land uses are quite easily to imagine when forestland has increased in value over cocoa land. Because of the customary land arrangements it is often very hard to distinguish who actually owns what rights to the land. The migrant farmers in Asunafo North have built their lives upon customary, not documented land arrangements. Their rights to the land are not very secure, and are likely to become even less secure when REDD+ is delivering cash from carbon credits.

This research shows that the position of local farmers is also being marginalised, because local people are deliberately kept ignorant of something that is called REDD+, which violates again local farmers' right of free, prior and informed consent. Organisations involved in REDD+ activities are afraid this knowledge hampers the preservation of the trees and forest. An even distribution of agency among the various actors seems lacking in the context of REDD+. The power of actors involved in REDD+ seems to restrict the agency of local farmers. REDD+ implementing organisations rather try to get the local people on their 'preservation' side and keep the local people ignorant of a system that could generate carbon credits. The broader *raison d'être* of NGOs regarding REDD+ is not brought into play or into the interpretative field of those it affects, the local farmers. This lack of knowledge limits possibilities for local people to debate and negotiate their options in full awareness of what is to be gained and lost. This power imbalance is stimulated by operating from a discourse that is nationally and internationally recognised and even preferred and due to that having the knowledge and money to negotiate and work towards goals related to the discourse. Although the position of migrant farmers is likely to be marginalised by REDD+, local farmers for sure are not to be viewed as victims only. farmers can and do respond, although they do not directly influence the institutionalisation of REDD+. Local farmers have the actual power to decide to cut or preserve the trees on their land.

This research shows that REDD+ in Ghana is not so much about halting deforestation and providing co-benefits. It rather seems to provide guidelines that motivate and authorise certain actors, driving and channelling their powerful shaping activities.

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION

In chapter seven the main conclusions of this research are presented. This chapter reflects on the findings: what critical notes can be made and recommendation given based on these findings and what suggestions are there for further research. Also an evaluation is made of the theoretical frameworks used and the possibility to generalise the empirical findings is discussed.

8.1 Reflections and recommendations

When I first crossed Ghana by bus, I was surprised how green and harmonious it all looked like. Soon it became clear that this was an optical illusion: green appeared not to be forest, but a mosaic landscape of cocoa trees, plantain trees, other crops and few scattered trees. Neither was it all harmonious. This example functions as a metaphor for the situation of the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. The starting points of my research were twofold. The first was that REDD+ in Ghana is a policy that focuses on governance aspects like participation, consultation and benefit sharing etc. The second starting point is that the shaping and structuring of REDD+ somehow affects local farmers in Ghana.

This research shows that for REDD+ certain ideas exist about the 'makeability' of society, which seem to dominate the formulation of the REDD+ rules and its top down linear implementation. The findings of this research made clear that the picture of a makeable society is too simplistic and does not take into account local complexities. This research shows that the shaping and structuring of REDD+ cannot be viewed as a linear and predictable process, unexpected outcomes are to be expected. Secondly, the trust in the 'makeability' of society assumes a certain control and predictability over the agency of actors. As it turns out, this is often not the case. Local farmers do respond in their own ways, often not matching the discourses of organisations that are carrying out REDD+ activities.

These findings are to a certain extent conforming to the critiques to such participatory approaches, namely that policy processes of forest governance and increasing local people's participation in reality often still have the tendency towards top-down implementation (Mosse, 2004, 2010). Approaches to participation often turn out to be disciplinary approaches, deployed to make local actors and their ways of thinking and doing behave like beneficiaries with planning knowledge (Mosse, 2004, 2010).

Counter views to instrumental, rational designed, top-down and participatory policy designs, which REDD+ turns out to be, can be found in institutional bricolage and what Mosse (2004, 2010) refers to as the new ethnographic view. Institutional bricolage developed by Cleaver (2002) is an active process in which actors piece together elements of both bureaucratic and socially embedded institutions. I am of the opinion that REDD+ has more chance to be what Mosse refers to as a 'good policy', when its institutionalisation is perceived as a process of "bricolage". A bricolage of different formal and socially embedded rules, of social and power relations shaped by collective action, resulting in a diversity of arrangements (Benjamin, 2008). By doing so the institutionalisation would take into account social complexities.

New ethnographers like Mosse (2004, 2010) approach policy as the result of social processes. Such a perspective would result in viewing REDD+ not as driven by instrumental policy design, but as a web of social relations, power dynamics and organisational politics involved. Also this approach would fit

an institutionalisation process of REDD+ in which the web of social complexities is taken into account.

REDD+ is likely to marginalise the position of local migrant farmers, because in Ghana local cocoa farmers are seen as the main cause of deforestation and the degradation of forests. This counter image of local people as Noble Savages results in the criminalization of what sometimes even are legal activities or rights and the violation of rights such as free, prior and informed consent. However, the results of this research, at least to a certain extent, confirms the approach of among others Long (2000) and Mosse (2005), that local actors are capable and knowledgeable actors that have the ability to act upon intervening policies. This research shows that local farmers cannot just be conceptualised as victims. Local farmers are able to execute authority and although they do not have a direct influence on the shaping and structuring of REDD+ at a higher level, they do respond, but in a different way.

This research therefore recommends an approach to REDD+ that different from participatory or top-down instrumental designs focuses on the institutionalisation of REDD+ as a social process of bricolage or a web of social complexities.

8.2 Role of the researcher

This research is limited because of several reasons. Firstly, it is very important to recognise the role of the researcher when collecting data. As a researcher I am aware of the fact that I also influenced the data. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) say that "We are part of the social world that we study" (pp. 18) and that it is therefore very important to be reflexive on your own position.
For this research it was not possible to collect every aspect of social reality: choices had to be made, which gave me the possibility to select the data that I think were most important. But when making choices, other data were lost. Secondly, the findings are influenced by my presence in the context I researched. It was clear that the respondents, especially the people from the villages, saw me as someone different than themselves. I am white, a Westerner, a researcher and a stranger. This might have influenced the information that they gave me. Especially, because I was interested in sensitive information, sometimes even related to illegal activities. I always tried to make clear that I was not working for an NGO or government agency. I explained that I was only interested in their story. This was also important in relation to expectation management, because I did not want people to think that I could solve their problems. However, the majority of the respondents was very willing to tell me their stories, and made time to talk to me. I noticed that some people took the chance to talk about their problems and ideas, especially when they disagreed with what was said by the chief and elders. It seemed that my position as the 'outsider' was also a positive one, because they wanted to share things with me that they did not want to share with people who they live with. However, although people never said anything like this, it is important to take into consideration the possibility that people were holding back information, because they thought that in some way I could communicate this to government agencies.

8.3 Theoretical frameworks & generalisations

The Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) was very suited to analyse the institutionalisation of REDD+ in Ghana. Its appropriateness lies in the possibility for a balanced analysis of four dimensions, actors, discourse, rules and power and the interrelatedness between the dimensions. Many frameworks only take one or two dimensions into account. An actor-oriented analysis would mainly have indicated which actors are important in REDD+ and how they relate, but would have paid much less or no attention to discourses, how they are able to mobilise resources to realise their ideas and preferences and what the rules of the REDD+ game are. Also the PAA to a certain extent enabled to look at how political modernisation has its influences on the institutionalisation of REDD+.

A radical constructivist approach would have denied the ability of actors to act in the world, or in this case to deliberately make efforts to influence the institutionalisation of REDD+. The middle ground of agency and structure that this framework takes, was indeed found in my findings. I cannot come to a different conclusion than that people have agency to strategically make decisions related to REDD+, but it was showed that this agency was also constrained by social and political structures.

Also practice theory proved to be very well suited to understand local practices related to on-farm trees and the forest reserve. It enabled me to understand people's activities related to trees and the forest reserve. But even though this framework seeks for a solution to the agency-structure debate, in my opinion the framework did not sufficiently allow to take into account historical aspects. Also it is easy to forget to look at broader systems than just the local practices. These systems do in fact influence local practices.

The PAA is used to explain the institutionalisation of policies and therefore less suitable to analyse contemporary management practices. Practice theory, different from the PAA, enabled me to look at practices being body/mind/things complexes to understand the social complexity at the local level of farmers.

However, both theoretical frameworks have common 'weaknesses', because both are frameworks and not theories, lacking hypothesis and criteria. They are exploratory and explanatory frameworks enabling one to look at a problem or field with particular glasses on and to understand what is happening and why. Possibilities to transfer the findings of this study are somewhat difficult. I argue that the general conclusions based on this study are also valid for the whole of Ghana because of several reasons. The first is that people from different respondent groups (government officials from national and more local level, NGO workers and companies) confirmed my main conclusions. Secondly, although for the local level analysis the main findings are coming from Asunafo North Municipal, I also visited several other REDD+ projects in different regions in Ghana. My findings there confirm the results of the research in Asunafo North and are sometimes referred to in the text of this report. Thirdly, when looking at the theory used through though the report, one could argue that the findings can be applied to other contexts, because some of the findings are corroborated in the literature. Lastly, when situations are more comparable the transferability will be higher, i.e. same tenure arrangements, landscapes, tribes or ethnic groups etc.

However, following Flyvbjerg, this case study does contain elements of narratives, which in my opinion approaches the complexities and contradictions of real life, especially because my cases are carefully chosen and the research included several villages. It is difficult to summarise my findings

into general propositions and theories, instead this case study itself should be seen as the result.

With this research I made an attempt to show how international PES instruments such as REDD+ are institutionalised and how this institutionalisation might affect local (migrant) farmers. It shows that the most promising approach for REDD+ is one of bricolage or taking a new ethnographic approach.

8.4 Further research

A first recommendation for further research results from the fact that I did not take into account the institutionalisation of REDD+ at international level, although sometimes I referred to this level. There are important actors involved in REDD+ at the international level. These actors also have their ideas and preferences which influences lower macro (national/regional) en micro (local) levels when it comes to REDD+. It would be interesting to further research this and know more about how this process at international level is influencing the institutionalisation of REDD+ at national level.

This research did not take into account gender issues. Further research is recommended to better understand the role of gender issues relating to land- and tree rights in relation to REDD+.

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APPENDIX I - INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

This interview protocol served as a handle for the interviews, but I also deviated from this protocol.

Actors involved in REDD+ at national level *(Forestry Commission, Tropenbos International Ghana, NCRC etc.)*

- How do you/your organisation relate to REDD+
- What are your tasks/responsibilities related to REDD+
- How did REDD+ get on the agenda in Ghana?
- What actors participate in REDD+ developments?
- How are decisions related to REDD+ made?
- Who is and is not involved in the decision making processes of REDD+?
- What role do forests play in Ghana?
- How do forests relate to other land uses such as cocoa farming?
- How should in your opinion the forests in Ghana be managed and why like that?
- Could REDD+ play a role in this, and if so how?
- What are according to you the main problems related to forests and why these?
- Who is involved in REDD+ and how and why them?
- Why are you or are you not involved in REDD+?
- Why do you believe REDD+ will or will not work in Ghana?
- How do you see forests? Why are they important?
- Who has most knowledge about REDD+ and why them?
- What actors do have most technology related to REDD+, for example for carbon measurements and why these actors?
- How are local people included in REDD+ activities?
- What are risks and possibilities of REDD+?
- How do (customary) land and tree arrangements look like and why is that important for REDD+?
- What could be improved in REDD+?
- Are you cooperating with other actors involved in REDD+, why, how?
- How are people/actors benefitting from REDD+?

People from REDD+ project

- How in your opinion should the forests of Ghana be managed?
- How can market-based initiatives contribute to sustainable forest management?
- Why did you make the choice to participate in REDD+?
- How is your organisation involved in REDD+?
- How are you planning to implement a REDD+ programme, how does it look like?
- How would you describe your experience with REDD+ so far?
- What do you think is most important for successful REDD+ and why?
- What are difficulties you experienced so far and why do you think this is so?
- What are successes in the REDD+ activities of this project so far and why do you think this is so?

- How are/will the carbon credits be distributed and why like that?
- Who is doing/going to do the forest inventories and why these people?

Local government agencies *(FSD)*

- What are your main tasks and responsibilities, especially related to the forest reserve?
- Why are forests important?
- How do communities relate to the forest?
- What (customary) land and tree arrangements exist in the area and how are they of influence to REDD+?

People from villages

- How do you provide in your livelihood?
- Have you experienced any changes related to cocoa farming and if so why?
- Is the forest reserve important to you?
  - Is yes, why?
  - If no, why not?

- Has this changed over the last 5-10 years and why?
- What are your tasks related to the forest reserve?
- How are you benefitting from forestry practices? Who does benefit?
- Did you participate in negotiations over benefit sharing?
  - Is yes, how?
  - If not, why not?

- What are concerning to you the reasons of deforestation?
- What are you and what are you not allowed doing in the forest reserve?
-
- How would you describe the relation between your community and the NGO ('s), government agencies, timber firms?
- What could the Forest Service Division do for you?
- How do you deal with on-farm trees and why so?
- How do you get rewarded for your tasks and responsibilities related to the forest reserve?
- How is the money coming from the forest distributed among the community/stakeholders?
- Who is making the decisions about clearing land for farming, entering the forest reserve?
- How does the weather affect the farm? What changes did you notice the last 5-10 years and why do you think these changes occur?
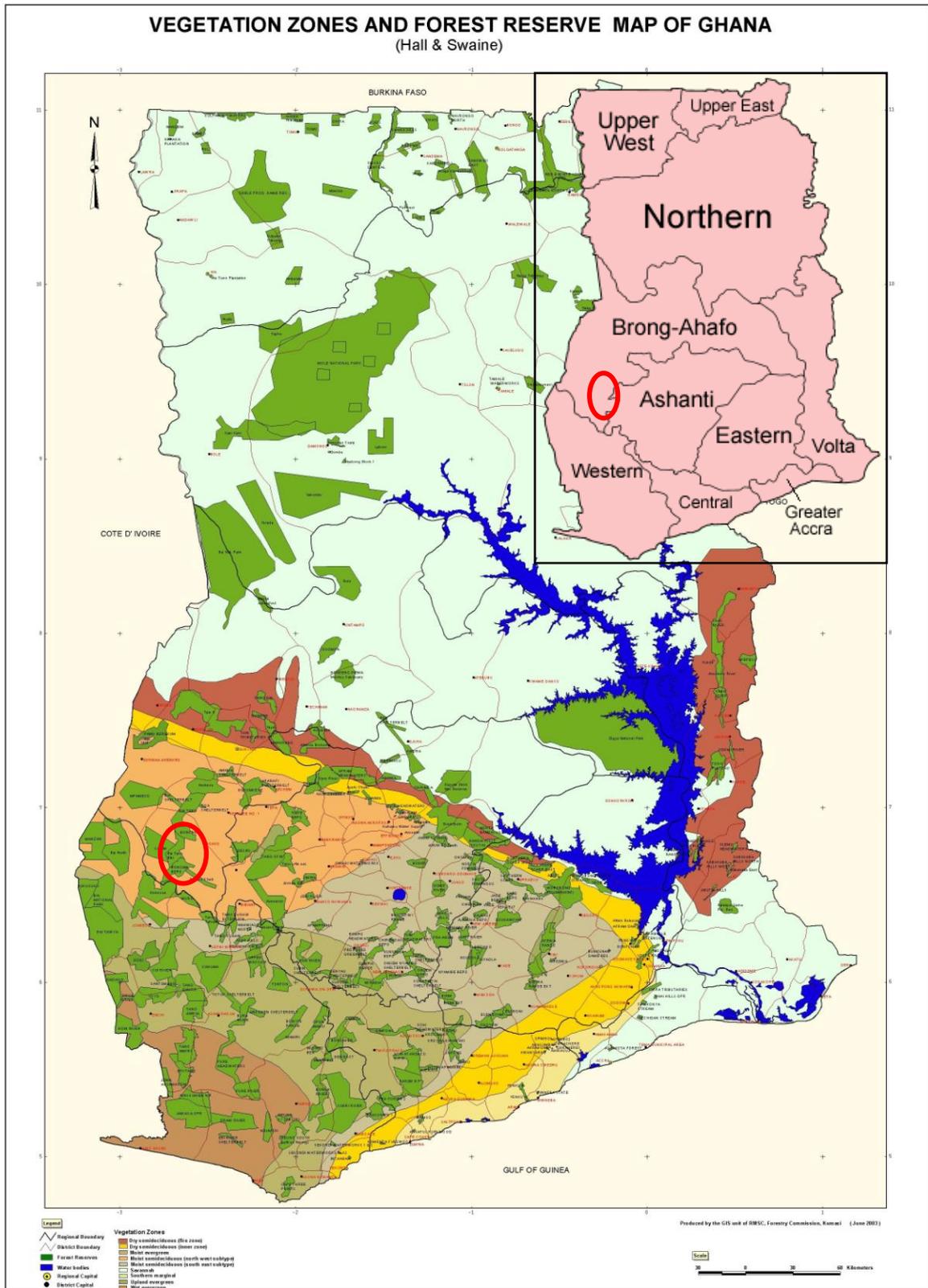- What do you know about REDD+, climate change?

NGOs	Male/female
N1	Female
N2	Male
N3	Male
N4	Male
N5	Male
N6	Male
N7	Male
N8	Male
N9	Male
N10.	Male
N11	Male
N12	Female
N13	Male
N14	Female
N15	Male
Government and associated	
GI	Male
G2	Male
G3	Male
G4	Male
G5	Male
G6	Male
G7	Male
G8	Female
Private companies (cocoa and timber)	

P1	Male
P2	Male
P3	Male
P4	Male
P5	Male
Legal expert	
LE1	Male
Local people from villages in Asunafo North district	
LP1	Female
LP2	Male
LP3	Female
LP4	Male
LP5	Male
LP6	Male
LP7	Female
LP8	Female
LP9	Female
LP10	Female
LP11	Male
LP12	Male
LP13	Male
LP14	Male
LP15	Male
LP16	Male
LP17	Male
LP18	Female
LP19	Female

Code	Gender
LP20	male
LP21	male
LP22	female
LP23	male
LP24	male
LP25	male
LP26	male

Government officials Brong Ahafo / Asunafo North

Code	Gender
LG1	male
LG2	male
LG3	male
LG4	male
LG5	male
LG6	male
LG7	male
LG8	male

Timber company Asunafo North

Code	Gender
LT1	male

NGOs Asunafo North

Code	Gender
LN1	male
LN2	male
LN3	male
LN4	male

Focus Group Discussion

Code	Location
FG1	Geysikrom
FG2	Kumaho

Meetings/ Forums attended

Meeting/Forum	Location
West Africa Forest Governance Forum	Accra
FIP (Forest Investment Program) meeting, REDD+	Accra
VPA/FLEGT stakeholder meeting	Accra
Symposium securing land/tree tenure rights and benefits towards REDD implementation in Ghana	Accra
Round Table Discussion on REDD	Accra
West Africa Forest Governance Forum	Accra

VEGETATION ZONES AND FOREST RESERVE MAP OF GHANA
(Hall & Swaine)