Civil Society's

Political Roles in Integrated Landscapes

Master Thesis:

Civil Society's Political Roles in Integrated Landscapes

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A comparative case study design

(Landscape of the Juabeso-Bia Forest District & the Atewa Forest Range)

By

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Abstract

The following paper examines associational civil society and the political roles (i.e. educational, communicative, representational, and cooperative role) it performs in the process of democratisation in the governance of two selected landscapes in West-Africa - the Juabeso-Bia Landscape (JBL) in Western Ghana, and the Atewa Forest Landscape (AFL) in Eastern Ghana. In an action oriented, comparative case study design it aims to deepen and concretize overall understanding and inform policy and practice on the ways civil society organisations (CSOs) can consolidate democratic processes and structures in the governance of integrated landscapes – and on what enables them to do so. The investigation holds academic value as there is little consensus on civil societies' actual roles and responsibilities in these development initiatives, making the motive why civil society ought to be supported not self-evident. For this, it explores how abstract assumptions about civil society's potential for democracy - in a landscape-specific context - turn out in practice. Additionally, the research is socially relevant as CSOs – especially those in low- and middle-income countries - are facing difficulties in fulfilling assumed functions developmental approaches have in mind for them to perform. In many cases CSOs face low recognition in the eye of policy- and decision-makers, and a shallow engagement in policy- and decision-making processes. For this, the research aimed towards making investigated CSOs more recognizable in the eyes of other actors and organisations, and towards offering CSOs the opportunity for self-reflection and health-checking. Through this, the value of CSOs as political actors in the governance of landscapes may better be appreciated, and with provided insights into their political roles and organisational properties, individual organisations are able to better rationalize the adequacy of their service delivery and relevance of their individual mission and vision. Moreover, an increased visibility paired with rationalized advocacy can be essential to CSOs, as this can lead towards an increased engagement in the political process. Using qualitative methods, the investigation reveals that CSOs do not perform in all aspects of these political roles simultaneously, but rather exert their strengths in some of them. This unbalance in performance relates to contradicting organisational properties. Findings show that CSOs engaged in integrated landscapes largely perform in educational and representational roles, relating to their strategic positioning as developmental organisations and knowledge providers and that CSOs – although different in shape and size – all, in their own way, have something in store for democracy. The investigation also has found that central challenges that stir interests and concerns of landscape actors are determining factors of the kind of CSOs that engage themselves in these areas, and in turn shape the ways democratic processes and structures are promoted in the governance of landscapes. The findings paint a contemporary picture of civil society with new and alternative forms of connectedness, and civic and public engagement. It indicates a civil society that enables people to build confidence towards the state, operating on various levels of engagement, establish social relationships, attain and maintain social capital and signals the political system on behalf of individuals. Lastly, the investigation highlights that democratisation on the scale of a landscape requires subnational engagement of CSOs with

their organisational environment, as the process has to start at the grassroot level of society. As it is, in the two landscapes, there is no unconditional yes to the answer whether civil society performs in all political roles and favourably impacts democratic processes and structures through education, communication, representation and cooperation simultaneously, but there is a clear distinction of it impacting democracy in its own ways. While using the political roles as benchmark, it is questionable how inclusive the landscapes would be without the CSOs engagement in these landscapes.

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Sustainable development…………..…….…..….………..…….…..……….….. SD

Civil society…………..…….…..…….…..…….…..…….…..…….…..………… CS

Civil society organisation…………..…….…..…….…..…….…..…….…..………. CSO

Non-Governmental Organisation…………..…….…..…….…..…….…..………..... NGO

Traditional Authority System…………………..…….…..…….…..…….…..……… TAS

Think-tank…………..…….…..…….…..…….…..…….…..…….…..…………….. TT

Resource governance structure...………..………..………..………..…………..………..…… RGS

Integrated Landscape Approach………..………..………..………..………..……… ILA

Less Economically Developed Country ………..………..………..………..……….. LEDC

Green Livelihood Alliance………..………..………..………..………..…………... GLA

Cocoa Marketing Board………..………..………..………..………..……………… COCOBOD

Juabeso-Bia Landscape………..………..………..………..………..…………….. JBL

Atewa Forest Landscape………..………..………..………..………..…………….... AFL

Rainforest Alliance………..………..………..………..………..………………….... RA

Tropenbos International Ghana………..………..………..………..………..……….... TBG

SNV Ghana………..………..………..………..………..………..…………………. SNV

Conservation Alliance………..………..………..………..………..…………………. CA

Institute for democratic governance………..………..………..………..………….……… IDEG

Governance Forum Initiative………..………..………..………..………..…………….... GIF

Nature Conservation Research Centre………..………..………..………..………..………. NCRC

Landscape Management Board………..………..………..………..………..……………… LMB

Krokosua Hill - Community Resource Management Area………..…………..…… KH CREMA

CREMA Management Board………..………..………..………..………..…………….. CMB

A Rocha Ghana………..………..………..………..………..………..…………… ARG

Wassa Association of Communities affected by Mining………..………..………..…… WACAM

Okyeman Environment Foundation………..………..………..………..……..……….. OEF

Save the Frogs! ………..………..………..………..………..………..…………….. STF

Herp Ghana………..………..………..………..………..………..………..………..... HG

Sustainable Agriculture Network………..………..………..………..………..……….... SAN

District Assembly………..………..………..………..………..………..……………….. DA

Forestry Commission………..………..………..………..………..…………………….. FC

Forestry Services Division………..………..………..………..………..……………….. FSD

Wildlife Division………..………..………..………..………..………..……………….... WD

Environmental Protection Agency………..………..………..………..……..…………… EPA

Mineral Commission………..………..………..………..……..………..…………...…… MC

Ministry of Land and Resources………..………..………..………..………..…………… MoLR

Ministry of Food and Agriculture………..………..………..………..………..…………... MoFA

1. Introduction

From a shortfall of sectoral approaches to address global issues relating to climate change, food security and poverty alleviation, and of ways to deal with discrimination and social exclusion in developmental design, the scientific discourse on civil society in sustainable development (SD) has shifted towards more place-based and inclusive governance arrangements (Estrada-Carmona et al. 2014; Kamstra 2017; J. C. Milder et al. 2014). One such initiative is the 'Integrated Landscape Approach' (ILA), that - with a regular attention on conservation and production - seeks to balance the interests of local stakeholders relating to bio- and geo-physical characteristics of a particular piece of land, while simultaneously considering its socio-economic and political drivers (Harvey et al. 2014; Reed, Deakin, and Sunderland 2015). The approach shifts administrative planning and management from a national, towards a regional and local level and admits to multiple dimensions in which the interests and concerns of involved stakeholders play out (i.e. ecological, economic, socio-cultural and political dimensions, respectively) (Arts et al. 2017a). In order to decide about the use of landscapes, these integrative initiatives demand participants to engage with one another and to join in regulatory processes (Sayer et al., 2013). This incorporation of processes of social deliberation through public participation highlights the relevance of democratic ideals to sustainable and inclusive development approaches, and from a higher level of abstraction: the relationship of democracy with the notion of SD (Munslow and Ekoko 1995; Westall 2015). For both, 'the practice of consulting and involving members of the public in the agenda-setting, decision-making, and policy-forming activities of institutions responsible for policy development'[1] is a central mechanism to the legitimacy and authority of governance (Rowe and Frewer 2004).

Inherently, a central element of inclusive approaches to SD is the embrace of the political concept of civil society. Whereas, in developmental designs, civil society in past was seen as a passive audience, it has now become more included as a potential contributor or co-creator. This embrace in development draws from a perspective of social transformation, implying the worlds' society has the potential to drive a universal culture that transforms the way it lives in (Castles 2001). In this notion, civil society's function is being emphasised beyond mere voting of its representatives to the regulatory system during the period of election, but towards being a constant force of social change, that continuously participates actively in the public arena, acting as intermediate transmission belt between state, market and the rest of society (Edwards, 2004, Edwards 2014; Lewis & Kanji, 2009). As such, civil society is seen as the space between government, the market and family. As a vehicle by which people can pursue common 'civic' interests, nurture democratic values of tolerance and building of consensus (Diamond 1999; Warren 2002; Edwards 2004). To accommodate greater inclusion, ILAs, require new forms of regulatory systems, that shift from traditional state-centred forms to those of "greater horizontal inclusion and distribution of power among civil society" (Kozar et al. 2014, 92:9). However,

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[1] Rowe, Gene, and Lynn J. Frewer. 2004. "Evaluating Public-Participation Exercises: A Research Agenda." Science, Technology, & Human Values 29 (4): 512–56. doi:10.1177/0162243903259197. P.512

the grounds for which the concepts is emerging often is based on ambiguous understandings, referring to the "norms and values" of citizenship, "social capital", and the "public sphere" (Kamstra 2017, 3). By admitting to the relevance of the normative description of civil society, the concept is made more palpable by considering its associational, organized form, the Civil-Society-Organisations (CSOs) (Vianen 2016). This form of civil society includes faith-based groups, trade unions, professional associations, community-based organisations, as well as internationally connected organizations with subsidiaries in various countries. Influenced by this consideration, ILAs aim to involve the potential civil society has in store for them, and presupposes it to perform in various roles to help to address power imbalances, "including support, representation or facilitation roles for particular groups participation networks" (Kozar et al. 2014, 92:52) and take responsibilities in processes of its governance (Sayer et al., 2013). These roles are seen to be performed in various dimensions of the landscapes, including the political dimension. In this dimension associational civil society is envisioned to promote and consolidate democratic processes and structures through distinct *educational, communicative, representational,* and *cooperative* roles (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). Considering internal governance and political efficacy, their performance in these roles can be analysed through an consideration of their organisational properties (e.g. their mission, strategies, internal structures, resources and relationships with others in their organisational environment) (Hadenius & Uggla, 1996; Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014; Robinson & Friedman, 2005).

To approach this subject, exploring political roles and responsibilities of civil society in the governance of landscapes, is academically relevant as - although in the creation of theory-based developmental approaches the concept of civil society is widely applied (Edwards, 2014) – it frequently hinges on assumptions that do not necessarily turned out to be true in practice (Howell and Pearce 2001; Moyo 2010; Nkwake 2013; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). The core around which such assumptions were made has been criticized for being too normative, and in fact for betraying a Western conception of democracy and of how development should be done (Mercer 2002; Nkwake 2013). Yet, the current developmental discourse, including literature relating to ILAs (Renting and Wiskerke 2010; Sayer et al. 2013), continues to make use of assumptions without having further explored or adapted them significantly, nor has its validity been much subject to detailed scrutiny in the context of integrated landscapes (Gray et al. 2016; Heiner et al. 2017; WEF 2013). Overall, there is little consensus on civil societies' actual roles and responsibilities in ILAs, making the motive why civil society ought to be supported not self-evident (Robinson and Friedman 2005). Moreover, the concepts of civil society - 'where groups in the advocacy domain of the public sphere reside'(Downey and Fenton 2003, 16), and its assigned performances - being the 'antidote to state expansion' or being the 'school of democracy' and 'co-creators' – and more closely related to this inquiry, in ILA literature: as 'crucial watchdogs' (Sayer et al. 2013; Kusters 2015; Kozar et al. 2014) - are described in a rather ambiguous manner and only scarcely offer a concrete foundation for sound hypotheses and research (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). To explore how abstract assumptions in development about the concept of civil society turn out in practice of integrated

landscapes, and to explore civil societies' contribution to the process of democratisation, this inquiry qualitatively analysed and compared the relationship between internal organisational and structural properties of CSOs and their performances in political roles. In following this objective, the investigation has set out to deepen and concretize the understanding of the roles CSOs perform in the consolidation process of democratic structures and substances in an integrated landscape, and what properties enable them to do so. Also, it intends to offer evidence of internal properties of civil society, and its roles in democratisation to feed into general assumptions of the developmental discourse[2].

Furthermore this investigation is of a social relevance, as despite the acknowledged importance of citizen engagement in policy formation and governance processes, CSOs – especially those in low- and middle-income countries - are facing difficulties in fulfilling presupposed functions developmental approaches and the social transformative perspective means for them to perform (WEF 2013; USAID 2015). In many cases they face low recognition in the political domain in the eye of policy-, decision-makers and donors, a shallow engagement in policy- and decision-making processes, and struggle with undermined autonomy (Robinson and Friedman 2005; USAID 2015; WASCI 2015). Additionally, CSOs are challenged in their attempt to respond to these challenges through the formation of strategic partnerships with governmental agencies, that are of significant value to organisations as with those partnerships can lead to more successful advocacy and increased organisational resilience since they enable partners to improve the quality of their services and move from delivering general services to the provision of strategic services (WEF 2013). Taken together, these issues are constrained through internal organisational contradictions of CSOs, such as inadequate democratic structures, lacking insights of their political domain, and a 'shortfall' of strategic thinking, but as well as through what the government and their development partners allow them to do (i.e. fiscal dependency on donor funding) (Alidu and Asare 2014; Anheier, Simmons, and Winder 2014; Banks, Hulme, and Edwards 2015; WACSI 2015). At this point, it must be stated that those issues are especially demanding for CSOs of rural areas in low- and middle-income countries and also for those that are active in the promotion of domain of democratic principles (CIVCUS 2014). To yield landscape-specific information that can be used as input to make CSOs more recognizable in the eyes of policy- and decision makers, other organisations, and to offer CSOs the opportunity for self-reflection and health-checking, this inquiry identifies CSOs in the governance of landscapes, their organisational and structural properties, and unravels their political roles in the process of democratisation. From this, the value of CSOs as political actors in the governance of landscapes may better be appreciated, and with provided insights of their roles, individual organisations are able to better rationalize the adequacy of their service delivery and relevance of their individual mission and vision. Moreover, an increased visibility

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[2] The Dialogue and Dissent Programme: This programmes aims "to support civil society organisations (CSOs) from low- and middle-income countries so that they are better able to fulfil their role in dialogue with governments and companies. (https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2014/09/06/65-organisations-sign-up-to-dialogue-and-dissent-programme)

paired with rationalized advocacy can be essential to CSOs, as this can lead towards an increased engagement in the political process and offers them insights to manoeuvre in more donor acceptable positions. Moving in more acceptable positions for funding can in turn benefit their autonomy as it decreases the fiscal dependency. At last, the information may enlighten organisations to see other organisations as partners rather than as competitors. This awareness is critical to networks and joint-forces of civil society, as the time of tension - when cooperation is more important than coercion and resource competition - is a driving force to form coalition. Overall, the support of groups of civil society is relevant as they can promote appropriate democratic structures and institutions that allow for a shift in power towards advantageous practices – this is based on a simple argument: the poor are numerous.

Aiming to address these social and academic challenges, this research looks at key CSOs that are engaged in the selected landscapes, their performances and organisational properties and qualitatively analysis how these relate to their political roles. With these insights, the research looks into the extent by which these CSOs contribute to the process of landscape democratisation. To highlight similarities and differences, and to better understand the social context of this process, CSOs active in two landscapes were compared based on their organisational properties and their roles in a comparative case study design.

The document is structured by starting to provide an overview of the selected study location before outlining the conceptual framework. The concepts that are required to be outlined largely refer to the governance of integrated landscapes, the element of public participation in contemporary democratic models, and civil societies political roles in the process of democratisation. After providing a theoretical framework, the paper turns to the research design and finally provides the revealed results and made conclusions. The results section builds on individual assessments of CSOs that were aggregated based on similarity in organisational properties. It begins with providing a narrative report on their organisational properties and then elaborates in depths on the properties' relation to various political roles and the way CSOs contribute to a more inclusive landscape, before concluding the paper and suggesting a refined conceptual framework for future investigations made in the context of political roles performed by civil society in the governance of integrated landscapes.

1.1. Ghana's landscapes

The overall forest cover of Ghana is roughly 40% (about 9 million ha), with a decreasing tree cover from high forest zones in the South-West, towards the transitional and drier zones in the North (FAO 2015). About 15% of the country's land area is covered by forest reserves of which 80% are designated for timber exploitation and 20% for conservational purposes (MoLR 2016). The biggest threats to these natural resources in Ghana are effects from illegal logging, inadequate farming practices, and (illicit) artisanal and small-scale gold mining (Schep et al. 2016; Chupezi, Ingram, and Schure 2018). Despite of these environmental threats, the country's development agenda - to intensify its cocoa production and to introduce bauxite mining - are identified as instrumental threats to the remaining forested landscapes (Schep et

al. 2016; Insaidoo, Ros-Tonen, and Acheampong 2012; ILO 2012). In the past the country trialled with co-management schemes of its natural resources and with community-based interventions, to improve situations where people depend on resources from the forest (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013). Today, ILAs with similar notions of co-management in mind are being implemented in selected areas throughout the country[3]. Since becoming a constitutional democracy in 1993, with a steering hand of financial institutions and governmental development policies[4], Ghana has made decisive steps towards greater democratic ownership and an enabling environment for its civil society (Jumah 2011). In fact, the country's history has always been rich with social movements[5], as it were the Civil-Society-Organisations (CSOs) from various social fields, such as civil servants, students, professional organizations, trade unions, and churches, whom had a predominant role to play in Ghana's process of liberalization in the early 1990s, promoting democracy and human rights (UNDESA 2003; Chazan 1992; Ndegwa 1996). Today, the state of Ghana is familiar to work with citizen groups and provides suitable structures and institutions that are in favour of ILAs and its political elements. For this, and for being of high agricultural and biological relevance, two Ghanaian landscapes that are subject to integrated approaches were selected: the landscape of the Atewa Forest Range; and the landscape of the Juabeso-Bia Forest District. These areas have some of Ghana's highly bio-diverse and relatively intact high forests, but which face eminent threats. The areas outside the reserved forests in both landscapes consist of cocoa farms, oil palm plantations, food crop farms and fruit/vegetable farms. There are also human settlements and fallow land areas. The populations are made up of both indigenes and migrant settlers.

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[3] For instance, through the Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) - A collaborative programme between the Dutch Milieudefensie, IUCN The Netherlands (IUCN NL) and Tropenbos International (TBI) with the overall objective to strengthen advocacy capacities of civil society organisations (CSOs) in emerging democracies
[4] For instance, the 'African Charter For Popular Participation in Development and Transformation' or 'African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights'
[5] For instance, The Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS), the Gold Coast Youth League (GCYL), the Fante Confederation among others were born to combat injustice and marginalization of local communities in the 17th century.

1.1.1. Juabeso – Bia Landscape

Globally, Ghana is the second largest exporter of cocoa after its neighbour Côte d'Ivoire[6]. Nationally, cocoa plays a key role in its local and national economy, employing about 800,000 smallholder farmers (Vigneri and Kolavalli 2018). The high rainforest zone of the Juabeso-Bia Forest District Landscape in the Western Region of Ghana is one of Ghana's main agro-ecological zones[7], and about 70% of the local population are cocoa farmers and producers (Government of Ghana 2014). The JBL also contains the only biosphere reserve in Ghana [8] . The reserves houses a significant population of elephants and many primates. Outside of the forest reserve, is a mosaic of cocoa and annual farms, fallow lands/secondary forests and patches of residual forests and sacred groves. The area serves as an important wildlife corridor between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, particularly for the movement
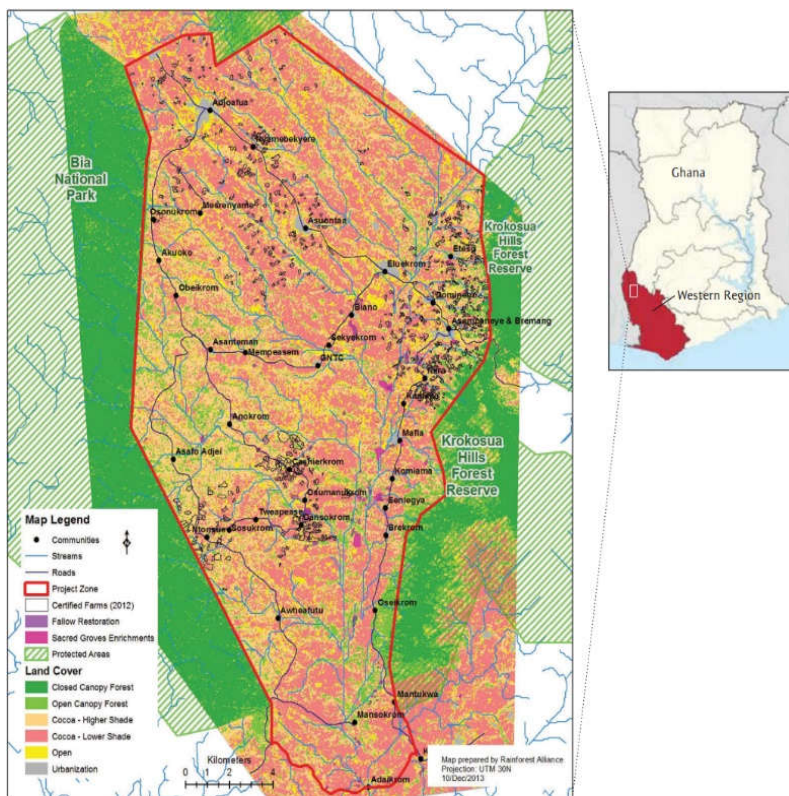
Figure 1: Map of the Juabeso-Bia Landscape (JBL) (Noponen et al. 2014)

of elephants between the two countries. The area is located close to the border to Côte d'Ivoire in the South-Western part of Ghana (GPS: 6°31'36.4"N 2°57'49.2"W), and is situated in the two administrative districts of Juabeso[9] and Bia-West[10]. The landscape is nestled between the Bia National Park (A Globally Significant Biodiversity Area) and the Krokosua Hills Forest Reserve. The area faces a number of challenges relating to administrative, economic and environmental issues. Environmentally local issues are largely relating to effects of climate

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[6] https://www.statista.com/statistics/263855/cocoa-bean-production-worldwide-by-region/

[7] According to the District Cocoa Unit, about 30,009.14 tonnes of cocoa was produced in the 2013/2014 cocoa season (Government of Ghana 2014)

[8] The Bia National Park and Bia Resource Reserve, declaration date: 1983, surface area: 7,700 ha administrative division: Juabeso and Bia Districts in the Western Region in Ghana (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/africa/ghana/bia/)

[9] Juabeso District has sixteen (16) Electoral Areas, four (4) Area Councils, One (1) Member of Parliament, 16 Unit committees. and eight (8) Government Appointees. The district has a surface area of about 1,284 square kilometres and serves as entry/exit point between La Cote d'Ivoire and Republic of Ghana. It has a population of about 86,574. It is located in the Northern part of the Western Region of Ghana with Sefwi Juabeso as its capital. (Government of Ghana 2014)

[10] The Bia West District was carved out of the erstwhile Bia District in 2012 by the Legislative Instrument (LI) 2014 with Essam-Dabiso as the administrative capital. The district shares boundaries with the Bia East District to the north and East, the Republic of La Cote d'Ivoire to the west, and Juabeso District to the south. The population of Bia West District is 88,939 representing 3.7 percent of the region's total population. As high as 78.2 percent of households in the district are engage in agriculture.(Ghana Statistical Service 2014a)

change (Läderach et al. 2013). Economically, the area faces under the current business-as-usual strategy, the issue of extensive low-input, low-yield agricultural production (Gockowski and Sonwa 2011). Main reasons for this low productivity are matters of poor management practices and the increasing age of the cocoa trees, (Noponen et al. 2014). Socially - relating to the previous - low yields do not allow farmers to alleviate from poverty and force to encroach into the forest, generating other sources of income (Brasser 2013). Furthermore, the administration of the area has a need to increase community involvement in natural resource government, as local and regional land-use planning only occasionally involve traditional authorities and producers. Additionally, on an organisational level, collaboration between the Forestry Commission (FC), mandated to manage forest reserves in Ghana, COCOBOD (Ghana Cocoa Board) and other governmental agencies has been lacking (J. Milder and Newsom 2015).

1.1.1. Atewa Forest Landscape

Ghana's gold mining history is dating back more than 1000 years, when indigenous mining techniques were still applied (Hilson 2002). Today, the production of the precious metal remains to be an important industry (small scale or commercial), as the country is one of the major gold producers in Africa (Chuhan-Pole et al. 2015). Regardless of the economic significance, and while considering a best practice model for nature an people, unequal wealth distribution and environmental degradation remain worrisome issues for the country (RMSC 2016; Standing and Hilson 2013). The AFL presents these issues in a nutshell. 90 km in the North of the capital, Accra, the landscape covers approximately 250 km2 and houses valuable highland evergreen forests and rich mineral resources (GPS:
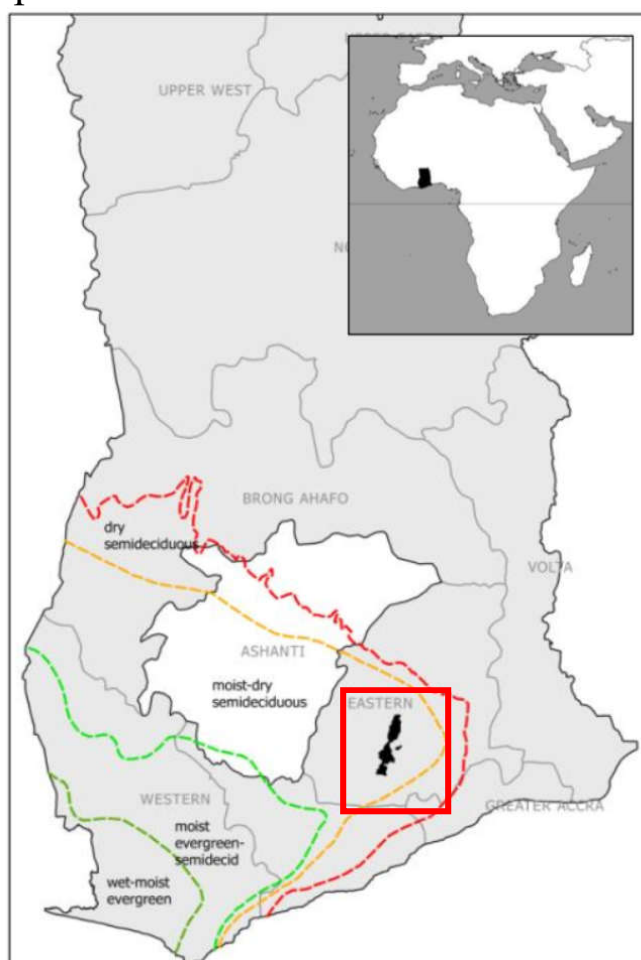
Figure 2: Map of Atewa Forest Reserve (A Rocha website)

6°10'00.0"N 0°35'60.0"W) (Schep et al. 2016). The AFL is constituted by two forest reserves - the Atewa Range Forest Reserve and the Atewa Range Extension Reserve and is located within Okyeman (the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area) and the Atewa District [11]

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[11] The Atiwa (also Atewa) District Assembly is one of the District Assemblies in the Eastern Region of Ghana, it was granted its present status by the Legislative Instrument (LI) 1784 of 2004. It was carved from the then East Akim (also

(administrative district) in the western part of Ghana's Eastern Region. The area not only holds Ghana's largest and most significantly diverse flora and fauna, and plays an important role in the culture of the people living around it, it is essential for the water supply to about 5 million people and industries in downstream areas (Schep et al. 2016; Osei-Owusu 2016; Ghana Statistical Service 2014).

Figure 3: Illegal mining operation on the edges of Atewa Forest Reserve (source: myjoyonline.com)

For its ecological value the area was gazetted in to a National Forest Reserve already in 1926 and announced as a Globally Significant Biodiversity Area in 1999. Local problems largely relate to leaching and loss of soil fertility from intensive farm cultivation and vegetation clearances, and illicit encroachment into the reserve relating to mining and logging activities. Especially, unlicensed (artisanal) small-scale gold mining has increased and is causing issues for forest fringe communities. People struggle with the pollution of water bodies, land grabbing and human rights violations (RMSC 2016; Segbor 2014). Most challenging for the general AFL, at the time of investigation, were future large-scale commercial mining operations (here: bauxite). As in recent years international companies have explored the possibility of open cast mining inside the reserve and the Ghanaian government designated the area to be opened for mining concessions in support to their national development agenda (Schep et al. 2016). For these socio-economic, cultural and biological challenges, the AFL has necessitated the call by many, both state and non-state for national actions and processes to ensure the long-term conservation of the area. Within the FC, which manages the forest reserve, is the intention to review and improve the management regime of the reserve to a National Park (Osei-Owusu 2016; A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018).

Okyem) District Assembly now East Akim Municipal Assembly, in the year 2004. Its Capital is Kwabeng which is situated at the foot of the Atiwa Range. The population of Atiwa District, according to the 2010 Population and housing Census, is 110,622.More than three-fifth (76.7%) of households in the district are engaged in agriculture. (Ghana Statistical Service 2014b)

2. Conceptual Framework

This inquiry into the political roles of CSOs applies a pro-democratic lens on civil society that is informed by a social transformative perspective on development. This perspective stems from a post structural appraoch to development that highlights the relevance of human struggle in (structural) inequalities (Mitlin, Hickey, and Bebbington 2007). In this view, lack of development and poverty are based on social economic and political process of exclusion, and that true development is about emancipation and empowerment of the people.

The argument, central to this framework is that civil society is conducive to process of democratisation in the governance of integrated landscapes and that the political roles it plays in this process can be measured by the organisations internal properties. The framework starts from the standpoint that civil society generally is conducive to democracy, performing in distinct roles in the transition from an authoritarian system of governance to a more democratic one. This democratic performance is then introduced to the notion that aspects of contemporary models of democracy share ideas and realities with the notion of SD, and that democratic values and norms are influential to developmental outcomes, in particular in the context of the use of integrated landscapes. To illustrate this, this framework looks closer at the governance democracy of ILAs. Finally, to allow an analysis of civil societies political roles, the framework looks at ways to measure the democratisation performance of civil society through the consideration of its internal organisational and structural properties.

This conceptual framework makes use of work provided by Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014), whom have emerged from theory with the categorisation of political roles and a way to analyse civil society political nature and character using Hadenius & Uggla (1996). Closely relating to other liberal civil society theorists, Hadenius & Uggla argue that the democratisation potential of civil society is assessed by the level to which CSOs can shape public policy and hold others accountable, and to the degree to which constituencies have exercised influence through those organisations. They line out an analytical way by which civil societies democratisation potential can be measured along three axes: contribution to pluralism, educational function, political participation. In regard to the latter, they state, that internal properties of civil society organisations are essential determinants of their external influence, their ability to shape state decision-making and to form strategic partnerships with others. To capture these internal properties, Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014) have looked at an organisation's mission, strategy, resources (e.g. staffing, information, finances and skills), internal structure (in regard of membership structure and participation), and relationship with other organisations in their political environment.
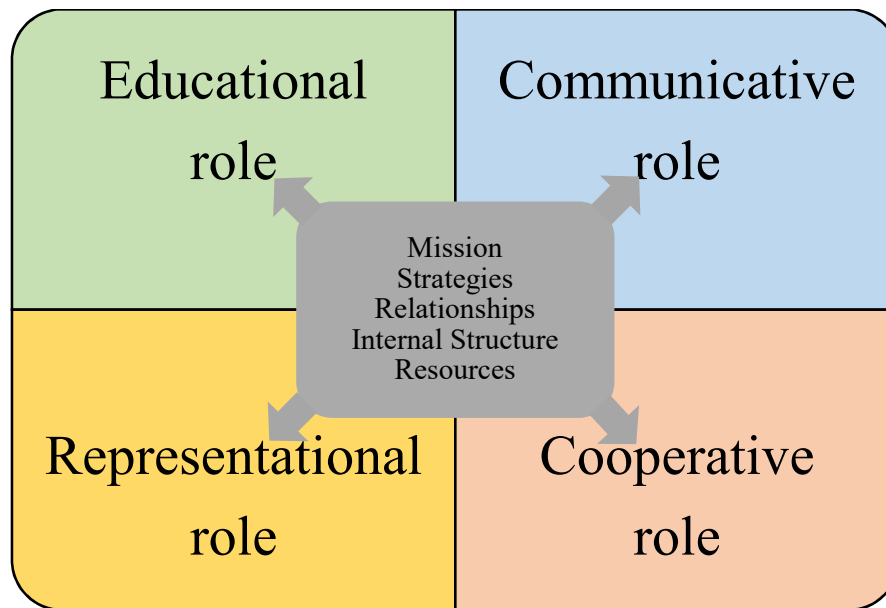
Figure 4: Framework of civil societies political roles determined by organisational properties

2.1 Governance of Democratic Landscapes

Generally, ILA can be referred to as a 'multi-faceted integrative strategy that aims to bring together multiple stakeholders from multiple sectors to provide solutions at multiple scales and can broadly be defined as a framework to address the increasingly widespread and complex environmental, economic, social and political challenges that typically transcend traditional management boundaries' (Reed, Deakin, and Sunderland 2015). By this, the term of 'landscape' is a socially constructed object (Arts et al. 2017b), that not only considers to be a mere geo-physical piece of land, but also to entail environmental, economic, social and especially interesting for this inquiry, political levels. These levels shape the influential dynamics among stakeholders and give overlapping sizes and borders to each landscape. Such a multi-level landscape requires a regulatory system through which all actors can exert influence on decision outcomes, that also considers spatial aspects such as space, scale and place, and that is political in nature (Görg, 2007). Such a system, that is assumed to be a pre-condition for a sustainable landscape, can be referred to as the 'governance of landscapes' and is a central part of the political dimension of landscapes. In this dimension, no single actor is in charge and acts of management are to result from collective rather than individual decision-making (Kusters 2015), and legitimacy and authority is achieved through an emphasis of democratic norms and values such as equity and inclusiveness. The institutional provisions of landscape governance can vary widely between individual landscapes, but Kozar et al. (2014) outlined a elements "that work" for effective governance. A central conclusion of their work is that the regulatory system, due to its multi-layered nature, requires protocols that allow for an alignment of laws and rules and that coordinate decision making processes on various levels, sectors and actors. Altogether, such a system "ensures synergies and minimise trade-offs between economic, social and environmental (including climate) goals where these objectives compete"(Denier et al. 2015, 7). The ILA follows a deliberative strategy through the

engagement of civil society as a promoter of relevant values. For this, the institutional capacities and governance processes and mechanisms that are required for all stakeholders 'to express ambitions for the geographic area to set priorities and to help transform these ambitions into action'[12], and the functionality of citizens to participate in the public debate and to foster voice and representation, are central principles to the ILA (Sayer et al. 2013). This builds on and the appreciation of local autonomy, as this autonomy is considered critical to the proper cooperation and coordination among stakeholders (e.g. the state, market, and communities) (Egli and Zürcher 2007).

The planning of the usage of landscapes for this should 'entail rights and responsibilities for everyone' (European Landscape Convention 2000) and should not be determined by a small scientific elite nor by the mainstream political system alone. Indeed, actors must include the participation of the public, local (traditional) authorities and other relevant stakeholders such as producers, land owners and land managers. Although democracy can be understood to follow various models, of which a selection is discussed further below, this inquiry uses the following definition of landscape democracy: 'Landscape Democracy is a form of planning and design in which all citizens are meant to participate equally, either directly or through elected representatives in the proposal, development and establishment of the rules by which their landscape and open spaces are shaped' (IFLA 2015, 1). This attention of ILAs on democratic structures and substances allows the notion of sustainable development practices sharing central ideals and realities with models of democracy – and most relevant to this inquiry: in their attention on public participation.

2.2 Modes of Democracy and Public Participation

What democracy could mean, what or whom it actually includes, and what it should accomplish has been discussed extensively in philosophic and theoretic circles (Dahl, 1989; Habermas, 1992). The following section does not attempt to add to this debate, but merely to showcase that the aspect of public participation is central to the most predominant models, and that across these models, public participation shifts from an element that is meant to provide accountability, to an element of deliberation and of the democratic substance of governance. Democracy, as it is understood traditionally, is by itself prone to suffer from collectivism and the 'tyranny of the majority'[13]. To prevent this, *liberal democracy* aims to combine liberalism and democracy to recognize minorities-, and individual's rights in a system of majority rule. A basic model of liberal democracy, defines a form of public participation that goes on costs of governmental responsiveness, where the power of the state is divided into branches and a system of checks and balances is in place (Dahl 1971). This model emphasizes, the right of

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12 Holmgren, P.. (2013, Oct 29). Transcript from 'On Landscapes – Part 2: What are landscapes?'. Retrieved from https://forestsnews.cifor.org/19791/on-landscapes-part-2-what-are-landscapes?fnl=en, Date of access (2017, Oct 17)
13 John Adams. 1788. "A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America", London : Printed for C. Dilly (3): 468. p. 291.

citizens to vote for their leaders freely in periodic cycles[14], and democracies most basic value of self-determination (Arler and Mellqvist 2015). Yet, some proponents of more contemporary understandings of this consider participating in governance only during the voting cycle, where citizens are allowed to make their government through a 'fair, honest and free'[15] election as insufficient, and rather advocate a model of *participatory democracy* (Diamond 2002). Especially in the context of rural landscapes their criticism is relevant, where in cases cultural conditions may influence the understanding of normative terms, and structural barriers (e.g. resources, information) may hinder fairness, honesty and other citizen freedoms. A central value of this model is co-determination, which means that people have equal rights vis-à-vis public policy makers, "independent of the amount of property he or she owns" (Arler and Mellqvist 2015, 6). Although there is an existing link between political influence and economic position, in which high social classes exert influence in their political domain, public participation is seen critical as it helps to advance social inclusion and political ownership in policy forming (Diamond 2002). In this model the operation of the political system is extended from the political realm to the social and economic one. The two models of participatory democracy and liberal democracy are conceptualized essentially differently, that is in their regard on the location of democratic processes and substance and frequency of public participation and their understanding of freedoms (i.e. negative and positive) (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014; Arler and Mellqvist 2015). Agreeing with the liberal model, that issues within a democracy ought to be publicly debated, and with participatory democracy, that democratic institutions (such as citizen referenda) should be open to citizen deliberation and scrutiny, *deliberative democracy* goes further by adding a continuity of participation to the process of political decision-making. Here, legitimacy of decisions ought to originate from an authentic and consistent deliberation processes, not only from a voting majority obtained once every legislative period (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014; Habermas 1996). It sees constant public reasoning as central 'to legitimately settle the aims of joint, governmental activities'[16] – a view that is inherent in ILAs. The model assumes, that democratic autonomy is a prerequisite for a proper functioning deliberation, and that it can be divided into individual and political autonomy (Richardson 2005). In the deliberative model of democracy people cannot assume to have all their 'wants' to be fulfilled, but decisions on common issues are supported by the best scientific, moral and aesthetic arguments available. This means that society should encourage and support the establishment of fora, where citizens exchange arguments and thereby improve the basis for common decision-making"

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14 This in fact, describes many democratic countries today (Asante et al. 2014)

15 Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave Can Yugoslavia Survive? Soviet Reaction, Russian Reform Overcoming Underdevelopment." Journal of Democracy 2 (2): 12–34. p.7.

16 Richardson, Henry S. 2005. "Review: Democratic Autonomy: Public Reasoning about the Ends of Policy." Philosophy and Phenomenological Research. International Phenomenological Society. doi:10.2307/40040847.

2.3   Civil Societies' Roles in the Process of Democratisation

It is not uncommon to approach the concept of civil society from various angles. Some approach the concept with an allocation of it within the bigger aspect of society and others elaborates on it through distinct functionalities. Whilst the first speaks about activities that require an organized and associational form to make civil society distinct from mass society in a Habermasian[17] way, the latter speaks about civil society in a liberal or radical way, whereas the liberal refers to descendants of the notion of good citizenry of Alexis de Tocqueville[18], and the radical to Antonio Gramsci's[19] work of 'conflict based struggles' (Edwards, 2004; Lewis & Kanji, 2009). In most such post-Marxist approaches civil society enjoys a pro-democratic imagery and is seen essential for the development of more deliberative forms of governance, such as the governance of landscapes. This portrayed image of civil society can be summarized to originate from three 'schools of thought´ (Edwards 2004; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993; Hadenius and Uggla 1996). *A neo-Tocquevillian school* that focuses on civil societies' associational life – here, a *vibrant* civil society is characterized as a 'rich mixture of voluntary groups that provide ongoing opportunities for citizen engagement and participation in associational affairs' (Edwards 2014, 30); A *school of public sphere* that allocates civil society in between state, market and society – in this view, civil society is seen as an independent intermediate space or domain between spheres of the private (family), the public (market), and the public authority (state) spheres, where social deliberation and dialogue of the common interest occurs; and a *normative school* – here, civil society 'civility' is emphasised in which service to others stands above self-interest. Although the last normative school is engrained in the other schools providing a basis for norms and values, in theory it must be treated separately as 'associations may have different normative agendas' (Edwards, 2004, 7).

By embracing various schools simultaneously, this framework admits to the contested nature of the concept – and to a more contemporary picture of a modern, alternative form of civil society. An image of civil society that 'does indeed mean different things to different people, plays different roles at different times, and constitutes both problem and solution' (Edwards, 2004, 5). But more importantly, taken together this allows civil society a pluralistic image, and to be considered to be able to form advocacy groups, stimulate greater political awareness, generate an informed citizenry, help to make better voting choices, participate in politics by holding government accountable as a counterweight to the state, and push for more transparency by critiquing decision-making processes, and that for this, voluntary action is key. Therefore, the investigation looks at civil society as a network of associations, groups, and activities that exists apart from the state and the market, as the realm of private voluntary activity and civic participation (Powell and Steinberg 2006a). Based on this rather inclusive

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17 Jürgen Habermas (born 18 June 1929) is a German sociologist and philosopher in the tradition of critical theory and pragmatism. He is perhaps best known for his theories on communicative rationality and the public sphere.
18 Alexis de Tocqueville (29 July 1805 – 16 April 1859) was a French diplomat, political scientist, and historian. He was best known for his works Democracy in America
19 Antonio Francesco Gramsci (22 January 1891 – 27 April 1937) was an Italian Marxist theorist and politician. He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics.

understanding of forms that organized civil society can take, civil society organisations include faith-based groups, trade unions, professional associations, as well as internationally connected organizations with subsidiaries in many different countries. In this, the term 'NGO' is understood as a subset of civil society. Moreover, their internal governance structures are similarly diverse, as well as their mandates and constituency building strategies. "However, all share a common characteristic: CSOs, by their very nature, are independent of direct government control and management." (United Nations 2008). In all this, civil society is perceived to perform in a number of functions that can be broken down into three interrelated democratic roles: social, economic and political (Diamond, 1999; Fung, 2003; Warren, 2002, Edwards 2004). In the social role, civil society performs by connecting citizens and building trust and by building social capital. By bringing people together and fostering dialogue they can help rebuild trust and promote reconciliation in countries torn apart by conflict. In the economic role the security of livelihoods is seen as central function, civil society can help combat extreme poverty by providing services to the very poorest people. Support to poor communities may relate to agriculture, food security, health care (including sexual and reproductive health), water and education. In the political role - central to this paper – the functions of associational social groups are considered to be the 'counterweight to states and corporate power, and an essential pillar in promoting transparency and accountability' (Edwards, 2004, 15). A strong and active civil society is often seen as an important feature of democracy and a driver of good governance. CSOs enable citizens to defend their rights and interests, and monitor and influence government, businesses and societal groups. This gives the most marginalised groups a voice and ensures they are heard when legislation and policy are drawn up, implemented and enforced.

Using relevant literature, the political roles can further be broken down into distinct features that lead to a more detailed categorization of: *educational, communicative, representational, cooperative political* roles (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

In the *educational role*, civil society – as the 'school of democracy' (Tocqueville) – is said to instruct people (including governmental officials) on processes and substances of a democratic system (Diamond 1999). This function is perceived as an independent civil society provides information about actual governmental activities to their members, by looking behind what the government says it is doing. Also, civil society can deepen values of democratic political culture of its members, such as reaching consensus in a group and respectful debating between competing viewpoint, and as such stimulate political participation, instil civic virtues and teach political skills in others (Putnam 2000, Fung 2003). The role can be categorized into two different aspect, an internal one and an external one (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). Whereas, the internal one refers to internal structures of membership and member participation through which citizens learn about democratic norms, values and practices, the external one refers to CSOs that provide citizens with access to information. Providing information forms "the basis for enhancing transparency and demanding public accountability targeting people

outside their organisation" (Diamond 1999; Warren 2002; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 585). Through memberships to organisations and by bringing people together participating members can learn critical and political skills, and CSOs "can instil a culture of democracy and civility by nurturing civic values such as generalised reciprocity and trust" (Fowler 2000; Putnam 2000; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 585). Through participation and cooperation within activities with other members, supports the advancement of these abilities such as speaking in public, bargaining, negotiating and building coalitions, through 'learning by doing' (Sabatini 2002). Offering skills to reflect on their own preferences and the ability to communicate and defend them in public and may lead citizens to take up a political career (Diamond 1999; Edwards 2004; Warren 2002).

In the *communicative role*, civil society's function is seen to provide communicative channels or structures in which public deliberation or scrutiny takes place, rather than providing communication itself (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). Describing civil society as the "2-way transmission belt" these structures are bi-directional and work between state and society. In this, its performance to provide 'talk, normative agreement, cultural similarity, and shared ambitions' and generally deliberate on the concerns of individuals and deliver them to the broader public (Warren 2001, 39). This sort of deliberation 'excludes all force... except the force of the better argument' (Habermas 1984, 25). The central notion of the role is that CSOs safe-guard a democratic public sphere where citizens can join in debating the ins and outs of governance and their concerns and interests in the political system (Fung 2003b; Edwards 2004). Critical is that the role refers not to the content of communication itself, but as providing the communicative structure for debate, as it "refers neither to the functions nor to the contents of everyday communication but the social space generated in communicative action" (Habermas cited in: Warren 2002, 79). In this role, CSOs can foster public communication and deliberation, if they have the capacity to forward individual concerns to a broader public. The close relation to the organisations constituency is relevant for this function. In an ideal way, CSOs offer channels of communication with the state and act "as an intermediary or (two-way) transmission belt between state, and with society in ways which condition the relationship between the citizen and the formal political system" (Burnell and Calvert 2004, 14).

A *representative role* is performed successfully when civil society extends the political debate through pitching in concerns and interest (voice) of the minority (Fowler 2000), contributing to the public debate related aspects of voice and resistance. This refers for one, to the direct representation of voice where citizens are representing themselves, but as well to the indirect representation in the name of people that cannot represent themselves (e.g. advocacy[20] and campaigning). In particular this is critical for marginalised people lacking resources or political skills and relations for expressing and their interests and challenging the system. CSOs provide an avenue through which people can shape policies and of the state, the market and other social groups (Lewis and Kanji 2009). When organisations participate the political debate they can

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[20] In terms of advocacy this refers to advocacy by the people, advocacy with the people and advocacy for the people

"promote plurality, enhance inclusiveness and equalise representation by ensuring that a broader set of interests are voiced" (Jenkins 2006a; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 589). Also, the quality and timeliness of representation increases as CSOs ensure a constant flow of information into the political process. Instead of having to wait until the next elections, CSOs complement voting by scrutinizing politicians in day to day politics (Diamond 2005). Moreover, associations of civil life do not only complement content of communication, but can counter the state, limit its power and offer alternative ways and to press for consideration in the public sphere (Warren 2002; Fung 2003a). Taking the role of a 'watchdog', CSOs can support "civic values, improve accountability and combat inequality and injustice(Edwards 2004; Lewis and Kanji 2009). Relevant for the context of landscapes, representation not only refers to the concerns and interests of society, it also can relate to representing wildlife, the environment, or representing an in particular to the notion of the promotion of 'democracy'.

Face-to-face *cooperation* as means to achieve a collective goal is a common *role* of associational civil society, as argued by *Neo-Tocquevillians* like Putnam (2000). Before his argument, Cohen and Rogers (1995) have already suggested to civil society to form an intimate relationship with the state to address 'by now well-known limitations of welfare states in social and economic regulation' (Fung 2003a, 14). The principle of subsidiarity refers to CSOs as alternative modes of governance. In particular in the situation of developing countries, organisations cooperation with the functions of the political system is important as with their assistance the state can overcome "deep limitations in the output side of the state" (Fung 2003b, 526). Following this suggestions, CSOs can coordinate with the authorities, in (1) formulation of policy, (2) the coordination of economic activity in the shadow of policy especially when multiple actors are involved, and (3) the enforcement and administration of policy (Cohen, Rogers 1995). Additionally, CSOs often are described as subsidiary service provider, for when governments fail to deliver services (e.g. health care, education, etc.) and as a filler of gaps where institutions have failed to develop to a comprehensive norms and standards. With their specialist knowledge and network of partner CSOs and other organisations, CSOs can be important partners in the sense of subsidiarity and coordination (Warren 2002). In fact, they can "help to build pockets of efficiency within government agencies, provide strategic partners for reform-oriented ministries" and "fill voids in the government's social service delivery role" (Clarke 1998, 49). With their relationships with other organisations CSOs can help deal with differing interests and concerns, "generate expert knowledge, mobilize support and negotiate a policy direction" (Warren 2002; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 589).

These four mentioned roles implicate the influence civil society has on democracy and the process of its development. How this process of democratisation unfolds however, is part of another lengthy discussion. In short this development refers to the transition process of a political regime towards a democratic and inclusive direction. In theory, this process is described as either as an expanding band of transition, divided into distinct phases or can be seen as messy and iterative, not following any prescribed path (Carothers 2002; Huntington

1991). Regardless, both paradigms consider civil society to play central roles in expressing a collective control over public decisions. Table 1 below presents an overview of these roles.

Educational	**Internal**	Information, civic virtues, political skills
	External	Informing state officials
		Informing citizens
Communicative	**Channels of communication with state**	
	Channels of communication with society	
Representational	**Voice & Resistance**	Direct, representation *by*
		Indirect, representation *with*
		Indirect, representation *for* (on behalf of)
Cooperative	**Subsidiarity**	Social Service delivery
	Coordination	Coordination in complex policy processes

Table 1: Political roles of civil society (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014)

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

The design by which this research was guided was chosen to better understand the concepts of civil society in development - in its more tangible form of CSOs – and the political roles they play in the process of democratisation, especially in the context of the governance of landscapes. To do so, CSOs and their political roles between two cases of integrated landscapes were compared in a comparative case study design. In this design, the comparison was based on the organisational properties and political roles of locally active CSOs and their contribution to democratic processes and structures. First of all, this design was deemed useful as little is known of this particular social phenomenon - the conduciveness of civil society to democratic substances in the governance of landscapes and their roles within it. Secondly, the design was considered adequate, as an exploration or refinement of the theoretical understanding of civil societies roles in integrated landscapes was deemed more necessary than their confirmation or quantification as a case study can control and bring to light alterations between different cases (Ragin 1989; Kumar 2014). Lastly, the design qualified as a case study design since no manipulation of independent variables has taken place and the study was carried out in its natural setting (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998).

In line with a transformative perspective on civil society in development, the investigation intends also to contribute to social action. It aims to do so by providing CSOs with knowledge in regard to their political performances in landscapes they are engaged in, and more generally inform policy and practice so such social groups can act influential in (sub)national decision-making processes. Based on this, the research further qualifies as an action-oriented research (Small 1995). It is meant to address practical concerns of the international development community in their efforts of contributing to sustainable and inclusive development by promoting civil society's political potential. This promotion of civil society showcases a change in focus from development aimed directly at alleviating poverty through service delivery, to development targeted at tackling the root causes of poverty and inequality.

Lastly, in its theoretical approach, the research acknowledges the normative nature of inherent concepts in development (i.e. civil society and democracy) and that the applied framework follows a Western-European understanding. Also it recognizes that the conceptual understandings of scholars who have employed in studies relating these issues depend on their subjective worldviews (Gellner 1996; Diamond 1999; Monga 1996; Fung 2003b).

3.2. Research Process

Next to the categorization of its design as an action-orientated, comparative case study, the process the research has followed can be roughly divided into three phases. Starting with a phase of orientation, entailing selection of study locations and the relevant study population, followed by a phase of data collection and data analysis, finishing with a phase of data presentation.

Largely, the selection of a study location was guided by the developmental and social context the research is taking place in. For this, Ghana was selected as an adequate study location. Firstly, the country is considered as a Less Economically Developed Country (LEDC) (UNDESA 2015). Secondly, to study topics of democracy and civil society in Ghana as a LEDC seems appropriate as in the past two decades, the country has taken major strides toward deepening and consolidating democracy (under a multi-party system) and most importantly, has a formed a strong social capital (WorldBank 2018). The selection of the of the Juabeso-Bia Forest District (GPS: 6°31'36.4"N 2°57'49.2"W) and the Atewa Forest Range (GPS: 6°10'00.0"N 0°35'60.0"W) (see chapter 1.1 for more information on the landscapes) was mostly guided by their economic, social and ecological significance and as they are both points of major interests for initiatives of integrated landscapes (Vianen 2016). But also, the selection was guided by efforts the international developmental community has exerted to promote more inclusiveness in the governance of these two areas (see GLA[21]). Investigating two cases – without a claim of generalization – provides the inquiry with a comparable picture of special events and possible differences among organisations that depend on local contexts, rather on internal organisational structures. Lastly, in terms of place and process as Brown, Mitchell, and Beresford (2005) are referring to, the two landscapes are fairly representative for similar situations of rural West-African landscapes, where civil society struggles to act in a transformative way in sub-national levels.

The study population in this survey was constituted mainly by representatives from CSOs (e.g. executives, founders, project managers, experts from the field), but also of (non-) governmental key informants (COCOBOD, UNDP). The latter to triangulate the accuracy of the statements made by the first, and to cross-check critical information from some of the interviewees in informal conversations. Following the conceptual framework, interviewed CSOs were comprised of community-based organisations, local governance structures, environmental and humanitarian non-profit organisations, farmers' associations and co-operatives, as well as independent research institutes (more specific information on selected CSOs are provided in the following chapter). These investigated CSOs have their administration run and objectives set by concerned citizens or constituency members and are - all but one - independent from the state. They all voluntary organise themselves in politically motivated sectors, such as working to alleviate poverty, supporting civil rights, promote civil engagement in governance processes or other developmental sectors such as agriculture, biodiversity conservation, health, education and gender issues. As informal CSOs have a rather unpredictable nature, and as they often work on an ad-hoc basis and deploy their capabilities to a sole purpose without engaging much with

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[21] The Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) is a collaborative programme between the Dutch Milieudefensie, IUCN The Netherlands (IUCN NL) and developmental NGOs with the overall objective to strengthen advocacy capacities of civil society organisations (CSOs) in emerging democracies, including Ghana (https://www.iucn.nl/en/partnership/green-livelihoods-alliance)

others, this inquiry has focused on formal CSOs with an officially registry[22] instead. To be regarded as 'CSOs of the landscape' and finally qualify as study population, a relation to the landscape, participating stakeholders or its population were vital. For instance, advocacy activities that intent to support the population that rely on services the two landscapes provide, or strategies that aim to influence power relations that are able to shape the landscapes' governance processes and alike. In short, key CSOs were considered to play a guiding role in the process of inclusion of people into the governance system of the use of the landscape. The initial identification of the investigated CSOs was carried out with assistance of local partners, making use of their established network of contacts. In this, these local contacts have been used as formal gatekeepers and to connect with further organisations locally, willing to participate in the investigation. A list of the representatives of organisations was obtained from the main gate keepers and official project documents and was based on their availability and willingness to participate in the interviews. In total, 20 Interviews were conducted during an extensive field trip to Ghana between February and April 2018 (see table 2 below). In part, the interviews have taken place in main offices of the organisations in Kumasi and Accra, but also were conducted during field visitations in communities such as Juabeso in the Western Region and Kyebi in the Eastern Region. In the JBL, 11 CSOs were identified of which 9 CSOs participated in the survey. In the AFL 15 CSOs were initially identified including international connected, but also smaller local organisations. However, the size of the smaller organisations, their inconsistency in occurrence and availability made it difficult to engage with all of them. For this, the most available 11 were chosen. However, after initial assessment during the iterative process of the data analysis, only 6 CSOs of the AFL were taken up into the final analysis. Finally, 5 CSOs of the AFL selection were excluded based on duplication of data and as their assessment has shown to not reveal any additional information (greyed out in table 2 below). Altogether, data was collected for 20 CSOs and the analysis carried out for 15 CSOs. For this, this research is confident to have a saturated data base for the two selected landscapes to make adequate conclusions that hold some internal validity.

NAME	EST.	TYPE	SIZE	RESPONDER	LOCATION	DATE
JUABESO/BIA						
TROPENBOS GHANA (TBG)	1986 (2017)	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Medium	Project Officer	Kumasi	12-03-2018
RAINFOREST ALLIANCE GHANA (RA)	1989	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Senior Associate & Field Liaison	Kumasi	27-02-2018
SNV GHANA (SNV)	1992	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Advisor & Field Coordinator	Juabeso	01-03-2018
CONSERVATION ALLIANCE (CA)	1997 (2008)	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Field officer	Bia	01-03-2018
SOLIDARIDAD – COCOA PROGRAMME	1968	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Project coordinator	Kumasi	23-02-2018
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE (IDEG)	2000	Think-Tank (TT)	Medium	Senior Research Fellow	Accra	23-03-2018

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[22] CSOs in Ghana have to register as formal CSO and must enrol in the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment in accordance with Article 14 of the Ghana Companies Code 1963 (Act 179) and are obligated to hand-in annual reports and mission statements to the Department of Social Welfare (DSW)

NATURE CONSERVATION RESEARCH CENTRE (NCRC)	1996	Think-Tank (TT)	Medium	Director of Programs and Research	Accra	15-03-2018
LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT BOARD (LMB)	2010	Resource Governance Structure (RGS)	Medium	Executive Board Secretary	Juabeso	28-02-2018
KROKOSUA HILL COMMUNITY RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AREAS (KH CREMA)	2008	Resource Governance Structure (RGS)	Big	Committee Chairman & Executive Board Secretary	Asempanaye	01-03-2018
ATEWA						
A ROCHA GHANA (ARG)	1999	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Project Manager	Kyebi	13-03-2018
SOLIDARIDAD - GOLD PROGRAMME	1969	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Big	Programme Manager	Accra	15-03-2018
WASSA ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITIES AFFECTED BY MINING (WACAM)	1998	Humanitarian NGO (hNGO)	Small	Programme Officer	Accra	13-03-2018
OKYEMAN ENVIRONMENT FOUNDATION (OEF)	2000	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Small	Executive Secretary	Kyebi	13-03-2018
SAVE THE FROGS! (STF)	2011	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Small	Project Coordinator	Kumasi	08-03-2018
HERP GHANA (HG)	2011	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Small	Executive Director	Kumasi	22-02-2018
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND RESCUE INITIATIVE (IHRRI)	2016	Humanitarian NGO (hNGO	Small	Country Representative	Marfokrom	13-03-2018
COMMUNITY-BUILDERS ORGANISATION (CBO)	2011	Humanitarian NGO (hNGO	Small	Country Coordinator	Accra	20-03-2018
FLOWERS GHANA (FG)	2008	Humanitarian NGO (hNGO	Small	Founder	Accra	19-03-2018
FOREST FORUMS NORTH (FFN)	2002	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Small	n/a	Kyebi	13-03-2018
ATIWA INTERFAITH ECO-NETWORK (ATIEN)	2014	Interfaith-CSO	Small	Co-Founder	Kumasi	26-02-2018

Table 2: Overview interviews (size : 0 – 20 small, 21 – 40 medium, 41< big), (YEAR) established in Ghana; (grayed out) CSOs were not included in final analysis due to data saturation)

The primary method of data collection was by in-depth, semi-structured interviews, which were guided by an interview guide that is included in this documents Appendix. To enrich information received from interviews, and to complement and check the revealed information from talking to experts, a document analysis was carried out as a secondary source of information. These secondary sources of information are valuable in receiving additional information that were not shared during interviews, as they are often told from another perspective. This analysis included public and private records (external and internal project reports, scientific literature, country reports, grey literature such as online news posts, etc.). A secondary source of information was deemed useful as through this additional insights could be obtained on the background of the CSOs in terms of their past and other operational areas. In particular the availability of relating development studies, and the vitality of the information on civil society in Africa assisted the data collection process.

The primary method of data collection (semi-structured interviews) was considered appropriate, as the technique sees significance in language when inquiring in human

experiences (Seidmann, 2006). A semi-rigid form of investigation was further considered useful for interpretation of the data and later comparability of information, but also to guide data collection and analysis as an examination and understanding of general questions about "cases of civil society development are semi-structured and harmonised" (George 1979, 43–50). At the beginning of each interview an indication was given to the responder towards the subject matter, but the order and framing followed a less strict order, allowing to follow central questions when required. In this research design, interviewing was deemed more appropriate than questionnaires, as by interviews respondents may feel less reluctant to discuss certain political matters, and the issue of illiteracy was being accounted for. The design of the questions was guided by the inquiry into the political significance of CSOs in their domain and followed their organisational and structural properties (i.e. mission, strategy, relations, internal structure and resources). Considering the overall topic is rather unexplored and more in-depth information are appreciated, the interview made use of open-ended questions. This allowed for a finer development of the units of measurement during data analysis. All interviewees were offered anonymity, previously informed on the intent of the research and have received a copy of the transcript – also for reaffirmation. The form of transcription was 'verbatim transcription', because this form of capturing an interview (making use of every word, pause, repetition of words, etc) aids the understanding of emotions and thought processes behind what is said. Also, it helps the reader by presenting an experience made during interview as it actually occurred. Finally, this way of transcribing the conducted interviews helped to capture meanings and perceptions in the context in which these were said. In short, this method allowed for a deeper understanding of a phenomena, involving qualitative judgement of data. A qualitative approach to investigate the relating concepts was seen as the most appropriate way to understand social interactions and the organisations contribution to society, as they take place in the context of time, culture and space, which can be explained by quantitative research only with great difficulty (Maxwell 2005). Further, the research objectives relate to social phenomena that occur in the context of governance of integrated landscapes, and as the uncovering of relations among applied concepts and the refining of theory was a more central and interpretive aspect to this approach, the form this inquiry has taken was a qualitative one (Miles and Huberman 1994).

In this inquiry, data analysis was an ongoing, structured, but iterative process that started early and continued throughout the finalization of the study. An individual analysis of each organisation began right after the first interviews were conducted, and when the recordings were transcribed. First, the transcriptions were studied in depth and reviewed in order to get familiar to the data, and to help not to lose "the connections between concepts and their context" (Bradley, Curry, and Devers 2007, 1761). After familiarization, coding has served as a way to label, compile and organize data and form the basis of analysis. The coding approach used a 'start list method' as proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). In a way this technique is deductive, as the list of codes that has been compiled upfront, stemming from the adapted theoretical framework by Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014). However, as this research was

meant to apply the theory in a context of an integrated landscape, rather than on a national level, during the process of interpretation a refinement of the proposed theory was seen as appropriate to accommodate political roles in the context of governance of landscapes. Coding was done according to what was understood to be present in the essence of a given word, phrase, sentence or an entire paragraph. Statements of each respondent were coded whether they refer to a mission, strategy, internal structure, resource or relationship with others, and whether they relate to an educative, representative, communicative or cooperative political role. These indicators where then compiled in a database, divided by organisations and landscapes. After compilation, this database provided an overview of each organisations properties and roles linked to their individual references. However, great care was taken not putting data forcefully in the wrong categories, and for this the iterative approach was seen most useful. This way allowed to get a better sense of the data and to provide the process of analysis with a more comprehensive overview. Before presentation, the coded chunks of the transcripts were subject to interpretation in which they were assessed on how the discovered information (or a combination thereof) referred to the performance of an organisation in one or several roles.

The box below aims to illustrate the process of labelling.

Examples:
- If an organisation has stated that its goal with which their organisation has been founded was "to develop the capacity of marginalized groups to exercise human rights", it's mission was coded as an educative mission.
- If an organisation has stated to aim "to establish a broad membership base", the analysis led to an interpretation of its internal structure that links to a direct representational role of peoples voice.
- If an interviewee stated that that their organisation regularly talks to state representatives and is being invited to meetings and discussions, it was labelled as having close relations with the state, that is a critical property for the communicative political role of civil society.

As stated, this interpretative step includes the consultation of relevant, existing literature to strengthen certain explanations. The biggest challenge in here lied in a biased interpretation – yet almost unavoidable - a point of discussion. Answers given in the interview were required to be deconstructed to look for subtexts. For this, clarity of interpretations and openness is required.

At certain times this approach of in depths interviews, all its advantages aside, has encountered challenges relating to issues of familiar terminology and more general language issues. As the topic requires some insights into organisational structures and processes some interviews required an elaboration of some of the questions. An example was the terms "constituency" or "advocacy" that often was used differently by the responders or used in different contexts. Some responders referred to their advocacy work but meant political advocacy (campaigning), or others referred to their members, but meant their constituency, etc. These misinterpretation had to be accounted for during analysis and identified, to what responders actually referred to. Almost entirely, the interviews were conducted in English, only two interviews required a

translator talking local dialects. Although answers were partially given in English, in these two interviews, the questions, or explanations of certain terms were given in the respective dialect (e.g. Sefwi). Regardless of issues relating to language and familiarity and understanding of inherent concepts, the approach to the research deemed the participants providing data as equally resourceful and purposeful in their knowledge and experience of the subject matter and were therefore considered appropriate providers of insights to understand the internal and external dynamics of the investigated CSOs and their contribution to inclusiveness of landscapes.

Initially the analysis was carried out for each of the individual organisations, however due to similarities in organisational properties and the amount of data it was decided to present the data in an aggregated way. This more holistic approach was chosen as through it - rather than reporting on each of the investigated organisations individually - a condense image of civil society in a whole can be drawn.

4. Results

The following chapter presents the explored organisational properties and their relating organisational roles of 15 CSOs in the process of promoting deliberative democracy in the context of two selected integrated landscapes, the Juabeso-Bia Landscape and the Atewa Forest Landscape. This elaboration is based on an exploration of each of the identified organisations properties, which are presented as supplement material in the appendix of this document. The chapter is divided into two parts according the two study locations, the Juabeso-Bia Landscape, and the Atewa Forest Landscape.

4.1. Juabeso-Bia Landscape – the "Cocoa Landscape"

After a scan[23] for CSOs in the (rural) area of the Juabeso and Bia District in the Western Region of Ghana – also called the "cocoa landscape" for its high productivity in cocoa beans. Among the nine interviewed organisations (see table 3), were five international environmental NGOs, two Ghanaian think-tanks, and two citizen-led local resource governance organisations. The information on the individual organisations properties and roles are supplemented with provided internal documents, annual reports, news-letters and web searches.

Following an aggregative approach in showcasing the results, the organisations roles are discussed combinedly. This is based on similarities in mission, internal and external strategies and internal structures, through which the following categories have emerged:

- The environmental NGOs (eNGOs), being those organisations foremostly engaged in projects that address topics of sustainable agriculture, natural resource governance and poverty alleviation and that are either voluntary associations of individuals or associations of associations with a high global profile
- The local resource governance structures (RGSs), are those citizen-led mechanism in the area that were conceptualized to offer the local population a tool of authority and to participate in public (landscape) policy making (e.g. bylaws and local laws) and passive memberships structures ("From government to governance")
- The think-tanks (TTs), are those expert institutes who mainly focus their efforts on lobby and advocacy, targeting national-level politicians and governmental decision makers, providing expert insights to the government in order to influence policy directions

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[23] An overview of organisations involved in the Juabeso and Bia Districts was provided by Tropenbos Ghana, stemming from their engagement in the Green Livelihood Alliance, a programme that promotes inclusiveness of CSOs in decision making. These information were supplemented with documents such as project reports and extensive internet search.

Name	Est. (Ghana)	Type	Thematic	Size	Responder
Tropenbos Ghana (TBG)	1986 (2017)	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Nature Conservation Sustainable Livelihoods Natural Resource Governance	Medium	Project Officer
Rainforest Alliance Ghana (RA)	1989	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Sustainable Agriculture Biodiversity Natural Resource Governance	Big	Senior Associate/Field Liaison
SNV Ghana (SNV)	1992	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Economic Development, Sustainable Agriculture, Water and Sanitation	Big	Advisor and Field Coordinator
Conservation Alliance (CA)	1997 (2008)	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Agriculture and Food Security Biodiversity Natural Resource Governance	Big	Field officer
Solidaridad West-Africa (SWA)	1968 ()	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Sustainable Supply-Chain Agriculture and Food Security	Big	Project coordinator
Institute for democratic governance (IDEG)	2000	Think-Tank (TT)	Democracy Promotion Citizen Empowerment	Medium	Senior Research Fellow
Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC)	1996	Think-Tank (TT)	Nature Conservation Natural Resource Governance	Medium	Director of Programs and Research
Landscape Management Board (LMB)	2010	Resource Governance Structure (RGS)	Participatory Natural Resource Governance	Medium	Executive Board Secretary
Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas (CREMA)	2008	Resource Governance Structure (RGS)	Participatory Natural Resource Governance	Big	Committee chairman and Executive Board Secretary

Table 3: **Overview of investigated CSOs (JBL) (size : 0 – 20 small, 21 – 40 medium, 41< big)**

4.1.1. Organisational properties of CSOs in the JBL

The following part turns to the aggregated organisational properties (i.e. mission, strategy, relations, internal structure, and resources) by elaborating on each of them and illustrating the characteristics by using quotes from conducted interviews and other statements found during investigation. While presenting revealed information so, the section also compares properties of what theory suggests with what have been found to be the case in practice. Although in some cases practice follows theory, the investigation reveals some deviation from theoretical expectations, referring to the exposed internal structures (i.e. participatory membership structures and decision making), revealed relations with the state and constituency (i.e. complexity of levels of engagement, constituency building strategies) and applied strategies of advocacy (i.e. political and social advocacy). These findings form the bases of a later refinement of the applied conceptual framework.

To provide a comprehensive overview, the following table (4) indicates each organisations properties which forms the bases of the subsequent aggregated chapter. The organisational property of missions – being full statements and subject of interpretation – is presented in a different table (5), see further below.

	Organisational properties	CSO								
		RA	SNV	CA	SWA	TBG	IDEG	NCRC	CREMA	LMB
Strategies	Use of research as input	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Advocacy strategy (non-confrontational)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)		
	Distinguished constituency	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	Organizing discussions	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Relations	Informal contacts with the state officials	x		x			x	x		
	Relations with the state (Close)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	x	x
	Independence from the state	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	Relations with the constituency (close)	(x)	x	x	x		x		(x)	(x)
	Network with other NGOs	x	x	x	x	x		x		x
	Relations to universities/institutes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
int. Structure	Active/Passive membership (with large base)	x	x	x	x		x		(x)	(x)
	Participatory DMP (more democratic)	x	x	x	x		x		(x)	(x)
Resources	Professional staff	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Ability to translate complex issues	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Presence in the area (large)	x	x	x					(x)	(x)
	Mobilisation capacity	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	Service delivery capacity	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 4: Overview organisational properties of identified CSOs (JBL)

4.1.1.1. *Missions*

Given the JBL is a rural area in West-Africa with an agricultural focus, and is conceptualized as an integrated landscape with significant importance to Ghana's cocoa sector and biodiversity, and local issues include low yields due to poor farming methods and continual degradation of the (agro)-ecosystem as well as poor governance structures (ILO 2012; Brasser 2013), it is no surprise that the international eNGOs who have settled in this area engage in topics relating to sustainable socio-economic development, poverty alleviation and follow the philosophy of integrated landscapes in their organisational core mandate. Table 2 provides an overview of all missions of the selected CSOs.

"to conserve biodiversity and ensure sustainable livelihoods by transforming land-use practices, business practices, and consumer behaviour."
(Mission statement - Rainforest Alliance)

"to promote sustainable use of forests and trees in climate-smart landscapes in the tropics, contributing to sustainable development and climate goals."
(Mission statement - Tropenbos)

Figure 5: Community meeting with cocoa farmers ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018)

To illustrate some specific engagements of the eNGOs in the JBL, the following three boxes provide a brief summary (see box 1-3).

Box 1

In 2010, in response to the struggling of the Ghanaian cocoa production, Rainforest Alliance (RA) has identified the JBL as REDD+ site and started to introduce climate smart agriculture at a landscape scale ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In a partnership with a cocoa sourcing company - The Olam/Rainforest Alliance Climate Cocoa Partnership for REDD+ Preparation – the organisation has set up a certification programme that certified cocoa farmers against the Sustainable Agriculture Network (SAN) standard, giving them a way to sell a certified commodity and access to the international market (Brasser 2013). As part of the strategy the organisation had for the JBL, it has created a local resource management entity, the Landscape Management Board (LMB) which was created to provide a landscape wide, people-led governance structure and to address local issues of governance structures ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018; Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018).

Box 2

In another example of environmental CSO engagement in the JBL, Tropenbos International (Ghana) (TBG) strategies in the area are defined through their involvement in the Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) programme (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018; Vianen 2016). This programme was set up to strengthen the role of local and national CSOs in the inclusive and sustainable governance of integrated landscapes (Vianen 2016). In this context for example, the organisation engages in activities that aim towards scaling up of the local CREMAs, or establishing a CSO coalition, work towards reforming the current tree tenure systems, and improve law enforcement capacities (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

> *"We target law enforcement agencies. Including the police, the justiciary (...) and community-based organisations, CREMAs, but they are sometimes considered to be a CBO, we are looking at the district assembly."*
> *(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 9)*

Box 3

The SNV as an additional example of eNGOs involvement in the area, is involved in two separate projects, the "Operationalising National Safeguard Requirements for Results-based Payments from REDD+" project, which was set up to assist regional leaders in REDD+ readiness, and the "Full Sun to Shaded Cocoa Agro-forestry Systems", aiming to introduce climate-smart farming practices

in the Bia-District, create a multi-stakeholder planning system, and implement deforestation-free supply chains across "the forest-cocoa landscape" ("SNV Website" 2018; SNV Interview 2018).

> *"(…) because we work with producer groups we are more (inaud.) to identify what the needs of the producer's groups are, and how we can provide solutions. <> So, we also contribute towards setting the goals in the landscape. We do a lot of the implementation on the ground in that landscape, and we do the evaluation"*
> *(Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 28)*

Next to these international eNGOs are two citizen-led, local multi-level resource governance structures (RGSs). These structures were formed to provide local citizens a system of self-governance, addressing local issues of organisational and administrative capacities (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013; Brasser 2013). The RGSs of under consideration are the Community Resource Management Area CREMA of the off-reserve area of the Krokosua Forest Hills[24] (KH CREMA), and Landscape Management Board (LMB). The CREMA mechanism is based on a recognized institutional framework [25] that offers community-based structures and processes for managing inclusively local natural resources to local citizens. The CREMA in the KH covers a geographically delineated area of the nearby Krokosua Hill Forest Reserve with 4500 ha and is constituted by eleven communities of the Juabeso District (Alidu and Asare 2014). These communities have come together and agreed on a shared vision to protect their natural resources and "to support community resource management in off-reserve (un-gazetted) lands" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 2). There are plans that above the current CREMA level a higher, landscape-wide decision-making body - the CREMA Management Board (CMB) – is to be formed. This inter-district board is then to be constituted by representatives from other CREMAs in the area, including members of the district level of the FC, WD and DA, as well as local chiefs and opinion leaders. However, at the time of investigation, this CMB has been dysfunctional ("CREMA Interview" 2018).

Interestingly, the LMB is very similar in structure and composition of this envisioned CMB, as it is a board representing clusters of communities (36) located throughout the JBL, is also citizens-led, draws its members democratically from local communities (mostly farmers), operates with democratic decision-making structures and processes, and builds on the traditional authority systems typical for the region. Also both these local authority structures were developed to aim especially at improving coordination amongst (local) stakeholders (Noponen et al. 2014; Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013).

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[24] Krokosua Hills Forest Reserve (KHFR) lies in the Western Region of Ghana between 6° 15' and 6° 40' North latitudes and 2° 40' and 3° 00' West longitudes, and covers an area of 481.61 Km2
[25] "In Ghana, the CREMA process has followed a nearly 20 year evolution from an intellectual concept to an approved pilot initiative and finally to an authorized mechanism, which is now seeking full legal backing from Parliament" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 2)

The CREMA was conceptualized to manage more general local natural resources including wildlife and forest resources and to offer means "by which to aggregate and build consensus at multiple social scales across a landscape" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 4).

"Our main focus for the management for this area is to protect our environment."
(CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)

With slightly other goals in mind, the LMB was created with mainly sustainable cocoa production and the issues surrounding this topic in mind. It is mandated to "increase economic opportunities for poor, marginalized farmers, to promote an integrated approach to sustainable agriculture and forest management, and to oversee the planning, implementation, and monitoring of sustainable practices on their cocoa farms" (Narasimhan et al. 2014).

"Their (the LMB) main goal is to mainstream environmental issues (...) in coco
systems. They are coco farmers. And their main goal is just to mainstream
environmental issues into the coco system that they (inaud.) So, the coco farmers will
be sustainable." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35)

Differently to the KH CREMA, the LMB is not a product of FC/WD and NCRC collaboration but is created in conjunction with RAs involvement in the landscape-level partnership with Olam International. The collaboration between a CSO and a marketeer enables collaboration among the different local societal sectors, government, market and civil society. In this partnership these organisations are engaging farmers in climate-smart agriculture and improving their capacities to cooperate with landscape actors (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018; "NCRC Interview" 2018). This difference has implications for the recognition of their legal status. Upon the official instatement a CREMA receives a certificate of management responsibility by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, but the LMB, as a brainchild of an international eNGO does not, and in fact struggles with this lack of legal recognition ("LMB Interview" 2018).

Next to the international eNGOs and local RMOs, two think-tanks were interviewed that were associated to the JBL. Their organisational focus is on promoting democracy and good governance by aiming to make them – democracy and governance - more participatory (IDEG) and on nature conservation (NCRC), aiming "to protect the natural, historic and cultural diversity of Ghana" ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). Whereas the latter stands for "conservation in Ghana should emerge from local cultural belief systems and must have tangible economic returns for the human beings living in the immediate area", advocating for community-level ownership and benefit sharing ("NCRC Ghana" 2018), the other envision their work to be "accumulating and sharing knowledge for sustainable development and a free, just and prosperous society in Ghana and the rest of Africa" ("IDEG Website" 2018). Although different in positioning, both are small – medium sized, Accra-based elite organisations, staffed with professionals and with strong links to the state. Unlike other CSOs however, the TTs do

not have a local presences in the JBL, and their involvement in the landscape does usually not include activities on the ground (IDEG Interview 2018).

> *"Ok, we are based in Accra, but we have formed some groups, and one of them is very active in the JB District" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 3)*

They mostly work on national level issues, where they engage in advocacy and lobby work, organize meetings with stakeholders[26], and target their advocacy work at public policy- and decision-makers, rather than at common citizens of the JBL. For instance, NCRC - an instrumental NGO pioneer in co-creating the Community Resource Management Areas model (CREMA) - has been actively engaged in the national level REDD+, Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF), and UN-REDD discussions and provides initial technical support to projects in Ghana, including projects in the JBL[27] ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). Through their initiative it was recognized that the Ghana cocoa sector would benefit from an application of more climate-smart agriculture practices ("NCRC Ghana" 2018).

> *"to bring all these players together. That is our work for this sort (...) at different levels. Getting government to be aware, to approve" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27)*

Different to the NCRC, IDEG's involvement in the JBL plays out not only on the national level but also on the local level, through the created Governance Issues Forum Network (GIFNet). The GIFNet is a network of individuals following a framework (Governance Issue Forum Framework) that was developed to promote participatory governance in Ghana. Since its development the framework has been used as a tool that converts politics from a non-inclusive public policy-making process to one which engages people and offers them the ability to participate and push for accountability from their "duty bearers". The GIF has been applied in 26 districts across the ten regions of Ghana, including the Juabeso District ("IDEG Website" 2018).

> *"(GIF) is like an NGO, but we simply call it Governance Issues Forum Network (GIFNet). This is a group that we have formed in various districts, one of them in Juabeso District (JD). They deal with environmental landscape issues." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4 - 5)*

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[26] Like the, Technical Training Workshop for REDD+ Demonstration Project Proponents and Technical Committee Members (NCRC), or the Seminar on Local Governance Reforms and Public Service Institutions (IDEG)

[27] Capacity Building for CREMA communities for resilient ecosystem services & Integrated Community Based Biodiversity Management Project (Asante et al. 2014)

Figure 6: Meeting of GIFNet ("IDEG Website" 2018)

Activities in regard to IDEG's direct involvement in the JBL, are carried out through the members of the GIFNet (i.e. individual citizens, traditional leaders, civil society, other private sector actors as well as state actors who have undergone training in public deliberation) ("IDEG Website" 2018) – and include outreach actions, resource mobilization, technical assistance, civic empowerment actions, organisational actions, civic participation actions and accountability actions. In this instance, IDEG serves as mere coordinating secretariat in the implementation of the GIF in the JBL, and as a source of funding.

The following table provides an overview of the general mission statements of the respective CSOs and their main involvement in the landscape (table 5).

cat.	Name	General mission statement	CSO involvement
eNGOs	Solidaridad West-Africa (SWA)	together we learn and progress, together we achieve results, and together we decide on future steps	- Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Programme - Forest Capital Cocoa & REDD+ project
	Rainforest Alliance Ghana (RA)	to conserve biodiversity and ensure sustainable livelihoods by transforming land-use practices, business practices, and consumer behaviour	The Olam/Rainforest Alliance Climate Cocoa Partnership for REDD+ Preparation
	SNV Ghana (SNV)	to make a lasting difference in the lives of millions of people living in poverty	- Full Sun to Shaded Cocoa Agro-forestry Systems - Operationalising National Safeguard Requirements for Results-based Payments from REDD+
	Conservation Alliance (CA)	to be a catalyst for biodiversity conservation and improved socio-economic conditions of fringe communities	- Mainstreaming Biodiversity Conservation into Cocoa Production Landscape - Ghana-Cote D'Ivoire Trans-boundary Project
	Tropenbos International Ghana (TBG)	to promote sustainable use of forests and trees in climate-smart landscapes in the tropics, contributing to sustainable development and climate goals	Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) programme
think	Institute for democratic governance (IDEG)	to generate knowledge and enhance the capacity of citizens to influence public	Governance Issues Forum Network

		policy choices in order to consolidate democracy and good governance in Ghana and the rest of Africa	Civic Empowerment of Cocoa Communities Project under the Cocoa Life Program
	Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC)	to promote a greater awareness of and protection for the natural, historic and cultural diversity of Ghana and other African countries	Climate-smart Agricultural Finance under Ghana's Climate SMART Cocoa project
RGOs	Landscape Management Board (LMB)	to increase economic opportunities for poor, marginalized farmers to promote an integrated approach to sustainable agriculture and forest management	
	Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas (KH CREMA)	to support community resource management in off-reserve (un-gazetted) lands	

Table 5: Overview CSO mission statement and CSO project involvement (JBL)

4.1.1.2. Strategies

The involvements of the CSOs in the JBL and the strategy they are following in achieving their missions and project objectives include a wide range of outreaches, capacity building activities, lobby and advocacy work and service-delivery functions. These various activities are mainly in alignment with the core mandates of the organisations and for the most part are part of a certain project or programme. A major part of these activities refers to trainings in sustainable agriculture and climate-smart farming, and include exercises in agro-forestry practices, such as the introductions to shaded-tree farming and rotation techniques, but as well education on ownership structures, as well as the provision of trainings on the legal system. Aimed to alleviate poverty and improve livelihoods, these trainings are largely given to citizens, and in some cases to state officials on the local and national level. Trainings are given during community meetings, via cascading farmer-field-school models, or through media outlets. (e.g. radio, social media) (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018; SNV Interview 2018; "Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018).

> *"The entry point is where the process requires us to hold regular community meetings for the awareness creation and orientation about the project." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 62)*

> *"There is an outreach (inaud.) we undertake through community meetings and sometime via local radio outreach programme to reach out to large number of farmers to give orientation to farmers as to how they can subscribe to the programme." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 52)*

> *"We give trainings to the people, to our members there. We train them how to lobby, the local authorities. We train them how to hold them accountable, for some of the things they have done." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

> *"What we do with them is, we engage them on bio diversity conservation, by organizing wildlife societies classes within the rural schools" (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)*

> *"We give them education. best practices of agriculture and conservation measures in coco" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

Some of agricultural education programmes are trainings on certification models for sustainable agriculture standards (e.g. SAN standard) to prepare cocoa farmers with insights on how to obtain premium prices for responsibly produced cocoa (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). This is of relevance, as cocoa is the main source of income for farming communities throughout the area. Also, it is a seasonable produce, and families require other sources of income for times when yields are low. For this, CSOs provide exercises in the generation of alternative income methods, including honey-making and grass-cutter farming (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018; "Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018). These environmental trainings, mostly initiated by the eNGOs, have usually not been developed with landscape democracy at heart, however through improving the economic position of rural populations and increasing their resilience to climate effects, it can be argued that these strategies indirectly promote democracy. Agricultural and livelihood trainings contribute to democracy as through the involvement of disenfranchised groups in such trainings, CSOs "take on the structural barriers[28] that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

Following other strategies, CSO involvement has targeted administrative capacity issues in the area, by collaborating with local government officials and teaching them how to include eco-system services in their districts medium development agenda. In this, CSOs assist the district in the raising of additional funding that is to flow into its development (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

> *"What we do is that <> we have developed some guidelines to help them (District Assembly) in integrating eco system services into their medium-term plans." (TBG Interview, 2018 Paragraph 15)*

Further, CSOs in the JBL have aimed to address governance issues in the area by engaging farming communities and electing representatives of the communities of the landscape - building on local culture and believe systems ("NCRC Interview" 2018).

> *"Our specific role is to help to build governance structures. That process, where you have to bring in (...), at the community traditional authority level, it is overseeing, and sort of putting in the architecture, with (...) civil society." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23)*

CSOs also have given politically engaged citizens the tools to organize themselves in to cooperatives. In these ventures members are given trainings and are enabled to discuss and press for accountability and transparency in the JBL. As mentioned in the previous section,

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[28] This refers to conditions like poverty, inequality, exclusion and discrimination, which hinder people to be active citizens

IDEG created the GIFNet, and with this focuses on resource mobilization, civic empowerment actions, civic participation actions and accountability actions ("IDEG Website" 2018).

> *"What happened in the JBL is (…) we give training to the people, to our members there. We train them how to lobby the local authorities. We train them, how to hold them accountable, for some of the things they have done. We also train them to monitor and to evaluate the kind of projects that take place in that particular landscape" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

All the identified CSOs that engage in activities that relate to capacity building and awareness raising programmes (e.g. the eNGOs and think-tanks), either engage in their own research[29] activities or have access to expert knowledge, accessible through network partners. They use this specialist insight to feed into their programmes, providing their claims with a degree of credibility. By using research as input, CSOs can generate support for an issue or action, represent the views of their constituency and share their expertise and experiences, and add or change policy issues and hold policy makers accountable (Pollard and Court 2005). In fact, key words like "evidence-based" or "data-driven" are frequent descriptions of approaches the investigated CSOs have used ("SNV Website" 2018; "Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). Applying research as input is a critical element of some of the roles CSOs perform in (i.e. educational, representational).

> *"We position our self as a learning organisation and a data driven organisation" (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

> *"Based on the data, based on our vision, based on our understanding, and our desire to make change, we start to show, that something can be done slightly differently" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)*

> *"Our field results, backed by independent studies, demonstrate that sustainable livelihood opportunities can interrupt the destructive cycle of poverty and deforestation—and foster a culture of conservation." ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018)*

> *"We just did a socio-cultural survey out there (in JBL) trying to understand, what are their traditions, what is their history, their origins, their beliefs-values system. (( ))" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11)*

The less well-resourced and capable RGSs only gain access to such expert knowledge through trainings given to them by CSOs that engages them and sometimes by the WD, mostly in conjunction with a project that is carried out close by. But to be a reliable resource, they mostly lack the ability to use research as input.

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[29] Using a general definition of research as 'any systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge' (OECD 1994)

" We get this (information) from WD and NGOs who established the CREMA for us.
They come here and educate us. We sometimes also attend trainings. (()) " (CREMA
Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42 - 43)

"(…) the NGOs are more serious, they come here, tell you how to protect the forest,
and train you." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

With no exception, the CSOs in the JBL follow a non-confrontational advocacy strategy, provided they have the capacities to engage in advocacy activities in the first place. Especially the smaller organisations, lack the skills, resources and means to communicate their message to the broader public. Overall, when they engage with state officials the form of engagement refers to the provision of information, consultation and advisory work, and lacks more confrontational forms of engagements such as engaging in arguments, writing petitions or arranging (peaceful) demonstrations – as it is the case in the landscape of the Atewa Forest Hills. Rather interestingly, although it was indicated that such demonstrations would be in the range of possibilities, pressure on the government relations is altogether being avoided. The avoidance of such pressure might be rooted "in the Ghanaian way of doing things" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 51), but mainly is based on the fact that agitation would result in damaged relations with the state. A chosen advocacy strategy, for the investigated CSOs comes into play especially when engaging with the state is important, for example in the communicative role, where CSOs provide a channel of communication to state officials, or in the representational role, in which advocacy work to influence policies is a critical component.

"We are not going to ↑ court (h) for such engagement. But we have cordial
relationship with them (state) (...) We mostly invite them to our demonstration plots,
and also to our field visits. " (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme, 2018, Paragraph 162 -
163)

"We do not argue, we do not go to court, we do not all of that. (…) We cannot push
our way < > Even though if we do at the end we may fail. We lobby, purely
lobbying." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 114 - 115)

Linked to a chosen advocacy strategy, some of the CSOs choose to organize discussions with relevant stakeholders – in particular the eNGOs and TTs - involving multiple actors with the potential to generate knowledge, mobilise support and discuss possible policy directions. These meetings mainly take place in the bigger cities like Accra[30], or Kumasi [31] ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018), and less frequent in the local area of the JBL[32].

"There are quite a number of times we have been engaged in meetings and
discussions concerning coco landscape (inaud.) Recently there was one, there have

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[30] For instance, the "National Advocacy Dialogue on Empowering Cocoa Communities towards Wealth Creation" (https://www.ideg.org/media-centre/events-schedules/national-advocacy-dialogue/)
[31] For instance, the 2nd "Africa Regional Exchange on Agroforestry" (http://www.dgmglobal.org/activities/2017/7/7/2nd-africa-regional-exchange-kumasi-ghana)
[32] For instance, 'Election Platform Meetings' were conducted across the districts of Juabeso and Bia-West, providing the people "the opportunity to interrogate and interact with parliamentary aspirants on their manifesto" (IDEG 2018)

> *been some held at the national level and then also at the local level." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 24)*

To arrange these meetings, an organisation requires access to resources, a network of organisations, which not all of the interviewed organisations are able to equally, especially not the RGSs. Usually part-taking entities in these discussions are representatives of CSOs, relevant government officials (here: representatives from the FC, DAs, WD, EPA, COCOBOD, MoFA, etc.), international donors and private companies. This strategy plays out most importantly in the cooperative role, where this meeting is used to coordinate with stakeholders.

> *"At times, when we share our resources, we invite all of them. That will generate a lot of consciousness (...) and the policy makers are there." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 153)*

> *"We are dealing with coco issues also (...) So what we are attending to do is to build (...) create a platform, a coco platform. So, farmers will form part of this coco platform. Other technical groups. Maybe CBOs, who work is to deal with coco. Other NGOs in the landscape that deal with coco. All come together." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 33)*

> *"Then we created working groups (Climate Smart Cocoa Working Group[33]), and everyone came to the table. We discussed what we wanted to do and discussed the process (…) It brought together government, private sector, research, civil society (...) there were maybe 20 people at the table, top thinkers. (...) That working group issued out a small number of consultancies. We wrote 20 years vision. And what's the pathway to get there (...) It was basically business-as-usual vs. vision-pathway, and we call it climate-smart coco pathway." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29 & 71)*

Finally, as part of the internal strategy, CSOs have chosen to define their constituency, meaning the group of people involved in or served by an organization. However, by this organisations refer to slightly different conceptualizations. Some refer to constituency simply to those for whom they do what they do, other refer to their constituency to subscribed members. Also, whereas some organisations focus their activities specifically on cocoa farmers or associational civil society, other organisations investigated have broader views on whom they consider their constituency. These organisations are focusing on whole communities and areas in the landscape. This broader focus in particular, is followed by the CREMA and the LMB model. Also, the TTs have less specific target groups and consider "forest-dwellers" and "all Ghanaian" as their target group. Mainly the environmental NGOs operate with a more demarcated focus, looking at farmers, producers, law enforcement officers, etc. To demarcate and specify the 'constituency' and how to build it is important for the CSOs for fine-tuning

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[33] The working group itself has broad membership, drawing participation from the cocoa industry, government, banks, insurance, farmers associations, civil society, and research institutions. These include: Armajaro, OLAM, Zurich Insurance Group, Price Waterhouse Coopers, Stanbic Bank, Agricultural Development Bank Ghana Forestry Commission, Ghana's National Insurance Commission, Cocoa Abrabopa Association, Helvetia, and The World Bank, in addition to NCRC and Forest Trends.

their messages "against the backdrop of competing interpretations" (Jenkins 2006a, 225). This property is important in particular in the presence of similar organizations the area, forcing CSOs to clearly outline their goals, specify and focus their activities on a specialized niche in order to increase their prospects for survival (Wiewel and Hunter 1985).

"We have a goal to target the producers, the industry players, the policy makers and then the final consumer." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 43)

"We target law enforcement agencies. Including the police, the justiciary (...)" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 9)

"But in this project, we are especially targeting cocoa farmers in the Western district." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11)

For further illustration of more specific strategies, three examples have been selected (see box 4 - 6).

Box 4
In their efforts to reach out to farmers, to assist them in the transformation of their farm land into a "shaded"-farm, SNV Ghana has managed to build a voluntary member base. To be more accurate, approx. 1400 farmers have so far registered with the organisation, coming from about 25 different communities (SNV Interview 2018).

"In fact, in the last season we did 305 farmers, this season about 1079 farmers have expressed interest. In total we talk about farmers from about 25 smaller communities." (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 62)

Box 5
By 2015 RA had delivered training to more than 2000 farmers in 36 communities of the area and by 2018, this has effected more than 3000 farms (J. Milder and Newsom 2015; "Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018).

"We work with all of them. As much as possible. But when we come to coco certification, it is optional. Voluntary. So, when you come to certification group. There are 2202 farmers who are involved." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27)

Box 6
IDEGs mission is to aim towards educating and promoting citizenship and other non-state actors in the pursuit of democracy and good governance, economic growth and poverty reduction. In the JBL the organisation follows this mission by creating local forums, organizing roundtable discussions and meeting with stakeholders. IDEGs impact on landscape democracy is mostly affected through the created Governance Issues Forum[34] (GIF).

" (GIF) is like an NGO, but we simply call it Governance Issues Forum Network (GIFNet). This is a group that we have formed in various districts, one of them in JB. They deal with environmental landscape issues." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4 - 5)

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[34] In 2004, this GIF-framework was developed to promote participatory governance in Ghana, and since then has been used as a tool that converts politics from a non-inclusive public policy-making process to one which engages people and offers them the ability to participate and push for accountability from their duty bearers.

This tool is convened across 26 districts in Ghana, including the Bia West District and the Juabeso District. Activities are carried out through the members of the GIFNet – a "network of individual citizens, traditional leaders, civil society, other private sector actors as well as state actors who have undergone training in public deliberation" ("IDEG Website" 2018) – and include outreach actions, resource mobilization, technical assistance, civic empowerment actions, organisational actions, civic participation actions and accountability actions. Also, IDEG has implemented the Civic Empowerment of Cocoa Communities (CECC) in the JBL. This is implemented under the Cocoa Life Programme, with the goal "to establish effective mechanisms to improve the mobilization of nonstate actors" (IDEG 2018).

4.1.1.3. Relations

Essential to the strategies CSOs in the JBL follow, and in turn to their performance in their political roles, are relations with others in their organisational environment. The relations the identified CSOs maintain are threefold; they are with the state, with the constituency[35] and with other CSOs and universities, whereas the latter two will be referred combinedly, for their similarity in functionality (i.e. providing expert knowledge and project resources). However, the most critical ones for democratic representation are the relations between CSO and the state, and with the grassroot or constituency level. The relation with the state, as with these CSOs can shape political decision making and governance outcomes and gain insight into the local and national policy agenda. And the relation with the constituency, as with it CSOs gain local insights into issues and "feet on the ground" and give some legitimacy to their claims and provides structures through CSOs can be hold accountable.

> *"When Tropenbos came to Ghana it had the FC, FORIG and WD as partners. The connection is good. We even had the past chief executive of the FC being the board chairman for TB. The CE of the FC." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 98)*

> *"Even in this project that we are implementing we are working closely together with the DA, as a strategic partner, with COCOBOD, FC and also the private sector." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)*

> *"When it comes to a community, we talk to them. Everybody in the community is among our project. (…) The communities are our largest stakeholders." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29, 41)*

On a further note, the relations between different CSOs is not to be left disregarded "when dealing with coco issues", as with these they can join forces, generate greater outcomes and raise more funding (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 90).

> *"(Other CSOs) keep us abreast with their activities in our landscape. So that the activities do not conflict with ours. When they are holding their meetings, they do invite us." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

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[35] After analysis I decided to combine the relation with the grassroots and the relation with the constituency, as in this context of developmental organisations working in rural areas, the constituency mostly is at the grassroots of society.

Key governmental agencies for the CSOs in the JBL, in terms of level of national and subnational engagement, are with the FC (and the relevant FSD in the district) – given it is a forested landscape and the mandate of forest management is responsibility of the FC in Ghana; the WD – as the department is "into natural resource management, especially bio diversity conservation (…)"; the COCOBOD - "because COCOBOARD is mandated to train the farmers on coco production" and is mandated to deal with all cocoa related affairs in Ghana; and the DA[36]s – for "The DA happens to lay the political structure, where all things related to development are coordinated. They are also a key strategic partner." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 21, Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 89 SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39).

> *"In this particular project, we are collaborating with COCOBOD, where they have (...) what we call technical officers for cocoa extension division. We are also working closely with FC staff, on the ground." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)*

> *"We can go straight to COCOBOD, straight to FC (...) we have relationships there, decades old, that we can send very clear messages, and get permissions to make things happen." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45)*

> *"For us, the most important stakeholder is COCOBOD. Then the DA, then the FC. For me, I think the collaborating partners (..) Because the DA has their development plan. Because you come into their district, and you need to conform with their developmental plan it is significant (...) to streamline our project" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 74)*

These relations with the state also include relations with the ministries like the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MoLR) or the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA). Only the well-connected eNGOs and TTs are the CSOs with strong relations to such entities. For example, TBG can engage the MoLR and MoFA in their 'Multi-stakeholder dialogues' (MSD)[37] or NCRC can collaborate and provide insights to implementation of Ghana Cocoa REDD+ Programme whose management unit is composed of representatives of the Ministry of Lands & Forestry, amongst others (GCFP 2016).

> *"For my four years being here, I realised it is very strong. Especially (the connection) with FC, the head office and all the divisions and even with the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 96)*

Unsurprisingly, the discovered relations between CSOs and the state in a rural area reveal some complexity. They include formal as well as informal relations in varying *closeness* and take place in different levels on engagement (i.e. community, district and national). Contributing to

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[36] "in 1993 a new Local Government Act (Act 462) was adopted. It recognised the elected District Assemblies (DAs) as decentralised authorities at the district level, with powers to adopt bylaws and to raise revenues through local taxes" (Garcia-Lopez and Antinori 2017, 3)

[37] Such as the "Supporting the integration of legal and legitimate domestic timber markets into Voluntary Partnership Agreement" MSD where issues like charcoal, chain sawing and artisanal mining are discussed. (http://www.tropenbos.org/file.php/1600/msd11minutes_final.pdf)

the complexity of the relations between CSOs and the state is the customary traditional authority system (i.e. chieftaincy) (TAS), which has an impact in particular in the cases of the KH CREMA and the LMB as they both building on these systems.

> *"because of their traditional setting here, our decision may not reflect on the ground as we expected it to be. They have their own beliefs and traditional strategies around." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 117)*

Although engagements of the CSOs with the traditional leadership are usually "community-based", decisions made in these public meetings and taken through traditional discussion- and dialogue-based processes, usually do not superpose the existing social hierarchies (Crook 2003). In fact, this highlights a relation CSOs have not with, not the political system of the "state" but the traditional authority system.

> *"I think we will be looking at the community level. For that is where we work. So, more often (...) in terms of any decision, we are really involved in talking to traditional authorities" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 21)*

> *"This is when it gets into the bigger landscape issue, that we are talking about here. That the entire community should be able to plan. So now, you are bringing on board the district planning, the traditional authorities and all these people together." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27)*

> *"We are bringing District Assembly (DA) on-board, the customary and stools[38] lands officials on board." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29)*

This relation seems important in particular for landscapes as local by-laws (often unwritten) (source) affect otherwise made rules and regulations made elsewhere.

> *"The challenge in the JBL has been the fact there is an agreement between traditional authorities and farmers and producer groups, the tenant farmers as well." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)*

> *"It's always a historical problem that comes up the moment you want such harmonise landscapes, or to ensure sustainable landscapes. One party would withdraw from the table and this delays most of our projects and intervention." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

Strong links to higher state officials are especially those between the think-tanks and the state and those of the eNGOs, often building on long-standing personal contacts between people, others are more cordial and formal in their engagement. These links between state and especially the policy TTs are also partially building on a reliance of the state to fill in-house knowledge gaps (Stapenhurst and Pelizzo 2012).

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[38] "Customary governments named stools in the south and skins in the northern region administer most of the land. Supreme chiefs and councils of elders hold the offices of the stool and skin land and have the role of custodian over land in each jurisdiction. They hold the land in trust of the community, which is the owner of that land" (http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/country-profiles/countries-list/customary-law/en/?country_iso3=GHA)

"We can go straight to COCOBOD, straight to FC (...) we have relationships there, decades old, that we can send very clear messages, and get permissions to make things happen." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45)

"Because of their traditional setting here, our decision may not reflect on the ground as we expected it to be. They have their own beliefs and traditional strategies around." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 117)

"The connection is good. We even had the past Chief Executive being the board chairman for TBG. The Chief Executive of the FC."
(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 98)

"We have three levels of engagement. We have one at the community level, we have one at the landscape level and we have one at the national level. In the Juabeso Bia (JB) landscape we also use traditional (inaud.), we engage all partners or all stakeholders within the communities, the various aggregations in the community and then we bring them all to the landscape level, where we have the traditional authorities also playing a key role in this decision-making process." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 30)

However, whereas the relation with state officials is rather multi-layered, the relation between the CSOs and their constituency in the JBL is more straight forward, as it is taking place mostly on the village and community level. Similar to the relations with the state there is a clear difference in closeness between CSOs and the local citizens. On the one side of the spectrum are the urban based CSOs (see: TBG, NCRC, IDEG) with no presence in the area (so far, TBG indicated to place staff there) and only sporadic interaction with their constituency in conjunction with a project activity or outreaches to conduct data collection.

"We just did a socio-cultural survey out there (in JB) trying to understand, what are your traditions, what is your history, your origins, your beliefs-values system. "
(NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11)

"Our current constraint is the fact that it is a new landscape. We do not have, for instance, a ground presence." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)

Here it must be pointed out that the term constituency has a broad meaning for these CSOs. In one way, the constituency is seen to be the people for whom organisations do what they do and with whom they interact on the ground (see largely the eNGOs and TTs). For member-based activities, constituents are more involved in organisations policy formulation, the authorization of leadership, and processes of accountability (see. RA, IDEG). Especially for the eNGOs and TT, with weaker relationships to their constituency, this has a hampering effect on their legitimacy of their claims. A way to legitimate their claims is, although not leaving a relationship with their constituency out of the spectrum, but mostly they gain legitimacy from their expert knowledge and professional staff.

And on the other side of the spectrum are the RGSs with a very strong relation to their constituency, being citizen-led and community-based. The RGSs are in regular, sometimes bi-weekly contact with the representatives of the communities they work for, as "Every (community) member is in the CREMA." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91)("LMB Interview" 2018).

"LMB is a voluntary "thing". They are farmers, who work on their own land."
(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91)

Somewhere, in the middle are most of the eNGOs. These organisations possess some local presence and field offices throughout the area, with staff partially from the area and do interact with their constituency on a more regular basis. They usually engage the communities in either in roundtable discussion or simple meetings and consult the local community members and leadership on their project cycles, inquire into their concerns and interests, and inform them on a number of current issues surrounding sustainable cocoa.

"During the meetings we basically discuss the (...) what's is going on in the organisation. We let them know why we made them become members of our organisation. Let them know that our mission is that and that and we are pursuing this goal towards this direction." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91)

"(...) in terms of any decision, we are really involved in talking to traditional authorities or farmers themselves and all that." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 21)

"They are consulted in decision making processes < > This is round table decision making." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 142)

"(...) we are frontier. We are the mouthpiece for these communities. We carry on our shoulders the very concerns of these communities to the relevant stakeholders." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)

Figure 7: Meeting with community representatives (Noponen et al. 2014)

The TTs, unlike other CSOs, are perceptible different as their relation to the grassroot or constituency in the rural area of the JBL is rather weak in comparison to those of the environmental CSO or the citizen-led governance structures. However, the relations the TTs maintain with the state on the national level are much closer. These organisations follow constituency building strategy that understands the constituency as beneficiaries to the efforts of the CSOs – a wider community or even ideas and values. Here, CSOs tend to be value driven and have greater ambitions, then directly acting on behalf of specific interest and societal groups (see: e NGOs, TTs).

> *"we have a very strong connection, straight up to people at COCOBOD, top people at FC. We can influence change. Which I think we do very well."*
>
> *"We can go straight to COCOBOD, straight to FC (...) we have relationships there, decades old, that we can send very clear messages, and get permissions to make things happen." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43 - 45)*

Starting with the with the think-tanks relation to the constituency, which relates in part to their strategic setup as knowledge institutes targeting politicians and public policy makers, their long-established reputation, but also as they have no or only very limited own presence in the JBL. To keep in touch with the ground level NCRC at times, for instance, engages communities in conjunction with pilot projects for the purpose of demonstration and information extraction, feeding into their advocacy strategy.

> *"Our role, coming in, is to be working with communities, trying to understand what is happening." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23)*

One another example, IDEGs link to the local populous is kept through their Governance Issue Forum (a sister organisation, founded and funded by IDEG, to train locals on issues of democracy promotion and good governance). Relations to the state are more important to the TTs, especially those on the national level, where they keep in touch with "several ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) of state at the national level, and local government authorities at the decentralized level" ("IDEG Website" 2018).

> *" (...) You need a relationship with the government to keep things like this going, and you need to find key champion People who have < >" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 74)*
>
> *"we have got a champion from COCOBOARD, to go and (...) like the lights went on. And we had a champion at FC." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*
>
> *"we have a very strong connection, straight up to people at COCOBOD, top people at FC. We can influence change. Which I think we do very well. " (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43)*

The grassroot link is inherent to the structure of the two local governance models of the LMB and the KH CREMA and for this is the *closest* of the CSOs in JBL. Their link to the grassroot

is maintained as their level of engagement is the village and community level and as their members as well as their representatives are the people of the communities they represent. To prevent elite, capture the KH CREMA works with a system of self-governance that lets elites and non-elites participate[39]. Typically, their committees consist of 5-10 men and women who have been elected through community-wide meeting, "and who adequately represent the various sub-groups within the village." ("CREMA Interview" 2018; Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 3). As an incentive for the community members to participate in the system is that through the CREMA mechanism secures the participation as it aims at generating financial and non- financial resources for communities and individuals within the CREMA. To keep in touch with their base, the RGSs conduct regular meetings with members of the community where information is provided, and discussions are held.

> *"we do the announcement and the entire community will meet and discuss." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 81)*

> *"In every community we set up a committee. That whenever there is an issue or problem or new information, or something to be shared (...)" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

> *"At the community level (...) the committee meets every two weeks." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 145)*

However, in their relations with the state the two local governance models differ from one another. The CREMA model is a mechanism of decentralization of the forest management responsibility of the WD. For this, they work closely with this agency to inform them on grassroot issues and in turn bring information out of the forest to them. Based on this interdependence, the KH CREMA has a strong link to the WD and maintain close ties with local DAs[40].

> *"(...) in every community we do these meetings. They send their report to the CMB. They send their message to the WD. From the CRMC to the CEC, from the CEC to WD." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)*

> *"if you work with CREMAs, and do not include WD, in the long term it will not work." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)*

This relation however has an effect on the potential representative role of the CREMA, in particular when the opposition to the state is central in this presentation. The dependency on the state limits the organisation to resist the state and make us of its veto-power, safeguarding

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[39] e.g. the Executive Secretary (the responder to the interview) of the LMB is farmer himself
[40] "Most of the time when a CREMA is developed, the constitution that is developed to go with the CREMA in terms of the governance structures needs to be gazetted at the district assembly for it to have value otherwise if you tell someone you have delineated this area and protecting it, nobody will respect it because it is not backed by law" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013)

4.1.1.4. Internal Structures

The investigation has looked at internal organisational processes of membership, and their participation in democratic decision-making processes. Through these properties, organisations have the potential to promote democracy through stimulating civic virtues and political skills in members (i.e. trust, reciprocity, and negotiating, discussing and public speaking) (Putnam 2000; Sabatini 2002; Fowler 2000). The revealed internal structures have shown that in particular the eNGOs and TTs do not conform to the "Tocquevillian" [41] idea of civil society organisations and suggest to not have the characteristics of instilling civic virtues in members, which, so theory states only is possible when an organisation has an open and large voluntary member base (Edwards 2004) and that members gain only through decision making structures that are democratic "experiences in debating, negotiating, and voting" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). It turns out that none of the eNGOs and TTs offer an open voluntary membership to their organisation, nor do they operate under democratic structures internally. Regardless, the cases of IDEG[42] and RA[43] show that also such elite organisations can still instil democratic spirits in citizens by arranging activities to which people can subscribe to and participate in, given they follow inclusive decision-making structures. What RA and IDEG offer is not what theorists have envisioned when they have pictured civil society as the "school of democracy", but through arranging people into cooperative ventures these organisations mobilize local citizens and build networks of individuals in which the ins and outs of governance can be discussed (see: GIFNet) or farmers are brought together to discuss their concerns and interests and participate in public deliberation (see: LMB). Regardless to the ideal organisation according to the Tocquevillian school, these investigated CSOs stimulate "socialisation into democratic norms through a process of learning by doing" (Hadenius and Uggla 1996, 1622)..

> *"The way you make sure it is in their (GIFNet members) interest is that they come up with all the issues. We do not decide anything from Accra. They identify the local problems that they want to deal with. We only provide only the training and the resources. So, if it is not in their interest, they will not bring it up."*
> *(IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

> *"We have regular meetings with them <> it is very, very participatory."*
> *(IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 89)*

> *"First one is the landscape governance structure, that's the LMB. We want them to govern or to manage the area themselves."*
> *(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

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[41] Civil society is often referred to as "school of democracy", refers to the internal educational role.
[42] The GIFNet (https://www.ideg.org/interface-platforms/governance-issues-forum-gif), with approx. 120 members
[43] The Landscape Management Board, with members from 36 communities

"They (LMB Members) meet bimonthly, so during their meeting they discuss a
problem that has been identified"
(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)

"In simple terms, they are managing their own affairs, "
(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)

In the cooperative LMB structure, RA sensitizes its members on the extensive documentation that is required to obtain legal ownership of the trees on their land and support the landscape with more climate-smart agriculture models. For most, the structure allows citizens access to landscape governance processes (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). Moreover, members of the IDEG funded GIF initiatives are trained in promoting participatory governance and are offered the ability to participate in public and push for accountability from their "duty bearers" (IDEG Interview 2018). The GIFNet members are described as "citizens, traditional leaders, civil society, other private sector actors as well as state actors who have undergone training in public deliberation" ("IDEG Website" 2018). The sizes of memberships and composition of participating members differ considerably. The IDEG works with approximately 120 members in the JBL , they "do not require any academic or other qualifications. (The members) have to be people who are employed" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23). The cooperative RA has created is significantly bigger with more than 2000 members, who are mostly cocoa farmers, local chiefs and opinion leaders (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018).

"It (GIF) is like an NGO, but we simply call it Governance Issues Forum Network
(GIFNet). This is a group that we have formed in various districts, one of them in JB.
They deal with environmental landscape issues."
(IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4 - 5)

"For JB I would say, we have about 120."
(IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)

" when we come to coco certification, it is optional. Voluntary. So, when you come to
certification group. There are 2202 farmers who are involved."
(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27)

"There are 36 communities in the landscape. And they have a lay-down structure.
Each community they have their executives there"
(LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 12)

The RGSs internal structures are much closer to what theory would expect of organisations with an open and large membership working with democratic structures. However, as there is no explicit expression of interest of members to enrol into the organisation raises concerns in how far active participation in the organisation is to be expected – a critical element to the "learning by doing" effect (Putnam 2000). They both have a large member bases as "every community member is a CREMA member." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11) and are

"couched within a democratic decision-making and governance process" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 3).

Overall, the membership structures all the investigated organisations in the JBL offer can be aggregated into active and passive memberships. Active memberships as offered by RA and IDEG are a result of an extension work to increase farming efficiency (see: SNV, RA) or to enhance public participation and accountability (see IDEG/GIF). In the active membership to-be members have to express interest to subscribe to the cooperatives. In turn they are receiving information on sustainable cocoa production and assistance in ownership and in form of farming material (SNV Interview 2018; Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018).

> *"The farmer needs to help us to identify his farm < > then afterwards the farmer (...) once we come and cut the farm, the rule is to do the land preparation yourself. We will also provide you with inputs and materials. We give you the seedlings, thus, cocoa seedlings" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 56)*

Passive membership on the other side are memberships that do not require a process of registration. This membership is the case for the RGSs, where all people living in certain communities are considered members and are allowed to involve themselves in the organisation ("LMB Interview" 2018; "CREMA Interview" 2018).

In terms of decision making in which members are taking part, CSOs involve their members mainly through placation, providing information and consultation, taking place in form of roundtable discussions and community meetings. Here, the members "will be sharing ideas what would help us (the CSOs) to move towards our direction." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91). This approach involve their members in decision making processes helps the CSOs to gain the necessary local insights that might help to adjust project activities and possible outcomes and to through offering more transparency gain the local communities "buy-in" ("NCRC Interview" 2018). Generally, decision making structures of the investigated CSOs refer primarily to tokenism[44] where citizens can give advice to decision makers, but the power holders largely retain the monopoly over decision making. In fact, only the RGSs embrace some degree of citizens powers, but mostly lag the legal recognition to enforce their decisions.

> *"They are the actors, they are the farmers and producers. They are affected by any decision that has been taken by the top. So, we need to have these roundtable discussions with them to see, their feeling, their understanding of how (...) in case we need to formalize land tenure issues, how they would be affected. Also, how it has an impact on their livelihood." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme, 2018, Paragraph 142)*

> *"They are consulted in decision making processes < > This is round table decision making." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 142)*

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[44] Referring to "A Ladder of Citizen Participation, by Sherry R Arnstein (1969)

"We put it on the table, and they will be sharing ideas what would help us to move towards our direction." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91)

*"The community **meets**, (...) come out with their concerns to the cluster. The cluster think also about it. And verify from the community before it gets to the LMB, the top level." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 150)*

The internal structure of the eNGOs and TTs is similar to those of traditional international non-governmental-organisations, in a way that their structure is hierarchic, top-down, with little participatory rights. These CSOs are working with a board of trustees – constituted of local experts and scholars – that provides strategic leadership and an accountability structure and that approves proposed directions that are handed in by the directive of the organisations. Internal decision making is rather top-down, with only some degree of participation. Their internal positions (e.g. country managers, project managers, and field advisors) are usually staffed with professionals, who mostly hold academic degrees to accommodate the need for adequate understanding of the issues at hand.

"In terms of recruitment and selection of staff, SNV makes sure that they get people with the required skills and knowledge to manage most of their projects. I can tell you that even managing this project, I myself have a double master's degree, my project officer has a master's degree, etc. In terms of our requisite (inaud.) qualification and experience, this is one of our strong points. (...) " (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 35)

The internal structure of the resource management organisations is different as it follows more democratic structures where leadership is elected rather than appointed, and decisions are made through public deliberation and greater participation of the citizens. To illustrate this, the following box elaborates on the structures of the two RGSs (see box 7).

> **Box 7**
> *The highest decision-making body of the KH CREMA is the CREMA Executive Committee (CEC). This committee is formed by two representatives from each of the eleven communities the CREMA includes. At the community level is the Community Resources Management Committee (CRMC) which is the first decision making structure in a single community. The members of these decision-making bodies in the CREMA are being selected by the people of the village level. There are plans, that above the CEC, the currently highest decision-making body, a board - the CREMA Management Board[45] (CMB) - is to be constituted by reps from the CEC, including other reps from other CREMAs in the area, the FC, and the WD, as well as local chiefs. However, at the time of investigation, this highest level in the KH CRERMA has been dysfunctional ("CREMA Interview" 2018; Krokosua CREMA 2008). The organisational properties of the LMB is strikingly similar to those of the non-operational CREMA Management Board. The LMB covers 36 communities in the landscape of 29.000 ha, from where all its members are drawn. The board's executive committee consists of 14 elected representatives of the "cluster" level, a level that is constituted by five groups of 5-7 clustered communities. At the community level is a committee of five elected community representatives. One*

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[45] Sometimes called Protected Area Management Board (PAMB)

person from each community is nominated to the cluster level, the Cluster Management Committee (CMC). The LMB is made of two persons from each of these clusters, with additional four divisional chiefs who also are representative at the district level as members of the DA. The expectation of the RA is that the LMB is in charge of all decision on the use of the landscape, at least within the frame of RA activities.

> *"Translator: There are 36 communities (covering 29,000 hectares) in the landscape. And they have a lay-down structure. Each community has their executives there, the executives, they combine five communities" ("LMB Interview" 2018, Paragraph 11).*

> *"Translator: They (clusters) each have executives. So, the executives from each community form the cluster, from the cluster the executives their form the LMB. So, it's a governance structure." (LMB interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)*

4.1.1.5. Resources

The resources that are available to the CSOs in the JBL, as with many of the other organisational properties, have revealed much variation. Among the resources central to this investigation were organisational competences that allow them to take decisions, that allow them to recruit leadership, as well as their economic and administrative resources (Hadenius and Uggla 1996). Here it must be pointed out, that in particular the inquiry into economic resources of organisations (i.e. generation of internal fiscal flow, funding processes) has encountered little appreciation and for this lacked a valid basis to draw conclusive answers on an organisations autonomy (arising from fiscal dependency). Despite of being a sensitive topic to most of the responders, possibly impacting their relationships with their donors, the process has shown that a truly comprehensive inquiry into this particular subject matter would have required to be even more in-depths and include additional responders that not only have knowledge of the organisations performances in landscape governance, but also have knowledge of an organisational fiscal flows. This however, was not feasible given the time and resources available to conduct this research. So, this section refers mainly to the resources of professional staff - providing expert knowledge to the organisations; the presence in the area of the JBL – sustaining the organisations relation between them and their local constituency; and capacities to mobilize the constituency into cooperative ventures and deliver social-services in complementation to state responsibilities.

As indicated before, especially the eNGOs and think-tanks are the CSOs with access to professional staff ("Tropenbos Website" 2018; "NCRC Ghana" 2018; "Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018; "IDEG Website" 2018). Their personal usually holds some academic degree and is educated in a field that is relevant to their work. Most important contribution of the

professional staff is their ability to translate complex issues (i.e. environmental, socio-cultural, etc.) into more generally comprehensive language, often into form of policy-briefs[46].

> *"In terms of recruitment and selection of staff, SNV makes sure that they get people with the required skills and knowledge to manage most of their projects. I can tell you that even managing this project, I myself have a double master's degree, my project officer has a master's degree, etc. In terms of our requisite (inaud.) qualification and experience, this is one of our strong points. (...) " (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 35)*

> *"Internally we - Solidaridad West Africa - in Ghana is the original expertise centre. Then we have the experts to deliver all the contents, regarding every project that we run. "(Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 59)*

The RGSs on the other hand, typically are staffed with local citizens, often cocoa farmers who do not have access to such specialist knowledge, nor can they make us of research as input – only when this expertise has been provided externally. The access to such personal and the ability to translate complex issues in particular plays as a critical property in the educational role when teaching and trainings are of essence, and when coordinating with the state in policy issues, when expert knowledge is required to help the state to negotiate policy directions.

Another important resource for the organisations in their performance of promoting democracy is a presence in the area, close by their constituency. Not all CSOs in fact, operate with a presence in the area. For the RGSs, this is not an issue as they are community-based and live in the area. Some of the eNGOs work with field personal, who are situated in the bigger communities. They are usually provided with own offices and vehicles to get around. Ideally their presence would stretch throughout the area to get "feet on the ground", but such a presence would affect their finances to such a degree, that only a small force can be sustained.

> *"So normally, I stay in Juabeso. Normally I go from village to village. So, every village, we have a group there."*
> *(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 61)*

> *"I am field officer (...) I stay here, but i do not live here."*
> *(Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4 - 7)*

This is again different for the TTs and some of the eNGOs who have no presence (currently) in the area. This makes them open to some criticism that relates to the issue of urban-elitism, especially when it is paired with an absence of an active membership. These organisations only have offices in the bigger cities (Accra, Kumasi) where is an overconcentration of technically strong NGOs, with an effect on accountability to the local citizens, creating problems of legitimacy (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

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[46] For example, "The Ghana school feeding program as an incentive for education in rural Ghana: The case of cocoa growing areas" policy brief by IDEG (https://www.ideg.org/dmsdocument/40)

"Our current constraint is the fact that it is a new landscape. We do not have, for instance, a ground presence. In the sense, that for now, we always have to travel. So, what we seek to do, to overcome that constraint is to have a base there. Where there will be a (inaud.) staff. So, if there is anything to be done (...) actually that person will organize the ground for us. (...) and delay project information for us." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)

Essential for the CSOs with ties to the government are the resources that enable them to talk to state officials and to fill in the lacking research capacity of the government to generate evidence that can inform policy directions (Stapenhurst and Pelizzo 2012).

"we have the experts to deliver all the contents, regarding every project that we run." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59)

"Human resources are very important to us. SNV has quite some good human resources, the SNV staff." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35)

The professional staff, that allows organisations to translate issues in a way not only state officials can relate to but also to present their work donors is a critical properties, most CSOs focus on. Also, the quality of the staff who often hold academic degrees allow organisations to accommodate the need for adequate understanding of the issues at hand.

"We also have financial resources. They mostly come from our sponsors. The Netherlands, Belgium, (inaud.) are supporting us. (...) Mastercard, < > and recently the World Bank is also coming in with support to ensure the landscape is more resilient." (Solidaridad Cocoa Programme Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63)

Having the capacities to engage the state and access to funding allows CSOs to complement service delivery of the government. Here, their relationships of the CSOs with the governmental agencies, such as the FC and COCOBOD, enables those CSOs to offer services that would usually fall into the mandate of the state, but whom is unable to supply those efficiently.

"We have been a kind of point of call for them. Seeking advice on how that should be done." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)

"so (...) training of forestry commission staff, police, customs. Aim forest and mining laws (...) You know, actually the FC is supposed to train their own staff to know the forest laws. But (...) sometimes when you interact with them and their field staff is not really fulfilling the requirements." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 100)

4.1.2. Political roles

Based on the revealed organisational properties, the following section turns to each of the democratic roles that are performed by the CSOs (i.e. educational, communicative,

representational and cooperative), and looks at how these 'theoretical' roles[47] play out in practice and what organisational properties enables CSOs to do so. The chapter elaborates then on the democratic roles CSOs perform in and the effect on democracy.

4.1.2.1. *Educational role*

The CSOs investigated in the JBL all perform in the external educational political role in one way or another. Mostly they play in an external role, by disseminating information to either citizens or state officials. This educational focus of the CSOs as their *modus operandi* is not surprising, as most of them position themselves as developmental organisations and in particular is the case with the eNGOs and think-tanks.

> *"We position our self as a learning organisation and a data driven organisation (…)*
> *we try to build our own capacity to a level, that the farmers or producer groups are*
> *able to appreciate us. Then disseminate our knowledge and information that we have*
> *(inaud.) to the farmers or to the producer group."*
> *(Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

The performance in the external role directly relates to the core mandates of the CSOs of "sharing specialist expertise. (…) to solve some of the most urgent development challenges", "transforming land-use practices, business practices, and consumer behaviour" or "to promote a greater awareness of and protection for the natural, historic and cultural diversity of Ghana"("SNV Website" 2018; "Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018; "NCRC Ghana" 2018). These philosophies play out in practice through projects that for the most part include some educational activities. In these, the CSOs provide trainings to local people to recognize the relationship between conserving forests and stabilizing their local microclimate, and to improve their agriculture practices supporting the landscape with more climate-smart agriculture models (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018; SNV Interview 2018).

> *"We give them education. best practices of agriculture and conservation measures in*
> *coco. So that coco production will be sustainable. At the same time getting high yield,*
> *increase yield, and getting good market access" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 73).*

Altogether, these activities are meant "to improve the capacities of farmers" and "to support them to introduce them to a model of cocoa farming that would result in higher productivity." (Noponen et al. 2014, 58) (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 27). Included in these activities are lessons that are given to local cocoa producers also are entrepreneurship and "life-skills" cursus, given in field-schools ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018).

> *"We also provide for them farmer business school. FBS, we call it FBS. (business*
> *practices) (…) This is the business advocacy thing that we do." (Conservation*
> *Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45)*

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[47] As per the adapted theoretical framework of Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014)

Some of the CSOs go beyond the agricultural and offer technical trainings and assistances to farmers that helps them to clarify ownership structures and understand their rights in legal issues (i.e. land tenure) ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018). Also they train people in advocacy and lobby work, aiding them to monitor and evaluate projects in the area and providing abilities to conduct in outreach actions, civic empowerment actions, and civic participation actions (IDEG 2018)

> *"What happened in the JBL is (…) we give training to the people, to our members there. We train them how to lobby, the local authorities. We train them how to hold them accountable, for some of the things they have done. We also train them to monitor and to evaluate the kind of projects that take place in that particular landscape." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

> *"We also provide legal (With respect to land tenure issues) and technical training for the various actors in the communities, land owners, chiefs and also farmers. Because each partner needs to know what the law says about land owning. ownership structures." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 53)*

As a source of legitimacy to an organisations claim, theory states that these educational effects only hold when people actively participate in the activities the CSOs conduct themselves in. For this, the CSOs in the JBL describe the degree of participation to be satisfactory and in most cases the organisations receive much interest in their activities. The CSOs have learned to offer the right incentives to their target groups, such as the handing out of cocoa and tree seedlings. This refers to the matter that the educational effect only is effective, when citizens interact and participate in the training activities the CSOs (Putnam 2000).

> *"the majority of the community will come" (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

> *"the strategy in place is to encourage women to also participate. As such, we have a coco academy that is especially set up for women. So, they we encourage other women and girls to participate in the coco business. " (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 128)*

> *"As we support an intervention that support the communities and the farmers as a whole. You definitely get a positive response in terms of participation of farmers." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 68)*

> *"the surprising thing is that the volunteers are very interested in what they are doing. If you call a meeting they come in their numbers and participate fully." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 95)*

Despite to focus on educating citizens, there also have been actions towards capacity building of state officials. Taking place on the local level, the organisations administer trainings to law enforcement personal, members of the justiciary and the members of the DA to teach them on the legal system and provisions, and give assistance in district development planning

(Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). These trainings of state officials do not only play out at in the landscape, but as well take place on the national level in form of policy briefs, working groups and include field demonstrations. These trainings to higher level to politicians and public policy makers are mostly provided through the TTs ("NCRC Interview" 2018; Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018; IDEG Interview 2018).

> *"We train the law enforcement agencies to help with the illegal provisions for < >*
> *(...) So they understand the legal system and everything (...) we are basically do*
> *trainings, training the assemblies on how to integrate eco system services"*
> *(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25 - 27)*

—

> *"I: Then policy, on all kind of level? Community, and national and landscape level?*
>
> *B: Yes. Then we try to say, Ok, that we want to play a role in testing it out and*
> *demonstrate it. Because until you demonstrate how things work, you will not ever get*
> *traction. That is our role also, (...) just boots on the ground, community-based*
> *projects. Based on the data, based on our vision, based on our understanding, and*
> *our desire to make change. We you start to show, that something can be done slightly*
> *differently, and it is working. And when you bring that back to the platform," (NCRC*
> *Interview, 2018, Paragraph 66 - 67) "We want to play a role in testing it out and*
> *demonstrate it. Because until you demonstrate how things work, you will not ever get*
> *traction. That is our role also, (...) just boots on the ground, community-based*
> *projects. Based on the data, based on our vision, based on our understanding, and*
> *our desire to make change. We start to show you that something can be done slightly*
> *differently, and it is working" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)*

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> *"You need a relationship with the government to keep things like this going, and you need to find key*
> *champion" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 74)*

In terms of engagement with the state, the CSOs non-confrontational approach to their advocacy work helps them to get access to their target group of key 'champions' within state agencies and to create the required level of trust. Critical properties to this role are also the CSOs access to research. This allows them input of peer-reviewed material and more confident knowledge as input to their claims. Using research that feeds into their lessons, such "data-driven" organisations build on "evidence-based information" that is required to provide adequate understanding of the issues at hand and adds to their accountability (SNV Interview 2018; "Solidaridad Annualreport 2016" 2016). Directly relating to this, is their ability to translate complex policy issues, with help of their own educated staff or their specialist network partners, into a more comprehensive and contextualized language.

> *"we have the experts to deliver all the contents, regarding every project that we run."*
> *(Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 59)*

Through this widening of the flow of information that are available to citizens and state officials, the local CSOs provide insights and expertise that not only improve economic situations and enhance transparency. In one particular instance, a CSOs provides educative trainings to its members in the JBL, aiming to enable them to participate in governance issues, and press for accountability of local government officials (IDEG Interview 2018).

> *"What happened in the JBL is (...) we give training to the people, to our members*
> *there. We train them how to lobby the local authorities. We train them, how to hold*
> *them accountable, for some of the things they have done. We also train them to*
> *monitor and to evaluate the kind of projects that take place in that particular*
> *landscape" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

In an established Governance Issue Forum (GIF) members are supposed to "think, talk and make public judgment on local issues, after discussions citizens are to find common ground for action, and once a plan of action is outlined and agreed upon implementation and monitoring is discussed" (IDEG 2016). This GIF was set into place to promote participatory governance in the JBL, converting politics from a non-inclusive public policy-making process to one which engages people and offers them the ability to participate and push for accountability from their duty bearers.

> *"It (GIF) is like an NGO, but we simply call it Governance Issues Forum Network*
> *(GIFNet). This is a group that we have formed in various districts, one of them in JB.*
> *They deal with environmental landscape issues." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph*
> *4 - 5)*

> *GIFNet a "network of individual citizens, traditional leaders, civil society, other*
> *private sector actors as well as state actors who have undergone training in public*
> *deliberation" ("IDEG Website" 2018)*

Activities these members conduct include outreach actions, resource mobilization, technical assistance, civic empowerment actions, organisational actions, civic participation actions and accountability actions.

Next to the provision of information, some CSOs in the JBL also perform an internal educational role. This specific part of the educational role focuses on the stimulation of civic virtues and political skills through internal organisational processes of membership participation and decision making. In doing so CSOs teach their members democratic norms, values and practices (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). The RGSs are most geared for the landscape to perform in this way. This is, as they inherently bring together by virtue of their structure, and as their leadership only has the authority to finalize and implement decisions when members agree (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013). These community-based governance systems include all the members of the community as their member and often cover several communities (11 in case of the CREMA in KH , and 36 in case of the LMB). Their internal decision making processes are more participatory, as they call for meetings where all there

members are asked to come and to give their input ("CREMA Interview" 2018; "LMB Interview" 2018).

> *"(...) we do the announcement and the entire community will meet and discuss."*
> *(CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 81)*

> *"The community here are 11. Every community has two members in the CEC. So (...)*
> *in every community we do these meetings. They send their report to the CMB. They*
> *send their message to the WD." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)*

> *"tomorrow is a meeting at 4 pm. We are going to meet some people from Accra,*
> *some officials form Accra they come here. A general meeting, and every community*
> *member will be there." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99)*

An example of eNGOs performance regarding the internal educational role: RA has done so in particular through the establishment of the LMB, through which local citizens are brought together to form a regulatory body to oversee conservation and agriculture activities in the Juabeso and Bia districts. In this cooperative, the CSO teaches its members political skills like public speaking, negotiation and building coalitions, familiarizing them with norms of reciprocity and respect for minorities, as well as peaceful resolutions of conflicts (Warren 2002).

> *"So, we bring all those people to work together, at certain times. And then (...) work*
> *together and see everybody's challenges and harmonize all those things and work*
> *perfectly in the landscape" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)*

Given the size of the project area and the number of communities involved, communities were aggregated at three levels- (1) at the community level five-member committees were selected by the communities themselves, after a series of community sensitizations meetings. (2) The 36 communities were grouped into clusters of five, based on location, traditional affiliation and the administrative cut-out. The five members of all communities in a cluster have come together to elect a cluster level executive made of a chairman, Secretary and Organiser among others. The Presidents and Secretaries of each cluster then came together to form a Landscape Management Board (LMB). Four (4) Divisional chiefs who own the lands of the landscape are Honorary members of the LMB and Ex-officio members include representatives from the District Assemblies of Juabeso and Bia Districts, COCOBOD, FSD, WD, RA and Olam International.

In other cooperative ventures, other CSOs have brought young adults together in workshops. Working with students and teachers, schools have employed the eNGOs views on climate change in their curriculum and established for instance "Save the Environment" clubs for students (Noponen et al. 2014). This is also achieved through the established GIF) where members are supposed to "think, talk and make public judgment on local issues, after discussions citizens are to find common ground for action, and once a plan of action is outlined and agreed upon implementation and monitoring is discussed" (IDEG 2016). These actions can

instil political skills they are also considered as a stepping stone for future political leaders (Edwards 2004).

On an individual basis, the eNGOs and the TTs perform poorly in this internal role. They usually do not offer a membership to their main organisation, nor are they internally democratic. Their decision-making structures and inclusion of local people in process of project development usually only include the provision of information and consultation, but often exclude processes in which deliberation takes place. Community outreaches usually are meant to receive information from the local citizens.

> *"I: In these meetings, what happens? Do you just provide information and they take it up? Or are they consulted about certain decisions, or do they vote even?[*
>
> *R: They are consulted in decision making processes < > This is round table decision making." (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 141 - 142)*
>
> *"We do not decide anything from Accra. They identify the local problems that they want to deal with. We only provide only the training and the resources. So, if it is not in their interest, they will not bring it up." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the educational role of CSOs in the JBL and their revealead organisational properties that allow them to perform in the role. Below the table (4) a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed educational roles. Whereas the outer circle represents the educational role as a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles (i.e. internal and external) and their size refers to their perceived prevalence in the process of democratisation in the landscape.

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
External (citizens)	Administering agricultural and ecological trainings	Advocacy strategy
	Administering entrepreneurship and leadership trainings	Relations with constituency
	Sensitisation on policy environment (i.e. ownership, tree tenure)	Ability to translate complex issues
	Administering political trainings (public participation, project monitoring)	Participation of constituency (legitimacy)
External (state officials)	Administering legal trainings to law enforcement and justiciary	Non-confrontational advocacy strategy
	Teaching DA members on Eco System Services	Close relations with state
	Issuing policy briefs (i.e. "one district, one factory")	Research as input
	Providing evidence to Cocoa Life working groups	Ability to translate complex issues
		Professional staff
		Research capacity
Internal	Establishing local citizen led governance structures	(large) Open voluntary membership
	Forming local networks of politically active citizens	Inclusive decision-making process
	Organizing "save the environment clubs"	

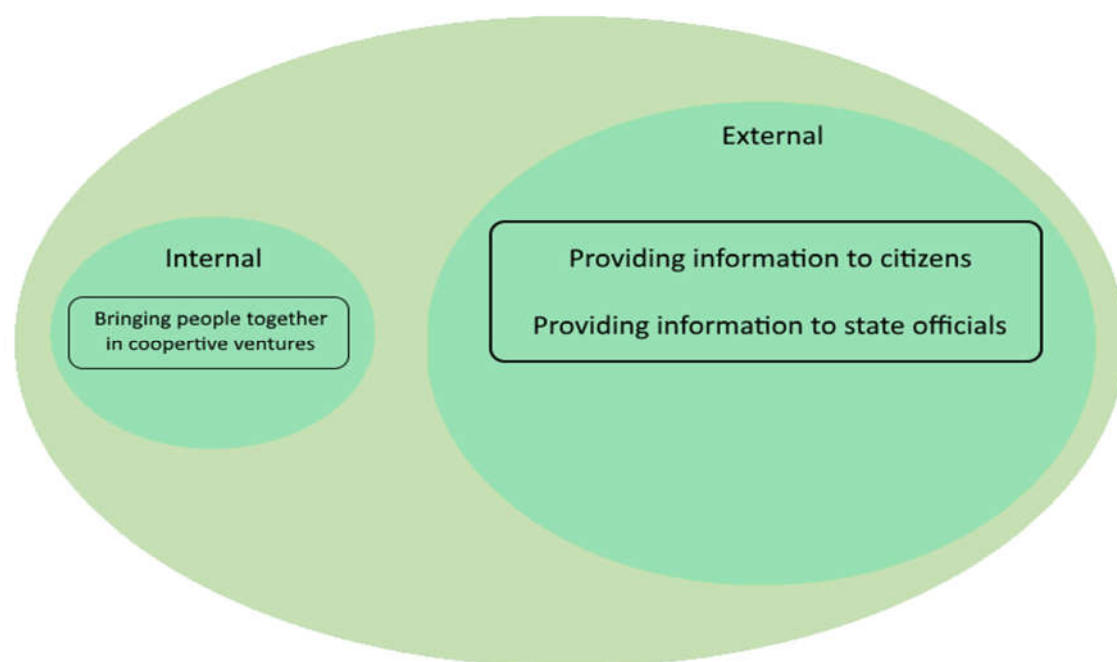**Table 6: Summary educational role (JBL)**

Figure 8: Educational roles performed by CSOs (JBL)

4.1.2.2. Communicative role

Safeguarding the democratic public sphere is the central performance of an civil association in the communicative role (Fung 2003b; Edwards 2004). In this role, the communicative action is the provision of a structure that can generate social space, rather than the provision of the content of communication (which refers to the representational role). To provide this structure, it is important for an organisation to have relations with the state and with society. Also, necessary for the relation with the state is the autonomy of the CSOs from the state, without being disconnected from it (Warren 2002). This autonomy is the case for almost all the investigated CSOs, as they usually are donor funded or generate revenue through fees and percentages of selling certified goods and do not depend on the state for funding. In this, the investigated CSOs maintain a right balance between the state and society without being too close to one of them and being disconnected from the other. The only exception in state dependency is the CREMA mechanism in the KH which depends on the legal recognition by the state and the issue of a decentralization of management responsibilities from the WD. A point of caution in terms of autonomy of externally funded organisations is their dependency on donors and their agenda. However, as investigations into funding processes and relations with donors is a delicate topic in Ghana, and in fact anywhere else, this aspect of autonomy the research is not addressing in great detail.

As theory indicates, the most adequate organisational properties to perform in this role would be an organisation with a strong relation to the grassroots of society, provided through regular contacts and local presences throughout the area. Also, this organisation would need to have close relations with the relevant state agencies, desirably with informal contacts, and engage in a non-confrontational advocacy strategy with the state on the local, district and national level to keep "the doors open". However, after investigation – at least on an individual level - none

the CSOs in this research is providing such ideal properties of organisational relations that goes both ways. It seems a "two-way-pathway" between the state and society that allows to engage the state on all levels and that has a continuous and steadfast relation to the constituency implies contradicting organisational properties. The investigation shows that either the CSOs (mostly the TTs and environmental CSOs) have strong relations with the state, often on the national level, more frequently on the local and district level, but generally less-often on the local, community level. These organisations have the capacity and to speak the language that state representatives understand, and due to their professional staff are perceived as legitimate communicators of certain issues. The RGSs on the other hand manage to have strong relations to their constituency due to their local embeddedness, but lack ties to higher level of decision making, like the national level policy makers.

> " (( )) I (CRMC chairman and CEC Secretary) have to perform my duty to protect
> my community and the members too. Any information which (inaud.) I have to send it
> to the chief. The chief maybe allows me then to go to the district assembly or go to the
> WD and inform them. (( ))" (CREMA Interview , 2018 , Paragraph 103)

The strong link to the state of the NGOs and TTs relates to their strategic positioning and their educational focus in influencing policy-making. These relations are common for these organisations and the variety between these relations is less pronounced. As an example of how the TTs shape the communicative role, the CSOs perform in the JBL through the provision of communicative channels can be related to the core mission of the think tanks and their educational focus of assisting the citizenry to "consolidate democracy and good governance in Ghana" can be linked to its performance ("IDEG Website" 2018). This mission plays out in regard to its GIFNets initiative and the GIFs accountability actions - called "watch dog activities[48]" - include the creation of platforms where local members can engage government officials on "issues of governance and development issues in their district" (IDEG 2016). Following these plan for actions, 'Election Platform Meetings' were conducted across the districts of Juabeso and Bia-West, providing the people "the opportunity to interrogate and interact with parliamentary aspirants on their manifesto" (IDEG 2018). These actions have been taken in relation to the organisations involvement in Cocoa Life Communities, where it was said that:

> "Citizens in the cocoa life communities should not be left out of the development
> agenda that the government will implement, the communities must be connected to
> the structure local government for active participation (Dr. Emmanuel O. Akwetey,
> the Executive Director of IDEG)"
> ("Ghana News Agency" 2017).

In an aggregated perspective however, the performance of the CSOs does create structures and means by which communication can grant social space, and also include that the organisations

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[48] https://www.ideg.org/interface-platforms/governance-issues-forum-gif/

are open to popular demand. Based on the interviews the receptivity of the CSO to the concerns and interests of its constituency receives high regards. This openness implies that a CSO have a "constituency for whom they work for and to whom they are accountable" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 129).

> *"At the end of the day their (local community members) concern is supreme. Whatever they say, is what we go by. Because we do not have knowledge, whatever we know we know from the community. (( )) Just that these concerns or ideas that they would share on the ground is very raw. We just have to nurture it and trim it to what we desire it to be. " (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 92 - 93)*

In other instances, CSOs publish newsletters in which they signal "factors that create uncertain circumstances for the farmers that make them reluctant to cut and replant their aged cocoa trees" to the greater public and foster public deliberation. ("SNV Website" 2018)

> *"We are the mouthpiece for these communities. We carry on our shoulders the very concerns of these communities to the relevant stakeholders." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)*

> *"We bring the issues up, but it is up to the government what to do with those decisions." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)*

The strong link to the constituency of the RGSs on the other hand, relates to their conceptualization as community-based authority systems. For example, the conceptualization of the CREMA mechanism, its processes and its structure, offers a way by which it "aggregate and build consensus at multiple social scales across a landscape" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 4). The CREMA establishes a structure at the level of the village or community, which offers for all the interest groups to take part and have their voice heard. The inclusive and adaptive nature of this management system creates possibilities to discourse differences of opinion and assist in democratic decision-making processes. Similar in process and structure, the LMB has formulated objectives to resolve disputes and to improve coordination among stakeholders. This target gives shape to its communicative action, as through this coordination the organisation fosters political deliberation through enabling concerns and interests of individuals to be brought up to a higher level of decision making and to be discussed (e.g. lack of farming material) and provides a channel of communication to state from the grassroot level of society.

> *"Translator: (...) The community meets, (...) come out with their concerns to the cluster. The cluster think also about it. And verify from the community before it gets to the LMB, the top level.*

> *" (...)We consult the chiefs, the traditional authorities, and after that we consult the other stakeholders, like FC, the DA, so that they know what we are doing." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67-69, 150 and 154)*

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the communicative role of CSOs in the JBL and their revealead organisational properties that allow them to perform in the role. Below the table a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed roles. Whereas the outer circle represents the communicative role as a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles (i.e. channel to state, and to society) and their size refers to their perceived prevalence to the process of democratisation in the landscape.

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
with state	Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms	Close relation to state (local, district, national)
		Non-confrontational advocacy strategy
	Forming of working groups	Ability to talk to state officials
	Involving media outlets	Informal contacts to state officials
with society	Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms	Close relation to constituency
		Membership participation
	Forming of working groups	Ability to translate complex issues into simple messages
	Involving media outlets	Advocacy strategy

Table 7: Summary communicative role (JBL)
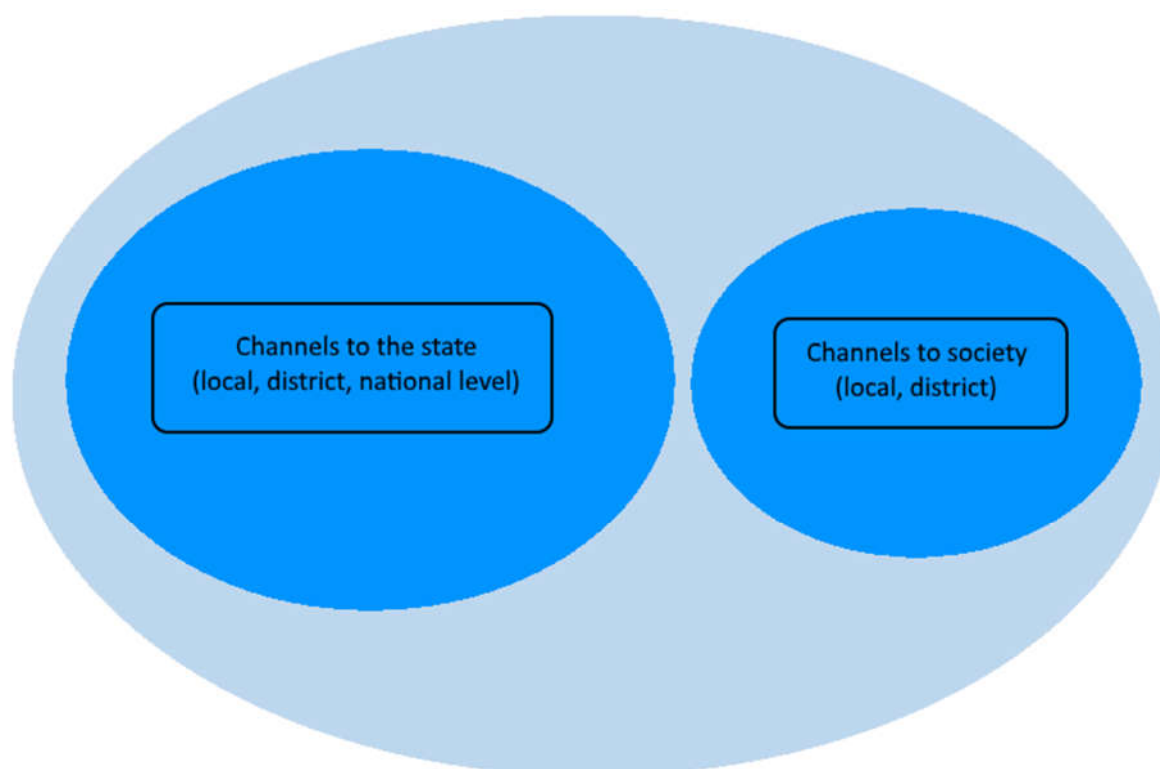
Figure 9: Communicative role performed by CSOs (JBL)

4.1.2.3. Representational role

As before mentioned, this role refers to the content of communication and to the voice of the people being brought forward to the political system and the greater public. This is especially important for marginalised groups as they have little other means, such as economic resources or political ties, for defending their interests. CSOs can offer an avenue through which citizens can still influence policies and practices of governments, companies and societal groups (Lewis

and Kanji 2009). Although the role also includes the resistance to the state, offering a check and balance system to the abuse of power, it must be pointed out that none of the investigated CSOs in the JBL perform in the role by opposing the state (resistance) or by using its veto power. Overall the investigation into the organisational performances revealed that this role is the most prevalent political role of the CSOs in the JBL, in particular the indirect presentation of voice. In fact, the interviewed CSOs focus all on the representation of voice instead of opposing the system. Ideally this aspect of the role of representation is fulfilled by letting the people to speak for themselves in a direct form of representation. However, the mode of representation of the explored CSOs is more indirect. It is done through political and *normal* advocacy (Jenkins, 2006), and campaigning, which both seem to be the most important strategies for CSOs to present the voice of people in the JBL. The performance in this role directly relates to their strategic positioning as "advocates", aiming aim to "have cordial relationship(s)" with the government (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 163). Without exceptions these strategies are chosen to be non-confrontational.

> *"We do not argue, we do not go to court, we do not all of that." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115)*

> *"We are not going to ↑ court (h). For such engagement, but we have cordial relationship with them (…) We mostly invite them to our demonstration plot and also to our field visits" (Solidaridad Interview (CP), 2018, Paragraph 163)*

> *"Basically (...) It is some kind of two-way approach. First, dialogue. When dialogue fails, it will be some kind of peaceful demonstration, trying to raise the landscapes awareness. So, they all can raise against (...) for better practices in the landscape. (...)" (Tropenbos Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29)*

The performance of the CSOs of the JBL in the representative role plays out in practice mostly through local and nation-wide advocacy for policy change, and participation in public debate through campaigning on behalf of their constituency (i.e. scrutinizing politicians and by this complementing voting) (Diamond 2005). Relating to most CSOs core mandate, they aim their actions to "bridge the gap between forest and policy" (TBG), "sustain popular participation in development policy thinking, dialogue, and consensus" (IDEG), and "participate in policy dialogues, making recommendation on policy changes" (CA). Through the presentation of the voice to the system they offer alternative ways by which people can contribute to democracy, outside during election periods, serving as a catalyst for the democratic system.

> *"(...) our role has always been advocacy and facilitation. So, we bring our issues as we see them on the ground <> but, in terms of making decisions, it is entirely in the hands of the government. (( ))" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 13)*

> *"RA in general, whatever decision that we take, we pass through Accra, the head office of the FC in Accra, we involve them. The central level too. It will go through the politicians to make policy." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, Paragraph 151)*

As an example of eNGOs advocacy work, Solidaridad partnered with UNDP to lead the development of the Ghana's On-Farm Tree Ownership Registration Protocol[49], which by now has been approved by the Forestry Commission (Field Coordinator, Environmental Sustainability Project (UNDP), personal communication, February 2nd, 2018). Here, they "engaged national and local actors on policy and regulatory frameworks for enhancing standards that support adoption of sustainability interventions in cocoa landscapes" ("Solidaridad Annualreport" 2016).

> *"Our key important groups (advocacy) are the government agencies. We work strongly with them, because they influence (...) we influence them to change policies. With the support all the other stakeholders, these people are our main target to change policies. " (Solidaridad Interview Cocoa Programme, 2018, Paragraph 155)*

In terms of campaigning, CA has engaged in activities that were aimed to create awareness among communities in the area and in this focuses on the connections between agriculture, biodiversity loss, water availability, and climate change in their campaign content. The organisation reaches out to farmers about their roles as ecosystem managers using radio programs, community presentations, community meetings, and open discussions to which local citizens can attend to ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018). The strategy of targeting certain social groups helps the organisation to source for insights that feed then into public campaign work and political advocacy of the organisation.

> *"At the end of the day their concern is supreme. Whatever they say, is what we go by. Because we do not have knowledge, whatever we know we know from the community. (( )) Just that these concerns or ideas that they would share on the ground is very raw. We just have to nurture it and trim it to what we desire it to be" (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 92 - 93)*

Next to a clearly defined strategy to engage in advocacy and lobby work[50], a critical organisational property in representing the voice of the people is a close link to them. In most cases this link to the constituency is maintained through community engagements and setting up local committees, even handing out telephone numbers to local people. However, the irregular contact between the eNGOs and TTs with their constituency leaves doubts about the legitimacy of the representational claims.

> *"Then we have our phone numbers left behind to enable them call. (( ))We also, for this project, we try to get community contact people. In fact, they are volunteers. " (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 70)*

> *" (...) One of the strategy is the face-to-face one. Where normally <> once you go for a meeting that you facilitate, you allow farmers to ask questions (( )) Then we have*

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[49] See Tree Tenure & Benefit Sharing Framework
(https://www.fcghana.org/userfiles/files/MLNR/Tree%20Tenure%20final%20(2).pdf)
[50] See the Green Livelihood Alliance Working Plan for 2018: "Achieving Sustainably managed landscapes in Juabeso Bia Landscape through lobby and advocacy for the Juabeso Bia Landscape"

our phone numbers left behind to enable them call. (( )) We also, for this project, we try to get community contact people (...)" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 70)

"we set up little committees. In every community we set up a committee. That whenever there is an issue or problem or new information, or something to be shared" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)

Regardless of the clear focus of indirect representation, the local CSOs also organize people to speak for themselves, "mobilizing them into associations' platforms, networks, coalitions and organisations" (Serwah et al. 2018). By this they inspire people to participate politically and "improve the functioning of democratic institutions" (Diamond 1999; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 580). In particular – on the landscape scale - this performance is fulfilled by the RGSs and IDEGs GIFNet initiative, as it relates to their mandate to support public participation in local governance processes. Through these cooperatives local people are to discuss issues of poorly negotiated social responsibility agreements, for example to champion reforms towards more favourable tree tenure and benefit sharing (Serwah et al. 2018). Through the mobilisation of citizens in organisations so they can speak for themselves, local CSOs promote plurality, and enhance inclusiveness, by making sure that a broader set of interests are brought forward (Jenkins 2006a).

Additionally, IDEG has spent efforts in establishing platforms of civic space that helped citizens to organise to speak for themselves (IDEG 2016). This has played out in the form of the Civic Empowerment of Cocoa Communities (CECC), seeking "to build skills and competencies for collective action, and to establish effective mechanisms to improve the mobilization of nonstate actors in the rural districts" (IDEG 2018). Through the creation of a more conducive and enabling environment the CECC project provides the JBL with a platform for direct interface between civic groups and local government decision makers. This is crucial in sustaining the growth of strong civic participation, accountability and public service delivery at the sub-national level. Moreover – on the international level, but with local effect – the think tank has contributed to the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI), a global network to expand and legitimize the role of civil society in economic policymaking and to strengthen the organized challenge to structural adjustment programs by citizens around the globe ("IDEG Website" 2018).

Interestingly the role of the local resource management organisations plays out differently than the role of the eNGOs and TTs. Theory indicates that representational role "implies active participation in a public debate" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 130). For the community governance systems like the CREMA and LMB, this plays only out in the local context, as they have a potential role to play in representing the community in stakeholder aggregations where negotiations with traditional leaders, farmers and communities take place (i.e. in REDD+ project implementation[51]). Here, the they can help to "solve some of the main social, tenure,

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[51] Safeguarding High Value Conservation Areas in ten communities

technical and benefit-sharing challenges associated with implementing REDD+ in community-based carbon projects" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 7). Mostly since they do not engage in advocacy and campaigning activities per se, and that their responsibility largely does not go beyond the community level. For example, they pitch in their voice when it comes to landscape level policy making, and the formation of bylaws. Here, they do actively "present the democratic system with a more differentiated and constant flow of input" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 586). This is made possible through their structure and their embeddedness with the WD (CREMA), or in the project[52] cycle (LMB) and their relation to local DA members as well as to local traditional authorities.

> *"I: (…) what sort of decisions is the CREMA involved in, in the landscape?*

> *B2: The bylaws. (…) Developing by laws at the district level. CREMA is involved in that. Anything related to environmental resources." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22 - 23)*

> *"They (the community members) all are involved in these by laws." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)*

> *"my duty (is) to protect my community and the members too. Any information which (…) I have to send it to the chief. The chief maybe allows me then to go to the district assembly or go to the WD and inform them. (( ))" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the representational role of CSOs in the JBL, and indicates the revealead organisational properties that allows them to perform in the role. Below the table a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed subroles of the role (i.e. direct voice, indirect voice). Where as the outer circle represents the political role in a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the revealed subroles, and their size refers to their perceived prevalence to the process of democratisation in the landscape. The empty circle indicates the absence of a political (sub)role.

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[52] Olam/Rainforest Alliance Climate Cocoa Partnership and REDD+ Pilot Project by Olam
(https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/uploaded/2017/03/Factsheet_Olam-ZG.pdf)

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
Indirect voice	Advocating for local ownership in conservation processes Representing communities in stakeholder aggregations – i.e. in REDD+ project implementation Advocating for feasibility of building cocoa processing industries in JBL Advocating for 'Empowering Cocoa Communities towards Wealth Creation' Campaigning for inclusive landscape management in Ghana	Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) Demarcated constituency Ability to formulate advocacy message Network with other organisations Use of research as input
Direct voice	Mobilizing members into citizen-led governance structure Mobilizing citizens into GIFNet	Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) Inclusive decision-making process Open voluntary membership

Table 8: Summary representational role (JBL)
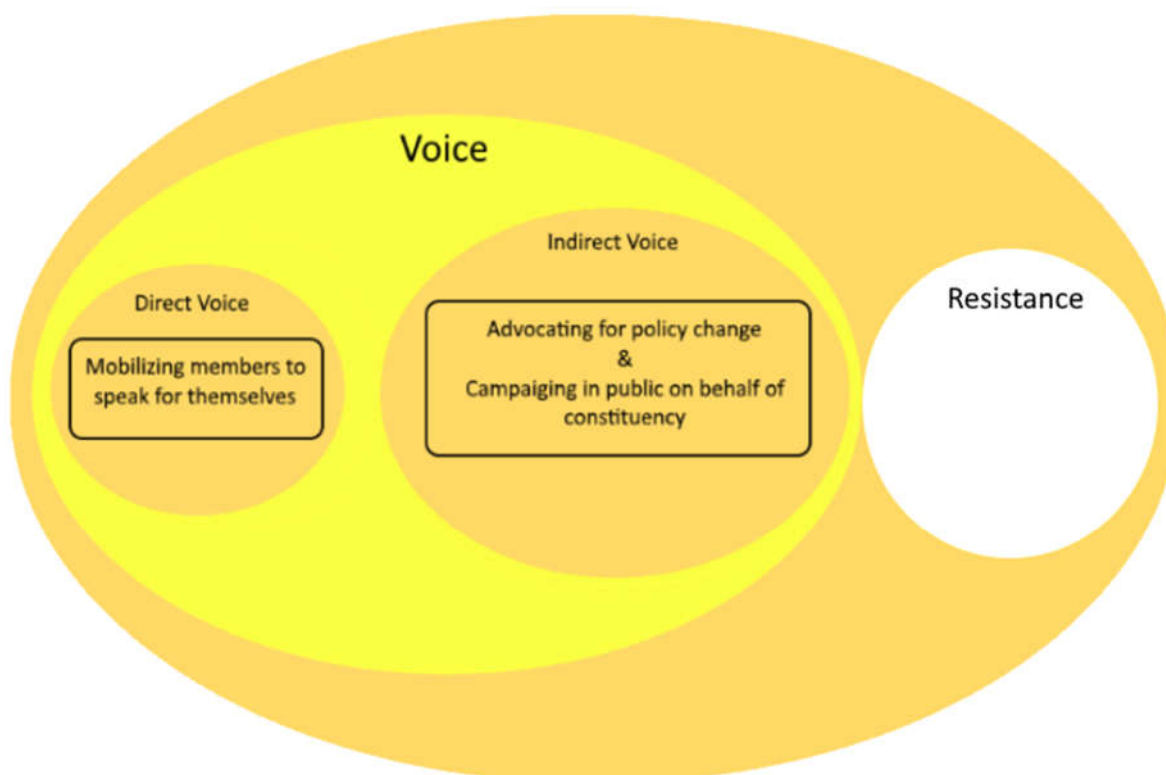
Figure 10: Representational role performed by CSOs (JBL)

4.1.2.4. Cooperative role

The CSOs in the JBL with access to specialist knowledge and to partners such as universities and CSO network partners, are the most crucial co-operators for the state in terms of subsidiarity and coordination in the JBL. The theory highlights this importance of resources and capacities to perform in the cooperative role, mostly referring to capacities of social service deliverance, and those that allows them to connect with stakeholders, generate knowledge and

influence public policy negotiations (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). Through the CSO-state cooperation and assisting it in its responsibilities the CSOs contribute to democracy as they support the state "to build pockets of efficiency within government agencies and provide strategic partners for reform-orientated ministries" (Clarke 1998, 49).

This is what was mostly found to be the case for the eNGOs and TTs in the JBL. The subsidiarity function[53] in particular was performed by the more capable environmental CSOs, using their more balanced relations to the state and the local people as well as their internal capabilities to deliver social services in the area. This however, shall not exclude the local resource governance systems from the role they perform in in the context of the landscape[54], but refers to the ability of bigger CSOs to perform on all scales of engagement (e.g. local, district and national).

The service delivery function by which these CSOs "fill voids in the governments social service-delivery role" (Clarke 1998, 49) mostly refers to capacity building activities of citizens and state officials. In the case of the JBL, these activities include agricultural trainings to farmers and providing assistance in farm renewal, giving access to fertilizer and pesticides and carrying out cocoa tree planting exercises, generally increasing yield; and enhancing participatory governance and public accountability. In a more localized and constrained way the local resource management organisation supplement state function by standing in for it, for instance in forest protection activities (i.e. anti – poaching or looking out for elicit tree felling).

To illustrate the support of the local economy, SNV has set out to assist farmers to cut old unproductive cocoa trees and nurture improved seedlings (SNV Interview 2018). These farm renovations relate to the issue of cocoa trees in the JBL, that often over-aged and in poor health, and that cocoa yields are diminishing. The CSO's activities support Ghana's Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Program (CORIP)[55], which is meant to provide support services to cocoa farmers in Ghana through improvements in the cocoa production system and training. Also, these activities are in line with Ghana's ambitions to make the cocoa sector economically and environmentally sustainable through the promotion of climate-smart approaches to cocoa farming[56].

> *"The farmer needs to help us to identify his farm < > then afterwards the farmer (...)*
> *once we come and cut the farm, the rule is to do the land preparation yourself. We*
> *will also provide you with inputs and materials. We give you the seedlings, thus,*

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[53] Here: „The principle of subsidiarity refers to CSOs as alternative modes of governance."(Kamstra 2017)

[54] Through activities that include educating farmers on farming practices (subsidiary function to Ghana's cocoa growth ambitions) and forest conservation, and its members on issues like tree planting and legal issues (subsidiary to the mandate of the FC/WD)

[55] implemented by Solidaridad together with COCOBOD, International Centre for Soil Fertility and Agricultural Development (IFDC) and other private sector partners.

[56] The 'One-District-One-Factory' programme is aimed at establishing, at least, one factory or enterprise in each of the 216 districts of Ghana as a means of creating economic growth poles that would accelerate the development of those areas and create jobs for the teeming youth (www.ghana.gov.gh)

cocoa seedlings, we give you the temporary (Plantain suckers) and permanent shade
(tree species)." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 56)

In another effort to stand in for the state, RA has engaged in massive tree planting exercises throughout the area of the JBL. Importantly, fostering tree planting and agroforestry is a key part of the policy reform of the Ghana's Cocoa Forest REDD+ Programme (i.e. emissions reductions). Through these exercises in the JBL, RA has organized farmers to plant more than 15,000 native shade trees, supplied more than 60.000 seedlings, and restored 260 ha of degraded land which 642 acres are cocoa farms ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). Moreover, in negotiation with the FC, the organisation has achieved that "the government began to recognize ownership of non-cocoa trees on cocoa farms for the first time" ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018)

> *"The degraded area, we educate them. So, RA buys them seedlings. Economic tree*
> *seedlings. And educate them why they should plant. Then that one is free of charge.*
> *Anyone who plant off-coco-area, like on productive lands, we supply to them. As of*
> *now we have supplied more than 60.000 seedlings in six years now. SO that way we*
> *give to them local wood species. (Adom, Mahogany, etc.) We normally buy from*
> *FORIG. We are facilitating with the government to register them (the planted areas*
> *and trees). So, they (the farmers) own the trees themselves. We are facilitating for the*
> *FC, to give the ownership to the farmers. This is one of the activities we are doing."*
> *(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

> *"Anyone who plant off-coco-area, like on productive lands, we supply to them."*
> *(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

Furthermore, RAs implemented landscape activities were directly linked to Ghana's agricultural and environmental policy for cocoa production and biodiversity and is working directly with government agencies and other actors involved in preparing national strategies for REDD+, ensuring that landscape level realities feed into national-scale dialogues and policy development (Gockowski and Sonwa 2011; X. Government of Ghana 2016; Brasser 2013)

CA also aids governmental agencies with supplying a service to local communities, that would usually fall under the mandate of the FC and the WD. For instance, CA subsidises services of the state through conducting tree planting exercises with the communities, looking at mitigation processes of elephants, and mapping of local farm land. To do so, the FC and FORIG supplies seedlings to the organisations, that are then handed out to community members. However, the ability to deliver services depends much on available resources, which are not always sufficient ("Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018). CA also has assisted farmers in the JBL with demarking their farms (farm mapping), with support of GPS.

> *"So, when it comes to the boundary clearing (...) the tree planting activities, our*
> *organisation is part of the actively involved, with the FC and with the WD. What we*
> *do with them is (...) we engage them on bio diversity conservation, by organizing*
> *wildlife societies classes within the rural schools around the fringe communities in*

our landscape. Beside all these activities, we also collaborate with these very
organisations (...) for support (inaud.) technical, in terms of crop raiding, for
instance. (...) (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)

"A printed copy of their farm map is handed over to the farmer to assist in planning
work on the farm and also to make decisions concerning the application of
agrochemicals, fertilizers and shade trees on the farm (...) farmers have testified that
knowing the correct size of their farms has helped saved funds that use for other
things." ("International Finance Corporation" 2018)

Lastly relating to the subsidiary function to the state is IDEGS complementation of the government in areas such as participatory governance, where – with activities like the GIFNet actions – IDEG educates local citizens to promote political participation. A service that is in line with Article 35 (d)of Ghana's 1992 constitution, stating that there should be "all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision- making at every level in national life and in government" (IDEG 2016). This also relates to the organisations motto to "enable state actors to successfully pursue economic, political and social development in Ghana" ("IDEG Website" 2018).

"What happened in the JBL is (...) we give training to the people, to our members
there. We train them how to lobby, the local authorities. We train them how to hold
them accountable, for some of the things they have done. We also train them to
monitor and to evaluate the kind of projects that take place in that particular
landscape." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)

Next to supplementing the state and filling service voids, investigated CSOs also perform in the cooperative role by coordinating with the state. The central aspect of this specific cooperative role is an organisations ability to coordinate in complex high-level policy issues especially those involving multiple stakeholders, a function the under-resourced RGSs struggle to perform in. In coordinating with the state organisations complement the government in complex areas like natural resource management, bio-diversity conservation and sustainable development[57]. Overall, the TTs are better geared to collaborate with the state then eNGOs and the RGSs – based on their strong ties to national level government and their setup as think-tanks. Also supporting them in this role: recognizing the strong organisational properties towards a coordinative potential, Ghanaian government officials keep close ties with NGOs and policy think-tanks to compensate for the lack of "in-house" research capacities to generate evidence that can inform policy directions (Louis and Ohemeng 2018; Stapenhurst and Pelizzo 2012).

"Because if they are not professional in that land, it is very difficult to understand.
This is why we play advocacy role, to explain (...) it takes time. Politicians want to

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[57] For example, NCRC has lead a Climate Smart Cocoa Working group that is largely made up of the private sector and government institutions working to shift the sector to a climate smart production state over the next 20 years. This was in relation to the Cocoa Carbon Initiative (CCI) to address the role of cocoa farming in deforestation and forest degradation

> *see quick things, visible things... employment" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 167)*

In the JBL, the think-tank IDEG coordinates closely with the local representatives of the FC, on issues such as illegal mining that impacts the landscape. The think-tanks research capacities and expertise, and the capacity to organize roundtable discussions – like the "National Advocacy Dialogue on Empowering Cocoa Communities towards Wealth Creation [58]" - are useful organisational properties for IDEG to be a cooperative partner to the state (Emmanuel Kwame Donkor 2018).

> *"We collaborate with them (FC) (...) to be able to solve the problems facing the*
> *community. Such as the problem of illegal mining that is destroying the landscape. "*
> *(IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 56 - 57)*

Figure 11: IDEG Workshop (IDEG Website, 2018)

In a further example of a think-tank coordinating with the state in the context of the JBL, the NCRC performance plays out through involving multiple actors with state agencies. An example is the Climate Smart Cocoa Working Group[59], that was set up to "to address issues of sustainability within the sector and to explore the potential for carbon finance or climate mitigation benefits" (NCRC/Forest Trends 2014, 1). Through this coordination NCRC has also played a role in supporting Ghana's Forest Investment Plan (NCRC/Forest Trends 2014).

> *"Then we created working groups, and everyone came to the table. We discussed*
> *what we wanted to do and discussed the process"*
>
> *"It brought together government, private sector, research, civil society (...) there*
> *were maybe 20 people at the table, top thinkers. (...) That working group issued out a*
> *small number of consultancies. We wrote 20 years vision. And what's the pathway to*

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[58] https://www.ideg.org/media-centre/events-schedules/national-advocacy-dialogue/
[59] The working group itself has broad membership, drawing participation from the cocoa industry, government, banks, insurance, farmers associations, civil society, and research institutions. These include: Armajaro, OLAM, Zurich Insurance Group, Pricewaterhouse Coopers, Stanbic Bank, Agricultural Development Bank Ghana Forestry Commission, Ghana's National Insurance Commission, Cocoa Abrabopa Association, Helveta, and The World Bank, in addition to NCRC and ForestTrends.

> *get there (…) It was basically business-as-usual vs. vision-pathway, and we call it*
> *climate-smart coco pathway." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29 & 71)*

However, not only the TTs coordinate with the state. Part of CAs general working approach is to "bring together the people and skills needed to build Africa's capacity" and to "improve the performance of government agencies, organisations and projects" (Conservation Alliance Programmes 2016). This plays out more in practice through their involvement in the transboundary project between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Here, CA is part of the project steering committee where the organisation coordinates the project execution with key institutions such as the , FC, the WD, the FAO Department and the Global Environmental Facility ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018).

In a more local context, TBG coordinates closely with the DA of the Juabeso District and provides them with guidelines on how to integrate eco system services in their mid-term development plans. This is where TBGs strong relations with the state and research institutes come in. In order to build a network and generate localized knowledge, TBG has organized and attended several workshops and roundtable discussions throughout Ghana, on topics relating to artisanal mining, organize stakeholder dialogues, identification of synergies between FLEGT/VPA and REDD+ initiatives, etc. (TBG 2016).

> *"we guide them (inaud.) how they do some of these things. As far as environmental*
> *and natural resource (inaud.) might be another concern. We have been a kind of*
> *point of call for them. Seeking advice on how that should be done." (Tropenbos*
> *Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 16 - 17)*

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the cooperative role of CSOs in the JBL, and indicates the revealead organisational properties that allows them to do so. Below the table, a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed subroles of the role (i.e. subsidiarity, coordination). Where as the outer circle represents the political role in a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles, and their size refers to the revleaed prevalence of certain performances that have been found in the landscape.

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
Subsidiarity	Standing in for FC (i.e. monitoring forest activities)	Close relation to state (local, district, national)
	Increasing cocoa yield supports Ghana's Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Program	Service delivery capacity
		Network with other organisations
	Supporting citizens in processes of public participation (Art. 34 (6d) Const.)	
	Creating service centers supports COCOBOD technical service delivery (access to farming equipment)	
	Increasing cocoa yield supports Ghana's Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Program	
	Tree planting feeds into Ghana On-Farm Tree Ownership Registration Protocol and Ghana's Cocoa Forest REDD+ Programme	
Coordination	Influencing national strategies for Ghana's REDD+ Programme	Close relation to state (local, district, national)
	Assisting local government in establishing farm borders and improve the security of land and regulations on tree tenure	Specialist (local) knowledge
		Professional staff
	Contributing to FLEGT/VPA and REDD+ initiatives	Network with organisations
	Contributing to formation of local by-laws	Organizing meetings and discussions
	Shaping Climate-smart Agricultural Finance working group	

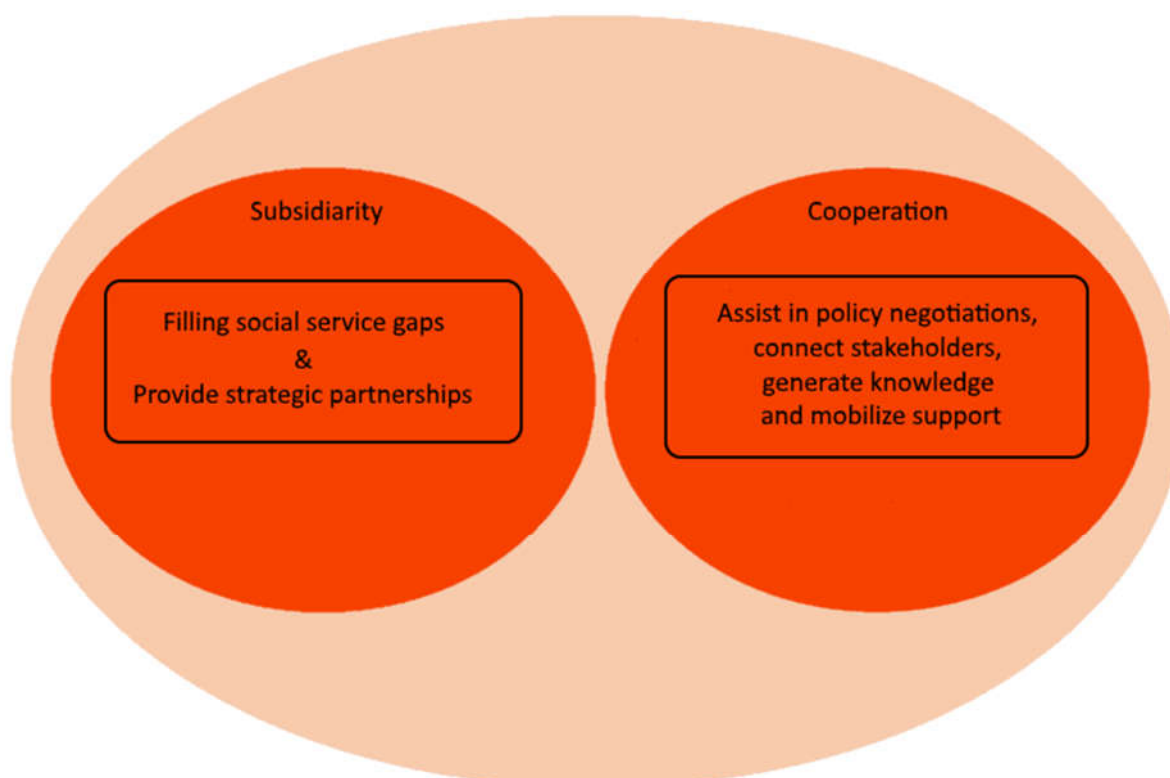**Table 9: Summary cooperative role (JBL)**

Figure 12: Cooperative Role performed by CSOs (JBL)

4.2. Atewa Forest Landscape – the "Gold Landscape"

This second half of the results section turns to the organisational properties of CSOs engaged in the landscape of the Atewa Forest Reserve, followed by an elaboration of their political roles. After a scan[60] for CSOs in the area of the Atewa Hills in the Eastern Region of Ghana eleven CSOs were interviewed, of which only six were taken into the following assessment[61]. Prior to the aggregation of results individual analyses on the individual organisations properties and their political roles were carried out and are supplemented in the appendix of this document.

Following the aggregative approach in showcasing the results from the previous chapter, this section also discusses organisational properties and political roles combinedly. The aggregation is based on similarities in mission, internal and external strategies and internal structures. However, unlike the CSOs in the JBL, the examined organisations in the AFL share similar characteristics. Overall the CSOs are organisations that are working to preserve natural resources and promote participatory resource governance, with one small deviation that includes a humanitarian focus, attending not only the environment but to issues of human rights in communities affected by mining operations.

Name	Est. (Ghana)	Type	Thematic	Size	Responder
A Rocha Ghana (ARG)	1999	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Nature conservation community development	Big	Project Manager
Solidaridad (Gold Programme)	1969	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Sustainable supply-chain Responsible mining practices	Big	Programme Manager
Wassa association of communities affected by mining (WACAM)	1998	Humanitarian NGO	Mining and human rights	Small	Programme Officer
Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)	2000	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Nature conservation natural resource management	Small	Executive Secretary
Save the Frogs! (STF)	2011	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Amphibian and reptile conservation	Small	Project Coordinator
Herp Ghana (HG)	2011	Environmental NGO (eNGO)	Amphibian and reptile conservation	Small	Executive Director

Table 5 : Overview of investigated CSOs (AFL) (size : 0 – 20 small, 21 – 40 medium, 41< big)

4.2.1. Organisational properties of CSOs in the AFL

The following part turns to the aggregated organisational properties (i.e. mission, strategy, relations, internal structure, and resources), by elaborating on each of them individually and illustrating the most crucial characteristics by using quotes and examples found. It further compares the properties of what theory suggests with those how they have been found to be the case in practice.

To provide a comprehensive overview, the following table (13) indicates each organisations properties which forms the bases of the subsequent aggregated chapter. The organisational

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[60] An overview of organisations involved in the area of the Atewa Forest Reserve was provided by A Rocha Ghana.
[61] See methodology (selection refers to duplication of data)

property of missions – being full statements and subject of interpretation – is presented in a different table (), see further below.

	Organisational properties	CSO				
		A Rocha	WACAM	STF/HG	OEF	Solidaridad GP
Strategies	Use of research as input	x	x	x	x	x
	Advocacy strategy (non-confrontational)	x	x	x	x	(x)
	Distinguished constituency	x	x		x	x
	Organizing discussions	x	x		x	x
Relations	Informal contacts with the state officials	x	x		x	x
	Relations with the state (Close)	x	x		(x)	(x)
	Independence from the state	x	x	x		x
	Relations with the constituency (close)	(x)	(x)	x		x
	Network with other NGOs	x	x	x	x	x
	Relations to universities/institutes	x	x	x	x	x
int. Structure	Active/Passive membership (with large base)	x	(x)	x	x	
	Participatory DMP (Democratic)	x	(x)	x	x	
Resources	Professional staff	x	x	x	x	x
	Ability to translate complex issues	x	x	x	x	x
	Presence in the area (large)	x	x		x	
	Mobilisation capacity	x	x	x	x	
	Service delivery capacity	x	x	x	x	x

Table 10: Overview organisational properties of identified CSOs (AFL)

4.2.1.1. Missions

Considering the issues stakeholders in the AFL struggle with, the majority of the missions CSOs engaged in the area relate to "protecting the rich natural resources … for present and future generations", ".. the rights of affected mining communities", "contributing to the effective management of the earth's resources through sustainable and innovative actions" ("OEF Interview" 2018; WACAM 2018; "A Rocha Website" 2018). Although the CSOs follow their individual objectives for the area in their own fields, a shared interest is the conversion of the forest reserve in a national park (see table 6 for overview of CSO mission statements).

> *"We want them to be taken aboard and their views to be respected. In terms of any decision making has to do with the forest (( )) How are community decisions (…) you know, how are their views carried across into any such plans. These are things we are trying to do, through the various engagements, workshops, platforms < >" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

> *"Our main focus is to address all the environmental concerns in the kingdom all 800 towns." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 5)*

> *"With the gold programme, the main objective is to help to increase production of responsible gold, in the small-scale mining sector." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)*

Facilitated by A Rocha Ghana - the flagship organisation in the area - and constituted by a number of local CSOs[62] is a group of concerned stakeholders that share this goal of the Atewa Forest Reserve becoming a national park, improving landscape management and protection of biodiversity – and for most, halting government plans to convert the forest reserve into a commercial mining area. For several years, these organisations have been working jointly on strategies for conserving the forests biodiversity and making the management of the area more participatory ("A Rocha Website" 2018). Relating endeavours build on the "Atewa Critical Conservation Action Programme (ACCAP)", a programme that has been set up to lessen the threats to the Atewa Forest Reserve. Results from this were awareness-raising and advocacy activities which resulted in greater international as well as local visibility of the threats to Atewa (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018; Schep et al. 2016; RMSC 2016). In their efforts to conserve the natural habitat of the Atewa Forest, this coalition of CSOs[63] has committed to a national campaign, "appealing to the Government of Ghana to abandon its plans with the Government of China to extract bauxite – the ore of aluminium – from the Atewa Hills" (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018; "A Rocha Website" 2018). Beyond these projects, A Rocha is also an implementing partner of the objectives of the Green Livelihoods Alliance (GLA). A collaborative programme between the Dutch Millieudefensie, IUCN Netherlands and Tropenbos International, which It aims to contribute to inclusive, equitable and sustainable governance of forest landscapes in nine countries, including Ghana's Atewa Forest Reserve and the Juabeso-Bia District. In the context of this programme, A Rocha Ghana is mobilizing key stakeholders, both state and non-state actors with a focus on improving "policy and legislative implementation towards the security of international public goods".

> *"Our vision is to care for god's creation. That is the vision that we have. In caring for god's creation, working with all interested parties (...) you know (...) in a very inclusive way." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25)*

In an effort to address issues that drive environmental degradation and impact water resources, CSOs generally align their missions to matters relating mineral (gold) extraction, including issues of human rights, most predominantly by WACAM. This aligns with their mission statements „to protect the environment, natural resources and rights of affected mining communities" (WACAM 2016). For them, not only impacts on the environment, but on livelihoods are of particular concern, as artisanal small-scale miners (and their families) often experience a limitation in their rights, and more commonly are exposed to harsh working and living conditions in a high-risk context (Chupezi, Ingram, and Schure 2018). To manage these conditions this humanitarian CSO and other environmentally orientated organisations concern themselves with issues of human rights and responsible mining in Ghana ("WACAM

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[62] The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining in Atewa was formed June 2012 to commemorate Rio + 20 to advocate for the 'Future We Want' for Atewa. Members of the coalition include; Save The Frogs Ghana, Conservation Alliance, Centre for Environmental Impact Analysis, Rainforest Friends Ghana, WACAM, Forest Watch Ghana, Ghana Wildlife Society and A Rocha Ghana (A Rocha Website,2018)

[63] The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining Atewa (CONAMA)

Interview" 2018; "Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018). Their main activities to address these challenges is to engage in political advocacy and lobby work, as well as employ itself in campaigning and representation activities of affected communities on the subnational, national as well as the international level[64] ("WACAM Interview" 2018; "Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018).

> *"We are more a liaison between us and the community we are working with. We deal directly with the communities"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4)*

> *"We are a supply-chain organisation, to support various commodities to improve their supply chains. We target specific areas (...) based on the challenges faced by this particular area and find ways of resolving these challenges. Generally, we do say, that we assist, vulnerable producers." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)*

> *"With the gold programme, the main objective is to help to increase production of responsible gold, in the small-scale mining sector." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)*

Solidaridad, as an NGO organisation that focuses on responsible commodity supply-chains, in particular in Ghana on the supply chains of cocoa, palm oil, and gold, focuses its activities on the "the people who produce the resources on which we all depend" ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018). Their gold programme with the main objective to improve environmental, safety, social and business practices is builds on a framework outlined by the Fairmined Standard for Gold and Associated Precious Metals that aims to transform artisanal and small-scale mining and improve the quality of life of miners. Some of their engagements relate to projects such as the 'Partnering for Better Livelihoods in the Gold Supply Chain' project with the goal to improve livelihoods of mining communities, health access, and women empowerment. And the 'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana' project, aiming at improving collaboration among the various stakeholders in the small-scale mining sector through platform level discussions in order to resolve the challenges of the sector.

> *"With the gold programme, the main objective is to help to increase production of responsible gold, in the small-scale mining sector." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)*

> *"We are a supply-chain organisation, to support various commodities to improve their supply chains. We target specific areas (...) based on the challenges faced by this particular area and find ways of resolving these challenges. Generally, we do say, that we assist, vulnerable producers. That is a bit general, but of course we*

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[64] WACAM has made contribution for policy change to the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) and a number of other international policies regarding mining ("WACAM Interview" 2018)

cannot just assist producers, we assist other actors in the supply chain of various commodities." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)

The following table provides an overview of the general mission statements of the respective CSOs and their main involvement in the landscape (table 11).

cat.	Name	General mission statement	Project/Programme
CSOs	**A Rocha Ghana**	to contribute to the effective management of the earth's resources through sustainable and innovative actions	- Protecting Atewa Forest and Water Resource - Community-Led Governance and Management of Atewa Forest Range Landscape
	Solidaridad (Gold Programme)	together we learn and progress, together we achieve results, and together we decide on future steps	- Partnering for Better Livelihoods in the Gold Supply Chain - Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana - Improving Access to Technical and Financial Services in the Small-Scale Mining Sector - Going for Gold
	WACAM	to protect the environment, natural resources and rights of affected mining communities within a legal framework that is sensitive to the concerns of mining communities	- Community outreaches (10 of 40 communities in the Atewa area) - founding member of CONAMA
	Okyeman Environment Foundation	to manage the rich natural resources of Okyeman in a sustainable manner for the benefit of the present and future generations operates under this unit	- founding member of CONAMA
	Save the Frogs!	to protect amphibian populations and to promote a society that respects and appreciates nature and wildlife	- founding member of CONAMA
	Herp Ghana	to undertake research, create awareness, mobilize response for important policy, build capacity and contribute expertise on the conservation of amphibians and reptiles both locally and internationally	- founding member of CONAMA

Table 11: Overview CSO mission statement and CSO project involvement (AFL)

4.2.1.2. Strategies

Having set their goals for the area, to improve landscape management and to address major drivers of environmental degradation and issues of human rights, the CSOs focus their activities on the ground to achieve these goals mostly through actions of capacity building and representational work, campaigning and advocacy on various levels. In their efforts to enhance local capacities, the CSOs focus on strengthening skills, competencies and abilities of people and communities in small businesses and local grassroots movements. More specifically, CSOs engage local people in environmental trainings, sensitize them on their rights and the local policy environment, and mobilize concerned groups into cooperative associations.

"We are also educating the community on the existing policies (inaud.) So, we thought that that was more sustainable, because it was changing their practices." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28)

"At the end of the day, our engagement has the message that we send out to the people: We need to ensure, when you are using any resources that god has given us, you need to use in a more balanced way. When you want to go digging, there is a way to go about it. If you are taking your gold, then you also should not be polluting the water for someone else, within the community, or a downstream user. (( ))" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29)

Figure 13: Gold particles washed out in AFL (Source: A Rocha)

Next to making the public aware of environmental issues threatening livelihoods, CSOs also aim to increase capacities through "sensitization and community empowerment (…) to understand issues of the extractives and now their rights in relation to that. " (WACAM Interview, 2018). For instance, the organisations are administering trainings to "mine workers on safety, environmental, gender issues, policy training" as well as to other members of mining communities, addressing "health issues and women empowerment issues (…) to educate them to know some of the policies in place" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28).

"The role that we play is to ensure that, you know, we educate all interested parties including the government and the communities." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 37)

"We make sure that we provide them with the needed knowledge, the right education, so that they will be well informed, to be able to engage those who are in charge (...) the process of decision making." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)

"we try to also get involved in various interventions, which could be behaviour change, sometimes also restoration of (inaud.) habitats and then the final one that we put (...) is actually policy (...) to use all these things to influence policy" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)

> *"We are doing advocacy, we are trying to carry the voices of our local constituency*
> *to the national level" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99)*

In terms of external strategies, activities that are directed to the wider political and organisational environment, CSOs aim to improve access to technical and financial services through extending their organisations networks, but as well though reaching out to governmental agencies. This refers to the quality and availability of services that the miners need to operate responsibly – and target to influence policies of Ghana's mining laws – aiming to improve collaboration among the various stakeholders in the small-scale mining sector through platform level discussions.

> *"We engage the CSOs, CBOs, the networks, like the interfaith networks. Christian*
> *and Muslim leaders." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59)*

> *"We work closely together with other NGOs in ATEWA. So, in that case is a lot of*
> *engagement" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27)*

> *"We work with all these levels, including even the national level. Some of the*
> *engagement that we are doing, especially when it comes to the issue of the bauxite*
> *(...) the key decision is a government decision. A plan that they have put out to (...) in*
> *terms of trying to change their mind, you cannot just sit on the local level and try to*
> *influence government policy solely at this level. It has to be (...) the engagement has*
> *to transcend to the national level. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)*

> *"our focus is to influence policy, but we do believe that people who can influence*
> *policy directly are those who (...) are the right ones for these decisions." (WACAM*
> *Interview, 2018, Paragraph 24)*

For all these activities, may it be capacity building, campaigning or advocacy, the CSOs make use of research[65] as input to their claims, to provide their messages with insights on human right violations and environmental issues and with a degree of credibility. This "evidence-based" backing of their claims is a common approach among CSOs, as seen in the JBL. Using research as input, the CSOs can generate support for an issue or action, represent the views of their constituency and share their expertise and experiences, hold policy makers accountable and add or change policy issues (Pollard and Court 2005). In particular to the latter CSOs have a more nuanced approach to conduct themselves in their advocacy work. Where CSOs of the JBL stayed away from litigation and confrontational strategies, CSOs in the AFL are more willing to oppose other stakeholders in the public and to engage them through peaceful demonstrations and writing of petitions[66]. Interestingly, the displayed advocacy activities differ from *political* advocacy where the articulation of their position and mobilization of support and 'civic involvement' is central (See: WACAM and A Rocha), and *actual* advocacy that directly aims at influencing policy outcomes, depending on the situation (See: Solidaridad). In this

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[65] Using a general definition of research as 'any systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge' (OECD 1994)
[66] See Petition for Actions: Save Atewa Forest Reserve: http://www.saveatiwa.com.gh/petition.php#.Wydu3af7RPY

strategy of "natural system approach", organisations look for the most beneficiary strategy given their resources and institutional constrictions (Jenkins 2006b).

> " Trying to find space to meet with the key government persons. One on one. So, they also see the other side. (( )) We are also trying to do that. But when worse comes to worse, that means that, those actions that you talked about, taking the government to court, writing petitions and all that. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)

Figure 14: Participation in Protest march "Protect Atewa[67]" (Source: myjoyonline.com)

One CSO stands out in this perspective of confrontational advocacy, being the only one that confronts the state and market and steps into the breach to correct failures of these actors and aims to meet public welfare obligations.

> "We have held some multinational mining companies, and local mining companies responsible, and provided evidence for some wrong doings. And none of them has ever been able to take WACAM on for defamation. In directly, we are the devils in their eyes" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 84)

> "We sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we are working in, we can issue statements and make recommendations." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)

Being in the opposition however has its tolls on their reputation, in particular with the mining companies, as they are engaging in "direct campaigns to name and shame international mining companies operating in Ghana, who are violating rights" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42). But WACAM also presses the political system with their campaigns. Some of their actions – in regard to the AFL – concern the employment chances of miners[68], and the

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[67] Atewa Heroes Walk 95km for Water: No Bauxite Mining! during the World Water Day. A group by name, Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape, represented by civil society organizations, NGOs, Youth Groups, Interfaith Groups, Farmer Based Associations, Opinion Leaders and Community Leaders within the targeted forest landscape, organized a 6-day walk covering an estimated distance of 95km from the forest area to the
[68] WACAM told Gov't to create employment opportunities for affected illegal miners

ban of surface mining in the forest reserve[69]. Doing so, WACAM offers a check on the abuse of state power, and "safeguards standards of morality" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

In these activities of engaging in advocacy and mobilizing members, CSOs have identified their potential constituency groups. This is constituency building strategy is important for CSOs in order to fine-tun their messages "against the backdrop of competing interpretations" (Jenkins 2006a, 225). Also, here the CSOs display some variety in how clearly the social groups for whom they work are demarcated. Whereas some organisations (see A Rocha) approach a wider range of forest dwellers living in the fringe communities in the area of the Atewa Hills, other work with the more distinguished groups of miners and people from mining communities (see WACAM and Solidaridad). .

> *"The communities are the main beneficiaries in terms of the forest and all the services it provides" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)*

> *"We do it for like-minded people, who would be our associates. We do it for communities." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 83)*

> *"We build the capacities of the small-scale miners" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)*

> *"We frequently visit those who are affected by the mining companies, within the Atewa area." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

> *"There are other issues, that also need to be resolved. Gender for instance, nobody talks about it (...) especially for mining communities. " (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 80)*

As part of their strategies, CSOs in the AFL actively organize meetings, seminars, workshops and roundtable discussions at subnational as well as national levels. These events fulfil a number of functions. They help the organisations to disseminate information, generate support, enforce their strategic outlook and strengthening their networks with other CSOs and state agencies. In particular these events are relevant for the scale of the landscape as by this they are aiming to bypass national states to achieve specific goals in specific places. For example, as part of the efforts to promote sustainable mining in the area, Solidaridad partnered with A Rocha and with mining communities in the area to organize a workshop on "Strengthening the Position and Role of Local Communities of the Atewa Forest Reserve"(ACCAP 2015). Participants of the workshop included representatives from District Assemblies, Environmental Protection Agency, Forestry Services Division, Minerals Commission and selected communities in the area. On the national level, WACAM has organised a workshop in relation to the Minerals and Mining Sample Bill (Act 703) that WACAM has co-developed with other

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(https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Create-employment-opportunities-for-affected-illegal-miners-WACAM-tells-Gov-t-530677)

[69]" Stop mining in forest reserves – WACAM to Gov't" (http://citifmonline.com/2016/11/28/stop-mining-in-forest-reserves-wacam-to-govt/)

Ghanaian NGOs. With this collaboration the involved parties sought to fill gaps which fell short of the Economic Community of West Africa Directive for the harmonisation of guidelines and principles in the mining sector for member states.

> *"with that project we also organized, at the local level, at the DA level (...) we held the forum there, right at the start of the Assembly. We selected communities around the area, their traditional leaders, their Assemblymen. We invited them to talk about responsible mining practices (...) we brought them together < >" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 20)*

> *"Even those state agencies, like the Water Resources < > and other people (...) When we organize meetings, they have the opportunity to link up with the community representative and we encourage them to give their numbers. (( ))" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)*

> *"We want them to be taken aboard and their views to be respected. In terms of any decision making has to do with the forest (( )) How are community decisions (...) you know, how are their views carried across into any such plans. These are things we are trying to do, through the various engagements, workshops, platforms < >" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

> *"When they have formulated these directives in 2009, WACAM had representatives to develop this. (( )) On the national level was on issues of compensation and re-settlement of packages and legislative instruments. WACAM was part in that. And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the government." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)*

4.2.1.3. Relations

Similar to the previous landscape, relations between the CSOs and the state are evident across several levels and take shape in several forms (i.e. CSO-state, CSO-tradition authority, CSO-State-TA). Relations with state representative mainly take place on the level of the district, but also include (for some) engagements on the national level. Especially in the more local levels (community and district) the element of the traditional authority systems (chieftaincy) adds complexity to these relationships. The engagement of organisations with the state refers mostly to the delivery of social services and to the efforts to influence the agenda for governmental actions. In particular the more environmentally orientated CSOs aim to influence the state, urging conformity with standards of conduct, and promoting particular social and economic policies (i.e. responsible mining and the Fairmined Standard, conversion of forest reserve into national park). Overall, relations with state and the traditional system officials are robust and often include informal contacts to representatives of these two systems ("OEF Interview" 2018; A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018; Herp Ghana 2018). The relationship usually is built on a cooperative nature, linked to the chosen advocacy strategies CSOs are following. Altogether these relations reveal to entail the ex-change of resources (i.e. expertise, finances) as well as efforts to influence one another through regular activities or political mobilization.

> *"We work with all interested parties. From the state institutions, and also non-state institutions, including CSO fraternity and local communities, including traditional authorities." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)*

> *"The relationships are very (...) welcoming. That, we are open to (...) because, some of them even form part of us." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)*

> *"(Communities) are the people we mostly engage with. For example, < > Gilbert (founder) is now part of the traditional council. We were installed as a chief." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 236)*

> *"What we do get out for a drink and invite Minerals Commission Officer from this particular area. The next, we will be organizing is in the Western Region. We invited the MC to facilitate the workshop, and we organize" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 32)*

> *"the government is looking for funds to implement this programme < > there are not be able to get all the funds that they need. The idea is then they need support from CSOs, like us." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 57)*

In particular relevant to the organisations - for the context of landscape democratisation - are "the local government assemblies as key partners". CSOs "are seriously working with" with the local representatives of the FC, the MC, EPA, the local traditional authorities and the DA (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018).

> *"We have very good contact with the District Assembly, District" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59)*

In regard to the importance of a relation to the traditional authority system, one CSO stands out. The Okyeman Environment Foundation, which is a charitable environmental organisation which has been founded by a paramount chief of the Akyem Abuakwa area[70], Okyehene Nana Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin II. The relation to this system is of interest in this investigation as the national Chieftaincy Act (Act 759) recognizes chiefs as local governmental entities. This points towards an additional regulatory stakeholder in the context of this landscape, as traditional authority systems are not only legally recognized but still take a key position in local level decision making (Crook 2003). Undoubtably, the fact that OEFs founder is not only the leader of the organisation, but also has the status of land owner raises concerns of accountability. This concern is referring to representation of (self-)interest. Regardless of these doubts, the embeddedness with the state provides this CSO with a unique condition and additional leverage when dealing with the state.

> *"Where there is a need to speak to government about that issue, because we are directly involved. We bring in a Minister of Environment to the palace. And then he is*

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[70] The Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom, (Okyeman in Akan) as it was known before the colonial era, became the "Akyem Abuakwa State" and is currently the "Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area". Within this area is the Atewa Forest, as well as other forested areas. In this document, the name Okyeman is used throughout to refer to the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom.

given strict instructions on (...) what we feel is happening there. So, we have a synergy with government as well." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)

"in every decision that we are taking on Atewa (...) government will come and see the traditional authorities." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)

Beyond CSO-State-TA relations, are other critical elements for democratic representations; the relation between organisations and their members and constituency. Similar to the JBL, the notion of constituency has a wider meaning for the investigated CSOs, not in terms of social groups as indicated above, but in terms of conceptualization. The investigation reveals that CSOs take to various constituency building strategies. In the AFL, CSOs mainly offer participatory memberships (active memberships) as STF/HG and WACAM where the constituency take part in shaping the organisation as formal members and involved in the steering of organisations, and the authorization of leadership.

"we work directly with the communities, and they are the ones who have the right to influence decisions which are taken within their areas" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)

An approach to stay in contact with their associates, organisations set up local committees and choose focal persons through which a day-to-day communication is made possible.

"We do have one main focal person within every zone who we deal with. Who does the operational work in the area of us." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 18)

"These are all volunteers, they affiliate themselves to WACAM." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 114)

"It is not just about meetings with them. To be able to be a CBO the people should also see that you understand their way of life. You share in their problems." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)

Other constituency strategies understand their constituencies as their beneficiaries to the organisations efforts – referring to the wider community of people or even ideas and values (Powell and Steinberg 2006a). Some of the investigated CSOs tend to be value driven and have greater ambitions, then directly acting on behalf of specific interest and societal groups (see: A Rocha, Solidaridad).

The grassroot relationships build mostly on organisations engaging communities to uncover ("unearth") local insights and to inform communities on their project activities, occasionally engage in consultation activities with them and ask them for input. Organisations engage in media outreaches and some have a strong local presence.

"Are you having regular meetings, with the mines and the communities, to come up with their interest, and to hear their concerns?

> *B: Yeah, in fact, we did that even before we decided to do that programme. In the course of the programme there has been a lot of consultation, the national programme. I remember, we did validation, where we invited traditional leaders, community members, etc. Also, to comment on what is in the document." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 67 - 68)*

> *"In each community we have volunteers." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 76)*

> *"so, our vision is to care for god's creation. That is the vision that we have. In caring for god's creation, working with all interested parties (...) you know (...) in a very inclusive way." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25)*

> *"A Rocha is sitting close to the forest reserve." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11)*

4.2.1.4. Internal Structures

The investigation has looked at internal organisational processes of membership, and their participation in democratic decision-making processes. These properties effect the process of democratisation through stimulating civic virtues and political skills in members of organisations (i.e. trust, reciprocity, and negotiating, discussing and public speaking). The internal organisational structures investigated in the AFL, generally conform to the traditional NGO model. In this, organisational governance usually is overseen by a board of directors or advisers; officers, led by a secretary-general, president, or chair. Executive positions are generally appointed rather than elected. In all cases the administrative staff consists of hired employees, usually with some academic degree. Only some CSOs in the area offer citizens a voluntary, open membership to their main organisation. And only in one (WACAM) are internal processes of decision making deliberately democratic. Especially the bigger CSOs, such as A Rocha and Solidaridad, are not member-based organisations and their inclusion of people outside the organisation into decision making processes only refers to the provision of local insights as a degree of tokenism[71]. In regard to the matter of the organisations conceptualization of their constituency, these big organisations rather work with associates than offering open memberships to their main organisation.

> *"We have reps, or volunteers, who pick those issues up, with the support of management or traditional leader, to implement whatever we think is right< >"*
> *(Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 76)*

Deviating from this norm of non-membership is HG and Save the Frog who work with volunteering students and conservation activists. These active citizens subscribe actively to the organisations and engage in their own endeavours through formed chapters or clubs. They are largely independent and can stake out their own advocacy activities. Although limited in their

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[71] Referring to "A Ladder of Citizen Participation, by Sherry R Arnstein (1969)

participatory rights in steering the main organisations, the members often are doing the lion's share of the routine work (i.e. outreach, data gathering, campaigning etc.).

> *" For Atewa we have a chapter, a university chapter of our organisation" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

> *"in Ghana I would say, we have roughly 2000+ members, both people that we engage face-to-face and through online" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

> *"The students, they are somehow autonomous in their activities. They come up with their own programmes (...) So, let's say for the student chapters, they have to come up with their own activities for a particular event. Then we have to come together and discuss which ones are feasible." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 184, 186)*

> *"For the members that we train, we not had official meetings (...) we WhatsApp platform where we float ideas. People are able to comment and do stuff. But most our decisions are limited " (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 167 + 179)*

The only organisations of this investigation in the AFL with a truly open membership with participatory rights that allows members to elect committees and carry out more specialized tasks, is WACAM. Unlike other CSOs, the Wassa Association follows an egalitarian structure, where every member has a right to participate in organisational policy formation, and all members are eligible to hold office. Decisions are made by majority, where dissenting or critical voices are encouraged. Uniquely among all the investigated CSOs, WACAM has a two-tier structure. In the administrative tier the organisation is traditionally hierarchic, with an executive director on top, in charge of personal and the steering of the organisation and a nine-member executive council which is the governing body of the organisation. Five of the members on the Executive Council are from affected mining communities. The structure of the member organisation however, is more democratic as members select their representative. For example, during the Annual General Meeting where representatives of WACAM community groups come together (400+) and discuss overall organisational directions.

> *" We have a big conference of communities, that meets bi-annually. Then maybe 400 people come for that. We take it as an AGM (Annual general meeting)(...) That is where we make policy decisions."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 109 & 110)*

> *"their representatives are elected by the community itself." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115)*

> *"From there, those policies are taken to the Executive Council. Like the elders (h). They approve these recommendations of the Conference of Communities. This is our system of checks and balances." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 112)*

After sensitization these WACAM community groups create their own committees in their communities. WACAM visits these communities regularly, discussing issues and guiding them to "make sure to bring these people up, so they are able to engage the one who is supressing them and intimidates them (...) And also the one who is in charge of regulations" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

"we have locals living in the community, who meet every week to discuss issues."
(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 127)

"These are all volunteers, they affiliate themselves to WACAM."
(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 114)

Beyond the communities, WACAM has defined their whole operational area into zones. These zones are constituted by between 5-12 communities. Which refers to the communicative role. To have an internal educational effect the critical feature in these WCGs is that the groups have a democratic spirit. Members who are elected by the community can than engage in debate and speak to their community about potential issues at hand ("WACAM Interview" 2018).

WACAM's work has increased the confidence of affected peasant communities in the judicial system through its rights-based education and by so doing, has contributed to the democratic governance of Ghana and the Rule of Law. ("Modern Ghana Website" 2017)

4.2.1.5. Resources

The means organisations have at their disposal to enable them to perform in various political roles refers to an autonomous standing. To be able to balance between different power centres (in the context of integrated landscapes: government, society, traditional authorities and private companies[72]) requires an independence "both formally and in fact" (Hadenius and Uggla 1996, 1622). This independent standing, specifically from the state, is required for those CSOs in the AFL that aim to influence policy making. Uggla and Hadenius "refer here to the decisional competences, the recruitment of leaders, and the economic and administrative resources". Similar to the previous chapter, an issue arose during investigation that referred to the inquiries inability to reveal reliable information on funding and revenue generating processes. Therefore, the data collection focused on the organisation's access to professionals and the ability to translate complex matters into more comprehensive language (i.e. policy briefs, educational programmes), their presences throughout the areas and abilities to mobilize their constituency and offer the government a complementation of their services. In short, their capacities that assist them in performing a political role.

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[72] "the mining sectors. It is a sector with much power struggles. Because we are dealing with people who are very, very resourced, and we are dealing with people from communities who have little in terms of education, little in terms of resources to be able engage these people." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

Essential for organisations of civil society is the human resource aspect for all the involved CSOs, as they all are staffed with motivated and well-educated workers most often with an academic education.

> *"We have a very small staff, very, very committed. I think this is the biggest resource" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 121)*

> ⎯⎯

> *"I: What kind of resources do you have in order to achieve your eight-point plan for the Atewa area?*

> *B: I would first say, the people. Man power (the students and communities and our staff). Then, as I indicated earlier, we rely on external funding. So, I would say, our donors. Basically, they are the people that we rely on to implement our projects. " (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 119 - 120)*

For the most part, with exception of the internationally connected CSOs[73], the investigated CSOs, represent the example of the non-for-profit sector in middle-income countries, as they are struggling from chronic underfunding and are fully dependent on funding from foreign donor agencies for their continued operations. All of the CSOs rely on donations which usually comes in form of public funding and in some cases private contributions. These donations usually come in form of grants (short-term and multi-annual grants). Especially the smaller organisations as STF and HG struggle for the more short-term research grants and compete with other organisations with writing new proposals.

> *"the Executive Director, he has an M. Phil. at KUNST, then he is currently on another M.Phil., professional one on conservation at University of Cambridge." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 134)*

> *"I have a training as an ecologist/herpetologist and have a job at the research institute." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 95)*

> *"I have an M. Phil, in Wildlife and (inaud.) Management. So, most of them, they at least have masters." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

Critical for in this process is the expert knowledge of their staff and their ability to be successful in the application processes. Often they have to balance from one project funding to another, while simultaneously apply for new grants, involving a multitude of donor organisations. Aware of the influence external entities have through funding processes, CSOs are cautious about their degree of autonomy.

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[73] A Rocha's activities in the AFL are funded by the Dutch and US Embassy, and IUCN Netherlands, amongst others. Solidaridad has partnered with the World Bank to promote resilient landscapes in Ghana.

"In terms of funding, I would say it depends on our own efforts, in the sense that the number of proposals we are able to put in would be determined by the funding we get to implement these activities." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 138)

"over the years we have received funding from Rufford Foundation, from The Mohamed bin Zayed species conservation fund, from Disney fund, and Wesley Fund for Nature, then Conservation Leadership Programme (CLP). " (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 156)

" We have, over the years, very consistent support from different organisations. A lot of Dutch organisations, like Prins Bernard, Van Tiel (?)(inaud.), Rufford Foundations. So, we have had a lot of capacity." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 125)

"Before we go into any contractional agreement, we do our background checks. To see, whether the donor's values (restrictions) is in line with ours. It is not only about receiving money but also to have the freedom to do what we stand for. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 102)

The investigated CSOs in the AFL, based on their close connection to the local constituency and their local embeddedness have the capacity to mobilize local citizens. These capacities especially come into play in the representational role, where citizens are enabled to organize themselves to address the political system (or corporation) and get assisted in formulating their voice to engage other actors. To mobilize citizens and rally them behind an organistaions claim, provides it with additional legitimacy but also allows organisations to take a passive role, providing support rather then standing on stage themselves.

"we held the forum there, right at the start of the Assembly. We selected communities around the area, their traditional leaders, their Assemblymen. We invited them to talk about responsible mining practices (...) we brought them together" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 20)

"we have got a lot of people who later rallied behind A Rocha and the other organisation" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)

4.2.2. Political roles

Based on the revealed organisational properties, the following section turns to each of the democratic roles that are performed by the CSOs (i.e. educational, communicative, representational and cooperative), and looks at how these 'theoretical' roles[74] play out in practice and what organisational properties enables CSOs to do so. The chapter elaborates then on the democratic roles CSOs perform in and the effect on democracy.

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[74] As per the adapted theoretical framework of Kamstra and Knippenberg (2014)

4.2.2.1. Educational role

In the AFL, the educational focus of the organisations primarily regards the teaching of citizens, and less the provision of information to representatives of the state, like the CSOs do in the JBL. This external educational role of CSOs in the AFL relates directly to their organisational mandates.

"to promote a society that respects and appreciates nature" (Save the Frogs! mission statement)

"to undertake research, create awareness, and mobilize response" (Herp Ghana mission statement)

"together we learn and progress" (Solidaridad's mission statement)

Also, this focus relates to the strategic positioning and an inherent advocacy strategy of the organisations as environmental and development organisations. Central to most CSOs is a strategy of disseminating information to citizens. Enabling is their equipment with professional experts and their ability to translate complex issues into comprehensive language, that the constituency can relate to. The focus to educate citizens also relates to the fact that in the area natural resources play a central part in people's lives and current conditions threatening the bases of their existences. Interestingly, with educational trainings on the topics such as biodiversity, sustainable agriculture, or water pollution issues, organisations first of all aim to achieve their goals to protect the environment, but in long term generate more sustainable livelihoods possibilities, and by this improving the current economic situation in the AFL. Through their involvement of disenfranchised groups - such as large parts of the local population (Ghana Statistical Service 2014b) - in trainings that relate economic improvement and environmental and political awareness CSOs "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79). For instance, Solidaridad's Gold Programme educational focus turns to administering trainings to "mine´-workers on safety, environmental, health, gender issues, policy training" as well as to general members of mining community, addressing "health issues and women empowerment issues (…) to the extent that [Solidaridad] educates members of the communities to know some of the policies in place" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28), and "to understand issues of the extractives and now their rights in relation to that", enabling to "put pressure of the government" (WACAM Interview, 2018). In this focus the organisation aims to enhance knowledge among citizens and CSOs on government institutions and officials in key agencies[75] (Solidaridad 2017). Through a rights-based education, CSOs aim to increase the confidence of affected communities in the judicial system and by so doing, contribute to the democratic governance and the rule of law.

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[75] These activities are in conjunction with Solidaridad's project 'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana'

"First of all, internally (...) we are supposed to protect the livelihoods of the people. So, jobs, food security (...)" (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)

"Our main focus is being (...) sensitization and community empowerment, so we enlighten to understand issues of the extractives and now their rights in relation to that." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

"We are also educating the community on the existing policies (inaud.) So, we thought that that was more sustainable, because it was changing their practices." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28)

"We trained the mine workers on safety, environmental, health, gender issues, policy training." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 17)

"Our approach is: take it to the local people, explain to them, let them know what the impact of this is, and then let them put pressure of the government. It is better to get the attention of the government in that way, then to go to the (inaud.) and say that: look this is wrong." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)

A reason for CSOs to highlight the policy environment to citizens is in hope to reduce apparent mistrust between citizens and the state agencies (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). In these attempts they, for example, provide information to citizens on the challenges the FC is facing. For instance, allegedly that the FC mainly lacks the capacities to accomplish their mandate in full.

"The role that we play is to ensure that, you know, we educate all interested parties including the government and the communities. We try to present a very balanced view as to (...) if it is these agencies, even their challenges managing the forest. A typical example has to do with the fact that, (...) for Atewa, the whole parameter is a forest 268 km2. You have just about 14 forest guys. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 37)

As mentioned, essential organisational properties for the CSOs engaging in educational programmes is their use of specialist knowledge. This usual rather complex knowledge is translated to a more comprehensive level and disseminated to the people, with the help of in-house experts. Equally essential for the organisations to address the appropriate local issue require a tie to the grassroots. This relation helps the organisations to unearth the local truths and provides them with a degree of credibility to their claims, and consolidates and strengthens its grassroot base

"We work directly with the communities, (…) I cannot speak for other organisations, but what we do is, we frequently visit those who are affected by the mining companies, within the Atewa area." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)

"We gather information from the communities, then it moves on to the highest level. Depending on the nature of the issue." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 38)

There are some indications of CSOs educating state officials. Focusing the external function outside the citizenry is however less pronounced as it is in the JBL. In comparison this difference seems to relate to the social struggles that are looming from the challenges the AFL is facing. Whereas the JBLs driving challenges refer mostly to cocoa productivity and therefore the more to the economic situation, the challenges apparent in the AFL impact the lives of people and the significant ecological value of the area. Nonetheless, there are some performances that CSO conduct themselves in that are aimed to educate state officials. This focus refers to a local level but more predominantly to the national level. On the local level, CSOs aim to educate members of the traditional authority system (chiefs). In these engagements, organisations provide information to local chiefs on newly formed bylaws, update them on existing regulations and bring ins resource persons from other organisations and state departments.

> *"The role that we play is to ensure that, you know, we educate all interested parties including the government and the communities." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 37)*

> *"For our chiefs↑ 800chiefs. We have something that we call traditional council meetings. And that is held quarterly. At every meeting we come in with policy of the King on specific areas. One being the environment, and then other activities like environmental governance and trainings." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)*

For a big part, these engagements are part of the organisations advocacy and campaign work. In this, the CSOs focus to educate state officials and highlight the struggles the area is facing. Often these engagements initialised by the CSOs and their success is largely based on their relationship (access) to the respective departments. Further essential is a non-confrontational approach and the ability to offer credibility to their claims through professional staff and their ability to talk to state officials. The relation of the CSOs and their constituency, further allows them to gain credibility in their claims.

> *"So, our approach is: take it to the local people, explain to them, let them know what the impact of this is, and then let them put pressure of the government. It is better to get the attention of the government in that way, then to go to the (inaud.) and say that: look this is wrong." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

> *"To make them understand the challenges, that even the forest management authority, they even have (...) in terms of ensuring the forest is better protected" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43)*

> *"But in the first instance, [finding and identify] I think this is the point we are playing the most important role. But again, it is not that < > (...) the governance system reaches out to you to do that." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

A further aspect of the educational role in which CSOs of the AFL perform in, is the internal educational role. Unlike the alternating way CSOs in the JBL perform in this aspect, the role

of the CSOs in the AFL aligns much closer with Tocquevillian's vision of instilling democracy through bringing people together into cooperatives ventures. In this way, WACAM presents a unique case among all investigated organisation, for its embrace of membership participation in the steering of the organisation. Critical for the organisation to perform in the classical meaning of the internal educational role, is its open and large voluntary membership and a participation of its members that goes beyond usually consultation but allows citizens to determine leadership and organisational policy formation. Among the internal structures that enables WACAM in this role is its two-tiered organisational structure. One tier is the administrative part of the organisation, that follows a traditional NGO model and is constituted by hired staff, and that deals with the day-to-day activities of the organisation. The other, "organisational tier" however, consists of representatives from communities in which WACAM is active. In these community WACAM assist to establish "WACAM community groups" (WACAM 2016). These groups follow democratic structures and processes and are open to the public to join. WACAM visits the communities regularly, discussing issues and guiding them to "make sure to bring these people up, so they are able to engage the one who is supressing them and intimidates them (...) And also the one who is in charge of regulations" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 54-55). After these sensitization trainings, group members create their own committees and their "representatives are elected by the community itself." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115).

> *"What we do is to try as much as possible to form groups within these communities that we work with. So, they recognize themselves as WACAM members and act as volunteers and they affiliate with WACAM" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 12)*

Beyond the community level WACAM then has defined their nation-wide operational areas and divided them into zones. These zones (similar to subnational districts) are constituted by between 5-12[76] communities and hold zonal meetings to share interests and concerns with elected representatives from the community level.

> *"We call all the volunteers who are within these zones (...) we all come together, at least twice a year. We give reports, as to what is happening within their zones..." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 132).*

After the zonal level the organisation gathers the distilled claims from the lower levels on concerns and interests of the communities, through zones, unto the national level. For this, WACAM organizes bi-annually a 'Conference of Communities', where representatives from lower levels meet and discuss organisational directions. These meetings are also attended by the media, members of local CSOs, as well as state officials, representing relevant agencies such as the FC, WD, EPA, etc. During these conferences the WACAM members decide on

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[76] The Akyem Muamuadu zone (where the Atewa Forest is located) includes 10 communities, representing 205 members (WACAM 2016)

organisational policy and collaborate with the organisations executive council to approve made decisions.

> *"We have a big conference of communities, that meets bi-annually. Then maybe 400 people come for that." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 109)*

> *"That is where we make policy decisions." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 110)*

> *"From there (conference), those policies are taken to the Executive Council. Like the elders (h). They approve these recommendations of the Conference of Communities. This is our system of checks and balances. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 112)*

> *"The community group at the ground, like the ones in Kyebi. These are the people who make the decisions" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 136)*

Nonetheless, as earlier indicated, WACAM is not the only CSO that promotes democratic virtues through the mobilization of local people into cooperative ventures. Another example of this aspect of the educational role is performed by the Christian environmental CSO, A Rocha. In alignment with their efforts to preserve the forested area in the Atewa Hills, and to convert the area into a national park (Save the Atewa Project), the organisation has founded a coalition of local CSOs (The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining Atewa[77]). As the leader of the coalition the function of the organisation in this is to facilitate platform meetings and workshops and to assist the group in their political endeavours (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). In the group representatives of the local civil society come together and discuss current landscape issues and concerns of their own. CONAMA was set up to serve as an advocacy platform for members of CSOs to voluntarily join the campaign to stop all forms of mining in Atewa. So far the coalition was successful to urge the Ghanaian government to reconsider targeting the Atewa Forest Reserve for bauxite mining by organizing a protest march[78] and issuing petitions[79]. Through involvements in such cooperatives, members can learn about debating, negotiating and public speaking. Skills that potentially can lead to a political careers (Diamond 1999) and familiarize them with a democratic spirit through, "learning by doing" (Sabatini 2002).

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[77] (CONAMA), led by A Rocha Ghana, the coalition campaigns for adequate protection of the rights of mining communities and for Atewa Forest to become a national park. Members of the coalition include; Save The Frogs Ghana, Conservation Alliance, Centre for Environmental Impact Analysis, Rainforest Friends Ghana, WACAM, Forest Watch Ghana, Ghana Wildlife Society and A Rocha Ghana.

[78] Atewa Heroes Walk 95km for Water: No Bauxite Mining! during the World Water Day. A group by name, Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape, represented by civil society organizations, NGOs, Youth Groups, Interfaith Groups, Farmer Based Associations, Opinion Leaders and Community Leaders within the targeted forest landscape, organized a 6-day walk covering an estimated distance of 95km from the forest area to the capital city-Accra to protest against government's intention to mine the forest reserve for Bauxite (A Rocha Website, 2018)

[79]https://www.modernghana.com/news/402393/press-statement-of-coalition-of-ngos-against-mining-in-atewa.html

*"We ensure that (...) we have a better understanding as to all of the issues at stake.
So that any decision we are taking is done (...) in a very fair manner. So that at least
all views are represented." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43)*

*" "working with all interested parties (...) you know (...) in a very inclusive way." (A
Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25)*

Also, other activities of CSOs in the AFL relate to the performance of an internal educational role. For example, OEF does so by mobilizing volunteers from local communities into Community Environment Protection Brigades (CEPB)[80], encouraging the protection of the environment through the direct participation of communities. This community-based voluntary organization provides "an avenue for the potential development of more environment-conscious people through the facilitation of training and the provision of jobs that are environment-friendly and commercially viable"[81] and a way of direct participation of local communities in environmental protection. In their process of legal formalization, the CEPBs has been linked with the respective District Assemblies.

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the educational role of CSOs in the JBL and their revealead organisational properties that allow them to perform in the role. Below the table (4) a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed educational roles. Whereas the outer circle represents the educational role as a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles (i.e. internal and external) and their size refers to their perceived prevalence in the process of democratisation in the landscape.

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[80] Brigades' responsibilities and activities include, forest protection (stop and prevent illegal tree felling, prevent and fight bush fires, prevent illegal farming within forest reserves and promote tree planting, protection of water bodies (prevent farming along river banks and streams, prevent waste dumping, enforce "no settlement along river banks" rule and educate against and enforce "the no chemical fishing" rule), wildlife protection through enforcement of hunting laws, and activities to promote sanitation and environmental health. (GEF, 2013)

[81] https://kingsjournal.wordpress.com/2009/11/18/hello-world/

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
External (citizens)	Administering ecological trainings	Advocacy strategy
	Administering trainings to sustainable livelihoods	Close relations with constituency
	Educating citizens on policy environment	Ability to translate complex issues
	Disseminating information on government institutions	Network with other organisations
	Administering political trainings (public participation)	Participation of constituency (legitimacy)
External (state officials)	Providing local insights to state officials (evidence)	Non-confrontational advocacy strategy
	Administering policy trainings to chiefs on by laws	Close relations with state
		Ability to translate complex issues
		Professional staff
Internal	Mobilization of citizens into WACAM groups	(large) Open voluntary membership
	Mobilization of local CSOs into CSO coalition	Inclusive decision-making process
	Formation of student chapters	Membership participation (active)
	Establishment of Community Environmental Protection Brigades	

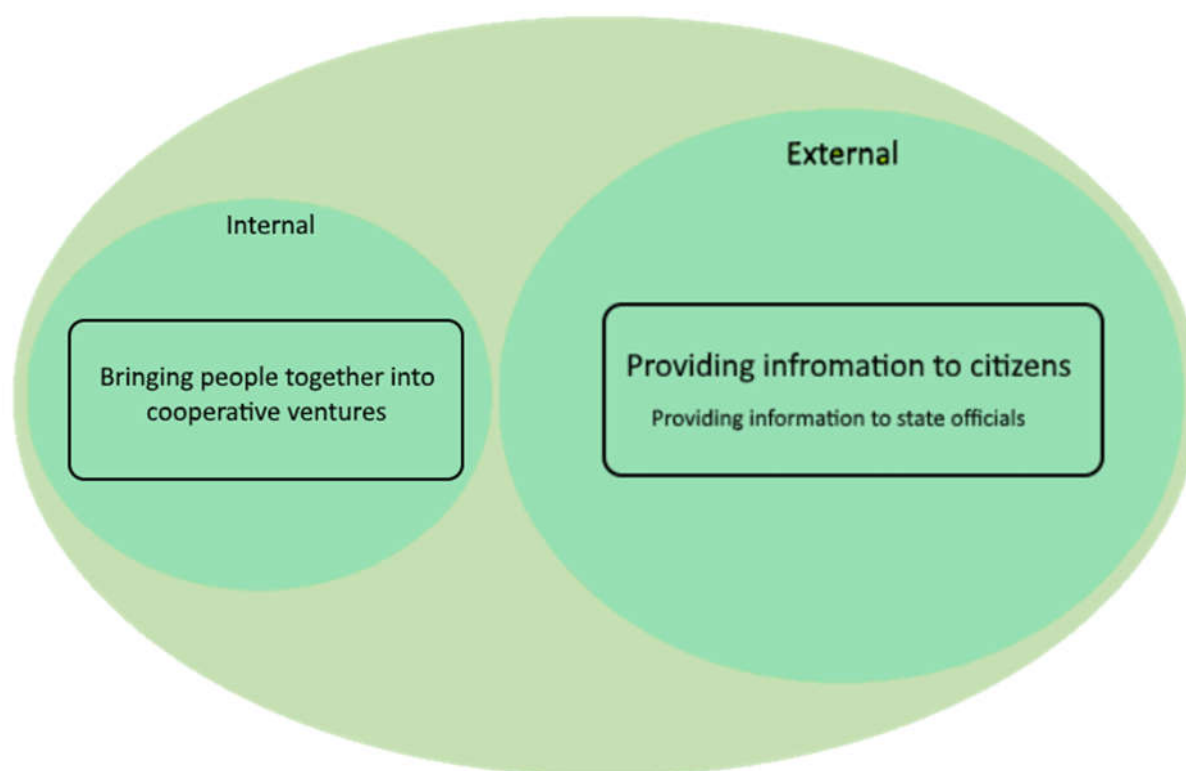**Table 12: Summary educational role (AFL)**

Figure 15: Educational role performed by CSOs (AFL)

4.2.2.2   Communicative role

This role does not refer to actions that regard the provision of communicative content, but to the provision of the structure that allows for communicative actions. In this, CSOs in the AFL primarily provide a channel to society. Unlike CSOs in the landscape of the JBL, where organisations have very close relationships with state officials, especially on the national level, for example the urban based think-tanks, most organisations in the AFL are less geared to have such regular, high level interaction with representatives from the political system. However, when it comes to contacts with state officials in the landscapes, including the traditional authority system the CSOs in the AFL have a much stronger CSO-state relationship. This emphasis relates to the local focus on the community-based approaches that most of the investigated CSO follow.

> *"What we do is that, we work directly with the communities, and they are the ones*
> *who have the right to influence decisions which are taken within their areas"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

> *"the local government assembly are all bodies that we are seriously working with."*
> *(A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63)*

> *"As part of the policy project, we had a MoU with the Minerals Commission, they*
> *are the regulators for the sector" …"we do get out for a drink and invite Minerals*
> *Commission Officer from this particular area" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018,*
> *Paragraph 28, 32)*

In terms of relations to the state, the investigated CSOs, especially those more resourceful and capable of an advocacy strategy, whether it be confrontational or non-confrontational, maintain relations to local governmental agencies such as the FSD of the FC, the DA, and MC. A few CSOs also have strong links to national level government (MoLR and MC). In their engagement with these instances, they usually follow clearly outlined advocacy strategy that are mostly non-confrontational, but also entail more confrontational engagements such as petition writing and peaceful demonstrations. Overall, their relations to the political system is less cordial then it is the case of the JBL. The relationships reveal to be mostly built on the exchange of resources (i.e. expertise, finances), but less on collaboration towards a common goal. This is referring to the conflicting vision of the coming future of the landscape (i.e. national park versus mining area).

> *"the way our government can behave so arbitrary <> you know, that sometimes (...)*
> *they can just come in and disrupt so many years of work, you know, in just once*
> *pronouncement (...) they just come in and < > you know, political interference." (A*
> *Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 65)*

> *"We also engage regulators which are also part of (( )) like the EPA, MC, the FC (...)*
> *We engage them, because sometimes they have complaints of (inaud.) that they do not*
> *understand. What is the true picture" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 80)*

Illustrating the multi layered nature of CSO-state relationships in the context of this investigation is the case of the Okyeman Environment Foundation. The OEF is a charitable environmental organisation that has been founded and is led by a local paramount chief - The Okyehene Nana Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin II (see OEF). This peculiarity of an CSO being led by representative of the traditional authority system is of interest as the national Chieftaincy Act [82], (Act 370) recognizes chiefs as local governmental entities and provides them with the right to instate by-laws and hold traditional courts. Unequivocally, the fact that a CSO leader also has the status of land owner[83] raises concerns of accountability, but this example also highlights that – in the context of landscapes where these systems still play a major role - a channel of communication towards the official regulatory system has additional layers and is not only provided with links to the political system, but as well as to the local traditional authority systems. For the matter of landscapes this is of relevance, as traditional authority are not only legally recognized, but take a key position in local level decision making – and often superpose public decision making (Crook 2003). For the OEF in particular, through the status of the Okyehene (King of Okyeman[84]) Himself, provides the organisations, and its network partners, with a strong link to the subnational and national government.

> *"The government will come and ask: Well, we were supposed to mine the bauxite, but we do not have access because we need to go on the land. They need our permission."*
> *(OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)*

> *"For instance, if some wants to come and mine the bauxite (...) The first for all parties is to come to the Kings palace." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

> *"Where there is a need to speak to government about that issue, because we are directly involved. We bring in a Minister of Environment to the palace. And then he is given strict instructions on (...) what we feel is happening there. So, we have a synergy with government as well." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)*

> *"His persona, He is an environmental activist. The King Himself. He speaks as an activist for the environment." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45)*

> *"I think it is the foremost organisation to even contact, because the landowner (...) this is an environmental foundation for the land owner." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)*

As described earlier, WACAMs organisational structure, and the established community groups, as well as the coalition of local CSOs formed by A Rocha are two dominant strategies

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[82] http://laws.ghanalegal.com/acts/id/81/chieftaincy-act
[83] He holds the allodial title: Allodial title is related to the concept of land held "in allodium". Allodial lands are the absolute property of their owner and not subject to any rent, service, or acknowledgment to a superior. Allodial title is therefore an alternative to feudal land tenure (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allodial_title)
[84] The Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom, (Okyeman in Akan) as it was known before the colonial era, became the "Akyem Abuakwa State" and is currently the "Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area". Within this area is the Atewa Forest, as well as other forested areas. The name **Okyeman** is used throughout to refer to the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom.

of the investigated CSOs to provide communicative structures to the political system and to signal the voice of individuals to the greater public, fostering public deliberation and creating social space. When members of WACAMs community groups for example, meet in their conferences they "discuss issues relating to the protection of the social, civil, political, economic and environmental rights of mining communities in relation to national policies" ("WACAM Website" 2018). Through this the individual interests and concerns can directly be used as input into WACAM campaign and can be issued to the greater public (See box below for examples of concerns).

- Human rights violations (e.g. Shooting of peaceful demonstrators by security agencies acting on behalf of mining companies),
- Environmental degradation (Pollution of land, soil, air and of water bodies leading to death of some rivers which has serious nutritional and health implications on communities.),
- Land grabbing (Forced evictions leading to disintegration of families).

To bring these issues up into public, the CSO uses media outlets to broadcast these concerns, such as radio programmes ("WACAM Interview" 2018). These conferences form a big umbrella, as not only community members participate, but also representatives of the media and student groups the organisation works with, and "representatives from other stakeholders (...) some CSOs, who are linked to mining, the trade union congress, and people from the DAs." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 140). Through this system WACAM generates social space where the concerns of the community members can reach not only the greater public, but more importantly to this role, representatives of the political system (i.e. participation of members of the District Assemblies). Additionally, enabling for the organisation to bring these messages forward to the state is the fact that the founders of WACAMs have contacts to former colleagues in the different ministries[85].

Also, other organisations maintain a close relation to society in the AFL. Profiting from a local presence in the cultural capital of the area (Kyebi) OEF, and A Rocha can keep in touch with the people on a more regular bases, then urban-bound organisations. Especially their contact to the civil society in the AFL is supported through A Rocha's facilitation of the CONAMA, to which OEF, WACAM, STF, HG are founding members. These closes ties in the area allows CSOs to be more open to popular demand and embrace local insights and provides their activities with legitimacy.

> *"We understand the fact the people have their own needs. Every society has its own needs, when it comes to the environment." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29)*

> *"During most of our engagements we give out our numbers. (private phone numbers). For any issue (...) I remember, about three years ago when we had some bush fires (...) I was even away from here I was in Kumasi (...) We had people calling from the community, to let me know that we had fire around, in the general area of*

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[85] Both founding partners where working for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture prior starting with WACAM

their community. So, all the opinion leaders have our private numbers." (A Rocha
Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)

When decisions on the use of the landscape are to be made, A Rocha sees its function in providing the "space" for all "interested parties, from the state institutions, non-state institutions, including CSO fraternity, local community and traditional authorities" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, paragraph 17). Their close link to especially the local state agencies is critical for this inclusive approach, and when facilitating meetings, the organisation encourages a "link-up" of state officials with community representatives.

"That is something that is part of our plans (...) eventually. We are doing some of
that. Trying to find space to meet with the key government persons. One on one. So,
they also see the other side. (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 72)

"Even those state agencies, like the Water Resources < > and other people (...)
When we organize meetings, they have the opportunity to link up with the community
representative and we encourage them to give their numbers. (( )) " (A Rocha
Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)

"The work that we do as a CSO is to provide the space (...) in as much as we are
interested in, helping with the protection of the forest. In that regard, we work with
all interested parties. From the state institutions, and also non-state institutions,
including CSO fraternity and local communities, including traditional authorities. We
work with all who have a stake, when it comes to (...) how we can effectively manage
the Atewa Forest Reserve." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17)

A Rocha is aware of the issue that in some cases the forest dwelling communities are not heard in decision making processes. For this, one of their key strategies is to make sure that the voice of the community members is carried to the appropriate state agencies and is provided with the necessary space where local citizens can express their concerns and interests and discuss the ins and outs of governance. The organisations do so by facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms, where representatives from state agencies are invited.

"One of our key strategies is that their voices are carried (inaud.) (...) They are being
our constituency, our work is to create the space where they are able to link up with
the state agencies, like the FC, the Water Resources Commission, the Environmental
Protection Agency (...) to create the necessary space." (A Rocha Interview, 2018,
Paragraph 31)

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the communicative role of CSOs in the JBL and their revealead organisational properties that allow them to perform in the role. Below the table a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed roles. Whereas the outer circle represents the communicative role as a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles (i.e. channel to state, and to society) and their size refers to their perceived prevalence to the process of democratisation in the landscape.

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
with state	Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms Involving media outlets Using link between TAS and state	Relation to state (local, district) Close relations to traditional authority system Advocacy strategy (non- & confrontational) Ability to talk to state officials
with society	Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms Facilitating CSO coalition Providing opportunity to sign petitions Arranging citizens into peaceful demonstrations	Close relation to constituency Network with local organisations Membership participation Local presence / locally embedded

Table 13: : Summary communicative role (AFL)
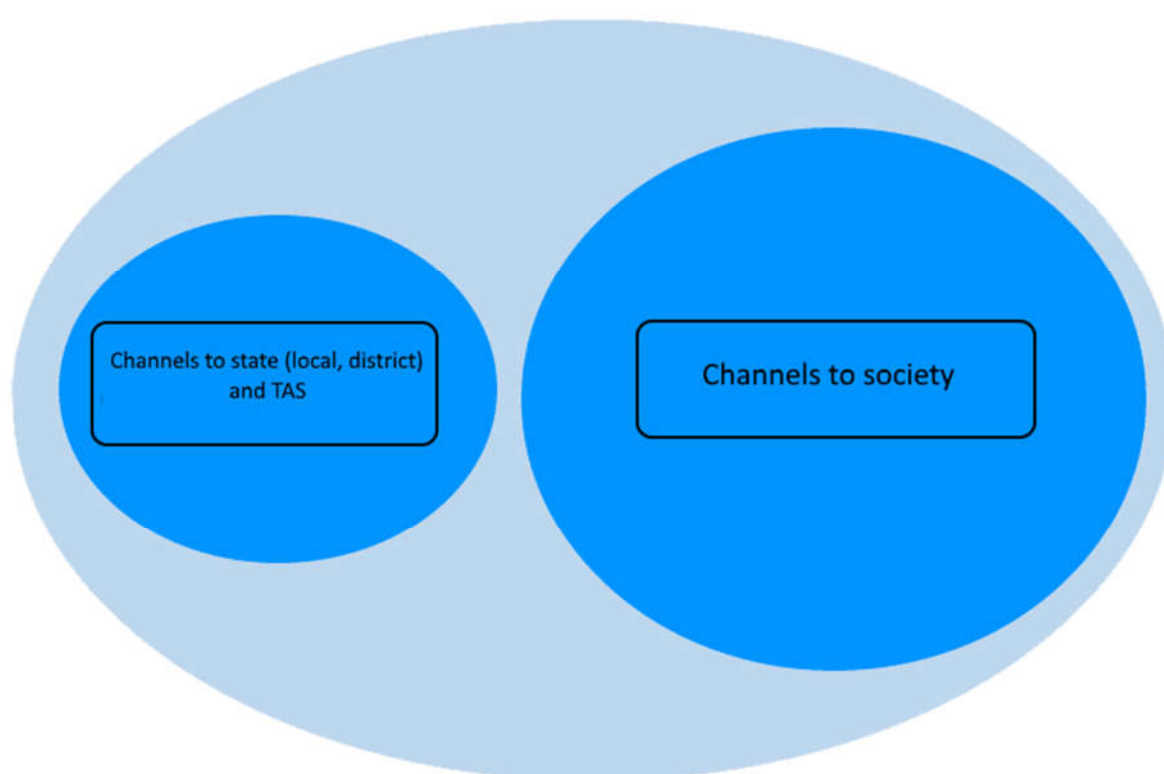
Figure 16: Communicative roles performed by CSOs (AFL)

4.2.2.3   Representational role

Advocacy and campaign work - essential components in the role of indirect representation of voice - are key strategies of all the organisations investigated to achieve their main goals. These activities take place on various levels of engagement and are carried out in different ways (i.e. political advocacy and social advocacy[86]). For example, A Rocha – the representative flagship organisation in the landscape - overall aims "to empower people for natural resource management through advocacy dialogues". For this, the organisation aims its strategies to transcend all levels, from the community up to national and international levels. Following this

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[86] Political advocacy focuses on governmental decision makers, while social advocacy aims to shape public opinion, to encourage civic and political participation, and to influence the policies of private institutions (Jenkins 2006b)

objective the organisation provides direct and indirect resources to national level policy influencing actions to its network partners, but also focuses on the implementation of relevant policy and legislative frameworks at regional and local levels (GLA 2016). One of their first priority strategies is to build on existing advocacy capabilities "to lead and support some key advocacy and lobbying initiatives on private sector engagement, integrated water management, and sustainable livelihood development investments and developments" (GLA 2016, 30). For them, national level policy engagement is especially important as the challenges facing the landscape, are a matter of national level decision making (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). Enabling characteristics for the organisations and a source of credibility to their claim is the use of research and the insights of their constituency as input as well as their close relations to the local citizens providing the organisation with additional legitimacy in their policy engagements. In order to specify their messages, the organisation focuses on a particular areas and communities with high value and significant meaning. This helps to get a buy-in from other stakeholders and helps to highlight their message in front the backdrop of various other statements and claims of other organisations.

> *"We are doing advocacy, we are trying to carry the voices of our local constituency to the national level" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99)*

> *"We work with all these levels, including even the national level. Some of the engagement that we are doing, especially when it comes to the issue of the bauxite (...) the key decision is a government decision. A plan that they have put out to (...) in terms of trying to change their mind, you cannot just sit on the local level and try to influence government policy solely at this level. It has to be (...) the engagement has to transcend to the national level." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)*

In terms of campaigning in the greater public, local CSOs also have engulfed on the "Save the Atewa" campaign – lead by A Rocha. This campaign is a joint-effort by a number of CSOs and their collaboration is assisted as world-wide communication has become cheaper and faster, making it "easier to maintain regular contact, coordinate their activities, and participate in joint campaigns", (Powell and Steinberg 2006a, 336). For example, ICUN Netherlands, other NGOs and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs have joined the campaign for the project as well and exercised their support on the international level[87]. This campaign tries to "contribute to a supporting, enabling policy environment and institutional capacity for transforming Atewa Forest Reserve into a National Park and propose sustainable finance mechanisms for the Park and its environs" ("Save Atewa Forest Website" 2018).

> *"We realized, talking about the issue of illegal mining. At a point in time (...) advocacy (...) we were doing a serious national media campaign." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63)*

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[87] IUCN and A Rocha have partnered under the umbrella of the "Shared Resources Joint Solutions", and since 2014, together with A Rocha, IUCN NL were advocating for protection of Atewa forest in Ghana. (https://www.iucn.nl/en/about-iucn-nl/partnerships-0)

Advocacy work - or "policy enabling" - is also a central strategy of Solidaridad. In its activities, Solidaridad builds on the insights into local conditions gained from initial community outreaches they conduct prior to their pilot projects ("Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018). Activities of this nature refer to the organisations alignment to their project: 'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana'. This project has in mind to improve collaboration among the various stakeholders in the small-scale mining sector through platform level discussions in order to resolve the challenges of the sector. Also it relates to Solidaridad's "landscape intervention strategy" in which the organisation "aims for a convening process bringing all relevant stakeholders together including women, youth, regional governments, companies and producers to come to a mutual understanding of the main problems with the stakeholders and to reach cooperative solutions" ("Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018; "Solidaridad Annualreport 2016" 2016). Solidaridad representational role in this is that the organisation provides support to the negotiation process, protect the interests of vulnerable groups in these negotiations – does not remain neutral (this would refer to communicative role). To be able to present the voice of a group of a "vulnerable" people and to specify their claims, it is necessary for Solidaridad to have demarcated their constituency (i.e. miners and mining communities)

> *"If we are to promote (...) up scale, then the best strategy < > of course, we can still go by the normal, taking a few mines, and building their capacity, etc. (...) but, if we are to upscale, to cover more mines. Then the best approach was to influence policy within the sector. Fortunately, we had some funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 24)*

> *"In fact, influencing policy (inaud.) both national and local by-laws, etc"*
> *(Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 26)*

Their national level engagement in political advocacy has led to policy coordination with the MC and an update of Ghana's artisanal small scale mining law, "taking technology and land-use into consideration" and to increase understanding, dialogue and co-operation amongst miners and communities on key policies in the sector (Solidaridad 2017).

> *"We were able to influence the fact that there should be a recategorization of mining." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 32)*

> *"We talk also about gender issues in the small-scale mining sector. That is one of the key components." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 43)*

Similarly, these organisations, also WACAM has an outlined strategy to their advocacy activities. The advocacy the organisation is following is in part non-confrontational when it comes to influencing policy-making processes, but as well takes shape in form of more confrontational techniques (i.e. scrutinizing government and commercial companies). Whereas the organisation leaves the (local) issues that can be handled by the communities to their WACAM groups, and itself mostly engages in influencing policy- and decision-making and

opposing the state and market on the national- and international level. The organisation has developed campaign strategies at the local, national and international levels. These strategies aim at drawing attention to corporate impunity with regard to human rights violations, environmental destruction and loss of livelihoods resulting from surface mining operations especially of multinational mining companies. Also, it has the objective of influencing public opinion and policy makers to bring about policy changes that would be sensitive to community concerns and the institution of the 'Polluter Pay Principle' and 'Free, Prior and Informed Consent' of mining communities before permits are issued for exploration to commence. In engaging in their campaign work, the organisation has contributed to policy engagements for mining regulations that meets community aspiration through the development of a Sample Mining Bill[88]. This bill makes provisions to stakeholders and other international conventions and protocols to address the gaps in the existing mining law, Act 703, 2006.

> *"Our focus is to influence policy, but we do believe that people who can influence policy directly are those who (...) are the right ones for these decisions." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 24)*

> *"we sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we are working in, we can issue statements and make recommendations." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

> *"And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the government." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)*

> *"We do not define our advocacy goals alone. We define that with the communities. Based on the issues and concerns at stake"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 28)*

Their most central messages in their representational work are about the rights of local mining communities, and in particular regard "Galamsey"[89] mining and its negative effects on the environment and human life. In this strategy they build on their strong ties with the local grassroots and their experiences in the sector. In their campaign work the organisation has issued statements directed to policy makers[90], and formed working groups with other CSOs[91].

> *"We sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we are working in,*

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[88] http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/wacam-cepil-developing-sample-mining-bill-96228
[89] Derived from the phrase "gather them and sell", is a local Ghanaian term which means illegal small-scale gold mining" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galamsey)
[90] WACAM issued statements of „Political direction needed to halt galamsey - calling for a decisive action from government against all forms of what they term irresponsible mining " (http://citifmonline.com/2017/04/14/political-direction-needed-to-halt-galamsey-wacam/)
[91] With Tropenbos Ghana, and the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL), WACAM is s advocating for agencies in charge of mining activities to be given the power to prosecute offenders of mining laws in Ghana

we can issue statements and make recommendations." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)

"And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the government." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)

WACAMs has contributed to the sensitisation of the Ghanaian public on mining issues as there was a lack of information in the public domain on the negative environmental, social and economic impacts of mining in the past before the formation of WACAM. The media sensitisation on mining impacts has helped to reduce the strong influence that the mining companies had over the media, which helped the mining companies to extol only the benefits of mining, and downplayed the negative effects of mining on affected communities. ("Modern Ghana Website" 2008).

In terms of mobilizing the constituency of organisations, training them to influence policy and enabling them to speak for themselves vis-à-vis state actors and marketeers, CSOs in the AFL play also a direct representative role as well. The two most dominant examples of CSOs active in the AFL are WACAMs approach of establishing community groups and A Rocha's efforts in creation of the CONAMA coalition of CSOs [92]. These two approaches are enabling communities and CSOs (including CBOs) to meet and debate matters of governance and share their struggles by participating voluntary in a cooperative that follows democratic structures and processes and is comprised by a relatively large number of people. In doing so, the organisations work fulfils a catalyst function, offering citizens another flow of input into the democratic system (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

"Our approach was to use the communities. Because the numbers really matter in a democratic system," (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99)

"when we feel that, ok we need to engage the policy maker (...) we do that. As and when we also feel that, No, we need the community to rather be the main mouth piece to get the policy makers to hold them accountable, we also do that. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 28)

"There are some, who have taken it upon their selves and do their own investigation. They are able to unfold these secrets that is not known to the public. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 78)

In fact, by enabling community members to take matters in their own hand the CSOs have supported to decrease violent conflicts between affected communities and mining companies by getting communities to appreciate the importance of using legal procedures and campaigns in their struggles. ("Modern Ghana Website" 2008).

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[92] CONAMA has urged Ghana's government to rescind plans and abrogate all contractual agreements of prospecting and turning Atewa Range Forest into a mine and subsequently called on government to abrogate whatever prospecting and mining contracts they have entered into with Vitmeco Ghana (Bauxite) Ltd, at whatever cost it takes

An interesting aspect of the representative role in the AFL is the performance by opposing the state. This resisting form of representative role is performed in particular by the mining pressure groups. Theory outlines an organisation performs in this role by acting as watchdogs and "offering a check on the abuse of state power, safeguarding standards of public morality and improving accountability" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 130). In the past, WACAM has campaigned for environmental and social justice for the communities affected by the operations of Ashanti Goldfields Company - now AngloGold Ashanti - in Obuasi area and succeeded in making these mining companies compensate for some of the impacts that emanated from their activities (Segbor 2014). WACAM – also called a "mining pressure group" - issues statements in order to address unearthed issues and to put them out to the greater public.

> *"We have held some multinational mining companies, and local mining companies responsible, and provided evidence for some wrong doings. (...) we are the devils in their eyes" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 84)*

> *"We sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we are working in, we can issue statements and make recommendations.(…) "Mostly towards governments, because they have the regulatory power. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71,74)*

Being in the opposition however, has its tolls on their reputation, in particular with the mining companies, as they are engaging in "direct campaigns to name and shame international mining companies, operating in Ghana, who are violating rights" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42). But WACAM also has pressed the political system with their campaigns. Some of their actions – in regard to the AFL – concern the employment chances of miners[93], and the ban of surface mining in the forest reserve[94]. In doing so, WACAM offers a check on the abuse of state power, and "safeguards standards of morality" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

WACAMs advocacy strategy follows a natural system approach that can be confrontational or non-confrontational, depending on the situation. Although they are not disconnected from the state, the organisation relies on their fiscal autonomy from the state. The organisation is entirely donor funded and follows a "non-partisan approach to advocacy" (WACAM 2016, 6). Also, WACAMs "relative success in challenging both corporate and state power" refers of the organisations ability to build alliances with like-minded national and international organisations while remaining locally committed", acting as support base to their claims (Anyidoho and Crawford 2014, 3).

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[93] WACAM told Gov't to create employment opportunities for affected illegal miners
 (https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Create-employment-opportunities-for-affected-illegal-miners-WACAM-tells-Gov-t-530677)
[94] " Stop mining in forest reserves – WACAM to Gov't" (http://citifmonline.com/2016/11/28/stop-mining-in-forest-reserves-wacam-to-govt/)

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the representational role of CSOs in the JBL, and indicates the revealead organisational properties that allows them to perform in the role. Below the table a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed subroles of the role (i.e. direct voice, indirect voice). Where as the outer circle represents the political role in a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the revealed subroles, and their size refers to their perceived prevalence to the process of democratisation in the landscape.

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
Direct voice	Building capacity of community groups to engage government and companies	(large) Open voluntary membership
		Membership participation
	Mobilizing coalition of CSOs (CONAMA)	Advocacy strategy (confrontational & non-confrontational)
	Forming student chapters that engage in public debate	
		Inclusive decision-making process
Indirect voice	Advocating for updated mining bills	Close relation to constituency
	Campaigning for responsible mining standards/certification	Advocacy strategy (confrontational & non-confrontational)
	Advocating for alternative reserve management scheme	Clearly demarcated constituency
	Campaigning to 'Save Atewa!' and Ghanaian water sources	Network of organisations
		Use of research as input (i.e. community outreach)
Resistance	Pressing companies and government for improved human rights protection in mining sector	Confrontational advocacy strategy
		Independence from state and market
	Urging government to protect forest reserve	Ability to translate complex issues into comprehensive statements
	Issuing petitions to government	
	Denouncing illicit activities of mining companies	Alliance with other like-minded organisations

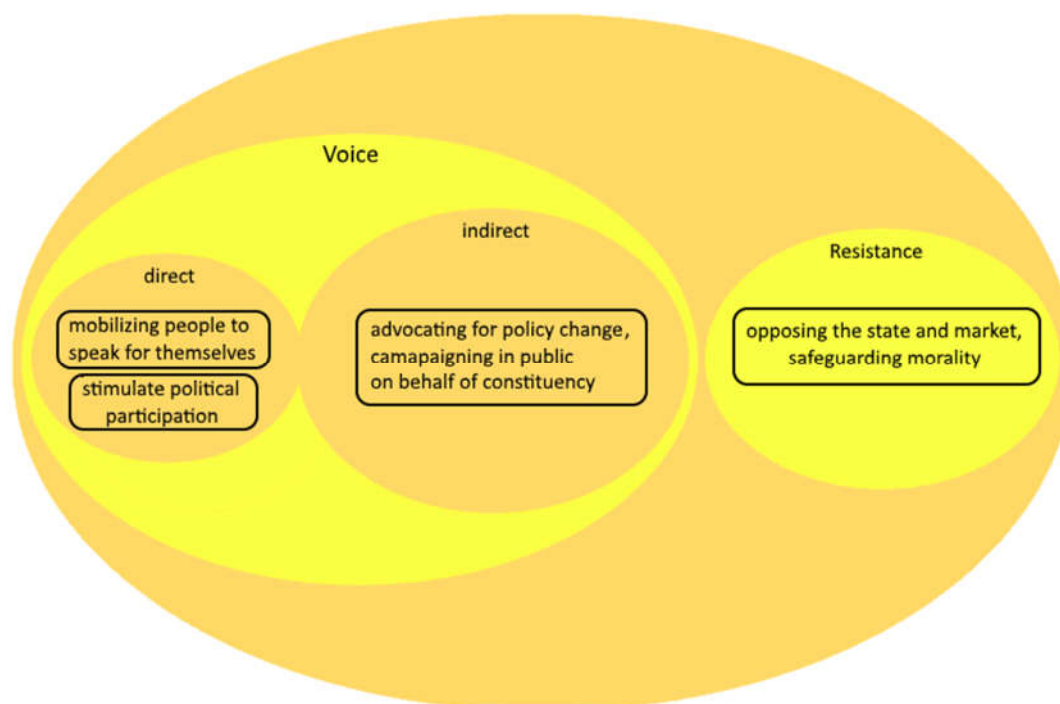**Table 14: Summary representational role (AFL)**

Figure 17: Representational role performed by CSOs (AFL)

4.2.2.4 Cooperative role

In particular in the context of developing countries, CSOs can "help to build pockets of efficiency within government agencies, provide strategic partners for reform oriented ministries", and have become valuable partners in the process of policy coordination (Clarke 1998, 49; Warren 2002). In this role, the investigated CSOs perform in both aspects, as partner to the government by providing services to the local population that supplement national programmes and by contributing their expertise, resources and support to complex policy negotiations. Especially for the latter, the local network of CSOs (e.g. CONAMA) is an important attribute that helps CSOs to generate the necessary knowledge (i.e. carry out research, gain access to knowledge institutes), mobilise support, and connect stakeholders. However, essential in this role is a (close) relation to the state, at least on the level on which interaction with representatives from governmental agencies takes place. For example, policy coordination with the state, with effect in the landscape, can take place on the national and international level, but as well the local level (i.e. by laws).

One example of coordinative work on the international stage is WACAMs cooperation that has led to the established Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Directive on 'The Harmonization of Guiding Principles and Policies in the Mining Sector' (WACAM 2016). Critical provision in this directive are following principles of 'Free Prior and Informed Consent' and the 'Polluter Pays' principle, compelling companies to respect community rights (WACAM 2016). Moreover, on the national level, WACAM - with a network of other CSOs[95]

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[95] CARE Ghana, Kasa, and the Centre for Public Interest Law and Centre for Environmental Impact Analysis

- has engaged the MC on a draft sample bill and influenced the commission to reform the Minerals and Mining Act (Act 703). Good relations with the political system is crucial for WACAM to perform in this role, and it helps that the government agencies recognize the value the organisations hold for their own operations. This cooperation with the state relates to the organisations objective of "liaising with governmental and other agencies on issues of concern to the mining and oil communities" (WACAM 2016).

> *"We are engaging stakeholders (…) regulators like the EPA, MC, the FC (...) We engage them, because sometimes they have complaints, or they do not understand <> what is the true picture (...) Because we have the knowledge of the mining sector. So, they also learn from us. (( )) " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 83)*

> *"On the national level was on issues of compensation and re-settlement of packages and legislative instruments. WACAM was part in that. And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the government."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)*

Solidaridad, another CSO with special insights and good relation to state officials on the national level, is also assisting the state through coordinating with it in the process of negotiating national mining policy directions. In an instance of coordination in the process of developing appropriate policies, Solidaridad has contributed to the drafting of an updated national mining law that considers new modern technologies and land-uses and that is waiting for approval by the Ghanaian government ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018). Solidaridad used their expertise and research capacities to give their input through "a review of the regulations, and enforcement of the law" as well as the issue of land reclamation of mined-out areas and community development of mining communities ("Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018).

> *"We were also invited for the evaluation workshop, where we made further inputs into the programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 47)*

> *"were more stressing a way forward for the sector. So, we partnered with them to develop with the document" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 96)*

> *"the government is looking for funds to implement this programme < > there are not be able to get all the funds that they need. The idea is then they need support from CSOs, like us." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 57)*

Important characteristics of these organisations in this performance – next to their close relation with the state - is the expertise of the mining sector and mobilization capacities to arrange stakeholders into meetings and discussions[96].

Further, CSO provide a number of social services to the citizens of the AFL, ranging from educational, legal to health services. At least those who are capable to do so in the first place.

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96 For example, the ‚Going for Gold' collaboration with Simavi and Healthy Entrepreneurs and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

Critically important is a presence of the organisations to be able to present citizens the desired service (including knowhow and financial support by donors). On such organisation is Solidaridad, who has identified that mining communities lack access to primary health care, and to improve on this, they have signed an agreement with the Atewa District Assembly and the Atewa District Health Directorate on the provision of a health facilities - Community Based Health Planning Services (Solidaridad 2017). This agreement also supports the programme of Ghana's Health Service in particular their health administration and -support services.

> *"we are not raising funds and give it to them per se, but whatever we do should fall in to their programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 59)*

Next to supplying health services, the organisation assists the governments 'Galamsey Reclamation Project' to reclaim mined-out land[97], involving clearing excavated materials back into pits that had been dug by the illegal miners to be followed by the planting of trees to restore the destroyed vegetation.

> *"if we decide to do reclamation within the Atewa area, this would support their programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 61)*

On a further notice, WACAM also is able to provide supplements to Ghana's national Social Protection Policy[98] by offering legal support for victims of human rights abuses, especially to people from mining communities (WACAM 2016; "WACAM Interview" 2018).

> *"We give them technical support. So, you lead someone to understand an issue, then (...) ok, what options do I have. Which one is the best? Sometimes they come and ask to support them. (...) So, we are letting them to take their own decisions. To some extent, some (...) for legal representation, or dialogue processes or education processes, they are giving WACAM their mandate. So, we do that in their behalf. (( )) " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)*

In doing so, they assist the state by unearthing violations of human rights by companies, of both, of social or environmental nature. Helping WACAM in this, providing evidence, are so-called 'Mine Watchers'. These watchers are local citizens who, equipped with cameras and smart-phones, for capturing and sharing information on challenges they face from mining operations. Critical for this is the organisations capacity to mobilize the people to act was watchdogs but also the capacities that allow WACAM to educate the citizens and guide them in legal procedures. Interestingly, the case of WACAM illustrates that service delivery in fact can be a political action, as the strategy to cooperate with the state also supports them in their

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97 It is estimated that about four per cent of the country's land size, totalling about 238,000 km2 have been destroyed by illegal miners. It was revealed that Kyebi and its surroundings alone "play host" to 18 of such illegal mining sites
98 Ghana has implemented several programmes with social protection prospects. A National Social Protection Strategy was developed in 2007 and revised in 2012. It embraces a strategic vision of an all-inclusive and socially empowered society through the provision of sustainable mechanisms for the protection of persons living in situations of extreme poverty and related vulnerability and exclusion. (http://mogcsp.gov.gh/mdocs-posts/ghana-national-social-protection-policy/)

advocacy work. In terms of coordinating with the state to formulate policies, CSOs in both landscapes inform local level policy making (i.e. customary laws, by-laws).

The two CSOs STF and HG, both only have weak relations with state officials on the national level and for this do not perform a cooperative role on this level. However, on a local level they can be accredited with the cooperative role, as here, they do have connections to the local representatives of the DA and FC, in particular STF (STF Interview 2018) and are invited to the process of by-law formation.

> *"The local government system in Ghana is when the government delegates some of its power at the district level. So, there are the district chief executives. There n we have a small parliament with the assembly and then they make by laws and legislations" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 65)*

> *"we have been mostly working with FSD (Forest Service Division). On this level of policy making, I would say they are our major governmental link. They take part in some of our programmes. Our educational programmes, our STF day even, our tree planting activities." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 238)*

As both of the CSOs engage in educational programmes when engaging in the Atewa landscape and teach local citizens on conservation, biodiversity and generally "raising ecological awareness" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 9), they supplement an educational service that feeds into the National Environmental Policy. This policy has the strategic goal to raise national environmental awareness, by which the Ghanaian population "will be empowered through the development of knowledge, skills, values and commitment required for sustainable development." (Government of Ghana 1995). Next to health services the organisation assists the Governments 'Galamsey Reclamation Project' to reclaim mined-out land[99], involving clearing excavated materials back into pits that had been dug by the illegal miners to be followed by the planting of trees to restore the destroyed vegetation.

> *"if we decide to do reclamation within the Atewa area, this would support their programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 61)*

To summarize the above, the following table provides an aggregated overview of the performances in the cooperative role of CSOs in the JBL, and indicates the revelead organisational properties that allows them to do so. Below the table, a skematic qualiatively indicates the revealed subroles of the role (i.e. subsidiarity, coordination). Where as the outer circle represents the political role in a whole, the inner circles refer to each of the subroles, and their size refers to the revleaed prevalence of certain performances that have been found in the landscape.

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[99] It is estimated that about four per cent of the country's land size, totalling about 238,000 km2 have been destroyed by illegal miners. It was revealed that Kyebi and its surroundings alone "play host" to 18 of such illegal mining sites

Sub-roles	Revealed performances	Revealed organisational properties
Subsidiarity	Offering educational services on environment and conservation	Close relations with state (local, district, national)
	Creating health care centers	Local presence / locally embedded
	Offering legal support for victims of human rights abuse	Service delivery capacity
		Mobilization capacity (constituency)
	Standing in for FC, WD, and EPA responsibilities	
	Supporting citizens in public participation	
Coordination	Contributing to an updated national mining laws	Local Network of organisations
		Research capacity
	Contributing to international policies on mining	Capacity to mobilize stakeholders
		Non-confrontational advocacy strategy
	Contributing to formation of local by-laws	Close relations with state (local, district, national)
		Professional staff (expert knowledge)
		Mobilization capacity (network partners)

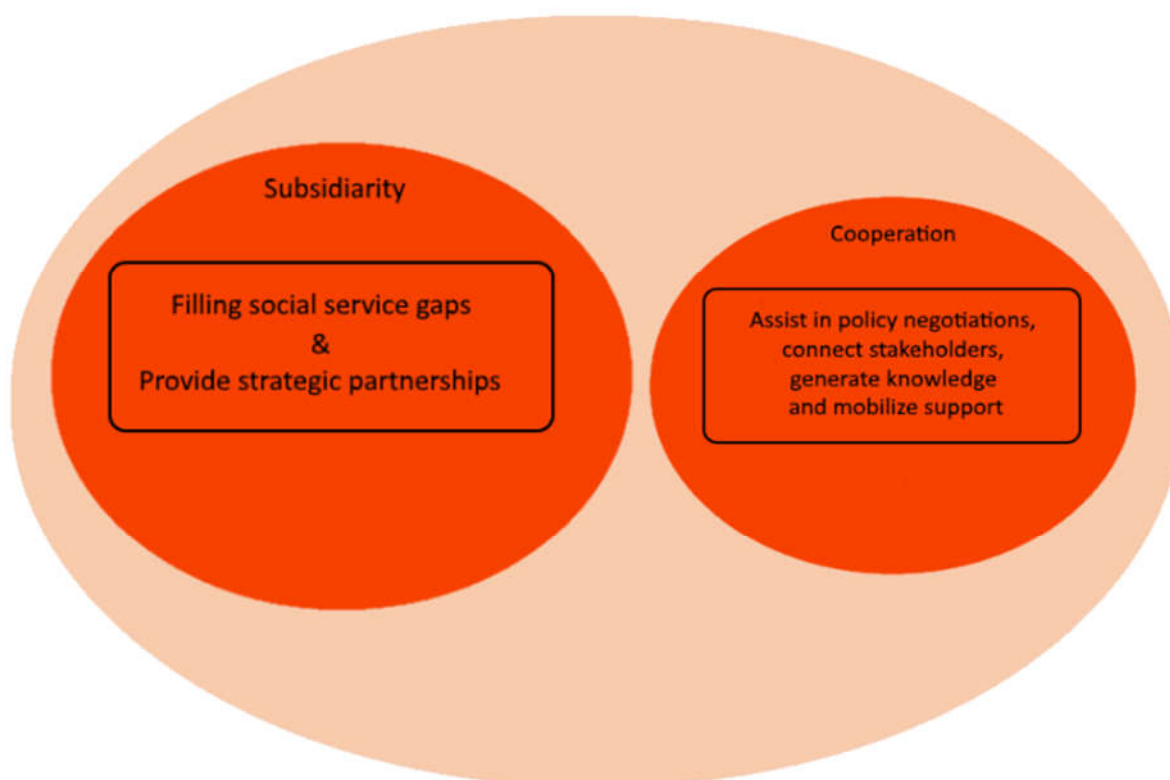**Table 15: Summary cooperative role (AFL)**

Figure 18: Cooperative Role performed by CSOs (AFL)

5. Conclusion

This section concludes the conducted investigation into the political roles that CSOs perform towards the promotion of democracy in the governance of two selected landscapes. After in length having described aggregately the political roles CSOs perform in and having discussed the ways these organisations are promoting democratic processes and structures in the governance of landscapes in the previous chapter, the following section turns to synthesising similarities and differences by comparing the two landscape-cases. This final chapter closes by discussing the theoretical framework that formed the bases of the investigation and refinements of the framework to better situate it in the context of political roles in the governance of integrated landscapes, and lastly by reflecting on the approach of the research.

To support the understanding of the abundance of the collected information - and as wide and long narratives that describe similarities and differences between cases may pose difficulty to make sense of – at the end of the sections 5.1 and 5.2 are tables illustrating the prevalent similarities and differences of organisational properties (table 15) and political roles (table 16) for both of the landscapes. The tables show (in light grey) features that are predominant in each of the landscapes, and (in dark grey) features that were overlapping in both these cases.

5.1.   Comparing organisational properties

The differences in the goals CSOs have in mind for themselves for the area they work in, are primarily determined by the perceived challenges the respective landscapes – or the actors of these landscapes – are struggling with. Although both areas are of a recognized ecological, social and economic importance, the central notion CSOs have in mind for the JBL ("cocoa landscape") is its economic value to the nations cocoa production. In line with this, CSOs follow goals that mostly refer to sustainable development through alleviating poverty and more inclusive supply chains. Central motives for stakeholders in the AFL ("the gold landscape") on the other hand is the preservation of natural resources and bio diversity, as well as the struggle for social justice. These two different common goals indicate that the two landscapes – even though located in the same country and in situated in similar ecological zones – are as diverse as the people within them. As both landscapes are approached as integrated landscapes that seek to balance the interests of local stakeholders relating to bio- and geo-physical characteristics, overlapping notions that CSOs follow in their main mandate for the areas refer to inclusive governance models, and the building of capacities of the local population to participate in said governance structures.

In terms of how the investigated CSOs aim to achieve these goals, a central difference is the way the CSOs form and follow their advocacy strategies. Where CSOs of the JBL stay away from litigation and confrontational strategies, CSOs in the AFL are more willing to oppose other stakeholders in the public. The displayed advocacy activities in the AFL are predominately *political,* where public articulation of the organisations position and

mobilization of support is central. In the JBL however, *actual*[100] advocacy, that aims more at influencing public policy outcomes, is dominant. In both areas, the use of research as input to these activities is a common way that is providing credibility to the organisations claims. Also, to focus organisational activities on certain social groups of the population (i.e. miners, cocoa farmers) helps the organisation in both areas to demarcate their claims. This demarcation is important, in particular in the presence of other, similar organizations in the area, compelling CSOs to clearly specify their goals and focus their activities on a specialized role in order to increase their prospects for success, and increased visibility.

The relations the CSOs in both landscapes have with their organisational environment, is a critical feature that allows them to join forces, generate greater outcomes and mobilize support. Generally, the relationships in both cases with the organisational environment built on a cooperative nature and is shaped by the chosen advocacy strategies the respective CSOs are following, but as well as by their efforts to influence one another through regular activities or political mobilization. In both cases, relations with the state, the traditional authority system, society, and other organisations display varying closeness. CSO in the JBL display predominantly much closer relations with the state then to society, in particular to state officials of the higher levels of engagements (national). These relationships usually include formal as well as informal contacts, and often are building on long-standing personal contacts between people. This well-established CSO-state relation in particular is the case for the urban based, elite organisations such as the TTs and the international connected NGOs, mostly relying on the states requirement to fill its in-house short comings (Stapenhurst and Pelizzo 2012). Organisational relationships with the grassroots of society in the AFL display a closer connection then those to state officials as organisations are more locally embedded with their constituency then those CSOs investigated in the JBL. These relationships largely relate to the organisations missions and strategies, focusing on matters of social injustice and community level of engagement. CSOs in the AFL profit from this closeness to society as it is a way to legitimate their organisations claims, assisting them to unearth local truths, and provide them credibility to what they do and say. A further difference between the two cases is the constituency building strategy of CSOs. In the AFL CSOs tend to be more value driven and to have greater ambitions to understand the constituency as beneficiaries to their efforts. For this CSOs in the AFL are perceived as a wider community , sharing ideas and values. CSOs in the AFL tend to act more directly on specific interest of social groups and are more able to signal individuals concerns to the greater public, then those in the JBL. Although having close relationships with the state, does not exclude relationships with society, but the investigation into CSO in both areas has shown that CSOs struggle with having close relationships with both sides.

The investigation has shown that the internal organisational processes of membership, and membership participation in decision-making processes are largely the same for all the

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[100] Referring to Jenkins, 2006

investigated CSOs. For many of the organisations, the internal structures are similar to those of traditional international non-governmental-organisations in a way that their structure is hierarchic, top-down, and with little participatory rights. Most of the CSOs are working with a board of trustees – constituted of local experts and scholars – that provides strategic leadership and an accountability structure and that approves proposed directions that are handed in by the directive of the organisations. Mostly, positions within organisations are appointed rather than elected. Although CSO of both landscapes offer voluntary memberships, key differences between CSOs of these two landscapes lay in the way these memberships are being formed. A critical difference is that most CSOs in the AFL allow people to subscribe to their main organisation as active members, and CSO in the JBL either work with passive membership models or with active subscription to activities of CSOs (see GIFNet, Certification groups, etc.) and not to their main organisation. In fact, this key difference of membership is the enabling feature that allows CSO claims to be based on individual interests and concerns, providing legitimacy and accountability. In the JBL, decision making structures of the investigated CSOs can be categorized rather refer to tokenism[101], where citizens can give advice to decision makers, but the power holders largely have the final word. In the JBL, only the RGSs embrace a larger degree of citizens powers, but their impact on democratisation is questionable as they lack capacities to promote democracy throughout the area and as membership participation - a critical element of the "learning by doing" effect to instil democratic virtues – largely depends on passive memberships, where no explicit expression of interest of members to enrol into these organisation takes place. Through the establishment of the coalition of local CSOs, decision making on the use of the landscape in the AFL is more participatory then it is in the JBL. Next to the network of local CSOs, in particular the two-tiered organisational structure of WACAM offers people the possibility to steer the organisation and determine its leadership. Such an organisational structure - that relates much closer to the Tocquevillian way of instilling democracy through associational civil society - is lacking in the JBL. Nonetheless, the way democracy is instilled internally in the JBL is through arranging people into cooperative ventures and mobilize local citizens, building networks or clubs of individuals in which the ins and outs of governance can be discussed. Overall, hierarchic organisations, operating with top-down decision making are more competent in generating resources necessary to their work, yet these internal structures are hindering them in some of the political roles (i.e. direct representation of voice, and internally educating members).

Among the resources central to this investigation were organisational competences that allow CSOs to take decisions, allowing them to recruit leadership, including their economic and administrative resources. The competences of the CSOs in the JBL are more geared towards the ability to conduct research as a tool to their advocacy and lobby work, relating to their strategic positioning as think tanks, and "knowledge brokers". Here, access to expert personal and their ability to translate complex issues into comprehensive messages is a critical property

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[101] Referring to "A Ladder of Citizen Participation, by Sherry R Arnstein (1969)

when teaching and trainings are of essence, and when coordinating with the state in policy issues is required to help partners to negotiate policy directions. Largely CSOs in the JBL are more capable to supply social service. This, in part, relates to their degree of professionalism that makes them more suited to work together with the state, to their closer relationships with government agencies across the various levels of engagement, but also to their access to economic and administrative support from their international network of donors. Also, CSOs in the JBL are more likely to be able to rely on an international network of support, being connected to multi-lateral programmes, and overall being more economically competent. Yet, the employment of staff, that often hold academic degrees to accommodate the need for adequate understanding of the issues at hand is an overlapping organisational resource in both landscapes. In the AFL, relating to the closer organisational ties to society, the CSOs are more geared towards the mobilization of its members and constituency. Here they are more locally embedded, building on their local presences and their work with other local civic associations. Based on this, in the AFL, CSOs are more capable to arrange people into activities and get support from the landscapes social capital. As such, the key differences of the two cases in terms of resources, lay in the capacities to conduct research and to mobilize members. In terms of their economic competences, all of the investigated CSOs rely on donations which usually come in form of public funding and in some cases private contributions. They usually come in form of grants (short-term and multi-annual grants). Although the inquiry into the organisations autonomy has encountered difficulties to reveal reliable, and specific information, it showed that in particular the smaller organisations in both landscapes, less connected to an international network, struggle for the more short-term research grants and compete with other organisations by writing of new proposals. They often have to balance from one project funding to another, while simultaneously apply for new grants, involving a multitude of donor organisations. These smaller CSOs represent the example of the non-for-profit sector in middle-income countries, struggling from chronic underfunding and being fully dependent on funding from foreign donor agencies for their continued operations, confirming CSOs challenges to their degree of autonomy.

Predominant properties in JBL	Overlaps	Predominant properties in AFL
Mission		
Sustainable supply chains Poverty alleviation	Capacity building Participatory governance (inclusion)	Natural conservation Ecological awareness Social justice
Strategies		
Non-confrontational advocacy *Actual* advocacy	Use of research as input Demarcated constituency	Confrontational advocacy (natural approach) Political advocacy
Relations		
Close relations to state (local, district, and national)	Independence from state Relations with knowledge institutes Informal contacts to state officials	Close relations to grassroots Close relations to constituency Network with other CSOs
Internal structures		
Passive memberships Hierarchical decision making (Tokenism[102])	Traditional NGO model Open voluntary memberships	Active memberships Participatory decision making Active participation
Resources		
Research capacity Ability to talk to state officials Professional staff (expert knowledge)	Service delivery capacity Ability to understand issues at hand	Mobilization capacity (constituency) Ability to talk to constituency/signal concerns Presence in the area /Local embeddedness

Table 16: Overview overlapping and differing organisational properties per landscape

5.2.   Comparing political roles

Most common among the CSOs of the JBL and AFL, is to perform in one way or another in the educational political role. This educational focus in CSO performance relates primarily to their missions and strategic positioning as developmental organisations, community building organisations and knowledge providing institutes. In their attention to disseminate knowledge, CSOs in both cases target various social groups outside their main organisations, such as cocoa farmers, miners, women, young adults, but also include political and environmental activists, and representatives of the state such as law enforcement officers, and representatives of the national and subnational level of government. The content of the educational programmes CSOs engage in refers to the dissemination of information about the promotion of human rights, health and safety, include political trainings on leadership, public participation and sensitisation on the local policy environment (e.g. tree tenure, land ownership structures, etc.), but also refer to issues of biodiversity conservation, sustainable agricultural practices, and responsible mining practices. The preference is depending on the most pressing issue of each of the landscapes, but mostly the content administered in the JBL refers to the economic, organisational and administrative challenges the landscape is struggling with, and content focused on in the AFL largely refers to issues of social injustice and environmental degradation, stemming from irresponsible and illicit mining and logging activities. In comparison, the CSOs in the JBL have a stronger focus on capacity building towards participatory governance structures, whereas the organisations in the AFL have a stronger focus to raise awareness and preserve natural resources. The JBL has attracted more high-profile organisations such as

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[102] Referring to "A Ladder of Citizen Participation, by Sherry R Arnstein (1969)

internationally connected NGOs and urban based think-tanks that are more geared to maintain close CSO-state relations on high level of engagement (i.e. national and international level). The ability to talk to politicians enables CSOs in the JBL makes the education of state officials a more distinct aspect than it is in the AFL. In turn, the local embeddedness and stronger relationships of CSOs to the grassroots of society in the AFL, enables organisations to let their educational mandate play out through the trainings of citizens. However, altogether the external aspect of the educational role plays out in similar ways in both cases. As such, in both areas, CSOs, through the offering of political trainings and policy sensitization workshops, push towards public accountability and enhance transparency, and directly promote democratic processes in the governance of their respective landscape. Interestingly, as a more indirect stimulation of democracy, trainings that help people to understand complex ecological systems and improve their economic resilience also assist the democratic substance in the area. Namely, through involvement of disenfranchised groups in such activities that help them to generate alternative livelihoods and improve their economic situation, CSOs "take on structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79*)*. Moreover, with the stimulation of ecological awareness and the recognition of local natural dependency, CSOs provide new forms of shared interest and believes that have the potential to cut across old forms of tribal, linguistic, religious, and other identity ties. This is of interest, as when people of different identities and ideas come together on the basis of a common interest, such as women, students, miners, farmers, human rights activists, environmentalists and so on, civic life becomes richer, more complex and more tolerant, conducive to democracy. Next to overlapping performances in the educational role, the main difference in this role between the two landscapes lays in the internal aspect. In this aspect not, the provision of information is a central performance, but the instilment of virtues in members through "learning by doing". Although in both areas, investigated CSOs are able to stimulate democratic spirit in their members internally, the investigation reveals two distinct ways they manage to do so. One way can be referred to the conventional Tocquevillian way of instilling civility in members of organisations, through democratic participation in the main organisation of members that subscribed to the organisation and the stimulation of such values and norms; the other can be considered as a more contemporary version, where citizens are arranged into activities organisations offer to the public and that operate with democratic processes and structures, but not being part of the main organisation. The conventional way of instilling civility is in particular performed by the locally embedded community-based organisations, such as the RGSs of the JBL and the CONAMA coalition in the AFL. WACAM is situated somewhere in the middle of these two ways of the internal educational role. These organisations follow goals that have especially the well-being of their members in mind, but also the commitment and time of members that keep the organisations going. Also, their own personal relations with people of the landscape allow for a much closer relation with local constituency, then the top-down structures of other investigated CSOs can offer (i.e. NGOs and TTs). The contemporary version on the other hand, is performed by organisations that have a hierarchic, non-democratic

administrative tier, but arrange for activities in the landscape to which people can subscribe and participate in and that operate under participatory processes and structures. What these two ways also have in common is that for both, the conventional and contemporary way, members get the feeling of efficacy, having done something positively that may have contributed to their community (Israel et al. 2010). Most important for both these versions, is that there is an active participation and that the processes of decision-making and membership participation generate trust and reciprocity. In fact, the conventional way of the educational role in the context of a rural landscape in West-Africa as it builds on the idea of a strong civil society, seems to make place for a more contemporary version, where CSOs take the main initiatives and civil society mainly acts as a source of legitimacy, rather than as engine of their claims. This is, as the majority of the investigated CSOs rather perform in this role in new version of the "school of democracy". In this new form, CSOs – instead of offering open memberships to their main organisation – provide alternative grounds on which democratic values can be nurtured and civic virtues instilled by arranging people in voluntary cooperative ventures (i.e. localized governance structures, CSO coalitions, student chapters, activist networks, even field schools and environmental protection brigades). The activities these CSO arrange for citizens are usually designed with specific objectives in mind, for instance to promote democracy in the area, to provide people with structures to take part in governance processes and express their concerns to the public, but also to teach people new forms of agricultural practices or responsible ways of mining – bringing believes and ideas together. This contemporary picture is drawn by organisations that are not democratic themselves (see internal structures), but their activities which offers people to voluntary participate in, are. In these arranged activities, decision making procedures are democratic, as they usually operate on deliberative or participatory terms and are transparent in nature. The latter is a critical organisational property, as open and transparent decision making processes and structures have a strong relationship with the formation of trust (Fukuyama 2018). Activities that fall into this category mainly contain two questions: Who is included in the decision-making process? And, are decisions made formally by the boss or jointly with subordinates? The second one includes the degree to which members are able to shape decisions and how well their interests are reflected in the outcomes through participation in the decision-making process. These revealed insights indicate that a deliberative democratic process is not necessarily required to fulfil this degree of participation, and that the conventional Tocquevillian way may give space to some contemporary versions. Hand in hand with the degree of participation, the trust in the decision makers competence can generate reciprocity, even when decisions are made through less inclusive/democratic processes. Furthermore, their potential to promote democracy in a more local context - as in a landscape - indicate that such ventures do not necessarily need a *large* membership as their organisational property. Cooperatives may be small in size, but still can affect democracy locally.

In contrast to the distinct performance of CSOs in the educational role, none of the CSOs in both landscapes performs in an ideal case scenario in the communicative role. To perform

ideally in this role, an organisations ought to have strong ties to the state on various levels of engagement (i.e. subnational and national) including to the traditional forms of authority, and simultaneously have a close relationship to the grassroots of society throughout the landscape. Confirming previous findings[103], it turns out that the communicative role of the CSOs is more patch, and in practice is not as balanced. The investigation shows that organisations have a focus on one end of this two-way communicative structure (i.e. society - state) and usually have a tendency to focus on one level of engagement. This one-sidedness is the case in both landscapes. In the JBL, the key CSOs - the more professional, urban-based organisations and those connected to an international network, like the eNGOs and TTs - more often have strong ties to the state, and weaker relationships with their constituency as those smaller more localized CSOs in the AFL. In short, the performance in this role is determined by the strategic positioning of CSOs, either as knowledge institutes, informing policy processes, or as community-based organisations, supporting social struggles. Although nearly all interviewed CSOs are financially autonomous from the Ghanaian state, their dependency on a good relation to the political system opens them to criticism. As their need to keep the doors open may undermine their ability to "speak the truth" and forcing them to sugar coat their communication with the state. Only organisations like the locally rooted RGSs of the JBL and community-based organisations in the AFL (i.e. WACAM, OEF, HG/STF) are more embedded with the local citizenry, and for this are more aligned towards the provision of "social space" for society; but their relationships to state officials mostly does not exceed the community or district level. A central notion of the political importance of civil society is to oppose the state and offer checks and balances. However, the investigation, especially in the JBL has shown that the prevalence of most CSOs to have good ties with the state, excludes them from such a performance in which they might damage these links. In the AFL however, this is different. CSOs are more ready to resist existing power structures, referring to the more apparent social struggles in the AFL like issues of human rights violations and intense environmental degradation. Through their embeddedness with local citizenry, the CSOs in the AFL are more able to signal the interests of their members to the public and foster public deliberation. Comparing the two landscapes, generally relations to the state are more cordial in the JBL as they are in the AFL. Vice versa, the ties organisations keep with the grassroots of society are closer in the AFL, then in the JBL. Despite this dualism, two interesting aspects come to light in the consideration of this role and the enabling organisational properties. First is the multi-layered nature of relationships with the state. Next to national level engagement of state officials, in a landscape connections to lower levels such as community level and district level are crucial features to provide communicative structures. This is important for the context of a landscape in rural areas as some of the decisions on the use of the landscape are taken on these levels instead of on the national level. This is the case in particular when it comes to customary laws and by-laws as in such areas these rules still play a central part in peoples life. In fact, the

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[103] Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014

revealed information indicate the relevancy of CSO-TAS as much of the local life in the selected landscapes are more influenced through local customs and by-laws then by national regulations. Next to the distinction of levels, the traditional authority system (i.e. chieftaincy) in the CSO-state relation plays a major role in the establishment of these rules. For this, the role must include ties between CSOs and these traditional systems, that usually play out on sub-national levels. This is as the heads of the traditional authorities remain key decision-makers (Ntsebeza 2004). Although engagements of the CSOs with the traditional leadership and in turn with the local people usually use a community-entry model in which public decisions made with the communities are done through traditional discussion- and dialogue-based processes, usually do not superpose these existing traditional social hierarchies (Crook 2003). Nonetheless, although CSOs tend to focus rather on the provision of communicative structures to the state or to society, in both scenarios CSOs in the two selected landscape safe-guard a democratic public sphere where citizens can join in debating the ins and outs of governance and their concerns and interests in the political system. This pro-democratic feature of their political performance is a critical one, as such structures in a landscape, that allow consistent deliberative actions, necessary to steer the landscape (and the use of it) timely between stakeholder interests.

Referring to the strategic positioning of most investigated CSOs as "think-tanks" and "knowledge-brokers" with the goal "to build bridges between research and policy", the representational role takes a dominant stage of the political performances of associational civil society in the two selected landscape cases – in particular for those, capable to engage in it. In both landscapes, CSOs engage in advocacy work aimed to change policies (i.e. land use, agricultural practices, management), and campaign work aimed to addresses social and environmental issues and to inform the greater public. Next to such indirect representation, they also perform in the role by mobilizing local citizens into clubs, governance structures and organisational coalitions, directly enabling them to speak for themselves and to contribute to the democratic system. This direct representation of their voice is done through the establishment of local governance structures, activist networks of concerned citizens, community groups and the facilitation of coalitions of CSOs. In doing so, CSOs manage to foster participation that directly challenges or changes how governmental agencies carry out their responsibilities in the landscape (Powell and Steinberg 2006b). In these performances, CSOs serve a catalyst function to the democratic system, providing it with an additional – and more important: constant - flow of input. Similar to the communicative role, the efficiency of CSO in the representational role builds largely on the relationships the organisations maintain to the state and to society. A balance between these two relationships is most critical for CSOs, as with a too strong focus on either end, advocacy and campaign work would suffer from a loss of legitimacy, either in the eyes of the general public or of government officials. In this aspect, the two cases differ, as in the JBL the role relies mainly on close, nonconfrontational engagements with the state, enabling CSOs to focus on the advocacy for policy changes, and in the AFL it relies on the CSOs connection to the grassroots of society, enabling them to focus

on campaign work to address the struggle for social justice. Both these activities are informed by and are made on behalf of the interests and concerns of the local people and are in line with the values and norms the CSOs embrace in their core mandates. Content of their claims usually is based on the interactions the CSOs have with the local population, where they are able to "unearth local truths", providing their claims with additional credibility, increasing their expertise. The major difference between the two landscape lies in the aspect of the representation of resistance. Whereas in the JBL the representational performance of CSOs stays clear from actions that oppose the state power, CSOs in the AFL are more ready to make use of their veto-power and check, monitor, and restrain the power of the state and private sector companies. Through engaging in more confrontational engagements such as issuing statements, writing petitions and organizing peaceful demonstrations, CSOs in the AFL are able to raise public concern about abuse of power, and to point towards human-right violations and natural degradation. The merit to avoid conflict in both landscapes can be linked to the Ghanaian culture and values of harmony (Atiemo 2013), but mostly is based on principles of advocacy that aim to "sugar coat" statements towards the state in order to maintain a relationship with it, with the goal to get bigger buy-ins (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). Further distinctions between cases refer to CSOs strategy to their advocacy and campaign work – in particular in the AFL – where CSOs follow a more natural approach to their advocacy strategy than those in the JBL. Here, organizations search for the most satisfactory strategy to achieve their goals, given their resource and institutional constraints. Interestingly, in both cases the displayed advocacy activities differ from political advocacy where the articulation of their position and mobilization of support is central, and actual advocacy that directly aims at influencing policy outcomes, depending on the situation. In these activities of engaging in advocacy and mobilizing members, CSOs have identified their potential constituency groups. This is constituency building strategy is important for CSOs in order to fine-tun their messages "against the backdrop of competing interpretations" (Jenkins 2006a, 225). Also, the CSOs display some variety in how clearly the social groups for whom they work are demarcated.

The investigated CSOs of both landscapes perform in the cooperative role, in all its aspects. This includes filling-in for the states social service delivery responsibilities and coordinating with it in the establishment and formulation of policy directions. In both areas, legitimacy to cooperate with the state, in particular to supply social services, is based on the relationship CSOs have with society, but also relies on their expert knowledge of the people's needs, as well as on their accountability towards their donors. Although CSOs performances play out in the cooperative role in both areas, cooperative performances are more distinct in the JBL than they are in the AFL – mainly relating to the set-up of CSOs and their closer relationship with governmental departments. Here, cooperation not only plays out on the national level, but it includes action of cooperation on the district (landscape) level and international domain. Especially the NGOs and TTs perform as cooperative partners to the state, by contributing their expertise, resources and support to complex policy negotiations. These organisations are usually hierarchic in their structure and are therefore most suited to quickly funnel funds to

manage their service delivery. Experiences and specialist knowledge however, as well as their capacity to mobilize citizens are enabling organisational properties that allow CSOs in the AFL to supplement the states responsibilities in the area. Yet, this social service delivery and coordination in policy formation of CSOs in the AFL mainly affects community and landscape wide services, rather than national and international programmes. Here, CSOs focus to work together with the DAs as well as the TAS and inform decision makers to guide them towards appropriate regulations and rules. Differences in the thematic of coordination between the two cases mainly relate to central drivers of each of the two landscapes. In the JBL, where issues of the landscape are driving mainly by challenges to the cocoa production, coordination with the state refers largely to sustainable agriculture policies and REDD+ programmes. In the AFL, where issues facing the landscape relate mainly to impacts on the natural environment from mining activities and inherent challenges to social life, coordinative actions between CSOs and the government refer to responsible mining, social justice, health and safety. In various degrees, in both areas these action play out on the international level, national level as well as the landscape level. The role initially is envisioned to be performed on the national level. However, in the context of integrated landscapes, it could be beneficial to consider more distinct cooperation between CSOs and the state, namely on the community level, district level, and landscape level. In this localized context CSOs are for instance invited to take part in the formation processes of local laws (i.e. by laws) or partake in the establishment of the local (district) development planning. Regardless of level of cooperation, CSOs face the danger of generating parallel structures and a condition where the state does not recognize necessary service provision as its responsibility anymore, but as the responsibility of CSOs. Interestingly, the case of WACAM in the AFL, illustrates that service delivery in fact can be a political action, as the strategy to cooperate with the state also supports them in their advocacy work. In terms of coordinating with the state to formulate policies, CSOs in both landscapes inform local level policy making (i.e. customary laws, by-laws). As such, the investigation shows that CSOs are not only important service providers (as they are usually portrayed as), but they are also having a clear political value in a landscape and are complementary to the state in achieving inclusive development.

Roles	Sub roles		Overlaps	Predominant in JBL	Predominant in AFL
Educational	**Internal**	*Instilling civic virtues*	Mobilizing citizens into community groups (i.e. brigades, farmer groups)	Establishing citizen-led governance structures Arranging people into organisational activities (i.e. GIFNet)	Admitting members to main organisation Mobilizing local CSOs into CSO coalition
	External	*Educating citizens*	Administering political trainings (i.e. public and civic engagement) Administering trainings on sustainable agriculture Sensitisation on policy environment (i.e. ownership, tree tenure) Administering trainings on natural conservation	Administering entrepreneurship and leadership trainings	Disseminating information on government institutions
		Educating state officials	Providing "on-the-ground" evidence Informing policy directions (i.e. mining/cocoa)	Administering legal trainings to law enforcement and justiciary Teaching DA members on district development planning Issuing policy briefs (i.e. "one district, one factory")	Administering policy trainings to chiefs on customary laws
Communicative	**Channels with state**		Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms Involving media outlets Forming of working groups		Using link between TAS and state Facilitating CSO coalition Providing opportunity to sign petitions
	Channels with society		Facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms Involving media outlets Forming of working groups		Arranging citizens into peaceful demonstrations
Representational	**Voice**	*Direct*	Mobilizing citizens and communities into clubs, chapters, networks and groups	Mobilizing members into citizen-led governance structure	Mobilizing associational CS into coalition (i.e. CONAMA) Mobilizing citizens into CSO
		Indirect	Campaigning for inclusive landscape management structures	Representing communities in stakeholder aggregations – i.e. in REDD+ project implementation	Campaigning for responsible mining standards/certification

	Resistance	Advocating for policy change (i.e. ownerships structures, responsible mining)	Advocating for feasibility of building cocoa processing industries in JBL Advocating for 'Empowering Cocoa Communities towards Wealth Creation'	Campaigning to 'Save Atewa!' and Ghanaian water sources
				Pressing companies and government for improved human rights protection in mining sector Urging government to protect forest reserve Issuing petitions to government Denouncing illicit activities of mining companies
Cooperative - - -	**Coordination**	Contributing to formation of local by-laws (i.e. customary laws)	Influencing national strategies for Ghana's REDD+ Programme Assisting local government in establishing farm borders and improve the security of land and regulations on tree tenure Contributing to FLEGT/VPA and REDD+ initiatives Shaping Climate-smart Agricultural Finance working group	Contributing to an updated national mining laws Contributing to international policies on responsible mining
	Subsidiarity	Standing in for FC, WD, EPA (i.e. monitoring forest activities) Supporting citizens in processes of public participation (Art. 34 (6d) Const.) Creating service centers (i.e. health / farming equipment) Offering educational services on environment and conservation	Increasing cocoa yield supports Ghana's Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Program Tree planting feeds into Ghana On-Farm Tree Ownership Registration Protocol and Ghana's Cocoa Forest REDD+ Programme	Offering legal support for victims of human rights abuse

Table 17: Overview overlapping and differing performances and political roles per landscape

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Overall, the investigation has found that none of the individual investigated organisations present an ideal case of associational civil society that performs in all political roles simultaneously. More specifically, it found that the CSOs rather exert their strengths in certain roles and perform weaker in others. Confirming previously made observations, this unbalance is largely based on contradicting organisational properties (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). In short, properties that make organisations strong in one role, have the potential to weaken them in another. For example, a close relationship with state agencies would suffer from an organisations advocacy strategy that is confrontational in regard to its engagement with the state. Such conflicting features could, for instance, affect the representational role as actual advocacy work relies on "open doors" to governmental agencies, which could be closed if too much pressure is applied. A further example of conflicting properties are open voluntary memberships that impede the employment of professional staff and a focus building up in-house expert knowledge, with possible effects on an organisational performance in the educational role (i.e. internal/external). This shows that due to such contradictory features, a single organisations can struggle to perform in all roles, and that a landscapes requires a broadly set associational civil society, with organisations that are locally embedded, acting on local levels, that offer memberships to their main organisation, and the large, professional organisations, performing on national scales, being able to perform in domains the average citizen has difficulty engaging with power holders. In fact, the image the investigation brings to light is an associational civil society in the governance of landscapes that is a patch work of groups, led by civility, which is informed by a crescendo of norms and values, following various missions through various strategies, and one that only with difficulty is to be pushed into narrow theoretical groups. Some of the investigated CSOs are membership based and their operation is democratically determined gaining legitimacy to present their constituency, others are established by a small group of professional individuals concerned with specific fields, and are usually non-democratic in their structure, but gain legitimacy from their expertise and experience. Although most of those organisations are not complying to the classical notion of social groups, they are still valuable CSOs, as they remain a part of a vibrant society that is able to contribute to changing power relations and promoting inclusive development, regardless of their constituency building strategy and internal structures of decision making. Revealed information further indicate that there is no "key organisations" in the governance of landscapes that is the main driver of democracy, as each of the organisation – small or big – has, in their own way, something in store for democracy. Only in an aggregated perspective, the investigation shows that an organized associational civil society is able to claim all the various aspects of political roles. Although individually CSOs in the landscapes are over-performing in some roles, and under-performing in others, when civil society as a whole is the unit of analysis, the investigation supports the claim that civil society plays in all political roles, and indeed has a conducive nature to democracy – at least civil society in the two selected landscapes. Altogether, the findings paint a more contemporary picture of CSOs in the governance of landscapes with new forms of connectedness, civic and public engagement, that

enables people to build confidence towards the state, operating on various levels of engagement, establish social relationships, attain and maintain social capital and signals the political system on behalf of individuals. Interestingly these findings reflect the central issue of currents debate on civil society's conduciveness to a 'good life' in development, for not being sufficiently attentive to modern ways of civil society (Ester and Vinken 2003).

The investigation also has found that central challenges that drive the interests and concerns of stakeholders engaged in landscapes are determining factors that attract the kind of CSOs that engage themselves in the governance of these landscapes, and in turn shape the ways democratic process and structures are promoted by associational civil society. Democratisation is not a process that merely takes place on the national level but is a process that requires to be build up from the bottom of society. As such, performances of CSOs on the community, district and landscape levels are as critical to democracy as efforts exerted towards the promotion of democracy on the national level. In particular the democratisation of landscapes requires CSOs of all shapes and sizes, organisations that enhance trust and cooperation in their members, mobilize citizens to speak for themselves, provide avenues in which citizens can discuss the ins and outs of governance, and organisations that partner with the state, steer towards policies that favour marginalized groups of society, address the greater public, and organisations that are able to promote democracy with support of politicians and international partners.

Altogether, the political roles described here should be seen as ideal types (benchmark) or objectives, that can be promoted in ILAs. Whether a CSO can perform in any of these roles in practice hinges on many different factors as this investigation has shown (i.e. legitimacy, autonomy and embeddedness). As it is, in the two landscapes, there is no unconditional yes to the answer whether civil society performs in all political roles and favourably impacts democratic processes and structures through education, communication, representation and cooperation simultaneously, but there is a clear distinction of it impacting democracy in its own ways. While using the political roles as benchmark, it is questionable how inclusive the landscapes would be without the CSOs engagement in these landscapes.

6. Discussion

Altogether, the above gives indication that the theoretical framework, which has informed the operationalization of used concepts in the conducted research could benefit from a refinement to make it fit to the context of political roles in the governance of integrated landscapes. To adapt the framework to this context, the following suggests to refine some of the organisational properties and political roles. While acknowledging possible shortcomings, this suggestion would lead to : 1) the omission of a "large" voluntary member base in cooperative ventures as in landscape-scale also smaller groups of mobilized citizens affect landscape democracy as long as they are open to everyone; 2) the consideration of the degree of participation and transparency in "democratic" decision making processes, as both are critical factors contributing to the generation of trust and reciprocity; 3) the consideration of *relationships*, opposed to *close* relationships, as there are other sources of legitimacy as having a close link to state or society, such as expertise and experience and accountability towards donors; 4) the division of the CSO-State relationship into relationships with the political system and relationships with the traditional authority system (i.e. chieftaincy), as in rural landscapes, the TAS remains a key-decision-maker; 5) the consideration of the level of engagement, in particular engagement with the state, as in the context of integrated landscapes, not only national level engagement are of importance, but also subnational levels, such as community level, district levels, and landscape levels; 6) the consideration of advocacy strategies, whether it refers to political advocacy, focusing influence to be exerted on governmental decision makers, and normal advocacy, focusing influence to be exerted on public opinion; 7) the consideration of an organisations capability to mobilize citizens to speak for themselves and to address government and the greater public, in particular in the context of the representation of their voice; 8) the consideration of a local presence of an organisation in the landscape in regard to the subsidiarity aspect of the cooperative role; 9) the division of the external educational role into a direct and indirect external role, describing the provision of information that refers to political and economic information, directly promoting democracy through the enhancement of transparency and the addressing of structural barriers that hinder participation distribution of public benefits, and the provision of information that refers to social or environmental issues, as through this different identities and ideas come together on the basis of a common interest and civic life becomes richer, more complex and more tolerant (promoting democracy indirectly); 10) the adaptation of the theory relating to the internal aspect of the educational role, in which conventionally only democratic member-based organisations can instil democratic spirits, to include more contemporary organisations, that are non-democratic internally, but offer activities in which participators learn democracy by "learning-by-doing"; 11) the adaptation of the communicative role, more specifically the provision of the communicative structure to the state, to include not only structures to the political system but also to include communicative structures to the traditional authority system.

The table (10) below indicates these refinements (suggested updates are **bolted**).

Educational	**Internal**	*Information civic virtues and political skills*	Open voluntary membership **(to main organisation or to cooperative activities)** **Participative and transparent** decision-making processes **Member participation**
	External	*Educating citizens on* **Political / Economic information** *(direct)*	**(Close)** Relations with the grassroots Ability to translate complex issues Research as input Network with other CSOs **Political** advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational)
		Educating citizens on **Social/ Environmental information** *(indirect)*	**(Close)** Relations with the grassroots Ability to translate complex issues Research as input Network with other CSOs **Political** advocacy (confrontational or non-confrontational)
		Educating state	**(Close)** Relations with the state **(political authorities)** **(Close) Relations with traditional authorities** Non-confrontational advocacy strategy Research as input Professional staff (expert knowledge) Relations with knowledge institutes Ability to speak to political and traditional authorities
Communicative	**Channels with state (incl. TAS)**		**(Close) relations with the political system (community, district, national level)** **Close relations with traditional authorities** Non-confrontational strategy Ability to speak to political and traditional authorities Informal contacts
	Channels with society		Close relations with the grassroots Membership to cooperative activities Presence throughout the area (outreaches) Network with other CSOs
Representational	**Voice**	*Direct*	Open voluntary membership **(to main organisation or to cooperative activities)** **Participative and transparent** decision-making processes **Political and normal** advocacy strategy (confrontational/non) **Mobilization capacities (membership, coalitions with other NGOs)**
		Indirect	Distinguished constituency Constituency building strategy **(Close)** Relations with constituency Network with other CSOs Use of research as input Advocacy strategy (confrontational/non)

	Resistance		Advocacy strategy (confrontational/non)
			Independence from the state
			Mobilization capacity (membership, coalitions with other NGOs)
			Network with other CSOs
Cooperative	**Coordination**		**(Close) relations with the political system (community, district, national level)**
			(Close) relations with traditional authorities
			Relations to universities
			Organizing discussions
			Neutrality in representation
			Professional staff (expert knowledge)
	Subsidiarity		**(Close) relations with the political system (community, district, national level)**
			Local presence
			Service delivery capacity

Table 18: Adapted theoretical framework

6.1.   Reflection

As understandings of the applied concepts and social realities were largely based on western worldviews, and Ghanaian social contexts were less regarded, a note of caution refers to an ethical consideration of this investigation. Monga (1996, 42) refers to the issue of the promotion of democracy in Africa and "the implied notion of bringing morals and civilization to reluctant barbarian peoples and the disturbing, selective attitude of not using the same rigid ethical standards to explore the determinants of political failures". However, the approach to the research was not intended to be that compelling, nor was it considered that people were not serious enough for the own social freedoms, because they were not used to the "right" standards of civility and 'good life'. An additional note of caution in the approach is, when picturing civil society in a pro-democratic and over-legitimate way, CSOs ought to be locally embedded, 'strong', and autonomous from the state to perform in the above conceptualized political roles. However, as the investigation indicates, this might not always be true in practice (see TTs, eNGOs). Support - aimed at strengthening CSOs for promoting democracy – often limits the organisations legitimacy, autonomy and embeddedness (i.e. restricted freedoms through donor obligations) (Serwah et al. 2018; Kamstra 2017). On a further note, the political roles paint a somewhat positive picture of the conduciveness of CSOs to society and democracy. This image does not include that not all organized associations of civil society are necessarily 'good' for society. In fact, civil society has shown in the past to have a 'bad' impact on democracy. The most propagated example were the regressive social movements that brought down the Weimarer Republic in 1933 in Germany, by aggravating societal divisions, increasing inequality, creating conflicts and undermining democratic processes (Edwards 2004). Proponents of a 'good' civil society often ignore this negative side of civil society. This is based on that the scholarly debate on civil society has a strong normative bias, presenting CSOs as the cure-all solution for democracy and development (Kopecký and Mudde 2003; Mercer 2002; Carothers and Gramont 2014; Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014). Simultaneously, the

applied theoretical framework is somewhat 'cherry-picking' notions of civil society that are favourable to certain policies and are based on neo-Tocquevillian ideas of 'strong civic communities', rather than referring to more conflictual notions of civil society like Gramsci's analogy of civil society struggle. As Tocqueville wrote his book about American society, not on the African society, his approach via norms and values might be open to criticism. The consequence of this normative approach is that it obscures the actual political role of CSOs in developing countries (Robins, Cornwall, and von Lieres 2008). As this investigation has shown, these roles are vastly more complex than simplified notions of CSOs acting as vehicles for democratisation and the inclusion of the poor and marginalised. This note of caution relates as well to the case of CSOs in Africa. It was argued that idealised visions of civil society prevent developmental design from considering that much of civil society in Africa rather non-democratic and unlikely to support liberal models of democracy (Orvis 2001). The main principle of voluntary association, it is stated, does not relate to conditions often encountered in Africa, where associational life often is based on kinship and other traditional systems (Sogge 2004). In short, assuming that CSOs represent the voice of the marginalised doesn't make it so. This assumption contains norms and values about what should be the case. Ideally, such norms and values should guide the overall policy direction and provide policy goals but should not be used for designing concrete policy instruments and actions. Policy implementation should be based on an analysis of how reality actually works. Monitoring and evaluation can then be "used to constantly fine-tune both aspects with regard to what is happening on the ground" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 175).

A final issue that requires acknowledgement is the issue of donor funding. The funding processes under which most of the investigated CSOs operate opens them to depend on donor support and in turn on the direction donors want to develop certain activities. Not only creates this an issue of accountability (to whom are NGOs accountable? To their constituency or to those who pays their bills?), but also in search to comply with efficiency expectations CSOs tend to become more professional and often less democratic in their structure. This issue refers to the 'NGOisation' (Alvarez, 1999), describing CSOs to be professionalized, and drifting away from their grassroot connections. However as described, the investigation into the economic competences that allow organisations to operate and to conduct themselves in the promotion of democracy has not revealed reliable information, and ought to be considered in following investigations, as resources are a critical determining factors of the democratic potential of CSOs.

Next to addressing concerns about the theoretical approach, there are points of caution in regard to the used methodology to this investigation. A limitation of the research design is that it does not take into account the worldview of the local people, their understanding of what constitutes civility and what is referred to as democratic. The concepts used in this research (civil society, democracy) are based on western European experiences, which largely informed by countries with well developed economies, in a functioning state and with protected human rights to

defend their interests and express their concerns. This however is not the case in every country, nor does it represent the understanding of all people what a 'good state' ought to look like. Further potential short comings in the chosen research design refer to the range of synthesis skills and expertise required to include convergent and divergent data. Additionally, the complexity of the topic and the chosen cases require the employment of critical reasoning and the presentation of coherent arguments, throughout the lengthy investigation. Next to the challenging nature of the design, are inherent disadvantages of it, such as the resource and time available for an comprehensive data collection. This was in particular evident during the phase of interviews, as the investigation would have benefited from repeated interviews with responders, to clarify issues, and further interviews within the same organisation, to increase reliability, but for most to deepen the knowledge of organisational performances (i.e. resources) and strengthening made arguments.

A further limitation in regard to the chosen study design is that the selected CSOs who engaged in the study areas were rather similar in terms of their mission and strategies, and for a more comprehensive exploration of how democracy promotion through civil society can relate, more differing organisations would have been useful. Furthermore, although admitting to the diversity of civil society, the CSOs that ended up being selected (mostly eNGOs) are a rather narrow of what civil society has to offer. This however is based on the topic of landscape governance and that the selected study areas are mostly concerned with environmental issues, where natural resources still play a central part in people's lives. To further investigate, where the pro-democratic potential of CSOs have any effect on the people, a survey into the people's perception whether the CSOs activities do in fact make the landscape more inclusive would be an interesting endeavour, also such a survey could bring the normative "good nature" of CSOs down to empirical data.

Overall limitations of this design regard the triangulation of data, in particular since it is lacking information received from the citizens themselves – as the main benefiters of the promotion of democracy. Although citizens are referred to throughout the document, no sample includes the experience of the local population and these insights would have been specifically interesting for issues relation to member participation and democratic decision-making processes. Yet, aware of this lack of information, it was decided that – if included in the triangulation process – a number of citizens for each of the interviewed organisation would have been necessary to triangulate each of the interviews. This however, was not feasible, in light of the available time and the process being largely self-financed. Also, it was decided that the saturation of information provided by the extensive amount of interviews per landscape was considered appropriate to gain understanding of local dynamics and to verify information. Additionally, replicability is a limitation to all qualitative research designs. Despite of this limitation the document provides used documentation that are structured, following categories of organisational properties.

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8. Appendix

8.1.   Supplementary material – Individual CSOs (JBL)

Political role of Rainforest Alliance Ghana

The organisation follows the main goal of "conserving biodiversity and ensuring sustainable livelihoods by transforming land-use practices, business practices, and consumer behaviour" ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). The organisations general activities are categorized by five different thematises: Forests, Food & Farming, Wildlife, Climate, and People. In 2010, in response to the struggling of the Ghanaian cocoa production, RA has developed a landscape approach the Juabeso-Bia District by connecting the forestry and cocoa sectors in Western Ghana and locally has identified a REDD+ site. For the local cocoa farms, RA - in partnership with OLAM[104] a cocoa sourcing company - has developed a certification system against the Sustainable Agriculture Network (SAN) standard, that allows the farmers to sell a certified commodity, and created a local resource management entity, the Landscape Management Board (LMB) which was created to provide a landscape wide, people-led governance structures ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). Locally, RA is working with the communities, educating them in agricultural practices, alternative livelihoods, climate issues and governance structures. RA has very close, formal and informal relations with governmental bodies such as the FC, COCOBOD, WD, and collaborates with other CSOs in the area. Also, through extension, they engage the grassroots for consultation and provision of local insights (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). The organisations' internal structure is similar to those of other international non-governmental-organisations, in a way that the structure is hierarchic and that it is working with a board of trustees that has to approve proposed directions that are handed in by the directive of the organisation. Internal decision making is rather top-down, with only some degree of participation (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). The Ghana branch of RA receives most of its resources from its mother organisation, and is reasonably well funded for the activities it planned to carry out in the JBL (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). The main contributors, with a focus on their involvement in the JBL and its REDD+ activities are, the United States Agency for International Development and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, as well as involved commercial companies ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In general, RA's target groups are people living in and from forests, however in the area of the JBL, its' focus is more distinguished and lies mainly on cocoa farmers and cocoa producers.

Educational role of Rainforest Alliance

The educational function of RA is very much relating to its transformative goal. In the JBL, the organisation trains farming communities to recognize the relationship between conserving forests and stabilizing their local microclimate, and on alternative, improved livelihoods.

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[104] The Olam/Rainforest Alliance Climate Cocoa Partnership for REDD+ Preparation

Further, their educational activities include sensitization of farmers on the extensive documentation that is required to obtain legal ownership of the trees on their land, which has the potential to enhance public accountability (Noponen et al. 2014). At start of their involvement in the area, RA has held a number of grassroots-level workshops, engaging communities of the area, NGOs and other local stakeholders "to clarify the complex issues surrounding REDD to negotiate effectively and credibility give their prior, free and informed consent for the REDD+ project moving forward" (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018; Noponen et al. 2014). To give an order of scale, by 2015 RA had delivered training to more than 2000 farmers in 36 communities of the area and by 2018, this has effected more than 3000 farms (Milder and Newsom 2015; "Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). For their community outreach activities, RA used a "train the trainers" approach, through which 68 lead farmers have served as extension agents to facilitate farmer field schools. Also, RA taught students and teaching staff on climate change, forests and other environmental issues and supplied and distributed teaching materials and information on REDD+ through 20 or more training sessions for the members of the LMB, almost 100 community meetings, and training for more than 2,000 community members (Noponen et al. 2014).

> *"we give them education. best practices of agriculture and conservation measures in coco. So that coco production will be sustainable. At the same time getting high yield, increase yield, and getting good market access" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, Paragraph 73, 2018).*

In this function of providing information to citizens, RA has built on their relationship with the grassroots to receive first-hand information on the local interests and concerns, their ability to translate complex language into a more comprehensive message, and their network with locally active NGOs.

> *"whenever we have workshop for the farmers, we invite them too. We invite the other NGOs. So more or less we are working together." (Rainforest Alliance interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)*

RA performs in the educative role as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

Next to their external educational role of providing information to local farmers, RA also plays an internal role as well. In the study area, RA has done so in particular through the established of the Landscape Management Board. On this board, local citizens are brought together to form a regulatory body that ought to oversee conservation and agriculture activities in the JB district. Through this, RA is "bringing all those people to work together, at certain times. And then (...) work together and see everybody's challenges and harmonize all those things and work perfectly in the landscape." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, Paragraph 69, 2018). In other cooperative ventures, RA has brought young adults together (12 science teachers and 15

schools, with a combined student population of 4,000). Based on the workshops with students and teachers, schools have employed ecological views in their curriculum and established "Save the Environment" clubs for students (Noponen et al. 2014).

In this role RA performs different then theory would prescribe, as the organisation does not have a large voluntary member base, nor is internal decision making democratic. But in their function as initiator and facilitator of activities which do offer a free and open membership in which decision-making is – at least – participatory (i.e. not sign of voting) they do contribute to the instilment of civic virtues among their members in the JBL.

Although this does not follow the theoretical conception of this role regard the promotion of democracy, the effect of instilling civic virtues through bringing people together in cooperative ventures, like local resource management systems where citizens can debate the ins and outs of government has an effect towards democratisation, in the scale of the landscape.

Communicative role of Rainforest Alliance Ghana

To safeguard the democratic public sphere is the central function of the communicative Political role and the organisations sees collaboration with the state to be essential to delegate rights and responsibilities to the people (Noponen et al. 2014). For this, RA performs in this role foremost as it provides a structure of communication to the state, and less consistent to the society. The organisations are not dependent on the state in form of resources and maintains a non-confrontational and partially informal contact to local and national level of governmental bodies such as the members of the DA, local traditional authorities, the FC, COCBOD, or the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

> *"I: Of these groups, the government, the NGOs, the commercial companies, which one, do you think is most important to RA?*
>
> *B: All of them, but really it is FC and COCOBOARD and the Ministry of F&A.*
>
> *I: How would you describe your relationship with them?*
>
> *B: Very, very good (...) Normally, when you come to JB. I always sit in their office, and they also come to me to chat.*
>
> *I: So, you think informal contact is very important?*
>
> *B: Very, very important. Because if there is anything that they need for me, they can come and we all discuss. I do not even write letters, because we are all (inaud.) together. I normally take them as resource persons for our trainings. They train the farmers, because I cannot train them. " (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 140 – 147)*

To provide a channel of communication to society, a close relation with the grassroot is critical. RAs relation however, depends on an indirect link as it goes through the Landscape Management Board – to whom RA only is the facilitator. It is here where the organisations get

in touch with the people of the LMB and hears through it about concerns and interests of the grassroots. In addition, the organisation struggles in this part of the communicative role due to their rather small presence in the area.

Representative role of Rainforest Alliance Ghana

Inherent to a part of RAs mission statement - "to ensure sustainable livelihoods by transforming land use-practices" - is the aim to adapt practices with the power to transform, but also policy that determines these practices. RA performs in a direct and indirect representative role by expressing the voice of its constituency, namely the local farming communities. In indirect terms, RA deploys advocacy on the higher levels of governmental engagement, but as well on the district level, to influence policy. For example, through meetings or field demonstrations. After, ideas are passed through to the head office in Accra, who then forwards the information to politicians (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018).

> *"RA in general, whatever decision that we take, we pass through Accra, the head office of the FC in Accra, we involve them. The central level too. It will go through the politicians to make policy." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 151)*

As confrontation might agitate, especially in Ghana, RA follows a non-confrontational strategy of advocacy, and mainly focuses on the representation of the voice of its constituency to the democratic system, rather than opposing or resisting the government.

> *"I: So, you rather go positively then trying to push < >*
>
> *B: Yes, small, small. But we do not agitate. No!"(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 159- 163)*

RAs strategy of advocacy is rooted in the organisations value of "walk in someone else's shoes" and "to be an ambassador". They learn about local issues through community engagement and discussion that take place in meetings of the LMB, which then feeds into their advocacy strategy.

> *"When we were in JB initially and just influence them with our activities (...) the following two years, when they were writing their district development plan (...) they called me to give an input on the environment and conservation aspects. So more or less, when you look at their management plan, it is some of our activities that I put there. So, it will go a long way to influence the policy < >" (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 163)*

This advocacy also is enforced by a RAs network of other CSOs, that allow RA to access external expertise and through the organisation can share resources.

> *"Whenever any NGOs comes there they actually consult me." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)*

"And I have managed those organisations who are working in the landscape, the NGOs. We have SNV. Then we have Solidaridad. UNEP is also working there on environmental issues." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)

RA is also able to campaign on behalf of its constituency, as their level of engagement starts at the community level, but also as they have the capacity to speak to state officials of national level government, through their staff in Accra. To forward the voice of their constituency, indirectly, RA makes use of its demarked constituency, the cocoa farmers and producers, and their network with other NGOs that can act as strategic partner.

"B: Me as a forester is the district level. But I am in the field, I can talk to district assembly at any time.

I: And RA in general?

B: RA in general, whatever decision that we take, we pass through Accra, the head office of the FC in Accra, we involve them. The central level too. It will go through the politicians to make policy."

"I: So, you basically engage them [the policy makers], where they need to be engaged?

B: Yes. At times, when we share our resources, we invite all of them. That will generate a lot of conscious (...) and the policy makers are there." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 148 - 153)

In direct terms of the representation of voice RA performs again different then the theory would describe. They do perform not by offering a membership to their organisation through which members can start organizing themselves but by mobilizing one constituency. Here, RA has helped cocoa farmers to organize themselves into 12 cooperatives called "farmer groups", and the establishment of the LMB, whose members are drawn by the people from the communities and provided them with leadership trainings (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). Through the development of such a local cooperative authority systems of land management, local citizens can address many of the organizational, administrative and institutional capacity issues that they are struggling with. This direct representation is possible as the LMBs has a large voluntary member-base and is created with democratic structures and processes in mind (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018)

"Two people (of a community) come and represent at the cluster level. So, at the cluster committee (...) And each cluster select two people also to represent the landscape management board. So, it is bottom-up approach. You select five people from the community, out of the five, two are in the cluster, and of the cluster two people also represent at the LMB..." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35)

"They meet bimonthly, so during their meeting they discuss a problem that has been identified.

I: (...) and RA < >[

B: Can bring in a problem. Especially, when we have seen there is a need to protect
an area. We can bring it, or any member can bring it in for discussion. Then they
work on that. " (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53 - 55)

Cooperative role of Rainforest Alliance Ghana

As with most other international organisations with wider access to funding, expert knowledge, mobilization and service delivery capacities as the smaller, more local CSOs, RA is an appropriate partner for the state to coordinate with, and to subsidise the state in some smaller functions. For instance, in a coordination effort with the WD, RAs implemented landscape activities were directly linked to Ghana's agricultural and environmental policy for cocoa production and biodiversity conservation (Gockowski et al. 2010; Government of Ghana 2012). In a further example, RA is working directly with government agencies and other actors involved in preparing national strategies for REDD+, ensuring that landscape level realities feed into national-scale dialogues and policy development (Brasser 2013). In this, RAs specialist knowledge is providing the government with the necessary insights, to invite RA and similar CSOs to coordinative discussions (i.e.. In roundtable discussions and conferences)

In this role of RA is not restricted to coordinate with the state in the processes of policy making, but also are engaged in some of the on-the-ground activities that are part of the subsidiary function. In this, they are educating local farmers on cocoa issues which usually falls under the mandate of COCOBOD. RA collaborates with the WD in its activities to avoid project overlap.

"COCOBOARD are mandated to train the farmers on coco production. So, RA
cannot go and train the farmers without following the steps that COCOBOARD want
the farmers to follow. So, we collaborate with them and align our activities with
COCOBOARD activities. So, a farmer will not receive different messages. When it
comes to the forestry side. FC is there. They are in charge of forestry aspect in the
district. So, you cannot go a plant trees without the consent of forestry people. So,
when it comes to training, I consult them to get a resource person from FC to go a
train them (farmers) so the activities (...) which Ghana government through FC want
the farmers to do. So that we do not go outside the box. We collaborate with them in
all aspects." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 89)

Similarly, RA works together with the FC on forestry activities. For instance, in tree planting exercises, where RA hands out materials to the farmers, teaches farmers to plant economic tree seedlings (mahogany, etc.) and why they should plant those.

"Anyone who plant off-coco-area, like on productive lands, we supply to them."
(Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)

Through these exercises in the JBL they have organized farmers to plant more than 15,000 native shade trees, supplied more than 60.000 seedlings, and restored 260? ha of which 642 acres of degraded land on cocoa farms ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In order to do so

they work together with research institutes, and the supply of their nurseries, and the FC, on issues of tree ownership.

> *"We normally buy from FORIG. We are facilitating with the government to register them (the planted areas and trees). So, they (the farmers) own the trees themselves. We are facilitating for the FC, to give the ownership to the farmers." (Rainforest Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

The latter with great success as "the government also recently began to recognize ownership of non-cocoa trees on cocoa farms for the first time, and this also encourages investment in tree-planting" ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018).

Political role of SNV Ghana

SNV Ghana (SNV) is the county office of the international development organisation SNV International. In Ghana, the organisation works in particular on issues relating to the sectors of agriculture, water, sanitation, and energy. SNV Ghana shares the mission statement of its international partner "to make a lasting difference in the lives of millions of people living in poverty", with the slight extension to achieve poverty alleviation "through capacity building with local actors" ("SNV Website" 2018). The organisations strategies in Ghana include to offer advisory services, to network with experts, to provide evidence-based advocacy and value chain development. In the regard of the JBL, SNV is involved in two separate projects, the "Operationalising National Safeguard Requirements for Results-based Payments from REDD+" project, which was set up to assist regional leaders in REDD+ readiness, and the "Full Sun to Shaded Cocoa Agro-forestry Systems", aiming to introduce climate-smart farming practices in the Bia-District, which focuses foremost on cocoa farmers and producers. However, in this analysis, SNVs Political roles are only considered in conjunction with the latter due to lack of available information. In the regard to activities relating to this project, the organisation judges their resources to be sufficient to conduct the activities it has planned in the landscape (SNV Interview 2018).

> *"Other resource might be that we have all the materials to facilitate our work. For instance, we have computers, the logistics in terms of vehicle, (inaud.) equipment to facilitate your work. Even as we live very far from Accra, I have high speed internet in my office. Which is quite expensive. In terms of the investment we put into our work (...) < >" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35)*

The main contributor in this endeavour is the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMUB), contributing to the improvement of the local cocoa agroforestry model and the rehabilitation of overaged farms. As of now, these activities have impacted about 2000 smallholders and covered an area of approx. 4000ha in 15 communities. The strategies include the establishment of a functional multi-stakeholder land use planning system, which however only is operational in some project communities. Lastly the activities of SNV has led to the introduction of a traceability system to trace cocoa beans to the farm level ("SNV Website" 2018; SNV Interview 2018). Although larger than other organisations interviewed in terms of manpower and local presence, SNV Ghana's internal structure follows the same traditional NGO-top-down, hierarchic model, operating with a board of trustees, country managers, project managers, and field advisors as other similar CSOs. To accommodate the need for adequate understanding of the issues at hand, SNV occupies its positions with professional personal.

> *"In terms of recruitment and selection of staff, SNV makes sure that they get people with the required skills and knowledge to manage most of their projects. I can tell you that even managing this project, I myself have a double master's degree, my project officer has a master's degree, etc. In terms of our requisite (inaud.) qualification and*

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> *experience, this is one of our strong points. (...) " (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph*
> *35)*

In terms of relations, SNV maintains a close partnership with local governmental agencies and regulatory bodies, i.e. the COCOBOD, the FC, and the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) and Bia-West DA, as well as having connections with higher level of Ghana's administration.

> *"In this project that we are implementing we are working closely together with the*
> *DA, as a strategic partner, with COCOBOD, FC and also the private sector. So, our*
> *approach has always been that (...) we are looking at an integrative package, to look*
> *at all stakeholders, to make sure you have the right buy-in from everyone." (SNV*
> *Interview, 2018 Paragraph 31)*

Educational role of SNV Ghana

Relating to the organisations own definition of their role in international development, which is "to share their specialist expertise. (…) to solve some of the most urgent development challenges" SNVs involvement in the JBL through the "Full Sun to Shaded Cocoa Agro-forestry Systems" project focuses on providing farmers with the required knowledge that helps them to improve their agriculture practices and support the landscape with more climate-smart agriculture models ("SNV Website" 2018). Given the available information, SNV Ghana performs mostly in the external educative role, by dispersing information to local farmers in order "to support them to introduce them to a model of cocoa farming that would result in higher productivity." (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 27). This educational outreach takes place in form of visiting individual communities and in form of radio broadcastings.

SNV performs in the educative role as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

In their efforts to reach out to farmers, to assist them in the transformation of their farm land into a "shaded"-farm, SNV Ghana has managed to build a large, voluntary member base. This property is crucial to have a broad educational effect throughout the area. To be more accurate, approx. 1400 farmers have so far registered with the organisation coming from about 25 different communities (SNV Interview 2018).

> *"In fact, in the last season we did 305 farmers, this season about 1079 farmers have*
> *expressed interest. In total we talk about farmers from about 25 smaller*
> *communities." (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 62)*

The second intended output of the project is an "integrated landscape management system" that has the aim to facilitate the siting of sustainable cocoa expansion. "This is when it gets into the bigger landscape issue (…) That the entire community should be able to plan." And this is where SNV Ghana is "bringing on board the district planning, the traditional authorities

and all these people together (…) to come and discuss these issues and agree on things. (…) At the end of the day, you have formulated a policy on your land use plan." (SNV Interview, 2018 Paragraph 27-29). Although only operational in some project communities, in this way SNV Ghana has the potential, when a democratic decision-making model is introduced, to further play an educative role in the landscape.

Communicative role of SNV Ghana

The communicative role of SNV Ghana plays out mainly through providing a channel of communication to the state, much more than to society. Similar to other environmental CSOs, SNVs contact to the grassroots is more sporadic then its contact to state agencies. SNV Ghana plays especially a communicative role, by forwarding information to the state from a local level to a more (inter-)national level.

> *"We bring the issues up, but it is up to the government what to do with those decisions." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)*

> *"At policy level of course, our operations also involved a down to top approach. We also do not work in isolation with the community, but we also make sure that we can engage the top level." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 21)*

The organisation's performance as communicator hinges on several organisations properties, and foremost relies on SNV's close relation to the state, but also as it signals the concerns of individuals to the greater public. For instance, they issue news letters on their website in which they signal the individual concerns of farmers and they discuss factors that create uncertain circumstances for the farmers that make them reluctant to cut and replant their aged cocoa trees. Forwarding these concerns to the public has lee to meetings, where SNV has brought local authorities and representatives from the land owners together with farmers to "discuss the existing land title arrangements that prevent replanting" ("Overcoming Barriers to Replanting Cocoa Trees in Ghana | SNV World" 2018). Lastly, in favour of this role, is the non-confrontational strategy to advocacy activities SNV Ghana has chosen to follow.

> *"I: Is SNV engaging in a competitive way, in terms of going to court, or organize a petitions or demonstrations?*
>
> *B: No (...) not at all < >*
>
> *I: So, you rather, cooperate then?*
>
> *B: Ya and more of a cooperative approach." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 79 - 82)*

Representative role of SNV Ghana

At the time of investigation, SNV Ghana's representative role is mainly performed by indirectly expressing the voice of the local communities by advocating for policy change on their behalf and basing that advocacy strategy on information received from the local communities.

> *"(...) our role has always been advocacy and facilitation. So, we bring our issues as
> we see them on the ground. But in terms of making decisions, it is entirely in the
> hands of the government. (( ))" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 13)*

This strategy is rooted in SNVs core values of evidence-based advocacy, through which the organisation aims to steer decision-makers towards the adaptation of policy recommendations "resulting from proven interventions" ("SNV Website" 2018). One major advocacy strategy refers to the Improvement of "post-harvest loss", as part of the 'Voice for Change Partnership programme' SNV, responds to this by combining their ability to generate data and evidence, supporting policy making between decision makers and CSO's ("SNV Website" 2018).

This role however, might become more direct as soon as the organisation gets their integrative management system off the ground.

Despite their advocacy strategy that allows to influence policy makers, which is carried out on a local but as well on the national level (SNV Interview 2018), the project-related focus on a distinguished constituency, namely the cocoa farmers, and a close relationship with them are the enabling organisational properties that permit SNV Ghana to perform well in this role.

> *"(...) in terms of any decision, we are really involved in talking to traditional
> authorities or farmers themselves and all that." (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph
> 21)*

> *" (...) One of the strategy is the face-to-face one. Where normally <> once you go for
> a meeting that you facilitate, you allow farmers to ask questions (( )) Then we have
> our phone numbers left behind to enable them call. (( )) We also, for this project, we
> try to get community contact people (...)" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69 - 70)*

Cooperative role of SNV Ghana

With their access to an internal organisational network and capabilities to generate specialist knowledge, SNV is an adequate partner for the Ghanaian state to cooperate with. The performance in the cooperative role, relates to the organisations focus to work "together with national partners (…) in line with the policy priorities of the government of Ghana and the recently launched sustainable development goals (SDGs) "("SNV Website" 2018). In the context of the JBL, SNV coordinates in the process of policy formation with local authorities, trough i.e. the arrangement of a community meeting that brought together representatives from the land owners, the Sefwi Traditional Council, and the migrant farmers to discuss barriers to replant cocoa trees.

> *B: For us, the most important stakeholder is COCOBOD. Then the DA, then the FC.
> For me, I think these are collaborating partners" (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph
> 71 - 72)*

Through this round table discussion stakeholders agreed upon "that land leases need to be renewed to establish secure tenure agreements that will allow farmers to replant their farm"

("SNV Website" 2018). One of the local issues in the local cocoa sector are overaged or deceased plantations. Support of farmers in cleansing or renovation of these plots usually is the mandate of COCOBOD by providing assistance and materials such as herbicides or seedlings (COCOBOD interview, 2018), however due to a shortfall of resources and outreach possibilities, SNV aids this governmental agency with carrying out the cutting down of the ill or overaged cocoa trees for them, in order to make the farm plot ready for restoration or rehabilitation.

> *"The farmer needs to help us to identify his farm < > then afterwards the farmer (...) once we come and cut the farm, the rule is to do the land preparation yourself. We will also provide you with inputs and materials. We give you the seedlings, thus, cocoa seedlings, we give you the temporary (Plantain suckers) and permanent shade (tree species). Then it is your responsibility as a farmer< > to do the planting on the farm. " (SNV Interview, 2018, Paragraph 56)*

Political role of Conservation Alliance

Conservation Alliance International (CA) - formerly known as Conservation International's Ghanaian country office - is an international environmental CSO with a number of branch offices throughout West-Africa[105]. The overall coordination of CA's work is carried out by its head office in Accra ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). Its main mission is "to be a catalyst for biodiversity conservation and improved socio-economic conditions of fringe communities". The organisations envisions its work "to empower communities in Africa to lead in biodiversity conservation and create opportunities for economic growth and improved human well-being", through engaging in the areas of agriculture, mining, water and sanitation, climate change, and energy ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In the JBL, CA is in particular involved by the means of two projects; the "Mainstreaming Biodiversity Conservation into Cocoa Production Landscape" project, which was set up to address barriers to wide-scale sustainable cocoa production in the area by using certification system as a vehicle for change; and the "Ghana-Cote D'Ivoire Trans-boundary Project", which seeks to promote the adoption of a collaborative mechanism that minimise the incidence of human wildlife conflict in a trans-frontier conservation area between the two countries ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In regard to these local infoldments, the organisation is engaged in education and awareness creation activities, farmer organizations, resilience enhancement programmes, and in the training of farmers in certification and the adoption of its standards (Rainforest Alliance Interview 2018). Like most other organisations investigated, the internal structure of CA follows a hierarchic, top down structure, with a board of directors, a country director, a technical director, program managers and coordinators. Locally, the organisation maintains a close relation with other NGOs, such as Rainforest Alliance, where CA in conjunction with their involvement in their cocoa related project, has conducted an "economic assessments of premiums for the adoption of Rainforest Alliance certification by Bia farmers, and then held meetings with producers, Rainforest Alliance, and potential buyers to prepare farmers for certification and sale of certified cocoa" ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018). Also, CA maintains a very close relation to the grassroots in the area of the Bia-District, which the organisation demarks to the "fringe" communities with a focus on farmers. To deepen the relationship, CAs field staff meets with members of local communities several times (three) a month and engages them in roundtable discussions. They are currently in regular contact with is about 1600 farmers living in about 17 of the 40 local communities ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018; "Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018).

> *"During the meetings we basically discuss the (...) what's is going on in the organisation. We let them know why we made them become members of our organisation. Let them know that our mission is that and that and we are pursuing this goal towards this direction. So, (( )) Whatever help them (...) that they will require from us to help us to achieve our goals. (...) We put it on the table, and they*

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[105] Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroun

will be sharing ideas what would help us to move towards our direction."
(Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 91)

Furthermore, CA is in regular contact with local governmental bodies, such as the FC and the WD. With these agencies, CA is jointly-organizing workshops and roundtable discussions throughout the area and are collaborating with them in a number of activities, such as the above-mentioned projects, but are also involved in more national arrangements such as Ghana's Forest Investment Programme (GFIP).

"our organisation is part of the actively involved, with the FC. And with the WD, what we do with them is, we engage them on bio diversity conservation, by organizing wildlife societies classes within the rural schools around the (inaud.) or fringe communities in our landscape." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)

"(..) with the FC, we work hand in hand with them. In terms tree planting, there is this ongoing project. The GFIP. The Ghana Forest Investment Programme of which our organisations are deeply involved." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35)

Educational role of Conservation Alliance

Conservation Alliances educational role in the area of the JBL, plays out in an external form by which the organisation educates local farmers and community members. This performance is enabled through their close relation with local communities and the application of research as input, as "undertaking rigorous evaluations and equip organisations and projects with robust monitoring and evaluation systems" is part of the organisations work ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018). Moreover, where other investigated organisations mission statements relate more to an enjoinment of knowledge, through "sharing their specialist expertise", or by "transforming existing land-use practices", CA's approach to its goal is to focus on existing local knowledge, namely aiming to "not impose solutions but work with communities to strengthen their own efforts, making the most of their knowledge and experience" ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018).

"We start (...) with engaging the farmer to identify the problems." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)

However, in order to achieve their project objectives CA has to impose some knowledge in their educational programmes, regardless. For this, a series of trainings have been given to the communities, which covered information on agricultural practices, biodiversity conservation, certification and business leadership ("Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018; "Conservation Alliance Website" 2018).

"We train them about good agricultural practices. (...) (( )) And then we supply them with seedlings (...) materials and we educate the children's about conservation education." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)

Additionally, in a more inclusive manner, CA has enabled local farmers to make the right decisions on farm management by issuing training manuals which were being used in 12 communities in the Bia area to educate farmers on current emerging issues within cocoa production. After a period, 3500 farmers living in the area have been educated on biodiversity and climate change issues using a number of approaches including community meetings, durbars, and media campaigns using community information centres (Conservation Alliance 2013). This training programme was delivered by using a Farmer Field School (FFS) approach, which builds on a cascading model through which each of 500 initially trained farmers are expected to train three more farmers in the consecutive two years.

Lastly, in regard to their involvement in the GEF/FAO funded transboundary project, CA has trained farmers on issues of ownership structures and through this has assisted more than 1,000 farmers in the process of planting and registering trees within their farms and in degraded areas of the landscape, that now await issuance of certificates from the FC ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018).

CA performs in the educative role as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

Communicative role of Conservation Alliance

The motto "to empower communities in Africa to lead in biodiversity conservation" is part of the organisations vision and implies a somewhat intermediary function of the organisation.

> *"The communities are our largest stakeholders" (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

Relating to CA's organisational property of having close relations to the grassroot in the area, a local presence through its field officers that live in the landscape and a number of volunteers, as well as their relations to other local CSOs, the organisation is well-set to perform in a communicative role. It does so mainly through offering a channel of communication to grassroots, that are the local farmers and members of the communities. The organisations entry level is the level of these communities, where CA talks to locals, helping to identify current problems. This approach enables the organisation to gather information on the ground and signal these to the public domain.

> *"At the end of the day their (local community members) concern is supreme. Whatever they say, is what we go by. Because we do not have knowledge, whatever we know we know from the community. (( )) Just that these concerns or ideas that they would share on the ground is very raw. We just have to nurture it and trim it to what we desire it to be." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 92 - 93)*

*"our organisation is part of the actively involved, with the FC, and with the WD.
What we do with them is, we engage them on bio diversity conservation, by
organizing wildlife societies classes within the rural schools around the (inaud.) or
fringe communities in our landscape." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018,
Paragraph 39)*

Representative role of Conservation Alliance

Being the "mouth piece" of local communities, at times, requires CA to "nurture and trim" the messages they receive from the ground level first, before they address state officials with the discovered concerns ("Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018). This implies, despite of providing a structure of communication to society, that CA indirectly also represents the voice of the local communities in the public domain. Firstly, the organisation does so by advocating for policy change on behalf of their target group.

*"CA participates in policy dialogues and reviews biodiversity strategies including Climate Change,
Forest and Wildlife policies and makes recommendation on policy changes ("Conservation Alliance
Website" 2018)*

Secondly the organisation represents the voice of local communities through campaigning for them in their engagement with other entities. For instance, during a meeting with partners of the transboundary project, the Director of CA, Dr. Yaw Osei-Owusu, appealed to representatives of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire "for greater support of the project and for sustainable livelihoods of local communities living within the area" ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018). And lastly, the organisation does present the voice of the people by participating in the public debate on behalf of the interests of local communities.

*"CA implemented a campaign to raise awareness among communities in the target
area around the connections between agriculture, biodiversity loss, water
availability, and climate change, and educate farmers about their roles as ecosystem
managers. These messages were spread through radio programs, presentations,
community meetings, and open discussions" ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018)*

A critical property of the organisation, and an important source of legitimacy to its strategies is a voluntary member base, but foremost a participatory decision-making model, that allows local communities to decide, which of the concerns and interests are to be signalled out.

*"For CA, we are frontier. We are the mouthpiece for these communities. We carry on
our shoulders the very concerns of these communities to the relevant stakeholders. I
think that reflects on our decision-making model." (Conservation Alliance Interview,
2018, Paragraph 113)*

Similar to other organisations in Ghana, CA does not, in their advocacy strategy, follow a confrontational course. However their advocacy and campaign work indicates a strategy that is referred to policy makers as well as to the greater public in general.

"I: Do you go to court, demonstrate < >(inaud.) How do you < >[

> *B2: We do not argue, we do not go to court, we do not all of that. What we do is, we have our own community entry models that we follow. That is lobbying. We cannot push our way < > We lobby, purely lobbying." (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 114 - 115)*

Cooperative role of Conservation Alliance

Part of CAs general approach to the work it is conducting is to "bring together the people and skills needed to build Africa's capacity" and to "improve the performance of government agencies, organisations and projects", which refers to the cooperative role is performing ("Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018). More specific, in the context of their involvement in the transboundary project between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire in the JBL, CA is part of the project steering committee where the organisation coordinates the project execution with key institutions such as the , FC, the WD, the FAO Department and the Global Environmental Facility ("Conservation Alliance Website" 2018). In further cooperative activities, CA aids governmental agencies with supplying a service to local communities, that would usually fall under the mandate of the FC and the WD. For instance, CA subsidises services of the state through conducting tree planting exercises with the communities, looking at mitigation processes of elephants, and mapping of local farm land. To do so, the FC and FORIG supplies seedlings to the organisations, that are then handed out to community members. However, the ability to deliver services depends much on available resources, which are not always sufficient ("Conservation Alliance Interview" 2018)

> *"So, when it comes to the boundary clearing (...) the tree planting activities, our organisation is part of the actively involved, with the FC and with the WD. What we do with them is (...) we engage them on bio diversity conservation, by organizing wildlife societies classes within the rural schools around the fringe communities in our landscape. Beside all these activities, we also collaborate with these very organisations (...) for support (inaud.) technical, in terms of crop raiding, for instance. (...) (Conservation Alliance Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)*

CA also has assisted farmers in the JBL with demarking their farms (farm mapping), with support of GPS.

> *"A printed copy of their farm map is handed over to the farmer to assist in planning work on the farm and also to make decisions concerning the application of agrochemicals, fertilizers and shade trees on the farm (...) farmers have testified that knowing the correct size of their farms has helped saved funds that use for other things." ("International Finance Corporation" 2018)*

Political roles of Solidaridad West-Africa (Cocoa Programme)

Solidaridad West-Africa is part of the international Solidaridad Network, an network organisation that "looks at how to transform markets to make them more inclusive and sustainable" with the single over-all goal: "together we learn and progress, together we achieve results, and together we decide on future steps" (Solidaridad 2016b). With Ghana as the West-African base of Solidaridad, the organisation in Ghana focuses on responsible commodity supply chains, in particular the supply chains of cocoa, palm oil, and gold. With the work the organisations conducts in Ghana it focuses its activities on the "the people who produce the resources on which we all depend" ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018). Within the JBL, "the goal of the organisation is, looking at (cocoa) producers and then people within the supply chain, to produce quality and sustainable goods." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)

> *"we work from the producer level through the supply chain to the final consumer, including the policy makers and then their actors. So, we have a goal to target the producers, the industry players, the policy makers and then the final consumer. So, we work along the supply chain." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43)*

As local activities go, the cocoa programme provides education on agronomy and agribusiness, management skills, women empowerment, and developed youth networks. Moreover, the organisations efforts have let to the establishment of 20 rural service centres that serve as service delivery mechanisms to aid producers with best agricultural practices, access to farming resources, and rehabilitation of old farms, which is carried out under the Cocoa Rehabilitation and Intensification Programme [106] (CORIP) of which Solidaridad has been a partner. Solidaridad's approach to focus on the start of the supply chain relates to their close relationship with its target group or the "people who produce" and is maintained through regular community engagement.

> *"we do a lot of meetings with the stakeholders and actors in the landscape. We have, in the coco landscape (other term for JBL) made up of a lot of partners or actors. Private companies, landowners, coco producers, farmers." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)*

Further, the organisation keeps good ties with national universities and knowledge institutes as it works closely together with the Ashesi University and with governmental bodies such as the COCOBOD, both being implementing partners of Solidaridad ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018).

> *"We also have interests working with the government officials. Government agencies in the landscape, especially the COCOBOD." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 153)*

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[106] CORIP is an effort to promote sustainable productivity, profitability and competitiveness of the Ghanaian cocoa sector through the provision of a package of support services through the established RSCs to cocoa farmers

The organisation works together with other CSOs on a number of project throughout Ghana (i.e. the Ghana Cocoa Platform), but as well on the level of the JBL, including the Forest Capital Cocoa & REDD+ project.

Like other international organisations, Solidaridad has a hierarchic internal structure with a board of trustees, that approves proposals handed it from the directive. The international organisations are divided by geographical locations, whereas the activities of the Ghanaian branch are over seen by an executive director who is responsible for West-Africa. This is followed by a team of managers on the country level overseeing the activities taking place in the country.

The organisation has access to international donors, that provide a sufficient degree of funding to the efforts of Solidaridad. In the context of Solidaridad's involvement in the JBL, they receive funding from the Dutch and Belgian government, IDH (Dutch Institute for sustainable trade), as well as the World Bank and Mastercard. Contributors to the cocoa programme are also private cocoa companies like Olam International, Cargill, and Touton.

> *"We also have financial resources. They mostly come from our sponsors. The Netherlands, Belgium, (inaud.) are supporting us. (...) Mastercard, < > and recently the World Bank is also coming in with support to ensure the landscape is more resilient." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63)*

Educational role of Solidaridad West-Africa (Cocoa Programme)

> *"we position our self as a learning organisation and a data driven organisation. " (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

As "a transition manager, focusing on producer support and sustainable supply chain and market development" an educational focus is an important strategy for Solidaridad. Building on their slogan: "together we learn and progress,.." the organisation, in particular in their Cocoa Programme, sets on "giving tailor-made entrepreneurship and life-skills training, modelling viable business opportunities to prove profitability and making the case for impact investment" (Solidaridad 2016b).

In the JBL, these strategies play out in form of agricultural practice trainings, business and leadership trainings, and legal trainings on local laws , by-laws and regulation (i.e. concerning ownership structures) "because each partner needs to know what the law says about land owning." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53).

> *"we try to build our own capacity to a level, that the farmers or producer groups are able to appreciate us. Then disseminate our knowledge and information that we have (inaud.) to the farmers or to the producer group." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

Solidaridad performs in the educative role and contribute to democracy as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in

doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

The organisations access to expertise in these fields and their ability to disseminate or "deliver" said complex knowledge to the local farmers and producers is one of the critical organisational properties that enables Solidaridad to perform in an external educational role.

> *"Internally we - Solidaridad West Africa - in Ghana is the original expertise centre. Then we have the experts to deliver all the contents, regarding every project that we run. " (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59)*

Additionally, as their entry level in the JBL is the community level, the organisations maintains close ties with its target group through regular meetings and round table discussions. This is where the organisation gets the insights into local and a ways to make "maximum use of local expertise" (Solidaridad 2016a).

> *"They (producers) are consulted in decision making processes < > This is round table decision making. We have had several here in this room (In Kumasi office), with producers. Sometimes we go to the communities to have some meetings. These are discussions, and out of that there have been a lot of materials or documents that. (...) we have developed from these kinds of decisions that we are taking forwards" (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 142)*

Communicative role of Solidaridad West-Africa (Cocoa Programme)

Declaring their ambitions up to 2020, the organisations aims to provide safe and neutral spaces for their constituency to deliberate issues and interests at hand, where there is a lack of communication or trust between stakeholders. With this incentive, the organisation brings producers, government institutions, civil society, as well as the private sector and other relevant stakeholders together (Solidaridad 2016a). Being a supply chain orientated organization, Solidaridad's function as communicator between the producer groups and with groups up the supply chain is a central function. Unlike most other organisations investigated in the JBL, Solidaridad, with its supply chain orientation, manages to provide a two-way channel of communication to society as well as to the state, whereby individuals can signal their concerns to the greater public, and to government officials.

> *"They are the actors, they are the farmers and producers. They are affected by any decision that has been taken by the top. So, we need to have these roundtable discussions with them to see, their feeling" (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 142)*

> *"We have three levels of engagement. We have one at the community level, we have one at the landscape level and we have one at the national level. In the Juabeso Bia (JB) landscape we also use traditional (inaud.), we engage all partners or all stakeholders within the communities, the various aggregations in the community and*

> *then we bring them all to the landscape level" (Solidaridad Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 30)*

For this role, Solidaridad has the adequate organisational properties, such as a close relation to its target group, but as well contacts to the state, especially with representatives of COCOBOD – a key institutional partner for Solidaridad's Cocoa Programme in the JBL and the national level ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018).

> *"We also have interests working with the government officials. Government agencies*
> *in the landscape, especially the COCOBOD." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 153)*

> *"Our key important groups are the government agencies. We work strongly with*
> *them" (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 155)*

> *"the government officials we also have the highest office that engages them on the*
> *highest level through other projects. We engage them, and then when it comes to the*
> *ground level we are also able to engage them for such decision making."*
> *(Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 159)*

Representative role of Solidaridad West-Africa (Cocoa Programme)

The representative role of Solidaridad relates to the organisations main goals of the global cocoa programme to "engage national and local actors on policy and regulatory frameworks for enhancing standards that support adoption of sustainability interventions in cocoa landscapes" ("Solidaridad Annual Report" 2016). Through the formulation of this goal, the organisations focus on indirect representation of voice is highlighted, for which Solidaridad's close relations to its demarcated constituency – in this regard the cocoa farmers and producers -, its advocacy strategy, and close network with other CSOs in the area are the appropriate organisational properties. The way Solidaridad engages in advocacy, can be called "cordial", this is where agitations with the government are avoided and the form of engagement with state officials refers to provision of information and consultation activities ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018).

> *"We are not going to ↑ court (h). For such engagement, but we have cordial*
> *relationship with them, which we used to (...) We mostly invite them to our*
> *demonstration plot and also to our field visits." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 163)*

> *"It is mostly providing information to them about what it is happening in the*
> *landscape. Or we need to get their understanding and support as to making*
> *commitments, and to contribute or to ensure that changes occur in the landscape."*
> *(Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 164 - 165)*

In their role as indirect representor of voice, the organisation is campaigning on behalf of their producers. For example, the organisation in involved in a project - "The Ghana Dedicated Grant Mechanism for Local Communities Project" – which was designed to promote the

inclusion of communities reliant on forests, including those located within the JBL, in policy formulation and initiatives as well as in other REDD+ programs that seek to reduce deforestation and degradation and the main beneficiaries of the projects are local communities and their representative community based organizations ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018; The World Bank 2017).

In another instance of indirect representation, Solidaridad has partnered with UNDP to advocate for a policy change and lead the development of the Ghana On-Farm Tree Ownership Registration Protocol, which, in 2016 has been approved by the Forestry Commission (Solidaridad 2016a; Insaidoo, Ros-Tonen, and Acheampong 2012). This part of the advocacy strategy of the organisation is to bring up the interests and concerns of the community to the higher level of decision making, which they receive from the producers through community engagement activities. I these, they learn about the issues, famers and other community members are faced by. i.e. land tenure issues.

> *"They give us information, and also give us their own concerns about what the subject might be< >" (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 148)*

In an attempt to also perform in a more direct manner of this role, local staff members of the organisations – located throughout the area – have assisted local producers to organize and speak to representative of the government themselves. The organisation provides trainings to producer groups that help to clarify the issues at hand, and to support "them to participate in the national land tenure discussions." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)

> *"We have lot of training for the producer groups, we have a lot of discussions, we have round table discussions, meetings. We also bring them to a higher level of participation in the decision-making processes." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 51)*

Cooperative role of Solidaridad West-Africa (Cocoa Programme)

For Solidaridad, the government is an "integral part of sustainability in the cocoa industry" ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018). For this, Solidaridad "proactively engages governments and relevant institutions to develop an enabling environment for cocoa production focused on developing innovative programmes to support climate change adaptation and mitigation" ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018). In this regard, the organisation performs in the cooperative role by complementing the functions of the state through service delivery, and by coordinating with relevant stakeholders in reforming current policies ("Solidaridad Interview" 2018). The former plays out in the JBL through Solidaridad's involvement in the CORI Programme, and in particular, through the provision of trainings (e.g. agricultural practices, legal provisions, etc.) and the creation of the service centres, that provide farmers with agro-inputs (planting material, fertilizer, agro-chemicals) and technical support services for improved cocoa production as well as community development support services for enhanced livelihoods. In doing so Solidaridad supplements services of the state, as these

activities address ongoing challenges to the Ghanaian cocoa sector, for instance the lacking access to markets to obtain a good price for the produce (IDH 2016; "COCOACONNECT" 2018).

> *"our innovations so far (...) are so attractive that every government or every policy maker would like to buy into it. Every time we pitch our ideas, usually it is bought into it and is implemented. We usually have direct impacts on society and communities and so on. " (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 171)*

In another instance, Solidaridad has reviewed the area biodiversity management plan of the FC for the Krokosua Hills[107]. This has been done to assist the FC to adopt environmentally sustainable practices by cocoa farmers which can promote biodiversity conservation and contribute to reduction of greenhouse gas emission, by implementing a GDI standard and certification system for land managers (Solidaridad West Africa 2013).

Political role of Tropenbos International Ghana

With an over-all goal "to promote sustainable use of forests and trees in climate-smart landscapes in the tropics, contributing to sustainable development and climate goals", Tropenbos International (TBI) is a network of independent member organisation that believes that "evidence-based information, individual and organisational capacity, and multi-stakeholder dialogue are essential for progress towards sustainable landscapes and value chains" ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). Its Ghanaian network partner - Tropenbos Ghana (TBI) - operates with a programme that has a more specific national context, drafted with the existing local conditions in mind. The organisation strategically positions itself rather as a network of "independent network of non -governmental non-profit organizations", but it properties revealed and performance in the JBL is much closer to those of the TTs like IDEG and NCRC. The internal structure also is a typical top-down hierarchy, similar to most other investigated organisations. The organisations approach is to make use of adequate information for policies that favour poverty alleviation processes and improved forest-dependent livelihoods, with a special focus on governance issues. The organisation engages in activities of problem identification and translation into research agendas, as well as in activities towards implementation of solutions through (inter)national collaboration ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). TBI has identified areas for action with stakeholders throughout Ghana, amongst which was the area of the High-Forest Zone (??) of JBL. TBIs strategies in this area are mainly defined by their involvement in the Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) programme. A programme that was set up to strengthen the role of local and national CSOs in the inclusive and sustainable governance of landscapes. In this context, TBI engages in the JBL in activities that aim towards scaling up of the local CREMAs, establishing a CSO coalition, reforming the current tree

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[107] Krokosua is one of the major forest reserves in the Western Region of Ghana. It lies between latitudes 6015' and 6040' north and longitude 2040' and 3000' west. It is situated at the east bank of River Biaand bisected by the Sefwi-Wiawso-La Cote d'Ivoire border road. The gross area of the reserve is481.61km2 with a total external perimeter of 166.64km and composed of 151.14km cut lines, 12.30kmstreams and 3.20km road. There are 38 admitted farms in this reserve.

tenure systems, improving law enforcement capacities, and towards developing sustainable integrated resource management systems (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). With close relations with its international donors, the organisation also maintains close relations to the state through formal but as well informal contacts (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). These relations to the state take place on a national and the local, landscape level. For instance, it has ongoing partnerships with the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources as well as the FC, and one of the chair members of TBI used to be the chief executive of the FC ((Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018)

> *"For my four years being here, I realised it (connection with the state) is very strong. Especially the FC, the head office and all the divisions and even with the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 94 - 96) "*

TBI upholds also close relations with national and international universities, such as the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources of KNUST, the University of Amsterdam, Wageningen University and Research Centre, University of Freiburg, or research institutes, such as FORIG or CGIAR where TBI is a managing partner of the Global Research programme on Forests, Trees and Agroforestry (FTA)[108]. Where the relations to state and international research institutes are well established, TBI contacts with the grassroots in the area are less direct and less frequent. This little focus on local communities and the actual grassroots stems from the GLA programme TBI is involved in, which demarks the constituency to be the "law enforcement agencies (…) the justiciary, community-based organisations (CREMA, LMB) (…) basically the non-state actors" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

Educational role of Tropenbos Ghana

Relating to the organisations vision of "evidence based information", and the perception of the self-imposed role description of TBI as "knowledge broker", paired with its activities throughout Ghana where the organisation is "carrying out relevant research and training", refer all to an external educational role (Asante et al. 2014, 2; "Tropenbos Website" 2018). Unlike other organisations investigated, TBIs educational role mainly plays out with a strong focus on the provision of information to state officials, instead of providing education to local citizens, such as agricultural trainings, etc. To illustrate, in one instance TBI educates representatives of the four local DA on eco system services, and how to integrate those in the districts Medium Term Development Plan (Serwah et al. 2018; Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

> *"we are basically do trainings, training the assemblies on how to integrate eco system services, and also looking at CREMAs for instance(...) we will be looking at building their capacities in business models that sustain the groups." (Tropenbos Ghana, Paragraph 25)*

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[108] ??

"These are your activities: Trainings for DA how to include eco system services in
the medium-term plans, then you have the livelihood programmes for the CREMAs,
you train CBOs in order to know how to deal with dialogue with the FC and WD and
so on and even go beyond dialogue, give them the understanding of what is the right
way to push the governmental bodies." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018,
Paragraph 40)

In another example, TBI has it taken upon themselves to train law enforcement officers in legal provisions, "so they understand the legal system and everything." (Tropenbos Ghana, Paragraph 25 - 27). This performance, to educate state officials, builds for one on the close relation to local governmental bodies TBI has formed within the landscape, where "periodically the DA meets the communities, and invite TBI" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 15); and for another, on the clearly structured non-confrontational strategy to the organisations advocacy outlined by a Work Plan (Serwah et al. 2018). These properties are crucial in order to play in an educational role, however the organisations access to expert knowledge and the ability of its professional staff to translate rather complex matters into more comprehensive language are essential as well, as this provides the appropriate input and accountability.

Lacking a local presence and a close relationship with the grassroots, TBIs ability to perform in the role by providing information to citizens is limited. However, in a small way the organisation performs in this role by engaging in activities that aim to improve local livelihoods.

"B: #00:19:40-3# Our current constraint is the fact that it is a new landscape. We do
not have, for instance, a ground presence. In the sense, that for now, we always have
to travel. So, what we seek to do, to overcome that constraint is to have a base there.
Where there will be a (inaud.) staff. So, if there is anything to be done (...) actually
that person will organize the ground for us. (...) and delay project information for
us." (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)

This education of locals is carried out in conjunction to the GLA programme, and its objective to improve local governance structures. TBI has recognized that local community-based resource management systems (CREMA) – of which local farmers are usually members of - may lay dormant when there is no project active in the area. For this they attempt to provide knowledge to local CREMA members that may help to generate alternative income possibilities (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

"When there is no project, they will not act, and it becomes a fiasco, so what is done
previously will not be sustainable. So then, what GLA is trying to do is to train them
in something that will help them, even without a project, to generate some kind of
income." (Tropenbos Ghana, Paragraph 25)

TBI performs also in an internal educational role in the JBL, through the formation of stakeholder platforms (cocoa platforms). Through these platforms TBI plans to bring together people into discussions and exchange to find out more on the "cocoa issues" (Tropenbos Ghana

Interview 2018). This platform is constituted by representatives of local farmers, technical groups, other CSOs, and governmental agencies, that "deal with cocoa" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). To have an internal educational effect, by which democratic values are nurtured, this platform has a democratic decision-making process, where approaches can be "harmonized" and is constituted by a rather broad voluntary base, which both, are critical properties for legitimacy and accountability.

> *"That is why TB is taking that upon ourselves to try and to build this coco platform.*
> *(()) So that there will be a harmonized kind of thing. (inaud.) (()) One thing that TB is*
> *trying to coordinate. Try to bring all the groups working on the same commodity*
> *together. So that we can find a common ground, a common way of doing things."*
> *(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 51)*

Communicative role of Tropenbos Ghana

TBI performance in the communicative role can be linked to the aim the organisation has in Ghana, namely to "provide a forum for discussing forest issues" ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). Through its strong relations with key state agencies in the area of the JBL, and a non-confrontational advocacy strategy the organisation is following, it has the organisational properties to provide the required channels to state agencies and offer a structure of communication the appropriate agencies. The communicative role of TBI plays out in practice through the establishment of multi-stakeholder dialogues (MSD) that are in the eyes of the organisation "essential for progress towards sustainable landscapes and value chains" ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). As an important component of the organisations work plan for lobby and advocacy, the organisation aims to support the understanding of the link between landscape and national decision making, and the translation of international themes so they can be made nationally relevant (Serwah et al. 2018). To support such national policy dialogue, the organisation facilitates stakeholder engagements on certain policy issues. TBI, for instance facilitates CSO meetings on the MoLR Tree Tenure and Benefit Sharing Reform[109] through which it attempts to link landscape level CSO networks with national level CSOs (see CREMA Association), allowing them to influence the agenda of the national level (Serwah et al. 2018; Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). Other instances, in which TBIs is joining stakeholders together and work towards informed dialogue is the cocoa platform (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). TBI is actively searching to link up with existing platforms, e.g. CREMA or LMB, and focuses on "collaboration with multiple stakeholders and knowledge dialogue aspects" - without taking position (Vianen 2016).

> *"That is why TB is taking that upon ourselves to try and to build this coco platform.*
> *(( )) So that there will be a harmonized kind of thing. (inaud.) (( )) One thing that TB*

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[109] "Ghana is currently implementing a number of forest sector initiatives (e.g. Voluntary Partnership Agreement -VPA, Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation -REDD under Forest Carbon Partnership Facility- FCPF and Forest Investment Program) and intends to venture into others; all of which depend on sound, fair and equitable land and tree tenure regimes in order to succeed. The various national afforestation programs invest huge capital in creating forest estates with government, private sector and community partnerships." ()

is trying to coordinate. Try to bring all the groups working on the same commodity
together. So that we can find a common ground, a common way of doing things."
(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 51)

Representative role of Tropenbos International Ghana

An organisations advocacy work towards policy change constitutes a critical part of the representative role. TBIs mission in Ghana can be related such a role, namely as it aims to "bridge the gap between forest policy" ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). Like most other organisations in this investigation, the form of representation the organisation is performing in, is non-resisting, without being involved in actions that might cause pressure to the state. TBI has adequate expertise in research, policy analysis and advocacy. A practical work done in the field of policy is the provision of inputs into Ghana's Wildlife Bill and the policy for supplying legal timber on the domestic market. The organisations current strategy deploys internal staff equipped with the skill in research in combination with external and experienced consultants to conduct research as basis for their advocacy and campaign work. In the context of JBL, TBI is following a number of objectives in conjunction to their project "Achieving Sustainably managed landscapes in Juabeso Bia Landscape through lobby and advocacy", that can further relate to the role of representation of voice. One of which is where TBI attempts to assist CSOs to "lobby government and develop multi stakeholder dialogues", through which TBI attempts to mobilize local citizens to speak for them self.

"B: Then the CSOs are empowered in the line to actually push the law enforcement
to do what it is right. (...)

I: How would they do that actually?

B: Basically (...) It is some kind of two-way approach. First, dialogue. When dialogue
fails, it will be some kind of peaceful demonstration, trying to raise the landscapes
awareness. So, they all can raise against (...) for better practices in the landscape.
(...)" (Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 27 - 29)

In a further regard of organizing local citizens, the organisation aims to support locals, by "mobilizing them into associations' platforms, networks, coalitions and organisations" (Serwah et al. 2018). TBI intends these mobilized locals to discuss issues of poorly negotiated social responsibility agreements, and to champion for sustainable natural resource management as well as reforms towards more favourable tree tenure and benefit sharing (Serwah et al. 2018). Here, TBI relies on the close relations to CSOs in the area, as itself does not have the appropriate organisational properties to represent the local citizens and as their focus lies on state officials (Asante et al. 2014; Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018).

Another intervention of TBI in the area is to "support the legislation and upscaling of the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA)" ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). Here, the organisation aims to provide adequate understanding that has emanated from conducted research to share these gained insights with decision makers in order to endorse policy

adaptation are key functions of the organisation (Tropenbos Ghana Interview 2018). To accommodate these objectves, the organisation das deployed solid lobby and advocacy at the the national level, through workshops and round table discussions (example), and makes sure that actions on the local level are provided with a "strong national push and support" provided by their experts in the main office and their network of national CSOs (reference) ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). Through the activities conducted in the area of the JBL.

Cooperative role of Tropenbos Ghana

A central function to TBIs positioning in the developmental sector in Ghana is to "translate problems into research plans" and to share emanating information with decision makers and other stakeholders ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). In this function, the organisations cooperates with (inter)national partners in the implementation of solutions to identified problems ("Tropenbos Website" 2018). In practice this plays out through activities that connect stakeholder, i.e. through multi-stakeholder dialogues, the generation of knowledge and negotiation of policy direction. Crucial for this performance is TBIs access to ample expertise in their field of work, but foremost on a strong network of CSOs, that - in part - originates from their involvement in the GLA, and their long existence as an environmental CSO. Locally, TBI coordinates closely with the DA and provides them with guidelines on how to integrate eco system services in their mid-term development plans. This is where TBIs strong relations with the state and research institutes come in. In order to build a network and generate localized knowledge, TBI has organized and attended several workshops and roundtable discussions throughout Ghana, on topics relating to artisanal mining, harmonized stakeholder processes, identification of synergies between FLEGT/VPA and REDD+ initiatives, etc. (TBI 2016).

> *" Yes sure, we guide them (inaud.) how they do some of these things. As far as environmental and natural resource (inaud.) might be another concern. We have been a kind of point of call for them. Seeking advice on how that should be done."*
> *(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 16 - 17)*

Another component of TBIs intervention in the JBL is an institutional strengthening of the law enforcement and judiciary services to better understand legal provisions, and forest authorities and to coop with REDD+ strategies.

> *"Ya, so (...) training of forestry commission staff, police, customs (...) main forest and mining laws (...) You know, actually the FC is supposed to train their own staff to know the forest laws. But (...) sometimes when you interact with them and their field staff is not really fulfilling the requirements. (...) They should also know to be able to do the right thing (...) So that in their quest to protect the forest they do not trample on people's rights. We also train them with that. You know now, REDD+, is under the work of the FC. What they are targeting as their (...) key activity is cocoa agroforestry. So, basically in our cocoa arrangement we are helping them to do sustainable (...) activities in the landscape. Trying to integrate tree crops in the coco*

> *farms. Also help to contribute to the strategies of the REDD+ division of the FC."*
> *(Tropenbos Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 100)*

Political role of the Institute for Democratic Governance

IDEG is one of Ghana's leading think-tanks and follows a vision of "accumulating and sharing knowledge for sustainable development and a free, just and prosperous society in Ghana and the rest of Africa." ("IDEG Website" 2018). IDEG sees the promotion of democracy, and good governance as a central part to their main mission, as well as the generation of knowledge to "enhance the capacity of citizens to influence public policy choices" ("IDEG Website" 2018). The internal structure of this medium-sized TTs, is a classic top down hierarchy, operating under a council of trustees, that – constituted of local experts and scholars – provides strategic leadership and an accountability structure. IDEGs core employees generally hold academic degrees and are professionally educated to perform in their tasks. In the area of the JBL, the organisations central strategies all aim towards educating and promoting citizenship and other non-state actors in the pursuit of democracy and good governance, economic growth and poverty reduction, by creating local forums, organizing roundtable discussions and meeting with stakeholders. IDEGs impact on landscape democracy is mostly affected through the created Governance Issues Forum (GIF). In 2004, this GIF-framework was developed to promote participatory governance in Ghana, and since then has been used as a tool that converts politics from a non-inclusive public policy-making process to one which engages people and offers them the ability to participate and push for accountability from their duty bearers.

> *" (GIF) is like an NGO, but we simply call it Governance Issues Forum Network*
> *(GIFNet). This is a group that we have formed in various districts, one of them in JB.*
> *They deal with environmental landscape issues." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph*
> *4 - 5)*

Today, this tool is convened across 26 districts in Ghana, including the Bia West District and the Juabeso District. Activities in regard to IDEG's involvement in the JBL, are carried out through the members of the GIFNet – a "network of individual citizens, traditional leaders, civil society, other private sector actors as well as state actors who have undergone training in public deliberation" ("IDEG Website" 2018) – and include outreach actions, resource mobilization, technical assistance, civic empowerment actions, organisational actions, civic participation actions and accountability actions. In this instance, IDEG serves as mere coordinating secretariat in the implementation of the GIF in the JBL. Additionally, IDEG has implemented the Civic Empowerment of Cocoa Communities (CECC), which uses the GIF model to achieve its particular project objectives. The CECC is implemented under the Cocoa Life Programme, with the goal "to establish effective mechanisms to improve the mobilization of nonstate actors" (IDEG 2018).

Activities of IDEG/GIFNet are financed through grants from partners and agencies. Major contributors to IDEG are the Africa Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), United Nations Development Programme, and Ghana's Research and Advocacy Programme (G-RAP), and in

special regard to the GIFNet, Mondelez, a private cocoa producing company whom is an implementing partner of the Cocoa Life Programme.

> *"In fact, Mondelez, is a major, major funder (inaud.). They are funding (h) (( )) for IDEG (h) They give the money to IDEG and IDEG applies to the GIFNet. So Mondelez is a major major funder." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

IDEG maintains close relationships with "several ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) of state at the national level, and local government authorities at the decentralized level" ("IDEG Website" 2018), but also with universities – as two of the board members are professors at Ghanaian universities. Through IDEGs initiation of the GIF in the JBL, the organisation has some relation to a part of its local constituency (through the members of the GIFNet), however this relation is weak, in part as the target of their activities are mainly public policy-makers and governmental officials, but also as IDEG has no own local presence in the area of their own, and finally, as all their publications speak in a technically complex language.

Educational role of the Institute for Democratic Governance

The performance of IDEG in the educational role is shaped by the organisations vision of their work of "accumulating and sharing knowledge" and the organisations self-imposed profile as think-tank. Equipped with academically educated staff, its connections to universities and the state, the application of research as input, and a rather non-confrontational advocacy strategy, the entire organisation is well set-up to disseminate expert knowledge, mainly to state officials on national level. However, in regard to the JBL, this role plays out differently as IDEG only provides educative trainings to the members of the GIFNet, through which they aim to enable local citizens to participate in governance issues, and press for accountability of local government officials (IDEG Interview 2018).

> *"What happened in the JBL is (...) we give training to the people, to our members there. We train them how to lobby the local authorities. We train them, how to hold them accountable, for some of the things they have done. We also train them to monitor and to evaluate the kind of projects that take place in that particular landscape" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

Despite of providing education to members of the GIFNet in an external educational role, IDEG, through the established GIF also performs an internal educational role. Members are supposed to "think, talk and make public judgment on local issues, after discussions citizens are to find common ground for action, and once a plan of action is outlined and agreed upon implementation and monitoring is discussed" (IDEG 2016). For this activity to have an internal educational effect, a voluntary base is required as well as an internal decision-making process that follows democratic ideas. (GIF has engaged about 120 volunteers in the JBL (nationwide about 3000), the membership is free to anyone who resides in the area and has an employment, and decision making is deliberative).

""I: When you work with your volunteers (...) I guess you have regular meetings for some areas?

B: Yes, Yes! We have regular meetings (...) with them it is very, very participatory.

I: So, they come with their problems, interests and concerns of the area and you decide together

B: Yes, yes < >" (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 88 - 91)

"I: (( )) How would you make sure, as GIFNet, or IDEG, that what you do is in the interest of the constituency, so the citizens? How do you make sure that this is being in the interest < >

B: The way you make sure it is in their interest is that they come up with all the issues. We do not decide anything from Accra. They identify the local problems that they want to deal with. We only provide only the training and the resources. So, if it is not in their interest, they will not bring it up." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 102 - 103)"

Although this does not follow the theoretical conception of this role, the effect of instilling civic virtues through bringing people together in cooperative ventures, like discussion rounds where citizens can debate the ins and outs of government has an effect towards democratisation, in the scale of the landscape.

Communicative role of the Institute for Democratic Governance

For being a think-tank that targets governmental officials and public decision makers, a well-developed organisational property of the organisation is its close relation to the state, through which IDEG can provide a channel of communication. Their core mission and educational focus shapes this communicative role of assisting the citizenry to "consolidate democracy and good governance in Ghana" ("IDEG Website" 2018). In the JBL, GIFNets accountability actions, for instance, - called "watch dog activities" - include the creation of platforms where local members can engage government officials on "issues of governance and development issues in their district" (IDEG 2016). In regard to local Cocoa Life Communities, Dr. Emmanuel O. Akwetey, the Executive Director of IDEG, said:

"citizens in the cocoa life communities should not be left out of the development agenda that the government will implement, the communities must be connected to the structure local government for active participation"
("Ghana News Agency" 2017).

Following this, IDEG is applying the GIF model in the establishment of civic spaces for citizens to engage with "duty bearers" and pressure for accountability. As an example, 'Election Platform Meetings' were conducted across the districts of Juabeso and Bia-West, providing the people "the opportunity to interrogate and interact with parliamentary aspirants on their manifesto" (IDEG 2018). Additionally, public spaces such as public forums, TV and

radio discussions, and engagement with relevant stakeholders were some of the key interface platforms that the organisation has used to promote transparency and accountability in the districts (IDEG Interview 2018; IDEG 2018).

> *"I would say, that we have succeeded influencing local governmental actors in this area. What we have discovered is that, local government authorities in this area are very interested in what we are doing. So, there is wonderful cooperation between them and our GIFNet." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 107)*

To operate in this role, not only good relationships to the government officials are crucial, but also that the organisation follows a mainly non-confrontational advocacy strategy. This is as "confrontational strategies would damage the relationship of trust with the government" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

Representative role of the Institute for Democratic Governance

As an advocacy organisations, IDEGs objectives are to provide insights that "enlighten public policy debates", "sustain popular participation in development policy thinking, dialogue, and consensus", and "promote awareness and strengthen respect for human rights and democratic values and norms" ("IDEG Website" 2018). These targets give shape to the representative role IDEG plays in the process of democratisation. On the level of the landscape of JB, this role plays out in a representation of voice, foremost directly and in part indirectly. In a direct manner, IDEGs efforts in establishing platforms of civic space has helped citizens to organise to speak for themselves. For instance, the CECC, which seeks to build skills and competencies for collective action, and to establish effective mechanisms to improve the mobilization of nonstate actors in the rural districts (IDEG 2018). Moreover – on the international level, but with local effect - IDEG contributed to the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI), a global network to expand and legitimize the role of civil society in economic policymaking and to strengthen the organized challenge to structural adjustment programs by citizens around the globe ("IDEG Website" 2018). Furthermore, this role plays out as IDEGs stimulated citizens to participate in the political debate. This is achieved by IDEG through the established the GIF, where members undergo a training provided by IDEG to enable them to address governance and community development issues.

In part, the representative role of IDEG also plays out indirectly – however not as theory would suggest. The organisation lacks the relation to the local grassroots and nor for this lacks legitimacy of representation. IDEG does represent the voice of its constituency indirectly, through its advocacy efforts to influence current national policy. This advocacy had the goal so rural communities might experience accelerated growth and development. For example, in the regard to the JBL, IDEG has issued policy briefs that argued for the feasibility of building cocoa processing industries in Bia-West and Juabeso Districts (Pande and Wolshon 2016).

To be able to perform accordingly the organisation relies on its participation in the public debate on the national level, as well as on GIFNets participation on the landscape level. The

source of legitimacy of GIF builds on its sizable voluntary member base in the JBL and internal deliberative decision making. Also, on a national level, the organisation success in indirect representation relies on its wide network of CSOs through the Civic Forum Initiative (CFI), which gives IDEG access to a "broad coalition of civil society organizations whose membership is drawn from advocacy NGOs, faith-based organizations, community based organizations, youth groups, policy TTs, labour organizations, gender groups, and individual citizens, committed to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections" ("IDEG Website" 2018).

Cooperative role the Institute for Democratic Governance

Part of the motivation of IDEG is to "enable state actors to successfully pursue economic, political and social development" in Ghana. In this cooperative role, the organisations research capacities and expertise (Emmanuel Kwame Donkor 2018), and the capacity to organize roundtable discussions – like the "National Advocacy Dialogue on Empowering Cocoa Communities towards Wealth Creation" - are useful organisational properties for IDEG to be a cooperative partner to the state. Recognizing these properties, Ghanaian government officials keep close ties with policy think-tanks such as IDEG, to compensate for the lack of "in-house" research capacities to generate evidence that can inform policy directions (Louis and Ohemeng 2018). In the JBL, IDEG coordinates closely with the local representatives of the FC, on issues such as illegal mining that impacts the landscape.

> *"We collaborate with them (FC), we try to collaborate with them to be able to solve the problems facing the community. Such as the problem of illegal mining that is destroying the landscape. We have not had any conflicting situations." (IDEG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 56 - 57)*

And It complements the government in areas such as participatory governance, where – in conjunction with the GIFNet actions - the organisation educates local citizens to promote political participation, a service that is in line with Article 34 (6d) of Ghana's 1992 constitution which states that citizens should be afforded all possible opportunities to participate in DMP at every level of national life and government.

Political role of the Nature Conservation Research Centre

The Nature Conservation Research Centre is a conservation orientated TTs from Ghana, with direct involvement all over West- and East-Africa. In their view, "conservation in Ghana should emerge from local cultural belief systems and must have tangible economic returns for the human beings living in the immediate area", advocating for community-level ownership and benefit sharing ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). In their efforts "to promote a greater awareness of and protection for the natural, historic and cultural diversity of Ghana" the organisations activities include facilitation of policy dialogues [110], implementation of climate smart agriculture training and capacity building, and broader collaborations with communities, traditional leadership, governments, civil society and private sector "to establish conservation initiatives that are owned and managed by forest dependent communities" ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). In fact, it was NCRC in the early 1990s, that was an instrumental CSO pioneer in co-creating the Community Resource Management Areas model (CREMA) and has been a leading CSO in actively engaging with REDD+, FCPF and UN-REDD and to provide technical support to initial projects in Ghana and rest of West Africa ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). For instance, through NCRCs work it was pointed out that that Ghana cocoa sector would benefit from an application of more climate-smart agriculture practices ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). Similar to IDEG, NCRC is not directly involved in the JBL through a local presence or through activities carried out in the area, but impact landscape democracy through partners engaged in the area[111].

The internal structure of the TTs is a typical NGO top-down hierarchy, that is operating under a board of trustees which is constituted by local experts and a "few paramount chiefs of the area where [NCRC] works" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 61). The organisation has only one presence in Ghana, their headquarter that is located in Accra. NCRC has "a very strong connection, straight up to people at COCOBOD", and relationships that are "decades old, to top people at FC" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45). It also supports Ghana's National REDD+ Secretariat in the design and implementation processes of the Emission Reductions Program for the Cocoa Forest Mosaic Landscape, and works together with the Ghanaian state in the development of a national carbon baseline maps ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). For the landscape of Juabeso-Bia, NCRC is in a Partnership for Productivity Protection and Resilience in Cocoa Landscapes (3PRCL) with COCOBOD and the FC, including other NGOs and commercial companies and aims "to achieve a deforestation-free cocoa landscape in the

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[110] "At the national sector level, NCRC has convened – for one - a Climate-smart Agricultural Finance (CAF) working group comprised of key public and private cocoa sector stakeholders. This working group is focused on developing a business model and critical pathway towards climate-smart cocoa production in Ghana." Additionally, NCRC has formed the Climate Smart Cocoa Working Group that aims to address issues of sustainability within the sector and to explore the potential for carbon finance or climate mitigation benefits to catalyse changes to the business-as-usual production practices. (Asante et al. 2014, 45)

[111] Modestly, "NCRC participated in the inception programme of both GLA and SRJS and acted as country programme team for the GLA. Two landscapes were identified, the Atewa landscape where IUCN-NL has long term experience and the Juabeso-Bia landscape where TBI Ghana is collaborating with Rainforest Alliance" (Vianen 2016, 6)

Juabeso and Bia Districts of Western Ghana and to develop a market for climate-smart cocoa beans" ("Partnerships for Forests Website" 2018).

> *"(...) You need a relationship with the government to keep things like this going, and you need to find key champion? People who have < >" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 74)*

NCRC manages to receive a steady flow of funding as the organisation aims not to "operate just on project bases" but "align different funding, to come all together" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31). Moreover, after working for over 20 years in Ghana, they have the reputation to be "good" and "smart" partner with long lasting relationships, with for instance, IUCN The Netherlands (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 33). Their relationship with their donors is built on respect with "not too much of micromanagement" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39).

Educational role of the Nature Conservation Research Centre

The set up as TTs and their approach to "share findings with key decision makers at local and national levels to ensure that there is a real transfer of knowledge" outlines the educational role NCRC plays in the promotion of democracy.

> *"Explore with Us; Learn more with Us" ("Motto of NCRC Ghana" 2018)*

> *"Ok, that we want to play a role in testing it out and demonstrate it. Because until you demonstrate how things work, you will not ever get traction. That is our role also, (...) just boots on the ground, community-based projects. Based on the data, based on our vision, based on our understanding, and our desire to make change. We you start to show, that something can be done slightly differently, and it is working. And when you bring that back to the platform," (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)*

In practice this role plays out in an external educational role, in which NCRC provides information to policy makers and politicians. Through their involvement in Ghana's Climate SMART Cocoa project, NCRC has convened a Climate-smart Agricultural Finance (CAF) working group at the national sector level (Asante et al. 2014). As a result of this engagement and sharing of information by NCRC and others, a shift in thinking of the Ghanaian government about climate change has started to develop as "COCOBOD senior officials began acknowledging that climate change does present a threat to sustainability, whereas only two years ago the likely impacts were ignored or denied" (NCRC/Forest Trends 2014, 3). Additional their work to conduct research, for instance "to explore the role and dynamics of ecosystem services in landscapes with partners like Oxford University" ("NCRC Ghana" 2018) has addressed a number of data deficiencies in Ghana.

> *"We try to basically, look at the full cycle. I think, there is a big data gap in Ghana. There is no good data. So, at different points of time being involved in good research.*

Research that is relative to Ghana and collect good data." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 65)

"And understanding what the value of this data is, how do we translate this data, to inform policy." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 65)

This specific educational role (educating state officials) is best suited to be performed by organisations, such as NCRC, that have close links to state representatives and that use academic research as input to their messages, whether conducted by themselves or by external experts. Essential to NCRC is its access to professionals with academic degrees allowing NCRC to present information in a way that all engaged partners can comprehend.

"We just wrapped up a major research project, about measuring eco-system services, from the forest out into the coco landscape. Along the 5 km trans(inaud.) (...) socio-economic as well as bio-physical (...) really cool! With partners in Oxford (...) this is now out third engagement with those different people. (( )). They value us of being able to carry it out on the ground. And they bring in very smart, post-docs and PhDs and master students. They do all the tough work with the donors, and the big global thinking. It is a nice relationship. There is a lot of trust." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 39)

Also, in order to stay in good grace of the state officials, NCRC approach to its advocacy geared towards seeking collaboration with the government rather than confrontation and pressing for issues ("NCRC Interview" 2018). In regard to the JBL and their partnership with COCOBOD to make the cocoa sector sustainable, NCRC has carried out a survey to get behind the local cultural belief systems to better understand issues around cocoa production in the area, and indirectly to assist farmers to increase yields ("NCRC Interview" 2018).

*"**We just did a socio-cultural survey out there (in JB) trying to understand, what are your traditions, what is your history, your origins, your beliefs-values system. (( ))"** (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11)*

Communicative role of the Nature Conservation Research Centre

The way NCRCs performance plays out in the communicative role refers to the organisations advocacy strategy to provide information to policy makers and politicians with the goal to influence public policy direction, but as well as to their philosophy, that conservation in Ghana "should emerge from local cultural belief systems". Based on NCRC strategic positioning as conservation think-tank it plays a communicator role mainly through the provision of a channel to state officials.

"We can influence change. Which I think we do very well. "

"we can send very clear messages and get permissions to make things happen."

" (...) we have got a champion from COCOBOARD, to go and (...) And we had a champion at FC." (NCRC interview, 2018, Paragraph 43, 45, 73)

To perform well, NCRC has the adequate relations to the state in place, and can rely with its advocacy activities and advisory work on its reputation and decades-long experience in the Ghanaian environmental sector ("NCRC Interview" 2018). Yet, a critical element of the role is to have a channel of communication that goes both ways, including a channel to society. As an example of being open to the popular demand - required to give content to the communication, NCRC follows its vision and has conducted the above-mentioned survey on the socio-cultural background of the JBL, "to understand (…) traditions (…) history, (…) origins, (…) beliefs-values system." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 11).

By providing a path for this information to reach policy makers NCRC furthers national level public deliberation, and on the local level the organisation creates a space where community members can share their views. When they first approach new areas where they plan to conduct research NCRC arranges community meetings. This process is important to the organisation as it increases inclusiveness and helps to address accountability issues.

> *"Our role, coming in, is to be working with communities, trying to understand what is happening." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23)*

> *"we set up little committees. In every community we set up a committee. That whenever there is an issue or problem or new information, or something to be shared (...)" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

> *"When you create a process and you shine light, and you commit to that, then I think in most places, you get good, or better outcomes. Transparency, from all scales." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 51)*

> *"In making people feel respected and showing that you value their opinions and contributions. You get very good partners on the ground." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 53)*

However, the grassroot engagement of NCRC takes place on a mere project related bases and does not allow for a day to day communication.

Representative role of the Nature Conservation Research Centre

As with the TTs IDEG, the representative role of NCRC is the Political role that is performed most noticeable. The Centres function in the role goes in hand with the organisations educational focus and its self-declared role as "advocate (for local ownership) in conservation processes" ("NCRC Ghana" 2018). A goal that has led to the development of initiatives that are "owned and managed by the forest dependent communities"("NCRC Ghana" 2018). The organisation properties are geared towards the indirect presentation of the peoples voice to policy- and decision makers, through a flow of information that is gathered on the ground and is fed into the organisations advocacy strategy.

For the Centre, part of its advocacy strategy is the demonstration of new ideas and concept through pilot projects.

"Then we try to say, Ok, that we want to play a role in testing it out and demonstrate it. Because until you demonstrate how things work, you will not ever get traction. That is our role also, (...) just boots on the ground, community-based projects. Based on the data, based on our vision, based on our understanding, and our desire to make change. We you start to show, that something can be done slightly differently, and it is working" (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)

This strategy is slightly different than what has been discovered elsewhere as NCRC aims to "leave their name off of things" and to "hand it to whomever can take it forward and lead it in to where it can go." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)

"What we do is, we hand (...) our ideas and concepts to government to champion."
(NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)

In relation to the JBL, NCRC advocacy activities mostly have urged policy- and decision-makers on the national level to pursue a "pathway towards climate-smart cocoa production in Ghana" over the next 20 years, and to lobby for the legal recognition of the CREMA mechanism as a community based institutional platform (Asante et al. 2014, 45; "NCRC Interview" 2018).

To maintain a link to the organisations constituency (local communities) NCRC engages community on a project basis. Through this, they gather focal persons and learns about their interests and concerns. This engagement in particular is crucial to build up a sufficiently large voluntary member base which in turn offers the campaign of NCRC a degree of legitimacy to their claims in representation.

"B: #00:11:28-0# Our role, coming in, is to be working with communities, trying to understand what is happening." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23)

Despite the campaign activities and the indirect representation, NCRC can also be accredited to play a small role of direct presentation. This is as they were a key partner in the development of the CREMA concept, through which common people can be organized and speak for themselves in the public arena. This CREMA mechanism has been developed so it incorporates organisational properties of a large voluntary member base and participatory decision-making structures, critical properties that offer the concept a source of legitimacy and accountability.

"our specific role is to help to build governance structures. That process, where you have to bring in (...), at the community traditional authority level, it is overseeing, and sort of putting in the architecture, with (...) civil society." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 23)

However, as a TTs, their organisational properties are geared towards an indirect representation and for this, mainly as their relation to the grassroot is sporadic and does not allow for everyday communication and input from the common citizens.

Cooperative role of the Nature Conservation Research Centre

The strong link to a number of state agencies, in particular to those on the national level, are the organisational property that lays the foundation to the organisations Political role in which they cooperate with the state. In theory, this role can be fulfilled by providing the state with aid in complex policy issues and to aid government agencies in reform policies, and by subsidizing the states social service delivery role. The NCRC performs however, plays out mainly through the former, namely through coordinating policy problems, involving multiple actors, with state agencies. An example is the Climate Smart Cocoa Working Group[112], that wanted "to address issues of sustainability within the sector and to explore the potential for carbon finance or climate mitigation benefits" (NCRC/Forest Trends 2014, 1). Through this coordination NCRC has played a significant role in supporting Ghana's, Forest Investment Plan (NCRC/Forest Trends 2014).

> *"Then we created working groups, and everyone came to the table. We discussed what we wanted to do and discussed the process"*

> *"It brought together government, private sector, research, civil society (...) there were maybe 20 people at the table, top thinkers. (...) That working group issued out a small number of consultancies. We wrote 20 years vision. And what's the pathway to get there (...) It was basically business-as-usual vs. vision-pathway, and we call it climate-smart coco pathway." (NCRC Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29 & 71)*

Despite the Centres relationship with the state, its links to others, like stakeholders from the private sector, knowledge centres, civil society and international donors, in combination with NCRC strategy to neutral representation in meetings – leaving their name off of things – and its capacity to arrange for such roundtables and working groups enable the organisation to perform well in this coordinative role of cooperation.

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[112] The working group itself has broad membership, drawing participation from the cocoa industry, government, banks, insurance, farmers associations, civil society, and research institutions. These include: Armajaro, OLAM, Zurich Insurance Group, Pricewaterhouse Coopers, Stanbic Bank, Agricultural Development Bank Ghana Forestry Commission, Ghana's National Insurance Commission, Cocoa Abrabopa Association, Helveta, and The World Bank, in addition to NCRC and ForestTrends.

Political role of the Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas

With the initiative developed by the WD and partners, the concept of Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) is an institutional framework[113] that offers community-based structures and processes for managing local natural resources, supporting climate change mitigation and creating livelihood benefits. This concept, however captured at the local (district level) lacks so far, a recognized legal framework at the national level (see Wildlife Preservation Act 43 of 1961). This landscape-level planning tool is being used in Ghana in more than 30 districts, including the Juabeso and Bia District. The CREMA allows the Ghanaian Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources to decentralize management responsibilities to a constituent group of local citizens to organize themselves and to manage their local resources. The CREMA under investigation is the Krokosua Hill CREMA, which is described by a geographically delineated area close to the Krokosua Hill Forest Reserve, covering about 4500 ha (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013), and is constituted by eleven communities. These communities have come together and agreed on a shared vision, to protect their natural resources and "to support community resource management in off-reserve (un-gazetted) lands" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 2). In terms of activities the KH CREMA engages in trainings of community members on issues of land and forest degradation, tree planting exercise, forest guarding, and seeks support at the government or locally active CSOs to supply the communities with planting materials or resources, aiding them to achieve an improved livelihood ("CREMA Interview" 2018).

The CREMA follows a democratic structure of self-governance, where leaders and representatives are elected, and their responsibilities determined by all of the community members. The highest decision-making body of the KH CREMA is the CREMA Executive Committee (CEC). The committee is formed by two reps from each of the eleven communities. At the village level – and below the CEC - the Community Resources Management Committee (CRMC) is the first decision making structure. The members of this second highest decision making body in the CREMA are also being selected by the people of the village level where both non-elites and elites participate ("CREMA Interview" 2018; Krokosua CREMA 2008). There are plans, that above the CEC, the currently highest decision-making body, a board - the CREMA Management Board[114] (CMB) - is to be constituted by reps from the CEC, including other reps from other CREMAs in the area, the FC, and the WD, as well as local chiefs. However, at the time of investigation, this highest level in the KH CRERMA, the CREMA Management Board, has been dysfunctional ("CREMA Interview" 2018). The CREMA has a large member base and describes them as "all inhabitants within the enlisted communities of

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[113] "In Ghana, the CREMA process has followed a nearly 20 year evolution from an intellectual concept to an approved pilot initiative and finally to an authorized mechanism, which is now seeking full legal backing from Parliament" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 2)

[114] Sometimes called Protected Area Management Board (PAMB)

the CREMA, especially the settles of the land such as land owners, and farmers." (Krokosua CREMA 2008, 3)

The KH CREMA is not as well-resourced as other organisation investigated, and generally depends on the generation of its income on the collection of fees from hunting permits, penalties from offenders and sales of confiscated Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) ("CREMA Interview" 2018). By their constitution, they also ought to receive support through fees that are paid by the Juabeso DA, the WD, and traditional authorities and landowners. Executive members of the KH CREMA have no means of transportation and the members only limited working materials. The CREMAs capacities depend on donations from CSOs who engage them which includes knowhow, provision of materials such as for bee-keeping, mushroom farming or soap making.

> *"We have resources from the NGOs. Sometimes they provide us with resources (…)*
> *they train a lot of the farmers. Some of them do bee keeping, mushroom processing,*
> *oil palm processing, snail farming, soap making. They all get trainings from NGOs. ((*
> *))" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59, 61)*

They work closely with the WD to inform them on grassroot issues and with CSOs to receive trainings and to bring information out of the forest to the CSOs and the WD. Based on its structure, the KH CREMA has a strong link to the WD and local DAs[115], and based on their conditions, maintain a close relationship with actors that have a link to cocoa, in particular CSOs.

> *"Our main goal is to protect our coco farmers. (( )) We want ourselves to maintain*
> *our environment, so our coco has a long life. Our coco is our everything. " (CREMA*
> *Interview, 2018, Paragraph 105)*

Educational role of the Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas

The CREMAs role in the democratisation is foremost being performed through the internal educational role, where people come together in cooperative ventures and learn – internally - democratic values through "just doing it" (e.g. negotiation, discussion, deliberation). One aspect that makes the CREMA mechanism unique is that it is founded upon traditional or local beliefs and value systems, while being couched within a democratic decision-making and governance process, where community members are brought together and take participatory action in DMP[116] (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013). The CREMA, by matter of fact, permits the establishment of governance structures that allow to inspire collective decision making and

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[115] Most of the time if a CREMA is developed, the constitution that is developed to go with the CREMA in terms of the governance structures needs to be gazette at the district assembly for it to have value otherwise if you tell someone you have delineated this area and protecting it, nobody will respect it because it is not backed by law
[116] For example, many CREMA boundaries are drawn according to traditional area boundaries, and CREMA by-laws often incorporate or derive from local norms or traditional systems of forest and wildlife management. (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 3)

replaces the prior approach where only the chief makes a decision on behalf of all members of the community.

> *"(...) we do the announcement and the entire community will meet and discuss."*
> *(CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 81)*

This role builds on the CREMAs voluntary member base and the inclusive decision making processes, that are held regularly ("CREMA Interview" 2018).

> *"The community here are 11. Every community has two members in the CEC. So (...)*
> *in every community we do these meetings. They send their report to the CMB. They*
> *send their message to the WD. From the CRMC to the CEC, from the CEC to WD."*
> *(CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 47)*

> *"tomorrow is a meeting at 4 pm. We are going to meet some people from Accra,*
> *some officials form Accra they come here. A general meeting, and every community*
> *member will be there." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99)*

Some activities the organisation carries out play out in an external educational role, namely through providing information to its community members on issues like tree planting, poaching and forest conservation ("CREMA Interview" 2018). These actions relate to the objectives the KH CREMA has formulated of "helping people develop concern for and the desire to protect wildlife and promote the environment", or "to make them understand and appreciate that wildlife is part of their responsibility of their cultural heritage" (Krokosua CREMA 2008). Although the CREMA has very close relation to its constituency, being mostly their neighbours, they do lack the access to the necessary specialist knowledge and must rely on research of CSOs as their input to their educational activities.

> *"We educate our farmers to plant trees in their main coco farms. So that everybody*
> *in this community would have his own coco forest. What we want is that everybody to*
> *get his or her own forest." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

> *"We have educated the farmers (( )) not to kill the animals, the poaching. " (CREMA*
> *Interview, 2018, Paragraph 41)*

> *"We get is from WD and NGOs who established the CREMA for us. They come here*
> *and educate us. We sometimes also attend trainings. (( )) We work with the CREMA*
> *forest and the farmers here to protect our land. We train them how to plant trees, how*
> *to protect the (inaud.) and how not to destroy the entire forest." (CREMA Interview,*
> *2018, Paragraph 43)*

Communicative role of the Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas

The way by which CREMAs are established, the process and its structure, offer means "by which to aggregate and build consensus at multiple social scales across a landscape" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 4). The inclusive and adaptive nature of this management system

creates possibilities to discourse differences of opinion, and to assist in democratic decision-making processes. It establishes a structure at the level of the village or community, which offers for all the interest groups to take part and have their voice heard.

> *"(( )) I have to perform my (inaud.) and my duty to protect my community and the members too. Any information which (inaud.) I have to send it to the chief. The chief maybe allows me then to go to the district assembly or go to the WD and inform them. (( ))" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 102 - 103)*

In this, the KH CREMA performs in a communicative, by providing channels of communication to the state as well as to the society – an organisational property that the environmental CSOs and TTs usually do not share.

For instance, in providing a channel to the state, during the general meetings, when community members meet in the CEC, concerns and interests of community members are communicated to the WD.

> *"B: So, the CEC would meet and take the good and the bad ones. So, you send the bad ones to the WD. The WD would come back to help us.*
>
> *I: So, the CEC links up with WD to tell them about their problems? So, their concerns and interests?*
>
> *B2: Ya" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49 - 51)*

> *"B: For example, tomorrow is a meeting at 4 pm. We are going to meet some people from Accra, some officials form Accra they come here. A general meeting, and every community member will be there." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 98 - 99)*

Critical for both these structures of communication is a close relationship, to the state as well as to society, which are maintained through the CREMAs inherent structures and processes. In these the CREMA meets regularly on the village, community and CREMA level and allows for the concerns and interests of individuals, brought before them, to be discussed

Representative role of the Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas

The representative role of the KH CREMA plays out in practice differently than the roles of the other investigated organisations. This is, as the KH CREMA activities only concern itself with the community and landscape level, and has no national agenda, nor do they engage in any advocacy or campaigning activities – which usually are crucial elements of the roles of the other organisations.

However, when it comes to landscape level policy making, and the formation of bylaws, they do actively "present the democratic system with a more differentiated and constant flow of input" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014, 586). This is possible, through their structure and their embeddedness with the WD and their relation to the DA and local traditional authorities.

Having these connections, the KH CREMA manages to present an alternative channel which enables political presentation (indirect) of its constituency and their main interests (here: cocoa and forest land)

> *"I: (...) what sort of decisions is the CREMA involved in, in the landscape?*
>
> *B2: The bylaws. (...) Developing by laws at the district level. CREMA is involved in that. Anything related to environmental resources." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22 - 23)*

> *"They (the community members) all are involved in these by laws." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)*

> *"my duty (is) to protect my community and the members too. Any information which (...) I have to send it to the chief. The chief maybe allows me then to go to the district assembly or go to the WD and inform them. (( ))" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 103)*

The CREMA also has a potential role to play in representing the community in stakeholder aggregations – i.e. in REDD+ project implementation - where negotiations with traditional leaders, farmers and communities take place. Here, the CREMA can help to "solve some of the main social, tenure, technical and benefit-sharing challenges associated with implementing REDD+ in community-based carbon projects in Africa" (Asare, Kyei, and Mason 2013, 7).

For a mobilization of its constituency nor for the participation in the public debate the organisation does have the adequate capacities, and as such, is refined to play an indirect role of representation of voice. Further, their dependence on the state – in terms of legal recognition and generation of resources – critically determines their role in resisting the state.

The KH CREMAs performance in this political role in the landscape, based on the explored organisational properties, depends much on their organisations capacities and resources, and its lack of a clearly defined advocacy strategy. In contrast, their large voluntary base, the internal democratic decision-making structure and their close relations to the constituency are suitable pre-conditions of the representation of voice.

Cooperative role of the Krokosua Hill Community Resource Management Areas

As the CREMA concept serves the decentralisation of management responsibilities from the WD of the FC to a landscape level, community-based system, the KH CREMA performs by definition in a cooperative role - however, restricted to the local level. This definition refers to the aspect of generating local insight knowledge (i.e. into local culture and belief systems, by laws, etc.) that can be used in coordinative policy negotiation (Warren 2002).

> *"We do not have any problems with the FC, because our aim is to protect our forest, and they too have the aim to protect the forest. We have the same goals." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 123)*

Coordinating with the state on higher levels, is not a part in which the KH CREMA performs. For one, the KH CREMA does not have the appropriate organisational properties such as capacities to organize meetings with state officials of regional or national level, but foremost an involvement in a higher then landscape level would be extending their mandate.

Through activities that include educating farmers on farming practices and forest conservation, and its members on issues like tree planting and legal issues, the KH CREMA performs a service delivery role. In one instance, members of the CREMA part-take in forest sentries, aiding the FC to guard a bigger area of the forest reserve.

> *"We normally inform them, because the forest is too big. Somebody will go inside, deep inside. I do not have the means to force them to leave. So, we inform the FC to come and ask them to leave. Maybe we can inform the WD to < > We are also involved in tree planting. (( ))" (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 127)*

> *"So, you have illegal loggers (...) So when caught I will send it to police office first. After that I will send it to (inaud.) And I involve the WD and to come and to proceed to the court." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 121)*

Their close relation to the FC (WD) enables them to support these agencies in a number of activities that also include the coordination with the local DAs (Juabeso and Bia) in the formation of by-laws.

> *"I: I see, and what sort of decisions is the CREMA involved in, in the landscape?*

> *B2: The bylaws. I can say everything. Developing by laws at the district level. CREMA is involved in that. Anything related to environmental resources." (CREMA Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22 - 23)*

Political role of the Landscape Management Board

In conjunction with their involvement in the landscape-level project to engage farmers in climate-smart agriculture and to improve their capacities to cooperate with landscape actors, RA has established a multi-level governance structure, the Landscape Management Board. Its members include traditional elders, community leaders, and local citizens, many of whom are also cocoa farmers themselves. This board was created to address perceived issues of non-inclusive local resource governance, and was set up with the main target to "increase economic opportunities for poor, marginalized farmers, to promote an integrated approach to sustainable agriculture and forest management, and to oversee the planning, implementation, and monitoring of sustainable practices on their cocoa farms" (Narasimhan et al. 2014)

> *"Translator: (…) their (the LMB) main goal is to mainstream environmental issues (…) in coco systems. (…) So, that coco farmers will be sustainable. Secondly, they also look at managing the forest. Because they live close to the forest reserve. So, their main goal is to educate the farmers, the (…) so, they all can understand forest protection issues. That is their main goal." (28022018 JB LMB interview SC+HL, Paragraph 35)*

The establishment of a cooperative local authority for land management was also aimed towards addressing local organizational and administrative capacity issues, improving coordination with other stakeholders, including the FC, DA, traditional authorities and the private sector. (Noponen et al. 2014). The activities they have set out to carry out include overseeing and co-managing the implementation of RAs project - and after project conclusion, of projects related to REDD+ activities - resolving disputes (land tenure, tree ownership, etc.), educating farmers on sustainable cocoa production, and developing rules and regulations related to natural resource management ("LMB Interview" 2018; Narasimhan et al. 2014).

In terms of mission, relations, and internal structure the organisational properties of the LMB are strikingly similar to those of the CREMA Management Board[117], however, at the time of investigation the CMB was not operational. The internal structure of the LMB is only slightly different in aggregation of communities and in their terminology used. The LMB covers 36 communities in the landscape of 29.000 ha, from where all its members are drawn. The board's executive committee consists of 14 elected representatives of the "cluster" level, a level that is constituted by five groups of clustered communities. At the community level is a committee of five elected community representatives. One person from each community is nominated to the cluster level, the Cluster Management Committee (CMC). The LMB is made of two persons from each of these clusters, with additional four divisional chiefs who also are representative at the district level as members of the DA.

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[117] The CREMA Management Board is a comparable equivalent to the LMB in terms of level of governance and involved communities

"There are 36 communities (covering 29,000 hectares) in the landscape. And they have a lay-down structure. Each community has their executives there, the executives, they combine five communities" ("LMB Interview" 2018, Paragraph 11).

"Translator: They (clusters) each have executives. So, the executives from each community form the cluster, from the cluster the executives their form the LMB. So, it's a governance structure." (LMB interview, 2018, Paragraph 15)

Regardless of some similarities, the major difference between these two entities is the mandate given to the CREMA by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources to decentralize management responsibilities – a legal recognition the LMB, as a birthchild of an international CSO, lacks but also provides them with a greater independence from the state.

Relations the LMB maintains in their organisational local environment through its structure are with local authorities, such as the traditional authorities, the FC, COCOBOD and the DA where members of the LMB also take part as reps in the LMB ("LMB Interview" 2018).

"Translator: They (the LMB) have a good relationship with external bodies, like the FC." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)

B: Ok (...), because certain chiefs around the communities are linked with the District Assembly (...) " (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 16 - 17)

Like other smaller organisations investigated, the LMB also faces the issue of being low resourced in terms of available finances, working materials, and available voluntary working force ("LMB Interview" 2018). In the past, some support in form of funding and knowledge was received from contributors such as RA, however recently the CSO has phased out of the project and contributions to the board have ceased ("LMB Interview" 2018). Now, the LMB solely depends on a small flow of revenue which is based on a percentage the LMB receives from the premium the local certified farmers generate by selling their beans to OLAM. This has an effect on the capacities the board has, e.g. to deliver social services in their local area.

"(...) when we talk about finances, the only finance they get is the premium" (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)

"Translator: From the premium. Like a small percentage that goes into the LMB fund. That is the only resource that they have." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 116)

"Translator: Donations no, they do not have that. RA used to assist them, but they are not there anymore. These are separated entities now." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 118 - 119)

Educational role of the Landscape Management Board

The educational role of the LMB goes in hand with its objective to oversee planning and implementation of sustainable agricultural practices in the JBL. By now, the educational focus of the LMB has led to 3000 farms being certified against the SAN standard, and has provided

climate-change trainings to local cocoa farmers ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). In doing so, through the education of local people, the LMB plays in the external educational role. For instance, the LMB has offered climate education to its members and to children in schools ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018). They engaged farmers to help them and their families to learn about climate resilient farming, and to safeguard the biodiversity in the region. Foremost however, the LMBs educational efforts have led to enable cocoa farmers to comply with sustainability standards of RAs certification model ("LMB Interview" 2018). The LMB also has carried out agricultural and livelihood trainings to cocoa farmers to "mainstream environmental issues (...) in coco systems", so the local population "can understand forest protection issues", and "the coco farmers will be sustainable" and to assist farmers to increase their farm yields[118], (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 35).

The structure of the LMB, having representatives at the community level, provides the organisation with a close relationship to the grassroots – critically to educate the citizens - and through their relationship with locally active CSOs, they receive the required expert knowledge and access to professional staff that can translate complex issues into comprehensive language that both is used as input to their educational programmes. Additionally, as part of the project and the establishment of the LMB, committee members have been trained in climate change education; they lead the climate education campaign in their respective communities." (Noponen et al. 2014, 4).

> *"They (RA) train the farmers directly at the community, they have a reps (...) they coordinate the farmers. RA has built their capacity, so they organise extension services to farmers. (...) they send information to the farmers, they also collect their views to the LMB." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63)*

The LMBs also, in a way, plays in a less tangible internal educational role, namely through its engagement with community members, in which LMB organizes meetings to discuss current interests and concerns and debates possible solutions ("LMB Interview" 2018).

> *"B: (...) We build the communities, and meet the famers" (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 58 - 59)*

> *"Translator: (...) the feedback of the farmers is about challenges concerning their farming activities. They want inputs, access to goods (inaud.)" (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 66 - 67)*

The internal role is possible as the organisation has a large member base among the local citizenry – representing the 36 local communities of the landscape - and operates with an democratic decision making model, which gets its inputs through community engagements and

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[118] from an average of 250 kilograms per hectare to 800 kilograms per hectare ("Rainforest Alliance Website" 2018)

the organisation of village level round table discussions and draws its representatives through elections from said communities ("LMB Interview" 2018).

Communicative role of the Landscape Management Board

Part of the objectives the LMB has formulated is to resolve disputes and to improve coordination among stakeholders, these targets give shape to the communicative role the LMB plays politically in the landscape. In this role, the organisation fosters political deliberation through enabling concerns and interests of individuals to be brought up to a higher level of decision making (e.g. lack of farming material) and provides alternative channels of communication to state and society.

> *"Translator: (...) The community meets, (...) come out with their concerns to the cluster. The cluster think also about it. And verify from the community before it gets to the LMB, the top level.*

> *"(...) the feedback of the farmers is about challenges concerning their farming activities. They want inputs, access to goods (...) Coco beans and those kind of agriculture things. (inaud.) When they can they send information to the LMB executives. They also take decisions, also contact external bodies, both the COCOBOARD and the RA, they also come in and support them."*

> **" (…)We consult the chiefs, the traditional authorities, and after that we consult the other stakeholders, like FC, the DA, so that they know what we are doing."**
> **(LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67-69, 150 and 154)**

To be an interesting communicative partner, the LMBs close link to local governmental bodies as well as to the citizens (i.e. cocoa farmers) in the area, are the most critical properties to the organisation. Moreover, the non-confrontational approach to the state officials is most important to LMB.

> *"We all obey the rules and the constitution of the WD and the FC (...) So we work with them <> so everybody will obey the laws " (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 168)*

Representative role of the Landscape Management Board

Similar to the KH CREMA, the representative role of the LMB is not performed through campaigning on behalf of the constituency nor through advocacy activities on the district or national level, but through offering individuals the possibility to present the local democratic system with an alternative stream of information. This refers to the direct representation of voice This function of representing the interests of the people is in line with the LMBs conception - being included in all landscape related project cycle. The LMB representative role has played out in practice in safeguarding High Value Conservation Areas in ten communities of the JBL, where the LMB – under the regime of RA – has presented and outlined a landscape wide integrated landscape management plan to the FC, that has incorporated SAN based best

agriculture practice standards[119] (USAID 2014). This plan was set up to feed into Ghana's national REDD+ programme.

For the representative role, the LMB has an appropriate size of a member base and can draw legitimacy to its claims through its democratic decision-making processes. In addition, the close ties to its distinguished constituency (here: cocoa farmers) is crucial to LMBs role, as this allows for reliable input into the organisations actions. However, the lacking capacities to engage in advocacy activities (e.g. know-how, finances), limits the LMBs performance in this role and restricts it to the district level, and its ability to participate actively in the public debate, the most central implication of the representative role.

Cooperative role of the Landscape Management Board

The way RA has developed the landscape governance model of the LMB and formulated its goals, - to be included in planning, approving, implementing and monitoring of landscape-wide project activities, and to guide the development of REDD+ activities, after the Olam/Rainforest Alliance Climate Cocoa Partnership for REDD+ Preparation has finished - the LMBs main role is envisioned to cooperate with other landscape actors, including the FC, DA, traditional authorities and the private sector.

At the present time, the LMB performs in this role not through coordination with governmental agencies on complex (landscape) policy issues, but through filling gaps in the local governments social service-delivery. For instance, by standing in for the FC's capacity lack to provide ample forest protection (i.e. anti – poaching or looking out for elicit tree felling).

> *"Translator: They (the LMB) have a good relationship with external bodies, like the FC. For instance, there are people at the community who have tried to poach in the forest (...) so they have a collaboration with the FC, where they (inaud.) information whether there are illegal loggers, they send information to them." (LMB Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

Additionally, through their educational role in the landscape and providing information on sustainable agricultural practices that may help farmers increase their cocoa yield, the LMBs efforts feed into the national COCOBOD agenda to achieve one million tons of cocoa bean production with no effect to biodiversity and the Ghanaian natural environment (Laven 2007).

For the LMB, local relations with the governmental instances, like the COCOBOD, FC, DA, WD are critical to fulfil its goals, but as well are its internal capacities to provide services - in this case, access to information regarding agricultural practices and close contact to local farmers who stand in for the FC as watchdogs. However, both of these efforts depend on purely voluntary work and the available time of the members of the LMB, who most of them are farmers them self, with as little time to spare.

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[119] The SAN standard, however, was later not adopted as another standard (CCB) was deemed more appropriate (USAID 2014)

In terms of coordination on policy issues with local policy makers the LMB lacks the capacities, own expertise and the network to organize meetings with experts, universities to generate insights that may inform policy direction.

8.2. Supplementary material – Individual CSOs (AFL)

Political roles of A Rocha Ghana (ARG)

A Rocha Ghana is a medium-sized environmental CSO which follows a Christian ethos. The organisation is part of an international network of organizations that is constituted by the mother organisation: A Rocha International. The organisations overall goal is "to contribute to the effective management of the earth's resources through sustainable and innovative actions"(A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). ARG has a strong focus on districts in the Eastern Region of Ghana, that surround the Atewa Forest Reserve Range, with an emphasis on the preservation of the forest's ecosystem services and restoration of degraded lands. There, the organisation is working with community representatives, local authorities and national governmental bodies to develop a biodiversity conservation management plans through a consultative process at both the local and national levels (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). The organisation is part of a group of international stakeholders[120] campaigning for Atewa to be made a National, leading to improved management and protection of biodiversity. Key component to their strategy is to push Ghana's Government to reconsider developments plan to turn the Forest Reserve into a bauxite mining area.

> *"We also want the place to be made a National park. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

For several years, ARG has been working on a strategy for conserving forest biodiversity and carbon stocks in the area ("A Rocha Website" 2018). From this, the organisations have set out on two dominant projects, the "Community-Led Governance and Management of Atewa Forest Range Landscape" project, with the goal to empower communities to undertake sustainable governance and management, and the "Protecting Atewa Forest". Both endeavours are building on the "Atewa Critical Conservation Action Programme (ACCAP)", a programme that has been set up to lessen the threats to the Atewa Forest Reserve. Results from this programme were "significant awareness-raising and advocacy activities which resulted in greater international as well as local visibility of the threats to Atewa" (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). In their efforts to conserve the natural habitat of the Atewa Forest, ARG has committed to a national campaign, through which the organisation is "appealing to the Government of

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[120] The Royal Netherlands Embassy in Accra, Ghana, IUCN – The Netherlands, Ghana-Netherlands WASH Programme, WETLANDS International, A.G. Leventis Foundation.

Ghana to abandon its plans with the Government of China to extract bauxite – the ore of aluminium – from the Atewa Hills"- the "Save Atewa Forest" campaign (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018; "A Rocha Website" 2018).

In regard to the organisational relations in the landscape, ARG considers "the local government assemblies as key partners", and for this they "are seriously working with" with the local representatives of the FC, the MC, EPA, the local traditional authorities and the DA (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). Relating to their community-based *modii operandi*, ARG maintains a close relation with the local communities through close personal contact, regular outreaches for educational and improved livelihood programmes, and through the formation of a coalition[121] of about 20 local CSOs.

> ".. During most of our engagements we give out our (phone)numbers. For any issue (...) I remember, about three years ago when we had some bush fires (...) We had people calling from the community, to let me know that we had fire around, in the general area of their community. So, all the opinion leaders have our private numbers. So, when something happens in their community with what they are not happy with, they would call us."
> (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)

With this coalition of CSOs, ARG "engage(s) the CSOs, CBOs, the networks - like the interfaith networks - and Christian and Muslim leaders" with the idea "so they also understand the issues (biodiversity conservation, Atewa significance) and to reach out to their communities. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59). As the organisation sees the need for the "adequate understanding" of the organisms they aim to preserve, and as they conduct their own researches, they liaise with the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Forestry Research Institute of Ghana, the Forestry Commission of Ghana ("A Rocha Website" 2018). From these external contacts and internal capacities, the organisation has the capability to translate complex policy issues into a more comprehensive language. A Rocha's staff usually is well-educated which turns out to be a crucial property for their educational and representational role.

> "I: I guess you all have an academic degree?
>
> B: Exactly, I have an M. Phil, in Wildlife and (inaud.) Management. So, most of them, they at least have masters.(( ))"
> (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 102 - 103)

Similar to other surveyed organisations, ARG has a hierarchic structure, with a national board of trustees, a deputy national director, and project managers and officers. Positions in the organisation are being appointed not elected, but internal decision making is rather

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[121] The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining in Atewa was formed June 2012 to commemorate Rio + 20 to advocate for the 'Future We Want' for Atewa. Members of the coalition include; Save The Frogs Ghana, Conservation Alliance, Centre for Environmental Impact Analysis, Rainforest Friends Ghana, WACAM, Forest Watch Ghana, Ghana Wildlife Society and A Rocha Ghana (A Rocha Website,2018)

participatory which extends to engagements with local people. In terms of resources, A Rocha's activities in the area of Atewa has received generous funding, from e.g. IUCN The Netherlands - though the Dutch Embassy - or AG Leventis Foundation, however, "given the kind of vision that A Rocha has for the landscape" are considered as "not enough" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77). As mentioned, ARG has a community focus, which, in the area of the Atewa Forest Reserve, refers to 40 fringe communities that are surrounding the forest reserve. This constitutes a rather large constituency. However, this approach is pragmatic as the organisations decides whom to engage within the community depending on their activities, e.g. leadership training is given to opinion leaders, whereas agricultural trainings are given to farmers, etc. Also, their resources do only allow to address a number of communities at a time.

> *"For some of the issues we do an elite capture. The opinion leaders (...) education is open to everyone. For some of the issues we engage with farmers. For some of them (...) we engage with the traditional authorities."*
> *(A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 107)*

Educational role of A Rocha Ghana

The educational political function of ARG is shaped by the approach the organisation has chosen to achieve its main goal. It performs in this role through disseminating information to the local communities and state officials, and through bringing people together in a cooperative venture. These cooperative ventures refer to youth chapters and the coalition of CSOs. To provide legitimate information to local communities, the organisation understands the need for the "adequate understanding of the organisms they aim to preserve" ("A Rocha Website" 2018), and for this they "do research in the forest and work together with universities." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45).

> *"At the end of the day, our engagement has the message that we send out to the people: We need to ensure, when you are using any resources that god has given us, you need to use in a more balanced way. When you want to go digging, there is a way to go about it. If you are taking your gold, then you also should not be polluting the water for someone else, within the community, or a downstream user. (( ))" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 29)*

This is also relating to that their perspective "to understand the environment better and live in ways which enables (the people) and wildlife to flourish" is a central component to ARG educational focus. For instance, this focus turns out in ARG attempts to raise environmental awareness of communities, to better appreciate the value of their inherited natural resources.

> *"we want to communities to have a better understand of the value of the forest. For themselves. We belief that this the first point. Once they see all the benefits < > they get some benefits, but they are not able to connect the links, to connect the facts that is because of the presence of the forest. That this is why they have better rainfall. That is the first thing. A better appreciation of the services the forest provides. " (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

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Next to other environmental education that "ensure(s) that they (the farming communities) are able to use a best agriculture practices" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49), ARG also aims to create better understanding of the administrative struggles of the area among its citizens. They engage in this in hope to reduce apparent mistrust between citizens and the state agencies (A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). In these attempts they provide information to citizens on the challenges the FC is facing. For instance, that the FC mainly lacks the capacities to accomplish their mandate in full.

> *"The role that we play is to ensure that, you know, we educate all interested parties including the government and the communities. We try to present a very balanced view as to (...) if it is these agencies, even their challenges managing the forest. A typical example has to do with the fact that, (...) for Atewa, the whole parameter is a forest 268 km2. You have just about 14 forest guys. "*
> *(A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 37)*

A Rocha performs in the educative role and contribute to democracy as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

Further, in an internal way, ARG plays an internal educational role by bringing people together in cooperative ventures. This role relates to the fact that ARGs projects have a community emphasis, and their approach in this to work towards "bringing together people from widely differing backgrounds to work towards common goals" ("A Rocha Website" 2018). This motto plays out in various way, for one with the formation of the ARG-led coalition of CSOs, the CONAMA. In which the organisation facilitates platform meetings and workshops where representatives of local CSOs can come together and discuss current landscape issues. These activities lead also to the development of advocacy activities on which these CSO commence. In one instance they have urged the Ghanaian government to reconsider targeting the Atewa Forest Reserve for bauxite mining by organizing a protest march[122]. Moreover, in the internal role, ARGs engagement in the landscape has also led to the formation of youth chapters or "eco clubs", that have been established at schools throughout the area. There, students were being given classes on environmental issues, and taken to the forest, to "let them also understand the vicious impacts when it comes to bauxite" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)". Through events organized for students the organisations is seeking "to raise champions of change in our society by stimulating behavioural change and instilling the good values of water conservation among the students"("Save Atewa Forest Website" 2018). The organisation is enabled to

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[122] Atewa Heroes Walk 95km for Water: No Bauxite Mining! during the World Water Day. A group by name, Concerned Citizens of the Atewa Landscape, represented by civil society organizations, NGOs, Youth Groups, Interfaith Groups, Farmer Based Associations, Opinion Leaders and Community Leaders within the targeted forest landscape, organized a 6-day walk covering an estimated distance of 95km from the forest area to the capital city-Accra to protest against government's intention to mine the forest reserve for Bauxite (A Rocha Website, 2018)

perform in this internal function, as decision with the cooperatives are made democratically, and are built on a large voluntary member base. Through these involvements in cooperative ventures, members can learn about debating, negotiating and public speaking. Skills that potentially can lead to a political careers (Diamond 1999) and stimulates a democratic spirit through, "learning by doing" (Sabatini 2002).

> *"We ensure that (...) we have a better understanding as to all of the issues at stake.*
> *So that any decision we are taking is done (...) in a very fair manner. So that at least*
> *all views are represented." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 43)*

> *"B: There about 40 of them (fringe communities). We work with all of them. In term of our*
> *engagement we try as much as possible not leave any of them out." (A Rocha Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 13)*

ARG envisions its work to be "inclusive", and that within their project they work together with "all interested parties", although being a Christian NGO, the organisations aims to include all kind of persons.

> *"so, our vision is to care for god's creation. That is the vision that we have. In caring*
> *for god's creation, working with all interested parties (...) you know (...) in a very*
> *inclusive way." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25)*

Communicative role of A Rocha Ghana (ARG)

ARG performs in a communicative political role by providing channels of communication to society as well as to the state. To be able to do so they maintain close relations to the governmental agencies such as the local FC, DA, as well as national level government (MoLR, MC). In their engagement with these instances, ARG follows a clearly outlined advocacy strategy that is mostly non-confrontational but can lead to more confrontational engagements such as petition writing and peaceful demonstrations (see: protest march).

> *"The work we are doing, like advocacy.(( )). There is also national level engagement*
> *with the ministries, with the ministry of natural resources, and all those state agency,*
> *at that level, the national level" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 87)*

> *"Those who are interested (...) we encourage them (citizens) to write their petition,*
> *and then forward them to the appropriate government < >" (A Rocha Interview,*
> *2018, Paragraph 69)*

Their community-based approach also has led to a close relation to the local grassroots in the area, which also opens the organisation to popular demand. The close relation with the local people also builds on the organisations local presence in the cultural capital of the area (Kyebi). They keep in touch with the people through facilitating the CSO coalition.

When decisions on the use of the landscape are to be made, ARG sees its function in providing the "space" for all "interested parties, from the state institutions, non-state institutions,

including CSO fraternity, local community and traditional authorities" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, paragraph 17). Their close link to local state agencies is critical for their inclusion.

> *"That is something that is part of our plans (...) eventually. We are doing some of that. Trying to find space to meet with the key government persons. One on one. So, they also see the other side. (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 72)*

Furthermore, when facilitating meetings, ARG encourages a "link-up" of state officials with community representatives.

> *"Even those state agencies, like the Water Resources < > and other people (...) When we organize meetings, they have the opportunity to link up with the community representative and we encourage them to give their numbers. (( ))" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 113)*

ARG is aware of the issue that in some cases the forest dwelling communities are not heard in decision making processes. For this, one of its key strategies in the area is to make sure that the voice of the community members is carried to the appropriate state agencies and is provided with the necessary space where local citizens can express their concerns and interests and discuss the ins and outs of governance. ARG does so by facilitating multi-stakeholder platforms, where representatives from state agencies are invited.

> *"One of our key strategies is that their voices are carried (inaud.) (...) They are our constituency, our work is to create the space where they are able to link up with the state agencies, like the FC, the Water Resources Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency (...) to create the necessary space." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 31)*

Representative Role of A Rocha Ghana (ARG)

The ideal way to play in the direct representative role is to allow local people to organize and to speak for themselves, which is best achieved through a democratic structure that allows an expression of the voice of the grassroots. ARG achieves to perform in this, in particular through the formation of the CSO coalition, which draws its own representatives from the local communities to forward community level messages to the platform. The arrangement of such a platform is critical to ARGs representative role, as through this the organisation stimulates political participation and mobilizes its constituency.

> *"We want them to be taken aboard and their views to be respected. In terms of any decision making has to do with the forest (( )) How are community decisions (...) you know, how are their views carried across into any such plans. These are things we are trying to do, through the various engagements, workshops, platforms < >" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 57)*

However, ARG major part in the representative role is carried out through indirect representation of the peoples voice. The organisation does so through engaging in national and international advocacy activities that are aimed to influence policy. In these activities they "are

trying to carry the voices of our local constituency to the national level" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 99). Also, they play a representational role through campaigning for its constituency through "serious national media campaign." (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 63). For example, the "Save the Atewa" campaign. This campaign tries to "contribute to a supporting, enabling policy environment and institutional capacity for transforming Atewa Forest Reserve into a National Park and propose sustainable finance mechanisms for the Park and its environs" ("Save Atewa Forest Website" 2018). This representational strategy plays, out on the community, the district, and the national level, as the organisation sees their influence has to "transcend" all levels(A Rocha Ghana Interview 2018). At the lowest level ARG aims to engage the community and local traditional authorities "to strengthen the position and role of local communities in the decision making processes" and "support direct livelihood improvement for communities, and at the national level, where ARG aims to engage with governmental bodies, such as the FC, where they try "to improve the knowledge base, i.e. through economic valuation of ecosystem services, for informed decision making" ("Save Atewa Forest Website" 2018).

> *"We work with all these levels, including even the national level. Some of the engagement that we are doing, especially when it comes to the issue of the bauxite (...) the key decision is a government decision. A plan that they have put out to (...) in terms of trying to change their mind, you cannot just sit on the local level and try to influence government policy solely at this level. It has to be (...) the engagement has to transcend to the national level. Basically, in terms of our engagement (...) that is the hierarchy. At the local level, with the communities and traditional authorities, with a view other NGOs and CSOs, and then extending to the national level. And also, within the forest management authority, that is the FC. So, all these bodies are (inaud.)" (A Rocha Interview, 2018, Paragraph 17 - 19)*

Unlike other similar environmental CSOs, ARG not only follows a non-confrontational strategy in its advocacy activities, but also engages in more confrontational actions. For instance, they have facilitated the organisation of a peaceful demonstration walk ("Atewa Hero Walk"), where local communities of the Atewa area have marched 95 km from the Atewa Hills to Accra, and which "aimed at mobilizing and rallying citizen action to compel government to rescind plans to mine bauxite within the Atewa Forest Reserve" or have issued, in collaboration with other local CSOs, a petition that has been sent to the Ghanaian president, urging him to reconsider the intended bauxite project ("A Rocha Website" 2018). To finalize ARGs performance in a representative role, they also participate in a through which they participate themselves in the public debate.

Political roles of the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)

Interestingly Ghana's mining civil society, in particular at the national level is relatively strong. Initial governmental neglect in the mining sector (1980-1990s) have led to a vivid anti-mining

movement. This movement was spearheaded with organisations like the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining[123] (WACAM). This CSO is community-based and concerns itself with issues of human rights and mining in Ghana.

> *" We do not define our advocacy goals alone. We define that with the communities." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 28)*

Working in these areas they follow their mission „to protect the environment, natural resources and rights of affected mining communities" (WACAM 2016). The organisation engages therefore mostly in advocacy and lobby work, as well as employ itself in campaigning and representation activities of affected communities on the national as well as the international level[124] ("WACAM Interview" 2018).

> *"we are more a liaison between us and the community we are working with. We deal directly with the communities"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 4)*

With about 80 mining communities the organisation works with throughout Ghana, it follows their vision of becoming a "social movement, well-resourced to influence natural resource governance that promotes the interest of marginalised people" (WACAM 2016; "WACAM Interview" 2018). This vision directly relates to the democratic spirit the organisation embraces. Its activities are drawn to the areas in Ghana where mining (artisanal and commercial) is a driving force of natural degradation[125] and social pressures[126]. In the Atewa Forest Reserve[127] this includes ten communities. Engaging these communities, WACMAs activities focus on "sensitization and community empowerment (through legal support) (…) to understand issues of the extractives and now their rights in relation to that. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55). Outside the community work the organisation is campaigning for the cancelation of the government's plan to turn the Atewa Forest into a bauxite mining site and establish it instead into national. In this the organisation is a member of a local coalition of NGOs that combat mining in Atewa (CONAMA[128]).

> *"our main goal in the Atewa forest is to make sure that we ensure wildlife, communities, whose rights have been violated. Make sure their rights are protected,*

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[123] Illicit mining is associated with frequent seepages and spillages which affect the health of the local population in Ghana (WACAM 2016)

[124] WACAM has made contribution for policy change to the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) and a number of other international policies regarding mining ("WACAM Interview" 2018)

[125] For example: pollution of land, soil, air and of water bodies leading to death of some rivers which has serious nutritional and health implications on communities.

[126] Such as, violation of the constitutional rights of community people to undertake public protests and demonstrations (WACAM 2016)

[127] The organisation has the AFL defined as the Akyem Mumuadu operational area (http://www.wacamghana.org/operational-areas/)

[128] The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining Atewa (CONAMA), led by A Rocha Ghana of which WACAM is a founding member. The coalition campaigns for adequate protection of the rights of mining communities and for Atewa Forest to become a national park

(...) and to make sure that the minerals are being used to the benefit of the country. "
(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 46)

The organisation conducts its own research[129] and hires experts to share specialist knowledge ("WACAM Website" 2018). Generated insights feed into their advocacy strategy, that includes confrontational activities. These activities of advocacy are usually directed towards the government and mining companies (i.e. WACAM is also called "mining-sector pressure group").

"You know, mining advocacy is a whole card game. Sometimes we have some
politicians supporting these key players." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 86)

In these strategies they have demarcated their constituency clearly by focusing on mining communities, that are "physically and or economical affected by the operations of mining, especially transnational gold mining companies" (WACAM 2016).

"we are dealing with people from communities who have little in terms of education,
little in terms of resources to be able engage these people"
(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

Relations of the organisation is particularly close among engaged mining communities. This is achieved through "frequent visiting" and electing of focal persons that then act as WACAM committees. ("WACAM Interview" 2018). The organisation has relations to the crucial ministries and departments on subnational- and national levels. In fact, Mr. Owusu-Koranteng (founder of WACAM) "was the Co-ordinator of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Wassa West District whilst Hannah (His wife and co-founder) was the Subject Matter Specialist of the women in Agric-Development of Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Wassa West District"[130]. However, the nature of this relation is very much defined by the strategic positioning as mining pressure group. WACAM keeps close ties to other NGOs which plays out in the AFL through their engagement in the A Rocha led CONAMA[131]. In terms of resources, as often in the non-for-profit sector in middle-income countries, the WACAM CSO is struggling from "chronic underfunding and fully dependents on funding from foreign donor agencies for its functioning" (ECDPM 2016). The internal structure of WACAM is unique and requires some elaboration. The organisation is a two-tier organisation, referring to an administrative tier and a tier in which the member-organisation is structured. The administrative is relatively small compared in size[132], and holds the administrative structure of the organisation. In here the organisation is traditionally hierarchic, with an Executive Director

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[129] WACAM conducts research to gather empirical evidence to support claims of community rights violations(WACAM 2016)

[130]   https://www.modernghana.com/news/190303/a-decade-of-community-based-mining-advocacy-in-ghana-waca.html

[131] Coalition of NGOs against Mining in Atewa (CONAMA) serves as an advocacy platform for members of civil society organisation to voluntarily join the campaign to stop all forms of mining in Atewa

[132] WACAM's Human Resource base comprises 6 permanent staff, 9-part time officers and 7 staff on retainership, whereas WACAM has several hundred members ("WACAM Interview" 2018; WACAM 2016)

on top, in charge of personal and the steering of the organisation and a nine-member Executive Council which is the governing body of the organisation. Five of the members on the Executive Council are from affected mining communities. The structure of the member organisation however, is more democratic as members select their representative. For example, during the Annual General Meeting where representatives of mining communities of WACM come together (400+) and discuss organisational directions. These discussions are then being forwarded to the council to be implemented.

> *" We have a big conference of communities, that meets bi-annually. Then maybe 400 people come for that. We take it as an AGM (Annual general meeting)(...) That is where we make policy decisions."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 109 & 110)*

Educational role of the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)

The performance of WACAM in this role of promoting democracy is performed mainly through educating citizens[133] on their rights and instilling democratic spirit in their members by bringing them together in their organisation. By doing so, it performs in two different aspects of the role, the external and internal. Their educational focus in the external role relates to their goals of exerting the rights of affected communities "to effectively participate in natural resource governance necessary to sustain their livelihoods and hold governments accountable" (WACAM 2016). Also, the organisation follows the principles of FPIC (Free Prior and Informed Consent), which requires that project-affected communities be adequately informed in a timely manner about development projects. In following this goal, the organisation engages in the area in "sensitization and community empowerment (through legal support) (…) we enlighten them to understand issues of the extractives and now their rights in relation to that. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55).

> *"We make sure that we provide them with the needed knowledge, the right education, so that they will be well informed, to be able to engage those who (...) the process of decision making." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

> *"So, you lead someone to understand an issue, then (...) ok, what options do I have. Which one is the best?" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 67)*

In engaging in these educational programmes in the operational areas WACAM Consolidates and strengthens its grassroots base and widens the flow of information. To give credibility to their claims (e.g. human rights violations) the organisations relation with the mining communities is crucial. It is from these communal learning approaches that the organisation uses to "unearth ground truth" (WACAM 2016). This approach is also supportive when setting

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[133] WACAM "reached out to thousands of community people", WACAM's conservative estimate is of training "more than 2,000 activists including community activists, NGOs, students, Trade Unionists, Faith-based organisations among others" (WACAM 2013)

up their WACAM community committees where "their representatives are elected by the community itself" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115).

> *"we work directly with the communities, (…) I cannot speak for other organisations, but what we do is, we frequently visit those who are affected by the mining companies, within the Atewa area." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

Additionally, critical for this is the organisations ability to translate complex legal issues into comprehensive process in which they can guide the mining communities to understand legal procedures. When in-house knowledge is insufficient WACAM also contract experts to conduct quantitative research ("WACAM Interview" 2018).

WACAM performs in the educative role and contribute to democracy as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, and in doing so they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79).

By supporting communities to appreciate the value of legal procedures and campaigns in their efforts, WACAMs activities have led to decreasing violent conflicts between affected mining communities and mining companies (WACAM 2016; "Modern Ghana Website" 2017). These activities refer also to the internal educational role WACAM performs, also in the AFL.

In the internal role the organisation performance plays out by bringing local community members together in cooperative ventures. These 'WACAM Community Groups[134]' (WCG) follow democratic structures and processes and are open to the public. After sensitization these groups create their own committees and their "representatives are elected by the community itself." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115). WACAM visits the communities regularly, discussing issues and guiding them to "make sure to bring these people up, so they are able to engage the one who is supressing them and intimidates them (...) And also the one who is in charge of regulations" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 55)

> *"we have locals living in the community, who meet every week to discuss issues." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 127)*

> *"These are all volunteers, they affiliate themselves to WACAM." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 114)*

Beyond the communities, WACAM has defined their whole operational area into zones. These zones are constituted by between 5-12 communities. Which refers to the communicative role. To have an internal educational effect the critical feature in these WCGs is that the groups have

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[134] The Akyem Muamuadu zone (where the Atewa Forest is located) includes 10 communities, representing 205 members (WACAM 2016)

a democratic spirit. Members who are elected by the community can than engage in debate and speak to their community about potential issues at hand ("WACAM Interview" 2018).

> *WACAM's work has increased the confidence of affected peasant communities in the judicial system through its rights-based education and by so doing, has contributed to the democratic governance of Ghana and the Rule of Law. ("Modern Ghana Website" 2017)*

Communicative role of the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)

Building on their positioning as community-based organisation, the performance of the organisation in the communicative role, where a "two-way transmission" belt between citizenry and political system is provided, plays out the establishment of groups of concerned community members. These groups are combined in zones which meet bi-annually on a national Conference of Community Groups which are attended by several hundred delegates and representatives from the operational zones across the country.

> *"We have a big conference of communities, that meets bi-annually. Then maybe 400 people come for that. We take it as an AGM (Annual general meeting)"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 109)*

> *"They are volunteers from the various communities. But they also have structures, and their representatives are elected by the community itself."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 115)*

When these zonal representatives meet, they "discuss issues relating to the protection of the social, civil, political, economic and environmental rights of mining communities in relation to national policies" ("WACAM Website" 2018). The directions the communities want to take are being discussed and proposed to WACAMs Executive Council for approval. This works as a check and balance system for the organisation ("WACAM Interview" 2018).

> *"That is where we make policy decisions."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 109 - 110)*

> *"we all contribute towards shaping our strategies"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 129)*

The WCG delegates that are elected as representatives of their zones and communities are in average farmers. Through this structure their individual interests and concerns can directly be used as input into their campaign and can be addressed to the greater public. The organisation uses several the media outlets to broadcast these issues. These conferences form a big umbrella, as not only community members participate, but also representatives of the media and student groups the organisation works with, and "representatives from other stakeholders (...) some CSOs, who are linked to mining, the trade union congress, and people from the DAs." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 140).

Through this system WACAM generates social space where the concerns of the community members can reach not only the greater public, but more importantly to this role, representatives of the political system (i.e. participation of members of the District Assemblies). This includes the assistance of their CSO network of forward the message but also the WACAMs executive levels contacts to former colleagues in the different ministries[135].

> *"What we try to do is to take an issue (...) ok, let's say our strategy for the next two years. Do we all think we should go in line with this? Someone might come up with another idea. We all contribute towards it. Then we draw up a programme to come to a conclusion." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 129)*

Representative Role of the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)

Despite of providing a structure that creates communicative action, WACAM also represents the voice and resistance of its constituency to the public. The representative role of WACAM is most likely the role that relates best to the organisations strategic positioning as advocacy group. In fact, its mission statement states, that the organisation seeks to achieve its main goals "through networking, advocacy, campaign and representation within a legal framework that is sensitive to the concerns of mining communities" (WACAM 2016). In their advocacy and lobbying strategies WACAM aims at regulatory institutions of mining such as Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Minerals' Commission (MC), and District Assemblies (DA), among others.

A critical component to this role is the before described structure that enables communities to meet nationally and debate matters of governance and share their struggles. In providing this system, WACAM arranges for the mobilization of citizens to speak for themselves. This performance is the critical element of the direct representation of voice. This works out fine for democracy, as the people have a self-interest to defend their rights and participate voluntary in a democratic structure that is comprised of a relatively large number of people, that are provided with education to take on advocacy work. WACAM work fulfils a catalyst function, offering citizens another flow of input into the democratic system.

> *"we do engage in policy advocacy, but we look at the roots, which is the community. Then we build it up to the national level. We gather information from the communities, then it moves on to the highest level. Depending on the nature of the issue. We also have been able to influence national laws, through this community advocacy" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 38)*

Based on these conference discussions, but also on "unearthed truths[136]" from direct community engagements, WACAM also involves itself in national and international advocacy

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[135] Both founding partners where working for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture prior starting with WACAM
[136] The AFL has 'Mine Watchers' who used electronics for capturing and sharing information on challenges they face from mining operations by documenting evidence as they occurred in their communities and provided evidence for advocacy

and campaigning. In their strategy to their advocacy activities, the organisation leaves the issues that can be handled by the communities to them, and therefore mostly engage in influencing policy and decision making on the national- and international levels.

> *"our focus is to influence policy, but we do believe that people who can influence*
> *policy directly are those who (...) are the right ones for these decisions." (WACAM*
> *Interview, 2018, Paragraph 24)*

> *" there are some, who have taken it upon their selves and do their own investigation.*
> *They are able to unfold these secrets that is not known to the public. "*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 78)*

> *"We do not define our advocacy goals alone. We define that with the communities.*
> *Based on the issues and concerns at stake"*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 28)*

In the context of their advocacy that effects the AFL, their most central messages are about for the rights of local mining communities and in particular in regard to "galamsey"[137] mining and its negative effects. One of the outcomes of their advocacy work was the support of the notion to transform the Atewa Forest Reserve into a national park. To further their causes, the organisation has issued statements directed to policy makers[138], and formed working groups with other CSOs[139].

> **"we sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which**
> **borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we**
> **are working in, we can issue statements and make recommendations."**
> **(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph** *71)*

> *"And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the*
> *government." (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)*

The found organisational properties, that support the indirect representation of the voice of people, are foremost the organisations close ties to the communities it works with. Also essential to the role is WACAMs outlined advocacy strategy, which can be confrontational as well as non-confrontational, depending on what approach a certain situation requires ("WACAM Interview" 2018). Assisting the organisation is their network of CSO, whom can join in to their message and support forwarding using their own organisational relationships.

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[137] „derived from the phrase "gather them and sell", is a local Ghanaian term which means illegal small-scale gold mining" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galamsey)

[138] WACAM issued statements of „Political direction needed to halt galamsey - calling for a decisive action from government against all forms of what they term irresponsible mining " (http://citifmonline.com/2017/04/14/political-direction-needed-to-halt-galamsey-wacam/)

[139] With Tropenbos Ghana, and the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL), WACAM is s advocating for agencies in charge of mining activities to be given the power to prosecute offenders of mining laws in Ghana

Interestingly – unlike most other investigated CSOs - the representative role of WACAM is also referring to a resisting character, in which the organisation opposes the state and provides its member with the tools to press government and companies.

> *"We have held some multinational mining companies, and local mining companies responsible, and provided evidence for some wrong doings. And none of them has ever been able to take WACAM on for defamation. In directly, we are the devils in their eyes" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 84)*

Being in the opposition however, has its tolls on their reputation, in particular with the mining companies, as they are "doing direct campaigns to name and shame international mining companies, operating in Ghana, who are violating rights. " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42). But WACAM also has pressed the political system with their campaigns. Some of their actions – in regard to the AFL – concern the employment chances of miners[140], and the ban of surface mining in the forest reserve[141]. Doing so, WACAM offers a check on the abuse of state power, and "safeguards standards of morality" (Kamstra and Knippenberg 2014).

> *"sometimes bring out statements. National statements, on issues which borders the extractive sector. Based on our experiences in the communities we are working in, we can issue statements and make recommendations" (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

WACAMs properties that refer to this role is the organisations chosen advocacy strategy that can be confrontational depending on the situation, but most importantly its independence from the state. The organisation is entirely donor funded and their "non-partisan approach to advocacy" (WACAM 2016, 6). Also, WACAMs "relative success in challenging both corporate and state power refers of WACAM's ability to build alliances with like-minded national and international organisations while remaining locally committed" (Anyidoho and Crawford 2014, 3)

Cooperative role the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM)

It is these linkages with other organisations, next to their close connection to the grassroots, that makes WACAM an interesting companion for the government to work with. Paired with the abilities professionally educated staff bring on board are especially paying off for WACAM in their coordinative role, where they play a key stakeholder in policy negotiations. One example of such coordinative work is WACAMs contribution that has led to the established Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Directive on The Harmonization of

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[140] WACAM told Gov't to create employment opportunities for affected illegal miners
(https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Create-employment-opportunities-for-affected-illegal-miners-WACAM-tells-Gov-t-530677)
[141] " Stop mining in forest reserves – WACAM to Gov't" (http://citifmonline.com/2016/11/28/stop-mining-in-forest-reserves-wacam-to-govt/)

Guiding Principles and Policies in the Mining Sector. Critical provision in this directive are following principles of 'Free Prior and Informed Consent' and the 'Polluter Pays' principle, compelling companies to respect community rights. Also, WACAM with other CSOs[142] have engaged the Minerals Commission on a draft sample bill and influenced the commission to reform the Minerals and Mining Act (Act 703). Good relations with the political system is crucial for WACAM to perform in this role, and it helps that the government agencies recognize the value the organisations hold for their own operations.

> *"We are engaging stakeholders (...) regulators like the EPA, MC, the FC (...) We engage them, because sometimes they have complaints, or they do not understand <> what is the true picture (...) Because we have the knowledge of the mining sector. So, they also learn from us. (( )) " (WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 83)*

> *"On the national level was on issues of compensation and re-settlement of packages and legislative instruments. WACAM was part in that. And with Mineral and Mining Laws we made certain recommendations to the government."*
> *(WACAM Interview, 2018, Paragraph 42)*

WACAM also supplements certain social services by offering legal support for victims of human rights abuses, especially to people from mining communities. Also, they assist the state by unearthing violations of companies, whether it be of social or environmental nature. Helping WACAM in this, providing evidence, are so-called 'Mine Watchers'. These watchers are local citizens who, equipped with cameras and smart-phones, for capturing and sharing information on challenges they face from mining operations. Critical for this is the organisations capacity to mobilize the people to act was watchdogs but also the capacities that allow WACAM to educate the citizens and guide them in legal procedures.

Political roles of Save the Frogs (STF) and Herp Ghana (HG)

These two organisations are analysed and presented combinedly as they are very alike, usually joining forces in their activities and present them self as "sister organisations" – in particular in the context of their engagement in the AFL. They are both partners in the A Rocha led CONAMA network of NGOs [143], they co-host events from one another [144], and most importantly, they have very similar organisational properties and political roles. Both their mission statements refer to the conservation of amphibians (and reptiles) in Ghana, their sizes are very comparable, both are staffed with passionate professionals and they both engage foremost in educative programmes and campaign work in their efforts to enhance ecological awareness.

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[142] CARE Ghana, Kasa, and the Centre for Public Interest Law and Centre for Environmental Impact Analysis

[143] Members of the coalition include; Save The Frogs Ghana, Conservation Alliance, Centre For Environmental Impact Analysis, Rainforest Friends Ghana, WACAM, Forest Watch Ghana, Ghana Wildlife Society and A Rocha   Ghana (http://www.saveatiwa.com.gh/read.php?main=The%20Project&blog=The%20Project&sub=Key%20Stakeholders)

[144] Like the 7th African Amphibian Working Group (AAWG) meeting in Kumasi, from 25th to 28th July 2017

"Herp Ghana, it is more or less a sister organisation." & "we organise events together"
(STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 248 & 250)

"We would have meetings with them, with other friends of mine from the US, and Save the Frogs" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 207)

"We are doing the same things. So, we share ideas, in terms of knowledge and experience." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 248)

Both their strategies follow the goal to increase the number of conservation champions in Ghana and grow the number of professional amphibian and reptile biologists (HG Interview 2018; STF Interview 2018). In their cooperation with other CSOs in the AFL, they are engaged in campaign work that urges the government to consider plans to turn the Atewa Forest Reserve into a national park[145]. Locally, they both put most of their efforts into conducting field surveys, monitoring amphibian population but also educational programmes and campaign work to create ecological awareness and to mentor local communities in conservational activities.

"Because some of our targets is to monitor population increase/decrease" (...)
"Then in terms of education, we focus on communities."
(STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 76 - 78)

These educational programmes are carried out through community engagement, organizing events, and by using social media as outlet to spread the information to the greater public and to stimulate debate and discussions. The CSOs benefit in this from their close relations with the communities they work with, in particular with those community members with aspirations to conserve wildlife. Where their relationship with the locals is very close, their relationship with governmental representatives and agencies however, is very weak. The two amphibian conservation CSOs only engage with the state in the context of the AFL through their local network of CSOs. Their engagement with others in their environment builds for the most part on non-confrontational approaches, and their form of engagement refrains to the provision of information and consultancy or advisory work.

"We are part of CONAMA. So, in terms of engagement in decision making - in this respect - it goes through CONAMA." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 58)

"Sometimes we would have a protest or an argument. (...) In form of letter writing, like a petition, blogging. electronically. But in terms of the other aspects, the friendly part, for example, if we want to get logging companies out of critical amphibian habitats we have to work through the FSD (FC), together with the timber company, through dialogue." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 256 - 258)

The highly resourceful staff of these CSOs manage to offer great abilities to their organisations efforts, as they usually all have some academic degree with experiences in their field. Through

this, they are able to apply for grants and funding at international donor organisations (), with whom they stand in close contact. One of their biggest strength is the commitment of their staff members to the cause of the organisations. In comparison to other CSOs in Ghana, and considering their two sizes, they are rather well-resourced[146] with sufficient opportunities to run their operations.

> *"We have a very small staff, very, very committed. I think this is the biggest resource that we have. We have very limited resources, we can be on the field for a very long time. I think the commitment is very important. We do not need loads of money to do what we do. They are already enough motivated." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 121)*

> *"we have been very lucky, compared to other people. I guess the passion shows when you put in your grant applications and stuff. We have, over the years, very consistent support from different organisations. A lot of Dutch organisations, like Prins Bernard, Van Tiel (?)(inaud.), Rufford Foundations. So, we have had a lot of capacity." (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 125)*

> *"Over the years we have received funding from Rufford Foundation, from The Mohamed bin Zayed species conservation fund, from Disney fund, and Wesley Fund for Nature, then Conservation Leadership Programme (CLP)." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 156)*

Over all, both organisations are similarly structured in terms of their hierarchy and size. Both organisations are only run by a handful of staff members and operate under a traditional NGO structure. This structure builds on a board, which usually is constituted by appointed international members, often with expertise in some relevant field. Further it builds on a structure of project managers and coordinators, field and administrative staff. STF is a country branch of a larger, US-based organisation, whereas HG has subsidiaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia.

Educational role of Save the Frogs (STF) and Herp Ghana (HG)

The educational role of these to conservationist CSOs relate directly to their mission statements of "to undertake research, create awareness, mobilize response for important policy, build capacity and contribute expertise on the conservation of amphibians and reptiles" (HG), and "to promote a society that respects and appreciates nature and wildlife" (STF). Both organisations performance in this role focuses on the provision of information to citizens, with some internal function – in particular by STF. In the AFL, these activities primarily play out through the engagement of communities with the goal to highlight current environmental issues and to build their capacities to improve their livelihood. For example, STF engages in bee-keeping trainings that aims to help the local people with the provision of an additional source of income. This is done to preserve local amphibian populations as the introduced techniques

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[146] See STF Financial statement: (https://www.savethefrogs.com/about/financials/)

are meant to be less hazardous to the environment (i.e. crated bee-keeping). To the educational focus their two approaches are very similar. Both organize interested students to form chapters. These students are drawn from universities all over Ghana and are voluntary members that take part in mentoring programmes. The organisation, with the help of their volunteers, conduct in problem identification and with their results engage those communities.

> *"What we have done is, we have trained like 15 people every year. For maybe two weeks or three weeks, we run a course that we call "Ecological Field School" (...)*
> *"where we just give field experiences to our members, the graduate students. (...) We take them to the Atewa Forest, for a week or two. Then we show them how to do (inaud.) experiments, how to survey frogs, how to identify species, and we stay in camps, in tents."*
> *(Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19, 89)*

> *"our approach is: take it to the local people, explain to them, let them know what the impact of this is" (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

> *"For Atewa we have a chapter, a university chapter of our organisation" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 22)*

> *"[finding and identify] I think this is the point we are playing the most important role. (...) So even as a very small organisation, we know what the problems are, and we present it to (...) the local communities. That is something we do very, very well. Not the central government, but to the local communities."*
> *(Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

In this role the two organisations create and raise public awareness of ecological problems in their area and provide insights how to sustain their local environment. With provided information citizens have the required insights and data to push for more accountable political action. Despite, engaging people on the ground directly, STF also offers access to an electronic one library as a source of amphibious information.

> *"So, our approach is: take it to the local people, explain to them, let them know what the impact of this is, and then let them put pressure of the government."*
> *(Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)*

An important organisational property for these organisations is their access to research as input and their educated personal providing their claims with a required legitimacy and accountability. Additionally, the commitment of the volunteering students is an essential resource for them to carry out field surveys and community engagements. Both their hired staff and volunteers are able to translate complex biological issues into a language the local communities can relate to. For example, the founder of HG is a research scientist at Ghana's Forestry Research Institute of Ghana where he conducts most of his amphibian research, contributes to environmental impact assessments, and helps develop amphibian monitoring programs and management guidelines for corporations (HG Interview 2018). The executive

director of STF, for instance, "has an M. Phil. at KUNST, then he is currently on another M.Phil., professional one on conservation at University of Cambridge." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 134), who "has a number of publications on frogs." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 136).

> *" Basically, what we seek to do is to protect endangered amphibians and reptiles and their habitats. This we aim to do through the research that we do. In terms of proving knowledge on the species." (HG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77)*

STF plays an additional internal educational role, in which the organisation instils democratic values in it voluntary members. This the organisation achieves through the established student chapters, where interested students are able to register to. These students make out a big part of the organisations work force and are more than 2000+ across the whole of Ghana.

> *"in Ghana I would say, we have roughly 2000+ members, both people that we engage face-to-face and through online." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)*

The organisation brings these members together in re-occurring events (e.g. annual general meetings) where they further disseminate knowledge on amphibian crisis and common knowledge, spread the information to the greater public and to stimulate debate and discussions ("STF Website" 2018). Membership to STF is open and voluntary, however decision making is not as democratic, as it excludes the process of voting. Nonetheless the approach has a degree of inclusiveness, in which members are asked to give their inputs. For example, the organisation frequently asks their members to fill in surveys so STF can "learn about who they are and assess their thoughts on how we are doing, where we should focus our efforts, and how [they] can improve" ("STF Website" 2018).

> *"For the student chapter, we, normally hold meetings. With the executive board/director. There are regular meetings, like twice or trice in the semester. "*
> *(STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 206)*

> *"[The members] have to come up with their own activities for a particular event. Then we have to come together and discuss which ones are feasible."*
> *(STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 186)*

Engaging young adults, with a passion to conserve the environment, and bringing them together into cooperative ventures such as these 'student-chapters', STF instils a democratic virtue in their members. Critical for this to hold effect is members participation, as only through interaction the internal role has the desired effect (Putnam 2000). Part of the objectives STF has for its student chapters is also to provide their members with "opportunities to develop their ecological awareness and their environmental conservation skill" and to assist them "in promoting their activities and successes to the outside world". By this teaching skills of public speaking and in turn stimulating political skills (Diamond 1999).

Communicative role of Save the Frogs (STF) and Herp Ghana (HG)

Like most other investigated CSOs, STF and HG provide channels of communication to the local citizens of the AFL, in particular to those engaged in conservational work. This enables them to collect the interests and concerns on the ground. STF for example, has a hired community conservation officers, whose task it "to meet with communities and learn their concern" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 234). However, although STF indicated to have some relation to the local FSD, both lack a close enough connection to the state to provide the essential function of a "2-way transmission" that is central to the communicative role. STF, again performs slightly better in this role of providing the structure in which communication between society and state can take place. This is through the 'Save the Frog' event the organisation is arranging, which usually is attended by representatives of the FC.

> *"we have been mostly working with FSD (Forest Service Division). On this level of policy making, I would say they are our major governmental link. They take part in some of our programmes. Our educational programmes, our STF day even, our tree planting activities" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 238)*

Overall, the performance of these two organisations plays out through signalling the issues of the grassroot level to the greater public through their campaign work. Not however, by providing a structure of communication between society and state that goes both ways. Signalling the voice to public includes press statements direct to the government to halt surface mining in the Atewa Forest and the close open mining pits (being a hazard to frogs and people). These two organisations are representative for small non-profit-organisations in emerging countries, that lack the capacities to provide the structure to the state, at least on a national level, without the support of others. Especially in their communicative actions regarding the halt of mining in Atewa, they are supported by other CSOs in the area as key partners who share resources (see CONAMA). Only through this network STF and HG have some connection to governmental bodies but is not part of their operational properties.

Representative role of Save the Frogs (STF) and Herp Ghana (HG)

The communicative actions of these two CSOs do also relate to a representation of voice. Through these actions they manage to offer citizens a way to present the political system with an alternative flow of input, outside of times of elections. Both CSOs are actively involved in the public debate and have a voluntary member base among local citizens – providing a direct link with social groups and legitimacy to the claims of representation.

For once, the organisations do so by advocating "to influence policy that concerns reptiles in the country and west Africa as a whole." (HG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 77). HG for instance, has engaged district level policy makers (DA)of the AFL, to discuss environmental issues and inform them on possible solutions.[147]

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[147] https://www.savethefrogs.com/countries/ghana/atewa-hills/

"For example, in the meeting that I had with the assembly people, I think that was in 2008. Most of the assembly men in Atewa area, it was for them to know about what the issues were. In terms of biodiversity and what they stand to lose. The goal was, they could past this on to the assembly when they go for general assembly meetings. Then they can begin to talk about, what they could do about this. It was more about providing information so to speak. (HG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 198 - 199)

"during the first era, when they wanted to mine the Atewa Forest in late 2006, what we did was of course to print t-shirts and all those things, was to go to the churches and (inaud.) did some (inaud.) campaigns." (22022018 AT Herp Ghana Interview SC+HL, Paragraph 71)

Their most predominant advocacy activity for the area is to spearhead the campaign to get the government of Ghana to upgrade the status of the Atewa Forest Hills from a reserve to a national for the permanent protection of frogs and other co-occurring biodiversity.

"We have an eight-point plan for saving frogs in Ghana. That is kind of our strategy that govern our activities."
(STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 96)

Engaging in such local advocacy and campaigning activities the two CSOs are performing as a catalyst to the local communities, advertising policy recommendation that benefit marginalized groups of people (and frogs). Critical for these functions are a clearly outlined advocacy strategy[148] and their close relation to the local people.

In a further performance in this role the CSOs mobilize local religious leaders and other campaigning people to join similar organisations and realized to become active themselves as well as organizing them into "chapters", inspiring students to engage in nature studies and providing them the tools to work on conservation, offering a way to bring their results to the public or come up with own conservation programmes (HG Interview 2018). These organized groups also have the potential as a source of countervailing power – however no information on related actions were revealed.

"we have got a lot of people who later rallied behind A Rocha and the other organisation [Through those activities?] Yes, through those activities and (inaud.) because they understood that they needed to do something."
(HG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 71)

"There will be an accompanying street parade with drumming and dancing for frogs. During the parade, we will display signs to exhibit the effects of habitat destruction on frogs and the implications this has for local livelihoods. Signs will read, "Watch Atewas frogs die and witness a surge in crop pests," "Atewas frogs are vulnerable, and so are you," and more. " ("STF Website" 2018)

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[148] See the „The Eight-Point Plan for Saving Ghana's Frogs"
(http://www.savethefrogs.com/d/countries/ghana/index.html#plan)

The CSOs also they mentor young people (undergraduates and young professional) in career coaching, fund raising, research, opportunities to be linked to international mentors , stimulating political participation.

Cooperative role of Save the Frogs (STF) and Herp Ghana (HG)

In this role, theory points out, CSOs work together with the state, instead of opposing it as in the resisting representative role. Also, it points towards the need of capacities to be able to perform as a partner to the state and to fill gaps the state cannot perform in. Also, it regards relations to the state as central to get access to the state. The two CSOs STF and HG, both only have weak relations with state officials on the national level and for this do not perform a cooperative role on this level. However, on a local level they can be accredited with the cooperative role, as here, they do have connections to the local representatives of the DA and FC, in particular STF (STF Interview 2018).

> *"we have been mostly working with FSD (Forest Service Division). On this level of policy making, I would say they are our major governmental link. They take part in some of our programmes. Our educational programmes, our STF day even, our tree planting activities." (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 238)*

As both of the CSOs engage in educational programmes when engaging in the Atewa landscape and teach local citizens on conservation, biodiversity and generally "raising ecological awareness" (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 9), they supplement an educational service that feeds into the National Environmental Policy. This policy has the strategic goal to raise national environmental awareness, by which the Ghanaian population "will be empowered through the development of knowledge, skills, values and commitment required for sustainable development." (xx Government of Ghana 1995)

Also, both CSOs engage volunteers in "habitat restoration." (i.e. tree planting) including degraded patches of forest in the Atewa Hills (STF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 240). In particular where there have been mining activities that not have restored the forest after operations have ended. STF considers these "old pit" as hazardous for animals and human beings and puts in efforts to restore natural habitat. In these, they are supported with material through the local office of the FC. These actions feed into the international Reduced Emissions for Deforestation & Degradation (REDD) programme of which Ghana is a part and the National Forest Plantation Development Programme, with the objectives to restore the forest cover of degraded forest lands and aimed at reducing deforestation and encouraging sustainable forest management altogether.

By stepping in for the governmental services (educational service, nature restoration) the CSOs help to fill social service-delivery gaps, the state by itself is not addressing. Providing a strategic partnership can aid the government by building "pockets of efficiency within government agencies, (Clarke 1998, 49).

Their ability to mobilize the volunteers and to disseminate knowledge to local citizens is a crucial ability that both CSOs bring to the table as well as the link to state agencies – at least in the confines of the Atewa landscape level.

> *"In regard to the Atewa landscape, do you engage policy makers? #01:09:07-5#*
>
> *B: Not often, not often. We only engage them at the assembly (district) level. So, in (village name) we always work with the assembly men. But beyond that, we have not done anything < > "(HG Interview, 2018, Paragraph 196 - 197)*

Largely, they do not have further ability to be a partner to the state in a coordinative role, as for engaging the state on policy matters and aiding it in finding the most adequate policy direction bot CSOs lack the relations and the capacity to assemble the required stakeholders. However, as this investigation takes a look at the landscape, their ability to coordinate with the state on the landscape level was explored as well. And indeed, in some way this role is performed by the CSOs. Both CSOs reported that they have on numerous occasion been in discussion with the local traditional authorities giving their expertise in the formation of by-laws[149].

> *"For example, in the meeting that I had with the assembly people in (village name), (...) it was for them to know about what the issues were. In terms of, biodiversity and what they stand to lose, (inaud.) without any consideration of the bio diversity. The goal was, they could past this on to the assembly when they go for general assembly meetings. (..) It was more about providing information so to speak. " (Herp Ghana Interview, 2018, Paragraph 199)*

Political roles of the Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)

The Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF) is a small charitable non-governmental organisation devoted to nature conservation and sustainable development. With environmental issues such as forest degradation in mind, it has been set up by the Paramount Chief of the Akyem Abuakwa area[150], Okyehene Nana Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin II. OEF aims at promoting and cultivating public environmental awareness, sponsoring individuals involved in sustainable use of natural resource and "to develop the rich natural resources of the Okyeman in a sustainable manner" (GEF 2003).

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[149] Based on local values and aspirations for the forest areas, they prescribe what can be done and what cannot be done in the forest areas. They generally aim to protect the forests from destructive use. Every District Assembly has environmental/forestry by-laws. Some towns, villages and local areas have their own environmental/forestry by-laws, some of which are unwritten (GLA 2016)

[150] The Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom, (Okyeman in Akan) as it was known before the colonial era, became the "Akyem Abuakwa State" and is currently the "Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area". Within this area is the Atewa Forest, as well as other forested areas. In this document, the name **Okyeman** is used throughout to refer to the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom.

"In fact, (inaud.) his persona he is an environmental activist. The King himself. And then he (...) through that, he built the EF and started the university of agriculture and environmental studies." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 45)

"The Okyeman Traditional Area, it is about 2500 km2 (...) which has in it the Atewa Forest and other forest reserves. It has about close to 850 towns and villages. It is headed by the Okyehene, His Majesty Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Panin. He has set up this, as he ascended to (inaud.) the fifth King of the area (on October 4, 1999 after the death of his predecessor Osagyefuo Kuntunkununku II). The kingdom is also referred to as Okyeman. That is where we have got our name from. Our name focus is to address all the environmental concerns in the kingdom all 800 towns. That is the main goal." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 5)

Main instruments for the organisation to achieve these objectives in the Okyeman is to mobilize and educate the people on the need for the preservation of their natural heritage and ensure that human activities are environmentally friendly. Education refers to the improvement of the understanding of climate risks, of local taboos associated with the great Kwaebibrem – 'the vivid Dark Forest' - and the use of modern methods such as eco-tourism and partnering with local and international CSOs that are engaged natural conservation. And mobilization refers here mostly to the establishment of local Environmental Protection Brigades and the organisation of locals into tree-planting exercises.

"we protect the livelihoods of the people. So, jobs, food security (...) all those issues and also habitat protection" (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 49)

The relations the organisation has with other in its environment are mostly with the state and with other similarly orientated organisations[151], and the relation to its constituency is weak. The relation to the state is inherent to the organisations structure, being led by the local traditional authority (i.e. chieftaincy), the paramount chief. Contact to society mainly goes through the traditional system, where the organisation engages communities through contacting local leaders.

"Where there is a need to speak to government about that issue, because we are directly involved. We bring in a Minister of Environment to the palace. And then he is given strict instructions on (...) what we feel is happening there. So, we have a synergy with government as well. " (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)

In terms of internal structure, OEF is unique comparing to other CSOs of this study. The Foundation is governed by a ten-member board of trustees - chaired by the Okyenhene. This is the followed by programme managers and field coordinators. The board of the OEF includes high profile citizens as well as people with considerable environmental, legal, business and financial expertise. The royal structure of the organisation refers mostly to its leader, the King.

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[151] OEF is a founding member of the CONAMA group, led by A Rocha to combat illegal mining in the Atewa, and Save The Atewa, trying to turn the area into a national park.

Although his leadership includes his personal ideas and inspirations, it is also influenced by others of the traditional authority system. The directions the organisation is taken is also influenced by representatives of five councils[152] who are elected chiefs, sub-chiefs, councillors and elders. These positions however presuppose a traditional authority status, excluding common citizens. This makes the structure somewhat exclusive but operating under a deliberative model.

> *"the chiefs are actually voted, elected. The system is quite cumbersome. " (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 73)*

> *"The King has five divisions, who are, sort of lieutenants. They are divisional chiefs and under them they have several hundred towns that they micro manage. They are geographically divided into five divisions. The Atewa Forest falls into a few divisions. So, when you come to the village level. This level is where you find a divisional head on top of him. It is more like (...) we are here (...) in Kyebi, which is in the Eastern Region. The five divisions, under which these towns are evenly displaced. So, at the community level, we have for instance, community A, having about 200-250 villages, sometimes 300 (...) and at the local level, the very local, village level, you have the people, that is the citizens. " (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 25)*

Educational role of the Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)

An educational performance is a central function of OEF and is critical to achieve their organisations main goal of "developing the rich natural resources of the Okyeman" and "enhancing the prospects for future Ghanaian generations" (GEF 2003). This performance refers to an external role, in which the organisation disseminates information to citizens in regard to the environment and issues of climate change. For instance, the Foundation, under its community awareness programme held a 'YALILearns' session on the topic "Understanding Climate Change" for tertiary and secondary schools, intended to spur the conversation on Climate Change. In conjunction to this programme the organisation also has set out to raise awareness among various stakeholder groups of the importance of enhancing environmental protection. For this, the foundation has deployed educational materials have already, including billboards that were placed on major roads in over 90 towns and villages and leaflets. (GEF 2003; "OEF Interview" 2018). Also, the organisation provides information to local authorities (chiefs) by educating them on environmental policy issues, including national law and local by laws.

> *"Policy trainings < > for our chiefs ↑ 800chiefs (h). We have something that we call traditional council meetings. And that is held quarterly. At every meeting we come in with policy of the King on specific areas. One being the environment, and then other activities like environmental governance and trainings. Sometimes we bring in*

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[152] The representatives at the Standing Committee to the King

resources persons (experts), where we do not have the technical know how to do it. "
(OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)

Theory suggests that CSOs are conducive to democracy as they provide information to citizens that enhance transparency and enable them to push for accountability, however the administered information leaves this ability weakened. Regardless OEF can instil a democratic spirit in its members, by letting them participate in cooperative ventures, that follow democratic structures. Most CSOs are hierarchic in structure and not all work with open memberships. This is similar to the case of OEF, an organisation that includes monarchic structures and processes and does not operate with memberships. However, the findings reveal that still, organisations can indeed perform in such an internal educational role. OEF does so by mobilizing volunteers from about 140 communities from Okyeman into Community Environment Protection Brigades (CEPB)[153], encouraging the protection of the environment through the direct participation of communities. This community-based voluntary organization provides "an avenue for the potential development of more environment-conscious people through the facilitation of training and the provision of jobs that are environment-friendly and commercially viable"[154] and away direct participation of local communities in environmental protection. The CEPBs are linked with the District Assemblies.

In the context of the AFL, OEF performs in the process of democratisation by enhancing transparency (see policy trainings) and provide tools for public accountability (see educational programme) (Diamond 1999). And further they are able to instil a democratic virtues (i.e. trust, cooperation/reciprocity) by mobilizing people into cooperative ventures, teaching members ways of peaceful resolution, debating and negation (Warren 2002).

As the organisation builds on local traditional governance and authority systems, it can rely on its strong link to the state and to local authorities. This paired with access to specialist knowledge and the ability to bring this forward to the local chiefs are the properties on which OEF builds this performance. Although their relationship with the local people is rather weak, it is this system on which the organisation builds, that creates the required authenticity to their claims and creates ties with the King's constituency. The appreciation of the local authority system, paired with the organisations ability to formulate their message in such a way that the local citizens can understand, are the most crucial organisational properties that are in favour of OEFs external role.

OEF (as RA and IDEG from the JBL) is one of the examples, that an organisation that internally is not democratic, nor allows for memberships to its main organisation, still can have an internal

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[153] Brigades' responsibilities and activities include, forest protection (stop and prevent illegal tree felling, prevent and fight bush fires, prevent illegal farming within forest reserves and promote tree planting, protection of water bodies (prevent farming along river banks and streams, prevent waste dumping, enforce "no settlement along river banks" rule and educate against and enforce "the no chemical fishing" rule), wildlife protection through enforcement of hunting laws, and activities to promote sanitation and environmental health. (GEF, 2013)
[154] https://kingsjournal.wordpress.com/2009/11/18/hello-world/

(Tocquevillian) effect on democratisation, bringing people together in the context of an activities (not into the organisation)

Communicative role of the Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)

In this role, organisations ought to have relations with both, the state as well as to society. The Foundation, based on the founder, has strong links to the state. The Okyehene can, owe to his status, invite representatives from the political system when he sees the need for it.

> *"Where there is a need to speak to government about that issue, because we are directly involved. We bring in a Minister of Environment to the palace. And then he is given strict instructions on (...) what we feel is happening there. So, we have a synergy with government as well." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)*

However, the organisations relationship to its constituency is less distinct. The King's Palace – where the office of OEF is situated - is located in the main town of the area (Kyebi), but access to the organisation is not open to the public ("OEF Interview" 2018). Access to the organisation follows the traditional system of authority – concerns have to be handed it to the local chiefs, which then forward their messages to the King's Palace.

> *"Ok, let me give you an explanation (...). Concerning the Atewa forest for instance, if there is a problem. The problem effects our people. First (...) they are beneficiary of every issue in that landscape, because they are first who suffers. Because we are the land owners. The first (...) In fact (...) Any address with the problem, first goes to the Kings palace. Because, this is the reference. It is his land that these issues are (...) then our attention is called." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)*

To be open to popular demand however is a critical performance of an CSO in a communicative role, one which the OEF does not do. There are also some concerns of accountability as the organisations leader is at the same time the landowner. Any messages being forwarded to state representatives are therefore difficult to entangle from societal interests and personal interests.

Representative role of the Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)

The Foundations performance in the role that allows local citizens to present the democratic system with another flow of input outside of times of election and not through political parties, plays out mainly through campaigning in the greater public sphere and through some advocacy activities that are based on the most dire (environmental) local concerns. The performance in this role relates to the unique structure of the organisation, whose leader is seen as the entitled representative of the local people (and land).

> *"Concerning the Atewa Forest for instance, if there is a problem, the problem here effects our people. First (...) they are beneficiary of every issue in that landscape, because (the first who suffers). Because we are the land owners. The first (...) In fact (...) Any address with the problem, first goes to the Kings palace. Because, this is the reference. It is his land that these issues are (...) then our attention is called." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 19)*

OEFs internal structure however, forces the peoples voice to be conducted through the traditional system of authority. Whereas with other investigated CSOs, local citizens inform CSOs on their "demands" during community outreaches, have their telephone number or even get their message across via social media, the interests and concerns of the people that reaches the foundation are brought forward through their local chiefs, whom then address these to the King. Moreover, another fact that may is the source for some concern regarding legitimacy, is that the founder and leader of the organisation is not only seen as the entitled leader of the people, but he also is at the same time the owner of the land (see: allodial title), making the separation of public- and self-interest more inseparable.

> *"We have something that we call traditional council meetings. And that is held quarterly. At every meeting we come in with policy of the King on specific areas. One being the environment, and then other activities like environmental governance and trainings. Sometimes we bring in resources persons (experts), where we do not have the technical know how to do it. For instance, if there is an outbreak or < > how can explain. And then, the advantage is, it goes to the people quicker, then any other means. Because the chiefs go back to their towns and announce them to little guardians like (inaud.). Also, you know, inform people (...) so, it becomes a talking point and all that." (OEF Interview, 2018, Paragraph 69)*

The role plays out most concise in practice through campaigning in the public. For example, since its establishment, the Foundation has launched annual week-long environment campaign to coincide with the Word Environment Day. In this week the Okyehene usually sets out on a tour to towns and villages in the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional area with the goal of creating awareness on the need to protect our environment to support our livelihood and for sustainable development in Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom. Representatives from relevant governmental agencies like the EPA or the FSD the FC accompany the King on his tour to speak at workshops on how communities can cooperate with their respective local governmental bodies to achieve greater protection of the forest (Ghana Web News Agency 2015). The focus of OEFs campaign in the area currently mostly regards issues referring to illicit small-scale mining that is plaguing the area ("OEF Interview" 2018). Campaigning actions in this regard are also carried out in affiliation with the local coalition of CSOs that has been formed with the goal to address mining in the Atewa Forest. The Coalition of NGOs Against Mining Atewa (CONAMA) is led by A Rocha Ghana and is constitutes by a number of CSOs that engage in environmental conservation and sustainable development.

Critical for OEF to perform in an indirect representative role through campaigning is its relation to the land and local people, forming a clearly demarcated constituency for whom the organisation participates in the public arena. Also, its network with other CSOs and the associated advocacy strategies enable the foundation in its role. Critical for legitimate claims is that the organisation bases its messages are done on behalf of the people. However, the role of the foundation must be seen in a critical light, as firstly the interests of the people and the interests of the landowner are possible to contradict and secondly, as the organisation is

essentially non-democratic, its claims of advocacy may raise concerns of accountability and legitimacy. The foundation reveals to be an example of a deviation from theory. The representative role OEF plays in the AFL builds mostly on a trusteeship between the people and their King, this however also opens the organisation to these concerns.

Cooperative role of the Okyeman Environment Foundation (OEF)

The way in which OEF performs as a cooperative partner to the state is by aiding it to fulfil its social service delivery role. An interesting property of OEF in this role is its catalytic ability in bringing together traditional institutions, national and local government units, community groups to work together to address environmental issues affecting Okyeman.

> *"The government will come and ask: Well, we were supposed to mine the bauxite, but*
> *we do not have access because we need to go on the land. They need our permission.*
> *So, there the need that (...) in every decision that we are taking on Atewa (...)*
> *government will come and see the traditional authorities." (OEF Interview, 2018,*
> *Paragraph 53)*

This role plays mainly out through the foundations efforts to complement the government by conducting educational development programmes and projects. In engaging in these educational activities, they complement an educational social service that feeds into the National Environmental Policy. This policy has the strategic goal to raise national environmental awareness, by which the Ghanaian population "will be empowered through the development of knowledge, skills, values and commitment required for sustainable development." (Government of Ghana 1995).

In a further example of the foundation supporting the governmental agencies is by the creation of the Community Environment Protection Brigades that are charged with the responsibility of enforcing the policies and regulations regarding forest protection, protection of water bodies from pollution, enforcement of wildlife laws, as well as safeguarding the environmental health and sanitation in the traditional area. By this supporting the state in forest protection (FC mandate), protection natural resources (EPA, FC,WD).

Political roles of Solidaridad – Gold Programme

Solidaridad West-Africa is part of the international Solidaridad Network, a network-organisation that "looks at how to transform markets to make them more inclusive and sustainable" with the single over-all goal: "together we learn and progress, together we achieve results, and together we decide on future steps" (Solidaridad 2016). With Ghana as the West-African base of Solidaridad, the organisation focuses on responsible commodity supply-chains, in particular the supply chains of cocoa, palm oil, and gold. With the work the organisation conducts in Ghana it focuses its activities on the "the people who produce the resources on which we all depend" ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018).

> *"We are a supply-chain organisation, to support various commodities to improve*
> *their supply chains. We target specific areas (...) based on the challenges faced by*

this particular area and find ways of resolving these challenges. Generally, we do say, that we assist, vulnerable producers. That is a bit general, but of course we cannot just assist producers, we assist other actors in the supply chain of various commodities." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)

Their gold programme with the main objective to improve environmental, safety, social and business practices is builds on a framework outlined by the Fairmined Standard for Gold and Associated Precious Metals[155] that aims to transform artisanal and small-scale mining and improve the quality of life of miners.

"One of the major challenges from the first project, that we just concerned ourselves with the mines and not the mining communities." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 15),

"With the gold programme, the main objective is to help to increase production of responsible gold, in the small-scale mining sector." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 13)

The organisation has understood to focus their activities of capacity building not only on miners, but foremost on mining communities ("Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018). With effect in the AFL, their involvement turns out through a number of projects:

- 'Partnering for Better Livelihoods in the Gold Supply Chain' – with the goal to improve livelihoods of mining communities, health access, and women empowerment.
- 'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana' – aiming at improving collaboration among the various stakeholders in the small-scale mining sector through platform level discussions in order to resolve the challenges of the sector.
- 'Improving Access to Technical and Financial Services in the Small-Scale Mining Sector' - improving the quality and availability of services that the miners need to operate responsibly, operating on an international platform for cooperation, linking, learning and knowledge exchange.
- 'Going for Gold' - to empower women living in and around artisanal and small-scale gold mines in Ghana.

Like other international organisations, Solidaridad has a hierarchic internal structure with a board of trustees, that approves proposals handed it from the directive. The international organisations are divided by geographical locations, whereas the activities of the Ghanaian branch are over seen by an executive director who is responsible for West-Africa. This is followed by a team of managers on the country level overseeing the activities taking place in the country. Their strategies are informed by research as input to their claims. This refers to the organisation self-imposed perception of being a "a data-driven organization" and that "all programmes have to provide fact-based evidence of the results and impact of the investments made" ("Solidaridad Annual Report" 2016). In their engagement with the state in advocacy

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[155] Standard for Gold from Artisanal and Small-scale Mining, including associated precious metals (V2.0 RC ARM / 1st January 2014 EN)
http://www.responsiblemines.org/images/sampledata/EstandarFairmined/Fairmined%20Stnd%202%200_2014_.pdf

activities the organisation follows a strategy that is rather non-confrontational, with mere actions of information, but none that relate to more direct opposition.

> *"We as an organisation for instance, are against that, but so far had no interactions*
> *with the government < > So, we let them know that we are against that, as we think*
> *there are human right issues." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 90)*

Overall the organisation has good relations with the relevant state agencies, which includes states agencies that are relevant to their gold programme. Here, a key governmental instance is the Mineral Commission, being the main regulators and public policy makers for Ghana's mining sector. The interaction between the organisation and the agency takes place on all levels, the local as well the national level.

> *"As part of the policy project, we had a MoU with the Minerals Commission, they*
> *are the regulators for the sector, for small and large." & "What we do get out for a*
> *drink and invite Minerals Commission Officer from this particular area. The next, we*
> *will be organizing is in the Western Region. We invited the MC to facilitate the*
> *workshop, and we organize" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28, 32)*

Further, the organisation keeps good ties with national universities and knowledge institutes as it works closely together with the Ashesi University and with governmental bodies such as the COCOBOD, both being implementing partners of Solidaridad ("Solidaridad Network Website" 2018). The relation with the local constituency weak for a CSOs but follows a similar structure to most of the invested international CSOs. The relation with the local people builds mostly on the organisation engaging communities to uncover local insights and to inform them on their project activities, occasionally engage in consultation activities with them and ask them for input

> *"Are you having regular meetings, with the mines and the communities, to come up*
> *with their interest, and to hear their concerns?*
>
> *B: Yeah, in fact, we did that even before we decided to do that programme. In the*
> *course of the programme there has been a lot of consultation, the national*
> *programme. I remember, we did validation, where we invited traditional leaders,*
> *community members, etc. Also, to comment on what is in the document." (Solidaridad*
> *Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 67 - 68)*

Educational role of Solidaridad – Gold Programme

As "a transition manager, focusing on producer support and sustainable supply chain and market development" an educational focus is an important strategy for Solidaridad. Building on their slogan: "together we learn and progress,.." the organisation, sets on "giving tailor-made entrepreneurship and life-skills training, modelling viable business opportunities to prove profitability and making the case for impact investment" (Solidaridad 2016b).

The organisations access to expertise in these fields and their ability to disseminate or "deliver" complex knowledge to the local community members and mining operators is one of the critical

organisational properties that enables Solidaridad to perform in an educational role, by disseminating knowledge

> *"Internally we - Solidaridad West Africa - in Ghana is the original expertise centre. Then we have the experts to deliver all the contents, regarding every project that we run." (Solidaridad Interview, 2018, Paragraph 59)*

The organisations educational focus turns out in the AFL through administering trainings to "mine workers on safety, environmental, health, gender issues, policy training" as well as to general members of mining community, addressing "health issues and women empowerment issues (…) to the extent that [Solidaridad] educated them to know some of the policies in place" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28) – these policy trainings refer to labour rights and human rights.

> *"They also need to look at development of the communities around Atewa, so they can get the benefits of mining" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 55)*

> *"We are also educating the community on the existing policies (inaud.) So, we thought that that was more sustainable, because it was changing their practices." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28)*

These activity directly relate to Solidaridad project 'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana' through which the organisation aims to enhance knowledge among CSOs, Government Institutions and officials in key agencies, as well as the miners' perspectives and effective policy interventions (Solidaridad 2017).

The provision of information on these issues to miners and community members, including women, for the most part was carried to improve livelihoods, health access and the position of women in the mining sector and improve their ability to effectively participate in decision making processes. Solid arid performs in the educative role as through their involvement of disenfranchised groups in trainings of economic and political processes, they "take on the structural barriers that limit equal participation and the equal distribution of public benefits" (Edwards 2004, 79)

Communicative role of Solidaridad – Gold Programme

Declaring their ambitions up to 2020, the organisations aims to provide safe and neutral spaces for their constituency to deliberate issues and interests at hand, where there is a lack of communication or trust between stakeholders ("Solidaridad Annual Report" 2016). With this incentive, the organisation brings producers, government institutions, civil society, as well as the private sector and other relevant stakeholders together (Solidaridad 2016a). Being a supply chain orientated organization, Solidaridad function as communicator between the producer groups and with groups up the supply chain is a central function. The communicative action of Solidaridad refers to the of providing a structure of communication to representatives of the state. This relates to their strategic positioning in the Gold programme and their projects of

'Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana' , aimed at improving collaboration among the various stakeholders in the small scale mining sector through platform level discussions in order to resolve the challenges of the sector, and the project 'Improving Access to Technical and Financial Services in the Small Scale Mining Sector' aimed at miners to operate on an international platform for cooperation, linking, learning and knowledge exchange.

Limiting the organisation in its performance as communicator is a weak relation to the constituency form whom they ought to provide channels of communication to the state. This relation builds on community outreaches but also on volunteers the organisation has in a number of communities. These volunteers associate themselves with the organisation and acts as a focal person of Solidaridad.

> *"In each community we have volunteers. And on the mines, we have, what we call, sustainability operators. They are responsible that all the training programmes are undertaken on the mine, and that the rights < > are protected and all that. We have reps, or volunteers, who pick those issues up, with the support of management or traditional leader, to implement whatever we think is right< >" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 76)*

Representative role of Solidaridad – Gold Programme

This role relates to Solidaridad "landscape intervention strategy" in which the organisation "aims for a convening process bringing all relevant stakeholders together including women, youth, regional governments, companies and producers to come to a mutual understanding of the main problems with the stakeholders and to reach cooperative solutions". Solidaridad representative role in this is that the organisation provides support to the negotiation process, protect the interests of vulnerable groups ("Solidaridad Annual Report" 2016). It does so mainly by advocating for policy change on the national level but as well on the local level, aiming to shape by-laws. Solidaridad is also engaging on campaign strategies on behalf of their constituency (miners and mining communities) and aim to create public awareness of health issues and civic rights.

> *"we had a health programme on the local radio stations. To broadcast, to talk about health issues, environmental issues, etc. on the radio. (( )) It was very popular radio station, so we get more people listen in. So, we picked resources persons, depending on the topic we decided to talk about during this week." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 19)*

> *"if we are to promote (...) up scale, then the best strategy < > of course, we can still go by the normal, taking a few mines, and building their capacity, etc. (...) but, if we are to upscale, to cover more mines. Then the best approach was to influence policy within the sector. Fortunately, we had some funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 24)*

*"In fact, influencing policy (inaud.) both national and local by-laws, etc"
(Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 26)*

"we were also pushing for local by-laws to be changed" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 28)

Advocacy work, or "policy enabling" how Soldiered refers to it, is a central strategy to the organisation on all fields. In these activities Solidaridad builds on the insights in local conditions they gain from initial community outreaches prior they pilot new innovations. Further they maintain contact to the grassroot through associates in the field, volunteering for the organisation, acting as focal person on the local level.

"In each community we have volunteers. And on the mines, we have, what we call, sustainability operators. They are responsible that all the training programmes are undertaken on the mine, and that the right < >(inaud.) and all that. We have reps, or volunteers, who pick those issues up, with the support of management or traditional leader, to implement whatever we think is right< >" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 76)

"Yeah, ya, in fact, we did that even before we decided to do that programme. In the course of the programme there has been a lot of consultation, the national programme. I remember, we did validation, where we invited traditional leaders, community members, etc. Also, to comment on what is in the document." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 67 - 68)

In the AFL, Solidaridad advocacy activity refer to their project "Influencing Policy for Sustainable Gold Landscapes in Ghana" which intends to develop an update of Ghana's artisanal small scale mining laws and standards "taking technology and land-use into consideration" and to increase understanding, dialogue and co-operation amongst miners and communities on key policies in the sector (Solidaridad 2017).

"we were able to influence the fact that there should be a recategorization of mining." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 32)

"We talk also about gender issues in the small-scale mining sector. That is one of the key components." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 43)

A key agency on the landscape level in Ghana is the DA, with whom Solidaridad closely works together, and brings them together with other stakeholders of the landscape "to talk about responsible mining practices**".**

"with that project we also organized, at the local level, at the DA level (...) we held the forum there, right at the start of the Assembly. We selected communities around the area, their traditional leaders, their Assemblymen. We invited them to talk about responsible mining practices (...) we brought them together < >" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 20)

> *"They brought up certain concerns, but that was more discussed later on with the*
> *DA, for instance. Some they had to discuss with their chiefs (...)" (Solidaridad*
> *Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 24)*

Solidaridad is possible to perform in this aspect of the representative role as they have selected miners and mining communities as the social group to represent in their gold programme, and through this demarcated their constituency, making it possible to speak specifically over the issues these group of people are facing. Further a relation to these people is an essential element, providing legitimacy to their campaigning and advocacy claims. In this their local network with other CSOs allows them additional resources as well as to share expertise with its network. As part of efforts to promote sustainable mining in the project area, Solidaridad partnered with A Rocha (An environmental NGO) and mining communities in the Kyebi area to organize a workshop on "Strengthening the Position and Role of Local Communities of the Atewa Forest Reserve". Participants of the workshop included representatives from District Assemblies, Environmental Protection Agency, Forestry Services Division, Minerals Commission and selected communities in the area.

Cooperative role of Solidaridad – Gold Programme

The capacities of an international CSO, especially a market-based and economically focused organisation, is an interesting partner for the government to work together. The cooperative role of Solidaridad turns out through assisting the state in its social service delivery role as well as through coordinating with it and other stakeholders in the process of negotiating policy directions. In terms of supplementing the state in the AFL in developing appropriate policies, Solidaridad has for instance contributed to drafting an updated mining law, that considers now modern technologies and land-uses. In particular Solidaridad gave their input through "a review of the regulations, and enforcement of the law" as well as the issue of land reclamation of mined-out areas and community development of mining communities ("Solidaridad Interview (GP)" 2018).

> *"We were also invited for the evaluation workshop, where we made further inputs*
> *into the programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 47)*

> *"were more stressing a way forward for the sector. So, we partnered with them to*
> *develop with the document" (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 96)*

> *"the government is looking for funds to implement this programme < > there are not*
> *be able to get all the funds that they need. The idea is then they need support from*
> *CSOs, like us." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 57)*

Important characteristics of the organisation in this performance – next to its close relation with the state - is its expertise of the mining sector and its mobilization capacities to arrange stakeholders into meetings and discussions[156].

Also, the organisation has a service-fulfilling function in the AFL, for example, it was identified that mining communities lack access to primary health care. In order to improve on this, Solidaridad signed an MoU with the Atewa District Assembly and the Atewa District Health Directorate on the provision of a health facility (i.e. Community Based Health Planning Services) (Solidaridad 2017).

> *"we are not raising funds and give it to them per se, but whatever we do should fall in to their programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 59)*

Next to health services the organisation assists the Governments 'Galamsey Reclamation Project' to reclaim mined-out land[157], involving clearing excavated materials back into pits that had been dug by the illegal miners to be followed by the planting of trees to restore the destroyed vegetation.

> *"if we decide to do reclamation within the Atewa area, this would support their programme." (Solidaridad Interview (GP), 2018, Paragraph 61)*

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[156] For example, the ‚Going for Gold' collaboration with Simavi and Healthy Entrepreneurs and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources

[157] It is estimated that about four per cent of the country's land size, totalling about 238,000 km2 have been destroyed by illegal miners. It was revealed that Kyebi and its surroundings alone "play host" to 18 of such illegal mining sites

8.3.   Interview guide

Interview guide (49):				# of Interview:	Date:
Name interviewee:				M	F
Position in Org:	Founder	Executive	Staff	Member	
Name of Organisation:				Size of Org.:	
Type of Organisation:	• environmental group (eNGO) • community-based organisation • women's rights group			• labour union • independent research institute • international organisation	
Location:				Atewa	Juabeso-Bia

Introduction (~ 5mins)**:**

My name is Christopher Schwarz. I am from Germany, and I am carrying out a study for the Nature and Forest Conservation group of the University of Wageningen in The Netherlands. I am here in Ghana, to conduct a social science inquiry as a final part of my master education. The project I am working on is carried in affiliation with the NGO *Tropenbos Ghana* in support of their efforts towards more equal and inclusive governance of forested landscapes. In my inquiry, I am interested in the democratic roles Civil Society Organisations play in the regulatory system of landscapes. In my view, organisations of the civil society can play certain roles in the process of democratisation, and I am interested in how this plays out in practice. My goal is to discover information that can be used to make the organisations, such as yours, more visible in the eyes of policy- and decision-makers. Additionally, this survey may offer the opportunity for self-reflection and health-checking, so that current strategies and missions may be rationalized.

In this interview I would like to ask you some questions that help me to identify your organisations' characteristic and involvement in decision-making processes. I am also interested in potential challenges and opportunities to a pro-democratic performance.

Your contribution in this is very important to me, and I very much appreciate your time and input!

Certainly, if you choose to, your responses will be treated anonymously. For later analysis the conversation will be recorded as they later will be transcribed. For verification purposes, you can receive a copy of the transcript. I estimate the interview to take around: ~60 mins.

Before we begin, let me ask you the following questions

-Would you like to remain anonymous for this survey?

-Can you give me your consent to record this interview on audio?

-Would you be interested in receiving a transcript of this recording?

Index	Question	Comments/Probing
**General (O) part:** (~ 3 min)		
First of all, I am interested in general information on you and your organisation		
O1.1	For how long have you been with the organisation?	
O1.2	What are your responsibilities in this organisation?	
O1.3	Can you indicate the size of your organisation in terms of • staff • members / constituency	Members/constit: the people involved in or served by an organization (group of people that offers representation)
O1.4	In which of the following two landscapes is your organisation (mostly) active? • Atewa Forest Range • Juabeso-Bia FD	
**Research Question 1 (A): Key CSO -** (~ 5 min)		
In this part, I am interested in the importance of your organisation in decision making processes regarding the governance of the landscape of (Atewa Forest Range OR Juabeso-Bia FD) (f.e. land use rights)		
A1.1	How would you describe the frequency by which your organisation is being engaged by other stakeholders in decision-making processes that concern the use of this landscape?	
A1.2	For what part of the decision-making process are you then usually engaged? (Can you rank the following from 1-4, whereas 1 stands for "more often" and 4 for "not as often") – Why have you ranked like this? • During finding, **identifying**, and formulating a problem • During **setting of goals** and developing alternatives	*(using Simons Model of Decision Making)*

- During **evaluating** goals and choosing final decision
- During **implementing** of the final decision

A1.3	What is the scale of the decisions you are usually engaged in to help to make?	
	• Landscape level	
	• Community level	
	• Village level	

Research Question 2 (MAIN) (B): Organisational and Structural properties (~ 40 mins)

Here I want to understand your organisations characteristics. I am interested in your **MISSIONS, STRATEGY, RESOURCES, ENVIROMENT WITH OTHERS AND STRUCTURE. In particular, in regard to the landscape of …..**

(Mission **M**)

M1.1	With which main goal(s) in mind has your organisation originally been founded? (Mission Statement)	*Note to self: check official mission statement at SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT*
M1.2	Has this changed over time?	
M1.3	For **whom** does your organisation peruse these goals?	**(f.e. local communities/policy makers/commercial companies/members)**
M1.4	In how far are the activities/projects you carry out in the landscape in line with your organisations main goal(s)?	
	Now, I am interest in: How the organisation plans to achieve its goals in this particular landscape **(Strategy S)**	
S2.1	**(Internal strategy** What sort of activities/projects does your organisation plan for its constituency to achieve set goals in this landscape?)	trainings, discussions, etc

S2.2	**(External strategy)** What sort of activities/projects does your organisation plan for other stakeholders such as the policy makers or commercial companies to achieve set goals in this landscape?	demonstrations, meetings, boycotts,
S2.3	What are the **most important** constraints you encounter in this landscape in trying to reach your goals?	
Now, in the following part, I am interest in the means by which the organisation supports its activities in this landscape? **(Resources R)**		
R3.1	What resources does your organization have to support its activities in the landscape, in terms of staff, membership contributions, funding, manpower, materials..	
R3.2	To what extent are these resources sufficient to achieve the goals your organizations has set for this landscape?	
R3.3	Regarding staff, on what bases is the staff that is engaged in landscape activities, employed?	(f.e. volunteering, or paid)
R3.4	How does your organization manage to obtain these resources?	(f.e. via donations, own revenue?)
R3.5	How would you describe the relationship with you and the donors?	(f.e. restrictions, freedom, reporting)
R3.6	How big is your annual turnover?	
Now, I am interest in the structure of the organisation or the project carried out in the landscape **(internal Structure St)**		
St4.1	How is your organisation internally structured? In terms of: - Horizontal division (in departments of specialization) - Vertical division (in management levels / level of control) - Geographical dispersion (concentration)	(Ask for Organigram)
St4.2	Who leads the organisation?	(f.e. head of a village, founder, trained personal, common person)
St4.3	How would you describe the leadership of the organisation?	(f.e. top down or participatory)
St4.4	How do people get into leading positions in your organisation?	(f.e. appointed, elected, volunteering)

St4.5	What is the function of the leader of the organisation?	
St4.6	In regard to the landscape, can you describe the average constituency of your organisation, in terms of social class, profession, age, gender, …?	
St4.8	Is this membership/constituency open to anyone?	
St4.9	Is this membership/constituency voluntary?	(f.e. workers union)
St4.10	What do these members/the constituency do for your organisation ?	(f.e. standing by, making contributions, volunteering)
St4.11	Are there regular meetings between the leadership of your organisation and the members/constituency?	
St4.12	What happens at these meetings?	(f.e. information provided, members consulted, orga. policy discussions, voting)
St4.13	To what extent do members/the constituency participate in activities of your organisation?	
St4.14	To what extent do members/the constituency participate in decision making in the organisation?	
St4.15	How does your organisation make sure that it represents the views and serves the interests of its members/constituency?	

Relationships

B5.1	Who, for you, are the most important stakeholders of the landscape and why are they important for you?	

- Policy-Makers (district/regional/central)
- Other CSOs
- The media/journalists
- Comm. companies
- University / scholars /
- (International) donors

B5.2	In general, how would you describe your relationship with these "landscape" actors?	(fe. in terms of advice, support, conflict of interest?)
B5.3	How important is it to have informal connections with these actors?	
B5.4	To what extent does your organisation succeed in gaining access to decision making processes that regard the use of the landscape?	
B5.5	In regard to the landscape, at what level do you engage policy-makers ?	District/Regional/Central
B5.6	With what goal do you engage policy makers?	
B5.7	How do you engage them? For example, through: - Argumentation (lobbying, meetings, negotiate, deliberate) - Information (media, public) - Demonstration (protest, petitions) - Going to court - Cooperation (collaboration in networks) - Co-optation (working together with the state)	
B58	Does your organisation have success in influencing governmental actors?	
B5.9	What are major obstacles to involvement and success (influence)?	
B5.10	What are the most positive experiences in dealing with other landscape actors?	
B5.11	What are the most negative experiences in dealing with other landscape actors?	
Wrapping up (5 minutes)		

Are there any topics which we haven't discussed but which you think are important for the research?

Which people within this organization are relevant for me to talk to?

Could I get some general documentation on your organization (year reports, newspaper articles, publications by your organisation, etc.)?

FINAL: Do you have any questions for me, before we close the interview