Abstract

The modern wave of environmentalism that swept most of the Western world since the 1960s, has generated considerable academic interest and has been widely documented. However there are apparent gaps in the knowledge, understanding and academic coverage of the phenomenon in the developing world, particularly in Africa.

This thesis is an empirical exploration into the nature of environmentalism in Ghana, West Africa dwelling on the phenomena of environmental consciousness and movement activity.

It identifies the presence of a small yet viable indigenous environmental movement. The movement is most visible through the partnering and collective networking activities of small, institutionalized local organizations that came together to form coalitions, share resources and work together on broad thematic issues that were of common concern.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father Daniel Akyeampong (24/11/1938 – 07/03/2015), who was a great encouragement and support in life, and especially my education, but tragically passed away at the tail end of this work and didn't see it finished.

You are fondly remembered!

List of Abbreviations

AF	Abibiman Foundation
AfDB	African Development Bank
AU	African Union
AMV	Africa Mining Vision
CAFA	Civil Society Alliance for Fisheries Agenda
CEPIL	Centre for Public Interest Law
CEPS	Customs Excise and Prevention Services
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EMO	Environmental Movement Organisation
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FOE	Friends of the Earth Ghana
FOEI	Friends of the Earth International
FON	Friends of the Nation
GACCES	Gender Action on Climate Change for Equality and Sustainability
GBM	Green Belt Movement
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GSR	Golden Star Resources
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture.
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
NCOM	National Coalition on Mining
NREG	National Resource and Environmental Governance
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
TWN	Third World Network Africa
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission on Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.0 General Overview

In summary, this thesis aims at contributing to the knowledge and understanding of the environmental movement in Africa and presents itself as an *empirical enquiry* into the subject with Ghana as a case study. Furthermore it is an attempt to identify and characterize this environmental movement (and its components) in Ghana when evidence of its existence is gathered. As its stands the dominant literature on the subject of environmental movements, the theoretical frameworks that have formed the basis of its description, categorization and the subsequent discourses that have emerged in shaping social knowledge, have been largely western in origin. In short, modern environmentalism as we know and understand it is by and large a western construct. By the term 'western' I make reference mainly to Europe and North America, and in latter sections use the terms 'West ' and 'global north' interchangeably. Although there is available some degree of in-depth study on the phenomenon in the global south, particularly in East Asia, Southeast Asia and India, in comparison to the north, there appears to be a gap in scope and depth of the literature available.

A look at the situation in Africa shows an even greater disparity and it can safely be concluded that the environmental movement in Africa is an under-studied phenomenon. However in light of growing global consciousness and concern for the environment, and using the increasing activity of environmental groups and NGOs both indigenous and transnational as a presumption for possible movement activity, the timing for an in-depth and systematic study is right.

In probing further the perception of environmentalism as a western construct, I question the basis of postmaterialism, one of the dominant theories that emerged to explain the rise of environmentalism in the western world, as an argument fit to describe the nature of environmentalism in Africa. The choice of postmaterialism is interesting to me not only because the factors and conditions that support the main

hypotheses seem tempting to test in an African case both from an economic and security point of view, but I am also interested in the discovery of potential alternatives that may spring up in this enquiry. This means that in the event that there is an increase in environmental consciousness and concern for the environment in Africa, the question I am asking is what theoretical argument adequately explains it? Moving forward, my argument is that environmentalism in Africa may or may not be sufficiently explained by a western theory such as postmaterialism and, by way of a critique, a more plausible alternative might be needed.

By acknowledging the presence of a considerable amount of environmental "movement activity" in Africa, it is therefore possible to assume that a viable environmental movement may exist. The identification and description of this phenomenon ties in with the existing knowledge of environmental movements in the literature, which allows for the typology of both institutionalized and non-institutionalized entities as potent actors of the environmental movement. In this regard I align my arguments to the school of thought that the environmental movement's goals and targets, as well as strategies and actions, are hinged on the ability to mobilize resources and distribute them for collective activity. Thus, the position of the resource mobilization theory in helping to understand the African environmental movement is further examined.

I have chosen the West African nation of Ghana as my site of study and aim to use empirical data collected firsthand from the field to guide my characterization and description of the environmental movement in Ghana. As mentioned earlier, the ultimate outcome of this enquiry would be to identify, characterize and contribute to furthering the knowledge and understanding of the environmental movement in Africa and by extension, the global south.

1.1 Key Aims

In broad terms this thesis is aimed at achieving the following:

- Describing the nature of environmentalism in Ghana, particularly in establishing whether an environmental movement exists. It brings us a step closer to further understanding the nature of environmentalism in Africa and by extension the global south. To the best of my knowledge the environmental movement in Ghana has never been studied in a systematic manner before and there is no documented record of such a study.

- This attempts to fill a vital information gap in existing literature on environmental movements from Africa, which has been acknowledged by previous work that aimed at giving a global perspective on environmental movement activity (Doyle, 2005).

- It is envisioned that the output of this work will attract scholarly attention to the subject matter in Africa and stimulate academic debates and discussions that would include crossnational comparative studies of a north – south nature, and as well as south – south perspectives. This will see African case studies feature more prominently in academic discourses.

- Additionally, by throwing light on the viability of the environmental movement in Ghana, it is hoped that the critique of the structures of the movement actors, their strengths and weaknesses, would present an opportunity for some reflexive review. In other words the Ghanaian environmental movement actors, predominantly NGOs, have never had their work subjected to this sort of enquiry and scrutiny and may find that the conclusions and recommendations drawn stand to prove helpful for their future movements activity.

1.2 Rationale

In addition to the broad aims touched on above, I am motivated further to carry out this work by a number of reasons which includes the following:

- There has been previous academic discussion on the feasibility of a global environmental movement (Rootes, 1999; Doyle, 2005; Doherty and Doyle, 2006) and in the light of increasing 'global' environmental challenges such as climate change and rapid technological interventions such as the growing use of the internet which is useful for movement building, I am interested in how this discussion may evolve in the coming years as our knowledge of environmental movement activity from around the world increases.

- I am encouraged by Ghana's political climate, which has seen a remarkable growth of stable democracy over the past two decades when military dictatorships were abolished. In comparison to other neighbouring states in the politically volatile Sub-Saharan region, Ghana thus appears to play a 'leadership' role in the regions efforts at advancing democratic rule. The presence of a vibrant free press, multi-party politics and the absence of repressive authoritarian rule have created the enabling environment for the activities of civil society groups and NGOs that tackle a wide range of concerns. Governance and political climate have been found to be critical in social movement activity in Africa, in that repressive governments and dictatorships characterized by military rule and the absence of multi-party democracy have in the past suppressed social movement activity and consequently given little or no room for the development of viable environmental movements, as was the case in Nigeria as at the mid-1990s (Obi, 2005). A stable political climate does not by any means eliminate the occurrence or persistence of serious environmental challenges, but only more encouraging to the researcher that the environmental movement in Ghana may stand a chance of being more visible and easier to study within the confines of limited time and resources.

- In addition to the above-mentioned political 'leadership', a Ghanaian study to highlight the developments on the environmental dimension would strengthen its position of 'leadership' and example, as well as make it a

pioneer of comprehensive studies of environmental issues. Environmental issues have in the past been studied in the physical sciences, investigating the complex scientific bases of environmental problems, however the social dimension or the social science of environmental studies have been left largely untouched. An evidence of this even at the academic level is the possibility to pursuing a degree environmental science in Ghana's foremost and largest University; the University of Ghana, Legon, but offered no courses in "environmental Sociology or social Science".

- The study will shed light on the environmental issues and problems that are of prime concern to various groups of people, and such information would prove useful to the government in policy formulation as well as potentially draw attention to environmental regulatory gaps and inadequacies.

1.3 Research Questions:

For the purpose of this study I ask the following questions:

1. How widespread is environmental concern?
2. What are the issues of concern/who is concerned about what?
3. How have environmental groups/NGOs developed? (Domestic pressure/ foreign 'missionary' work?)
4. Is there an environmental movement in Ghana?
5. What are the chief obstacles to environmental groups' development and operation in Ghana?

1.4 Structure of thesis and chapter summaries:

Chapter 2: Environmental consciousness

This chapter focuses on the environmental consciousness as a prerequisite for environmental concern and movement activity. It reviews the literature on the rise

in environmental consciousness in the western world and the characteristic issues of concern, and contrasts that to an overview of the south and Africa. It establishes the western world's leading position in environmental consciousness in comparison to the south and espouses dominant theories that set out to explain the rise of environmentalism with a focus on Inglehart's postmaterialism theory, which will be later tested in the Ghanaian case.

Chapter 3: Environmental movements

This chapter serves as an introduction into the phenomenon of social movements and outlines what environment movements are, tracing their appearance and development of the modern environmental movement since the late 1960s. It sets out the definition and the key features that distinguish movement activity, notably the evidence of networking, collective identity, collective identity and collective resource sharing between the actors that form the movement. It draws heavily on the literature on environmental movements from the western world, particularly from the US and Europe, as means of highlighting their complexity and variety, but making an effort to characterise broad traits. It examines the theoretical basis of movement activity, highlighting the resource mobilisation theory. The latter half of the chapter focuses on the development of environmental movements from the global south and in particular from three African cases in Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda. The chapter concludes with a comparative outlook on environmental movements from the north – south divide, as well as some south – south comparison that shape hypothesis formulation to be tested in the Ghanaian case.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The methodology chapter outlines the methodological approaches, both qualitative and quantitative, adopted for this study and justifies their selection, as well as their pros and cons. It also clearly demarcates the scope of the study and makes mention of the limitations of the study.

This brief chapter throws light on the site of this study, examining relevant information on the environment, other demographics of interest that would sets the study in context, especially for the reader unfamiliar to the region. It also touches of the author reflections on the research process including the limitations.

Chapter 5: The Non-institutionalised environmental movement actors

This chapter considers the non-institutional dimension of the environmental movement in Ghana. In an attempt to appreciate it fully and to tease out critical features that may contribute to a wider understanding and conceptualization of the environmental movement, two case studies are considered. Incidentally both cases are community resistance and protests to environmental and other socioeconomic concerns. The communities studied are both rural and live in close proximity to mining activities and demonstrate how there is a high level of community discontent to the operations of large multinational mining companies, and also how they regard their livelihood as worse of and not beneficiaries of the lucrative proceeds of mineral exploitation.

Chapter 6: The Institutionalised environmental movement actors

This chapter begins with an examination of the profiles of the major environmental 'movement actors' identified. Of particular interest is the documentation their structure, strategies, methods of mobilisation, partnerships and issues of concern. It forms the basis of the identification and characterisation of the environmental movement(s) in Ghana, as a result of movement activity (networking, collective identity and collect action) that is identified between actors.

Chapter 7: Critical discussions

In this chapter I synthesize my findings and arguments, under two critical discussion sub-chapters, namely; 'the environmental movement in Ghana', 'questioning postmaterialism'.

The sub-chapter on 'the environmental movement' provides a generalized view of the environmental movement in Ghana, which is identified and discussed on the basis of the evidence of movement activity between the actors sampled. This incorporates both the themes and features of the institutionalized and non-institutionalized actors described earlier on. Furthermore it also attempts to characterize the environmental movement based on its thematic areas of influence or concern, with what I refer to as the 'anti-mining' movement being the most elaborate and prominent.

In questioning postmaterialism, the basic hypothesis of Inglehart's theory is put to the test as basis of environmental concern, comparing it with the research findings from Ghana. It serves as the basis of describing an alternate hypothesis of environmental concern.

Chapter 8: Networking in the Ghanaian environmental movement

This chapter follows on after the identification and classification of the environmental movement in Ghana. Of which there were four distinct subclasses characterized. The chapter examines the nature of networking within and between the environmental movements found in Ghana. It highlights the importance of networking to facilitate participation and enhance resource mobilization for the movement.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and recommendation

This concluding chapter charts the research process and clearly summarizes the key findings. It concludes with some reflexive and personal recommendations from the researcher including avenues for future research.

Appendices

The Appendices contain some field pictures, and some primary data that further clarify or supplement the information provided in the main body of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO – ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on emergence of environmental consciousness particularly in the Western world. It reviews the literature on the rise in environmental consciousness in the western world and the characteristic issues of concern, and then contrasts that to an overview of the nature of environmental consciousness in the global south, with special emphasis on Africa. It establishes the Western world's leading position in environmental consciousness in comparison to the South and espouses dominant theories that set out to explain the rise of environmentalism with a focus on Inglehart's postmaterialism theory, which will be later tested in the Ghanaian case.

2. 1 The rise in environmental consciousness: awareness and concern in the Western world

"If future generations are to remember us with gratitude rather than contempt, we must leave them something more than the miracles of technology. We must leave

them with a glimpse of the world as it was in the beginning, not after we got through with it"[1]

Environmental consciousness has in some ways always been a part of human civilisations (Krause, 1993:126), and as far back as the ancient Greek and Roman empires, some form of consideration in their architecture was made out of their understanding of environmental issues (Bell, 2009:158). By the middle of the nineteenth century, the booming industrial revolution of the western world left many worried about the fate of the rapidly changing environment. Malthus' essays drew an important connection between increasing population growth and the subsequent strain that it placed on subsistence living, echoing themes of 'conservation and natural resource management'. (Clapp, 1994:2; Pepper, 1996: 175). Henry David Thoreau, the "Patron Saint" of American Environmentalism (Buell, 1995:115), and others held a moral resolution that the environment ought to be returned to a purer and more pristine condition (Bell, 2009:164). Thoreau's assertions and preference for nature alluded to the fact that the selfish interests and materialistic desires had eventually left humans unconscious of nature, and continually developed society in disregard of its needs. In contrast, his view was that human exposure to the 'wild' would lead to the critical reversal and to the birth of a new 'natural consciousness'. This concept of 'natural consciousness' has resonated in the work of several advocates since Thoreau and played an important role in the formulation of modern environmental thought. In like manner, Aldo Leopold advocated the need to embrace a 'Land ethic' through which the role of human beings would revert from that of a conqueror to be an ordinary citizen of a land community (Clapp, 1994:6).

Other writers later favoured an ecocentric ideal – paying attention to the needs of the natural world for its own sake, rather than for the sake of humans. The core ecocentric value of these green advocates was that the natural world ought to be respected and treated with care (Pepper, 1996:15). Thomas Berry's (2009) conceptualised the 'earth community' as an antidote to human environmental

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[1] US President Lyndon B. Johnson, upon signing The Wilderness Act of 1964

'recklessness'. Earth community represents a point of view that shifts human focus from being outside the environment to one where, humans are but another group of constituents in a great community of living and non-living natural entities and ecosystems on the planet (Berry, 2009:4). This rejection of a nature/human dualism is shared both by 'deep' ecologists (Naess, 1997:3; Pepper, 1996: 17) and supporters of the Gaia hypothesis that regards the earth and all its parts as though it were a single living organism (Pepper, 1996:21; see Lovelock, 1987 and 1995).

The modern wave of environmental concern and awareness, especially in the developed world, can be traced to the 1960s with the awakening of the general population to the potential dangers of industrialisation. A period that sounded an environmental alarm to the rise of catastrophic environmental events and problems came with the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in the US. (Killingsworth and Palmer, 1996) The book took a hard stance on how the continued use of strong pesticides in agriculture would eventually lead to catastrophic problems (Bell, 2009:156; Krause, 1993:127). Carson's work is celebrated in the West as leading a considerable shift in public opinion and awareness of environmental concerns (Bell, 2009; Killingsworth and Palmer, 1996; Wills, 2013) and the ultimate "wake up call" for the post-war period (Wills, 2013:112). In the UK, the 1960s also marked the beginning of significant signs of a growing concern for the environment with the publication of newly created 'pro-environment' journal *The Ecologist* and especially by the publication of *The Blueprint of Survival* in 1972 in advance of the world's first international summit on the environment; the UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. This publication drew a lot of public attention to the need to restrain economic and technological growth, and the need for a radical solution to destructive effects of uncontrolled exponential growth in consideration of the world's finite resources (The Ecologist, 1972: 17), as well as being the period that marked the beginning of regular media coverage of environmental events (Clapp, 1994:8). The subsequent publication of the Club of Rome's report *The Limits to Growth* in 1972 also created considerable public attention by linking the potential interrelatedness and consequences of continued growth in industrialisation, pollution, food production and natural resource depletion (Meadows *et al*, 1972;

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Martell, 1994:24). In what came to be known as the 'limits to growth thesis', the central conclusion that influenced environmentalism in the day out of the different projections that were made from computer models, was that the level of growth in industrialised societies was not compatible with the finite nature of the world's natural resource availability and its capacity to absorb pollution in the face of rising populations, predicting a global crisis by the year 2100 (Meadows *et al*, 1972:50-55; Martell, 1994: 29). Although this modelling had its supporters and detractors (Martell, 1994:33; Sandbach, 1978:498; Meadows *et al*, 1992; Simmons, 2000; Turner, 2008) it represented the level of concern and promoted the public awareness of environmental problems.

Public awareness and concern was not uniform, however. Stern and Dietz (1994) identified three value orientations: social altruistic, biospheric and egotistic value. Egotistic values express concern about aspects of the environment that could directly affect an individual personally; social altruistic values explain environmental concern formed out of the awareness of the adverse consequences for others when nothing is done; biospheric values explain environmental concern that reflects ecocentrism, in which concern considers the effects on humans as well as non-human species (Stern and Dietz, 1994:70-71). Some have claimed that the egoistic orientation is the strongest basis for environmental concern (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002:245). This form of egoistic values are evident in the spread of *nimbyism,* the support for protests against environmental degradation and the rise of the environmental justice movement and anti-nuclear campaigns in the Western world (Welsh, 1993:16; McGurty, 1997).

The birth of modern environmental consciousness in the 1970s was followed by brief cycles of highs and lows, especially in the US (Bell, 2009: 167) but by the 1980s, environmental awareness had become popular, widespread and fashionable throughout the Western world (Yearley, 1991:1). This is supported by a 2007 Pew Research survey of 47 countries worldwide, producing significant findings that support the claim that the Western world has indeed developed a high level of

environmental consciousness and concern (Pew Research, 2007). The specific issues of concern in Western society have varied over time. These have ranged from issues of pollution, waste management and air quality, to more globalised issues of global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer. As well as concerns over the use of nuclear power, the use of animals in industrial experiments, the conservation of species and the protection of the country side (Yearley, 1991; Clapp, 1994; Norris, 1997).

Specific environmental problems like the depletion of the ozone layer and detrimental effects on the use of chlorine bleach were drummed into the public conscience by environmentalists using scientific explanations, as well as how the media was used a powerful tool to inform and convince the public of the newly found dangers and the necessary development of new values (Yearley, 1991:3). The use of imagery, for instance the picture of the earth taken by the US space mission *Apollo 17* was significant in shaping consciousness (Jasanoff, 20001). As Jasanoff (2001:310) puts it "the picture of the earth hanging in space not only renders visible and immediate the object of environmentalists' concern, but it resonates with the themes of finiteness and fragility, and of human dependence on the biosphere". The spread of environmental consciousness created a fashionable social phenomenon of 'being *green*' (Yearley, 1991:4).

The preference for *greenness* brought a transformation across many levels, particularly through changed consumer appeal for products that were deemed as ecologically friendlier (Straughan and Roberts, 1999). The relatively successful implementation of the ban of CFC containing products in the 1980s following its links with ozone depletion was facilitated by both the rapid release of alternatives by those with commercial interests and the consumption practices by the *green* conscious society (see Straughan and Roberts, 1999). However, others have found gaps between environmental knowledge and pro-environmental behaviour (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002:240).

The rise in environmental consciousness in the western industrialised world, which on the whole, as discussed above has been an increasing trend since the 1960s, has also been catalysed or sustained by a number of key factors and agents. The scientific community and the mass media have all been identified as having played a role in sustaining and increasing the levels of consciousness, as well as the important role of the concept of globalisation. Environmental concerns being a subject of globalisation[2] meant that the wave of environmental consciousness was bound to spread and engulf not only the affluent and industrialised states, but had the potential of reach the corridors of the poorer, less industrialised states of the global south.

2.2 Theoretical considerations: constructionism, causality and environmental consciousness

A specific definition of environmental consciousness may be an elusive task (Krause, 1993:129) however Rannikko's (1996:58) definition, as being the "concept through which the growth of environmental significance in western societies has been described" would suffice for this work. Before I enter the discussion of what I call the 'sustaining factors', of the rise in environmental consciousness. It is worthwhile to briefly touch on theoretical considerations associated academic discussions on the environmental consciousness and concern.

The issue of causality has been a central one for environmental sociologists, especially as the increased concerns with the environmental predicament took off and both an understanding of the 'problems' and 'solutions' were needed. It was important to develop an appreciation of what the environment is, the threats and problems, and appreciate what conditions have led to the present environmental predicament described above. Two broad schools of thought about the theoretical

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[2] Globalization as used by Yearley, 1996 referring to the 'consciousness of the world as a single place'. And the idea that "increasingly people are aware of themselves and of humanity as inhabitants of the one globe" (Yearley, 1996:1). This view is underpinned by processes such as global marketing and world-wide financial markets.

conceptualisation of the environment and environmental issues have been prominent. Realists viewed the incidence of environmental problems as a matter that needed urgent attention. From the realist point of view the environmental predicament was obvious, immediate and to a large extent, the consequence of societal organisation problems (Burningham and Cooper, 1999:299; Bell, 2009:196; Hannigan, 2005:30). On the other hand was the constructionist view of the environmental predicament, which placed a priority on attempting to understand what environmental 'problems' were in the first place. It was necessary in their view to first understand the framework through which a given society would 'think and relate' under certain conditions of environmental concerns (Burningham and Cooper, 1999) and how this relationship led to the what they eventually perceived as environmental problems and the ways in which they showed concern. The constructionist view was sharply criticised as being literally slow in appreciating the 'reality' of environmental concerns and made very little contribution to providing much needed and urgent solutions (Burningham and Cooper, 1999:299; Hannigan, 2005: 29). Additionally it was criticised as being capable of creating divergent views on causality of environment problems, and providing multiple interpretations that make it difficult to arrive at a consensus (Hannigan, 2005: 30).

Irrespective of the apparently divergent views of the constructionist and realist views of the environmental predicament, the constructionist-realist debate has in some ways advanced the cause of environmental consciousness. The environment and environmental issues have invariably gained considerable attention and it is almost right to unanimously claim that 'something is not right' despite the difference in opinion on causality and what can be done to address the issues.

Moving on from the conceptual consideration of the environment from either a realist or a constructionist view, the issue of causality raises critical question of how environmental problems arise in the first place. Two broad theoretical responses to this enquiry, that I subscribe to are an 'ecological explanation' and a 'political economy' explanation. The ecological explanation identifies that the natural environment has limitations in adaption to the capabilities of humans to alter and

change it (Milton, 1996:74). As far as human existence is concerned, environmental problems arise when there is an imbalance in the functions of the natural and when it is stretched beyond it limits to supply resources, contain the waste or accommodate rising populations (Catton and Dunlap, 1978; Hannigan, 2006:18-20). The ecological explanation embraces the Neo-Malthusian ideology that considers overpopulation as the principal pressurising force of the planet's life support systems to go beyond its limits (Catton and Dunlap, 1978). Overlapping and conflicting boundaries of the functions of the environment identified above also make the resultant environmental problems very complex.

On the other hand, the political economy explanations places an emphasis on how the preference for economic interests has driven the cause of over-production and over-consumption (Milton:1996:75; Gould et al., 1996). At the centre of this opinion is the assertion that governments have inadequately regulated the levels of consumerism and production at the expense of the environment. The imbalance between the pursuit of economic growth and environmental regulation by state governments is the basis for the political economy explanation of the environmental degradation (Gould et al., 1996:7; Rudel et al., 2011).

Beyond this debate on divergent views of causality, is also the attempt to explain the rise in environmental consciousness in the light of environmental problems. This has led to the formulation of several theories as 'postmaterialism', a 'paradigm shift', and 'ecological modernisation'.

The paradigm shift thesis centres on the potential of how a shift in the individual ideologies of the environment, backed by scientific knowledge, could lead to increased environmental concern (Moore et al, 1996:197). However the evidence of this has not been authoritative (Bell, 2009:174). Awareness also led to a population that appreciated the important connectivity between humans and the natural world; as being a part of and not apart from it. The paradigm shift theory falls in line with the considerations of humans developing a new 'natural consciousness' of the natural world and the need to live within the limits of the earth's carrying capacity,

echoing the views of writers such as Berry (2009) mentioned above, that human existence was only a part of a wide network of an earth community. The paradigm shift was a slow process that accounted for our increased environmental consciousness.

The theory of ecological modernisation appreciates the adverse effects that modern social life and institutions have had on the environment and how this recognition could lead to the improvement and reshaping of various social institutions (Bell, 2009:176). The crunch of the ecological modernization theory is how the shaping and reshaping of environmental concern effectively does not only occur at the level of individual ideologies, but at the level of social institutions and social practices (Spaargaren and Mol, 1992). The result of the reshaping process is the potential effect of a population developing an 'ecological rationality' that places ecological or environmental concerns above the mainstream economic, technological and political concerns that have dominated modern society (Spaargaren and Mol, 1992; Mol and Spaargaren, 2000). Ecological rationality brought about by ecological modernisation has the potential to repair and reshape the state of social institutions. From this background there is a huge potential for ecological modernisation to raise awareness of the missing *ecological ingredient*, and savour the prospects of the change in the future of the environment when the ideals of ecological modernisation are embraced in society (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000; Mol and Sonnenfeld, 2000). The effect of the environmental consciousness built on ecological modernisation is evident in steps taken especially in western countries for businesses and industries to become more 'ecologically considerate'. There has been an increase in the number of laws and regulatory instruments that guide and direct business and industrial operations. In favour of its position, the benefits of ecological modernisations have been described to reach beyond the pure environmental sentiments, and offers advantages such as cost reduction and financial savings when put in practice (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000; Mol and Sonnenfeld, 2000). Once again, the attractive ideals of this theory, as have other espoused before it, does not escape the criticism of the potential weakness the chief of it being the almost uncomfortable fit in merging the ideals of environmentalism and modernisation.

2.2.1 Postmaterialism

I would briefly place more emphasis on the elaboration of the postmaterialism theory, which would be tested, in the Ghanaian case later in this work.

Postmaterialism makes reference to the apparent change in the values of present generations owing to the general change in lifestyles and the material status of people. This recognises first and foremost the important role that human values play in shaping society and social action (Dalton, 1996:89). This thesis is largely made popular by the work of Inglehart (1977; 1990) advancing the idea that there was a growing and gradual shift in the values of society, particularly in the western world, leading to a change in social norms, a shift from traditional 'hierarchical relationships and deference' towards more decentralisation, quality circles, and participatory decision making' (Dalton, 1996:89). The relatively improved economic conditions of modern society afford people the opportunity to now focus on or develop values that go beyond those of wealth creation or making material gains. The material or physiological needs of individuals in society take topmost priority, as they are crucial for survival, especially when difficult economic conditions, characterised by unemployment, hunger and financial insecurities (Inglehart, 2005:98). This value shift embodies what Inglehart (1990:68; 1998:10; 2005:98) describes as the *scarcity hypothesis*. In that, individuals place the greatest value on things that are in short supply or difficult to come across. Consequently, when those valued objects are met or become commonplace, new values would eventually be formed. Following the end of the Second World War, western industrialised nations saw an unprecedented surge in affluence and the rapid satisfaction of material needs, as well as an associated rise in levels of education, information opportunities and welfare systems that played a role in influencing the values of society (Dalton, 1996:92).

The scarcity hypothesis is coupled with a socialisation hypothesis that recognises that the impacts of basic conditions that influence the pre-adult years of individuals in society persist for a long time (Inglehart, 1998:10). This means that societal values

would not change overnight as older generations born in a materialistic era would in an era of relative affluence be less influenced by the changing trend towards postmaterialism, as compared to the younger generation that were born in conditions of affluence and economic prosperity (Inglehart, 1990:92). As a result, a substantial change in societal values would occur when, over time, and in the presence of prevailing economic and physical security, the younger generation replace the old (Inglehart 1990:69).

The scarcity hypothesis sits comfortably with the notion that the relative affluence enjoyed by the western industrialised counties, in particular after the second world war, caused a gradual shift in focus from the material needs such as those of basic survival and economic security, onto post-material values such as freedom of speech and self expression, aesthetic satisfaction, and quality of life (Inglehart, 1990:68; Dalton, 1996:92) based on Maslow's theory of needs, which also argues that the satisfaction of an individual's basic needs leads to a shifted focus onto the satisfaction of higher order needs (Dalton, 1996:93; Anderson et al, 2007:137). The spread of environmental concern and sensitivities, as well as the increase in green consumerism (Dalton, 1996:93) and environmental activism (Rootes, 2004:619) is seen as evidence of the rise of postmaterialism.

Other academics such as Fitzmaurice (1991:142) also agree that the existence of a postmaterialist value change Ii advanced industrial societies is generally accepted. And that there seems to be a link between postmaterialism and the growth of environmentalism.

Figure 2.1 : The Maslovian Value Hierarchy

| Social and self-actualisation needs (postmaterialist) | •Aesthetic
  •beautiful cities/nature
•Intellectual
  •Ideas count
  •Free Speech
•Belonging and esteem
  •Less impersonal society
  •More say on job, community |
| Physiological needs (Materialist) | •Safety needs
  •Stronger defense forces
  •Fight crime
  •Maintain order
•Sustenance needs
  •Stable economy
  •economic growth
  •Fighting rising prices |

Source: Redrawn from Dalton R. J. (1996) *Citizen Politics: public opinion and political parties in advanced political democracies,* second edition, Chatham House Publishers: New Jersey. p 93.

Although this increasing trend in value change from materialism to postmaterialism was observed in the analysis of longitudinal post-war data in some Western industrialised countries (Dalton, 1996:97) the basis of explaining the rise in environmental consciousness through the ideas of postmaterialism especially based on a simplistic exposition of the scarcity hypotheses leaves a lot of room for enquiry.

It is interesting to use postmaterialism as the basis of enquiry of environmental concern in a non-Western Country like Ghana is because of the fact that no general theory about the emergence of environmentalism in developing countries seems to have gained wide recognition. Its dominance in literature (albeit on Western environmentalism) makes it interesting for me to interrogate. And moreover, the enquiry could rather lead to the process of the discovery of alternate hypothesis and theories.

One question that comes to mind is the viability of postmaterialism in explaining any observed increases in environmental concern in countries or societies that have low socio-economic conditions, particularly those situated in Africa and other developing

countries. Especially as some cross-national studies that have shown no significant correlation between the environmental concern between the richer developed nations and the poorer ones, also place an emphasis on the complex interaction of local conditions and cultural forces (Anderson et al., 2007:137; Aoyagi-Usui et al., Fatos, et al., 2001; 2003:24). This shows the complexity and difficulty of using one theory to attempt to provide a global perspective on environmental values, although that may not have necessarily have been the objective of Inglehart and his theory of postmaterialism. Rather, it has prompted the calls for the discovery of variants and alternative theories of understanding environmental values on a more localised (not globalised) scale (Hunter et al, 2010). There is the need now for more "localised research by examining environmental beliefs and perceptions as socially constructed in one particular setting" (Hunter et al, 2010:4).

I am interested in a bottom-up view on postmaterialism, that can be captured through primary empirical data from my research, and to gather from respondents opinions that can form the basis of the development of an alternate hypothesis as mentioned earlier.

Furthermore, I am interested in interrogating how sufficient the scarcity hypothesis in particular, would hold true or otherwise, in order to describe any rise in environmental concern in Africa as being postmaterialistic. This is against the general backdrop that Africa houses the poorest nations in the world and basic material needs may be an obvious first choice of concern in such developing climates. However it is again, interesting because although developing countries and regions such Africa may be materialistic, it houses some of the most acute environmental problems that could suggest that within its setting environmental concern may not be entirely absent (Hunter et al, 2010).

The interest in postmaterialism as it relates to African issues is not new, and some recent works have are inactive of how the theory has been tested in various enquires ranging from environmental behaviour to political behaviour and ideology

(Riverio, 2004; Hunter et al, 2007; Hunter et al, 2010; Franzen and Vogl, 2013; Olanya, 2013).

I will revisit the subject of postmaterialism and engage in a discussion using data collected from Ghanaian environmental movement actors, and ultimately contribute to understanding the basic question of why people are concerned about the environment.

2.3 Catalysts and sustaining factors

Having briefly examined the theoretical views of environmental sociology, the social construction of the environment, environmental concern and causality of the environmental predicament, I would return to the principal interest in the general rising trend of environmental awareness and concern, especially amongst countries in the global north. An examination of the rising trending in environmental consciousness since the 1960s would show how developments in other sectors like the scientific community served as catalysts and sustaining factors of the rising trend. I will engage in a brief discussion of three of these identified factors.

2.3.1 The scientific factor

The scientific community played an important role in stimulating environmental concern and awareness. Scientific knowledge is widely described in terms of the philosophy of 'logical positivism'[3]. In that it provides information and knowledge often through the process of observation and experimentation (Pepper, 1996:269). The mainstay of scientific research was that, findings were capable of being proven

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[3] The philosophy of 'Logical Positivism' was formalized by a group of scientists and philosophers known as the 'Vienna Circle' in the 1930s, which conferred respect and authority on the modern scientific method and doctrine. And as Pepper 1996 explains, it "held that intuitively, spiritually or emotionally derived knowledge was less valid and meaningful than knowledge that was verifiable by observation and experiment". Consequently it "followed that empiricism and reason should form the basis for social action and not subjective judgments" (Pepper, 1996:269).

through measurements and logical arguments and were devoid of emotional sentiments, personal intuition and subjective judgements (Hannigan, 2006:94). This process makes scientific research more verifiable and enhances the validity of the claims made. As a result the scientific researcher, is regarded as a 'detached' observer working to improve our understanding of nature and society (Pepper, 1996:269). Because of the of the relative absence of subjectivity in the work of scientists, the objective tag placed on the results of their work attracted a considerable amount of support as a means of attaining the truth. Consequently scientific researchers command respect and maintain a high reputation as the 'truth bearers' (Pepper, 1996:270).

Environmental issues that have managed to stay to the fore of public environmental concern have all emerged as a product of scientific research (Moore et al, 1996). The general awareness of issues such as global warming, loss of biodiversity and the effect of pollution have all been given some form of 'credibility' as valid concerns by the amount of scientific research that the preceded the public knowledge. In the wake of environmental consciousness, scientific knowledge was used as the backbone to justify the claims made about the environment, especially in an interpretive manner to get the lay population abreast with the gravity of the issues at hand. For instance the scientific basis of global warming as an environmental threat was interpreted in terms of the potential catastrophes such as floods and droughts, to help general comprehension (Hannigan, 2006). The scientific community evolved the role of communicating new information and developing trends on environmental issues that the public was already aware of. Based on authoritative scientific information, environmental activists and NGOs have made claims in favour of environmental protection. And the work of experts was often used to draft proposals and campaigns against the perpetrators of perceived environmental ills (Pepper, 1996:272), although there was the danger of exaggerating their claims on the basis of science to achieve set goals.

In line with growing environmental concerns, specialist scientific bodies were set up dedicated to advancing research to help understand the environmental problems at

hand. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), set up in 1988 as a body of expert scientists, has gone ahead to become the lead source of scientific information on climate change (IPCC, 2011). It is worth mentioning that scientific knowledge is not infallible and may even prove unreliable, disputed or contested (Yearly, 1992).

2.3.2 The mass media

The media played an important role in raising environmental consciousness among members of the public. As intimated above, the reach of the findings and concerns of the scientific community were extended by the work of the media. The mass media in all its forms, print and electronic, served as agents of environmental consciousness and played a significant role in the social construction of environmental problems (Hannigan, 2006:77), with the news thus made considered a form of constructed reality that is often postured and presented as "fact" or "truth" to a public that is far removed from the complexities of media practices and news production, and this influences the final product (Lester, 2010:60). Consequently, the media became a major window through which the public eye see the outside world. Because the story lines that are produced are often deliberately made to capture attention, make an appeal of a sort or solicit attention, environmental issues have hugely benefited from the media's appeal to consciousness (Dorji, undated).

Prior to the 1960s, the role of the media in advancing the spread of environmental concern could not be easily distinguished (Hannigan, 2006). However, the period of the late 1960s through the 1970s that saw a record of landmark events such as the celebration of the first Earth Day, regarded as the birth of modern environmentalism, and along with the general rise in concern about the environment, also saw the beginning of considerable media attention and journalists beginning to recognise environmental issues as major news items (Sachman, 2000). For instance in the US, media coverage of a number of acute, environmental

accidents in the late 1960s "provided striking visual images of birds soaked in oil and a river on fire - images of pollution that shaped public perceptions and awareness" (Sachman, 2000:1). The focus on event-centred media coverage has the biggest tendency to raise awareness of environmental issues, although such reportage may fall short of providing a full or deeper understanding of the broader processes taking place. The competing environment within the news making process in the media, which drives editors to be selective and chose stories that will conform to a chosen style and will 'win' audience and patronage (Chapman et al, 1997:37). In view of this, coverage of environmental events has often been structured to create an appetite for more information and making facts out of the issues presented and invariably campaigning for support and acceptance (Chapman et al, 1997: 38). And as a result environmental news may not necessarily be framed to capture the full picture (Dunwoody and Griffin, 1993:47).

Additionally environmental campaigners and activists have extensively used the media to organise their events and spread their views. Modern systems of campaigning demand that environmental campaigns organised are "media friendly" in order to be successful (Anderson, 1997:6). The mainstream environmental campaigners have seen considerable successes in collaborating with the media and receiving high media coverage (Hansen, 1993:153). One classic example is how Greenpeace responded to the proposed disposal of the Shell/Royal Dutch oil storage installation, 'Brent Spar' (Anderson, 1997: 6). The plans to effectively dispose of the Brent Spar by sinking it in the North Sea saw a huge resistance from Greenpeace and unprecedented media coverage of the potential hazard the proposal was to pose. The event became a huge media 'stunt' and the subsequent public outcry led to the withdrawal of the proposal in the end, and amongst other things, also recorded a firm demonstration of the power of the media to raise consciousness levels of the general public (Hansen, 2000:57). The potential hazard of the Brent Spar was later found to have been exaggerated by Greenpeace (Hansen, 2000:58). The above example also goes to show both how far the general public relies on the media for information and takes to heart what has been shaped and reported as truth, and how media reportage could be misleading when journalists make reports without

carrying out any independent checks or expert verifications (Anderson, 1997). This case is consistent with the claim that journalists do not necessarily report environmental risks but rather "news", which is shaped by values such as timeliness, proximity, prominence or quite simply human interest (Miller and Reichert, 2000:48). These apparent shortcomings of the media notwithstanding, it suffices to say that it does play an important role in raising environmental consciousness in the wider society. A specific enquiry into its potential would be made with the Ghanaian case in a later chapter.

2.3.3 Globalisation

The last factor I identify as being important to the spread of environmental consciousness is the effect of globalisation. Environmental issues have grown to become one of the most 'conspicuously global' issues amongst the contemporary cultural issues of our time (Yearley, 1996:ix) with attempts to understand, control and regulate the environment becoming more common.

The setting up of global trade organisations like the WTO, global markets and the general work of the UN are evidence of a globalised world. Likewise the growth in commerce and expansion of capital markets, which have played a role in the globalisation process, have made the world more compressed one than it was a century ago (Yearley, 1996:2). And along with this globalising process, came the concerns of the effects that it had on the environment, both positive and negative (Sonnenfeld and Mol, 2002; Esty and Ivanova, 2004). For instance the spread of western technologies from industrialised countries to the developing world bridged vital technological gaps, but however, in the same move it also brought about a rapid spread of the environmental concerns associated with industrialisation in these developing countries. The 'compression' of the world as a result of globalisation and the intensification of the consciousness of the world's environment being one whole, was the background appeal for common interest in environmental issues (Yearley, 1996:64).

The effects of globalisation can also been seen in increased references to a "global tag" in environmental discourse and nomenclature in such as 'global warming.' Environmental campaigners and protesters have capitalised on this, bearing globalised names such a 'Friends of the Earth', 'World Wide Fund for Nature' and 'Earth First!', as well as often making claims that their actions are for the benefit of a greater and global good of the environment (Yearley, 1996:ix).

Since 1990, there has been a significant rise in the number of supranational environmental institutions and the number of multilateral agreements produced for environmental regulation and protection (Sonnenfeld and Mol, 2002). The 1992 UN 'Earth Summit' in Rio de Janeiro was a landmark occasion where there was an almost unanimous acceptance on the global international sphere, that the environment was at risk and urgent attention was needed to address the imminent predicament (Yearley, 1996:62).

Despite the disparities in the consciousness levels identified between the developed and the developing worlds, a general sense of urgency and the acceptance that the environment was threatened and deserved attention had been achieved. The famous Kyoto Protocol adopted in 1995 as a guideline aimed at the reduction of global CO_2 emissions pays tribute to this disparity, in that commitments to firm legally bound emission reductions were made by only the block of developed countries categorized under 'Annex 1' of the UNFCCC Protocol. The involvement of world leaders or their representatives at these high level deliberations about the environment, which uses the channels of supranational organisations such as the EU or the UN, also demonstrates how globalisation has influenced the spread of environmental consciousness in a quick and transnational manner, as well as show the extent to which environmental issues have been robed into the international political sphere. In short, it is fair to say that environmental consciousness that essentially began and gained prominence in western industrialised countries has to varied extents become associated with other part of the world, even to developing

countries. The process of globalisation has accelerated the spread of this phenomenon.

2.4 Africa's environment: a case for concern

This section briefly considers the state of Africa's environment, as a prelude to my comparative consideration of environmental consciousness on the continent.

Africa currently faces the worst environmental challenges in the world (The Africa Society, 2008; UNEP, 2006; Ekpenyong, 2009) with predictions of the future state of the environment only set to become worse if drastic measures are not taken to avert or control the situation. This makes Africa the most vulnerable of all regions being affected by serious environmental problems, including deforestation, soil erosion, desertification, wetland degradation, and insect infestation (Mabogunje, 1995).

The apparent gap in literature about the status of the African environment prior to the 20th century resulted in vague preconceptions and an 'empirical void' in full understanding (Basset and Crumney, 2003: 4). However interest levels in the 20th century were raised with the birth of modern environmentalism. Timberlake's comprehensive overview in the 1980's led to a sharp criticism of the African environment as being 'bankrupt' and at 'crisis' point (Timeberlake, 1988:5). And after almost three decades, the bankruptcy and overdrawn 'environmental accounts' are still very far from recovery. Taking for instance the challenges that climate change may pose for the continent in particular, a lot of attention has been drawn to the need for immediate mitigation or adaptation measures that could be employed to help save the environment. One good reason that gives justification for the high level of concern that is needed is that, the continent is the least prepared in terms of its adaptive capacity to deal with environmental challenges (Boko et al., 2007:435). This scenario is worsened by the considerations of the multiple stresses occurring at various levels as well as the complex interplay of other challenges for instance; the developmental challenges of poverty, weak governance and institutional failings,

poor infrastructure, the occurrence of natural disasters and civil conflicts that have plagued the continent and pushed environmental concerns to the background (Boko et al., 2007: 435).

Africa's environmental woes are not necessarily a modern or recent development; some scholars have traced their origins to the onslaught of colonialism, a mark of western capitalism (Beinart, 2000: 270). The fall out of the famous 1885 division of the 'African cake' in Berlin resulted in the creation of artificial boundaries that disregarded geography, topography and traditional tribal lines that were already in place (Binns, 1994:2). Colonialism launched the African continent onto the path of consumerism and materialism, bringing it into the fray of the world's economic system of mass production and industrialisation (Binns, 1994:5). Subsequent colonial incursions including the use of newly introduced governance structures and the appropriation of resources, simulated and further forced the migrations of local peoples as their land and natural resources were taken from them. This eventually led to the displacement, or compression of African societies, which also had adverse repercussions on the environment (Beinart, 2000:272; Bassett and Crummey, 2003:14). In short, colonial capitalism was characterised by an uneven distribution of wealth and an unsustainable mass exportation of unprocessed raw materials exploited under the control of the dominant Western power and structures (Binns, 1994:5; Jamal and Weeks, 1993:23) – a drain on the African continent and a form of 'primitive accumulation'[4] (Kenedy, 1988:15).

Others have been critical of this view of western intervention in Africa, arguing that the capitalist mode of production did not penetrate into the core of indigenous African society with the exception of the few 'white enclaves', leaving most traditional institutions intact (Kenedy, 1988:16). And as such, this could not fully account for the claimed 'primitive accumulation'.

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[4] The discourse on Marx's notion of 'primitive accumulation' is wide, and not a primary focus in the author's argument. See further, a fairly recent and brief discussion of this notion under varying contexts – Glassman J. (2006) 'Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by 'extra economic' means', *Progress in Human Geography,* 30(5) p608-625.

The point to be made is that, however deep one wades into the debate of the politics and effects of colonial capitalism and exploitation of natural resources, Africa's industrial wave that followed colonialism had dire consequences for the natural environment. And it is on the basis of this, that I agree that Africa's present environmental degradation still echoes the effect of the capitalist and materialistic tendencies that drove European colonial exploits.

Another interesting dimension about the environmental degradation of the African continent is the almost equal concern about the part that is played by both natural systems as well as the effects of human activities (African Society, 2008). Complex maritime and terrestrial interactions control the African climate producing a range of sub-climates, from humid tropics to the very arid Sahara regions across the continent (Boko et al., 2007: 436; Williams, 2003:32). The extreme climatic conditions results in both spatial and temporal variability of rainfall, which presents challenges for the availability of water and the survival of the agricultural sector, producing a range from cold, dry and windy to warm and wet weather patterns (Williams, 2003:32). Anomalies in rainfall patterns, and changes in hydrology and runoff water on the capacity on the land leads to both increased occurrence of droughts in some localities and floods in others.

The changing climate particularly from reduced rainfall has resulted in the continuous downward shift of the dry savannah zones, which have persisted since the second half of the twentieth century and continue to threaten an increasing portion of the continent south of the Sahara by desertification, as well as a loss of animal life that depended on forest cover (Boko et al., 2007:439) Other natural phenomena that have dire consequences for the environment are earth tremors and quakes, and active volcanic activity that are common in the Rift Valley region of the continent (African Society, 2008).

Consequently, about 25 per cent of the African population currently faces severe water stress and in areas where there is a relative abundance of water, other

concerns of its suitability for human consumption caused by high levels of pollution are also rife. This will not only affect agriculture but also the general vegetation cover across the continent (Boko et al, 2007:436-437). The dangers of having the majority of the population dependent on rain-fed agriculture as their economic mainstay, and directly relying the physical environment as the source of basic survival, was established in early accounts written on the African environment when in the 1950s the human population was a mere 175 million (Steel, 1955:7). The pressures put on the environment have since aroused concerns about sustainability and the limited carrying capacity of the environment to accommodate the growing population densities (Steel, 1955; Timberlake, 1988; Bassett and Crummey, 2003). This falls in line with a Malthusian paradigm about the population-degradation relationship, especially when after fifty years when the population has quadrupled, and the dependence on rain-fed agriculture and unsustainable agricultural practices remain.

The concerns about a degraded African environment have greater and direct linkages to the total health and well-being of the population than any other continent. The likelihood of a surge in malaria which has been a huge health battle yet be won, is a worrying trend since the vectors of this deadly disease would find the warming and polluted environment more favourable to breed (Boko et al., 2007:437). Other concerns born out of continued environmental deterioration is its capacity to destabilise large human settlements, forced migrations and the potential for conflicts and 'resource wars' (WRI, 2009).

However as mentioned earlier, the 'natural' changes of Africa's climatic system are not the only factors to be considered. The earlier established role that humans play in environmental degradation when considering the global outlook, is also the case within Africa. Human interactions with nature have cased continuous degradation without commensurate measures of conservation or replenishing the natural stock. Bad agricultural practices – a major factor; such a over-cropping, the careless introduction and spread of invasive alien species, deforestation and the use of bush fires for hunting are but a few of the human activities that adversely impact the

environment resulting in what Aubreville described as the "*savannaisation*" of forested lands (Bassett and Crummey, 2003:11).

The rapid industrialisation and urbanisation within Africa as well as the increasing population level have all taken a negative toll on the environment. The anthropogenic factor, which plays a huge role in explaining the source of problems of Africa's environment, extends beyond the region. For instance when considering the pertinent issue of climate change, Africa is set to suffer most although the human induced causes of this are found to be greater in the western world. Africa has historically and proportionately contributed the least to the global atmospheric GHG emissions, but ironically would bear the biggest brunt of the environmental consequences (Henson, 2008:31-40; Africa Society, 2008; UNFCCC, 2008). This disproportionate situation of the cause and effect of climate change in Africa, coupled with the reality of the continent's poor capacity to cope, explains to some extent, how the basis of concern for the problems of the African environment legitimately extend beyond its borders. The increased activity on the problems of the African environment by the international community, evidenced by the UN having its specialised arm for the environment, the UNEP'S establishing its head offices in Nairobi, Kenya, as well as the plethora of international NGOs and organisations that are working in the nature protection bid may serve, as an indication that despite the identified disparity between environmental consciousness between the developed world and Africa, the work on the ground has began in earnest and a bridge is being built to close that gap. Environmental NGO activity at the local and national level, is an issue of interest that will be re-visited in subsequent sections, paying closer attention to Ghana.

2.5 The Nature of awareness and concern

It is worth noting, that despite the perceived low levels of awareness expressed about the state of the African environment (Ekpeyong, 2009; Conserve Africa, 2011),

some level of concern and efforts to protect it from destruction are not totally absent. Although there is a lack of a general consensus on the roles that factors such as socio-economic conditions play in helping to explain environmental behavioural trends (Anderson et al., 2007:133), recent studies conducted in South Africa show that the socio-economic conditions within a locality hugely impact the basis for environmental concern (Anderson et al., 2010) and this lends a helping hand in capturing an African point of view. South Africa is seen as one African country with a relatively high awareness of environmental issues (Berndt and Petzer, 2011) however, despite this claim and the huge economic strides made, as well as effort made at improving the quality of the environment, ranging from the introduction of 'pro-environmental' polices such as the efforts to institutionalise climate change concerns in mainstream municipal plans (Roberts, 2008:533), to having 'environmental rights' that have been enshrined in the constitution (Republic of South Africa Constitution, 1996: Chapter 2). It still remains a country with two active parallel societies consisting of the richer, relatively developed white communities, and the poorer, under-developed/developing black community (Anderson et al, 2007:134), of which the latter, has environmental conditions that mimic the rest of rural or sub-urban Sub-Saharan Africa, and as such could by and large be a good representative sample. The study found out that in instances where concern for the elements of the physical environment have been advocated as being worthy of protection, the driving force had been an underlying issue of a greater socio-economic importance that had a direct impact of human welfare. For instance the lower standards of living for the African communities and the lack of clean water and proper toilet facilities, meant that they were consequently more aware of problems of water pollution and regarded it as a community problem (Anderson et al., 2010:24). The household circumstance of the local populations was found to be very important in determining how aware and concerned the local people were about environmental challenges. Environmental issues that were directly related to a household employment or source of income were consequently an issue of concern. As such, rural farmers were more likely to regard land degradation as environmental problems as compared to urban dwellers that depended less directly on the land (Anderson et al., 2010:15). In a similar manner the geographical proximity of a

community to an environmental hazard or form of degradation also created the opportunity for increased awareness about that particular issue (Anderson et al., 2010). This paints a basic picture of the possible linkage of how environmental concern could be borne out of the realisation of both the indispensable role the environment played in shaping the socio-economic life of a community, and larger role that the physical environment plays in supporting basic human survival.

Within South Africa's 'parallel' society, although there was found to be a higher level of environmental awareness and concern amongst the white community, which had higher standards of living, the research findings (Anderson et al., 2007; Anderson et al 2010) clearly showed how the poor black community despite its lower standards of living had developed significant awareness and concern for environmental issues. The relatively higher levels of environmental consciousness for the former, echoes the dominant views of postmaterialism and how environmental concern was regarded as being a consequence of the attainment of higher standards of living as found in rich, developed countries (Inglehart, 1995). Environmental consciousness amongst the under-developed, poorer black communities demonstrates the plausibility of a paradigm shift in the development of an environmental concern that effectively flaws the arguments of the proponents of postmaterialism as the basis of environmental concern, giving credence to the assertion that environmental concern was not an issue only for whites or the rich, but was also found in developing communities (Dunlap et al, 1993). As mentioned earlier, the question of whether postmaterialism forms a reasonable the basis of environmental concern will also be re-visited later in the Ghanaian case study.

The education levels of the constituents of a society have been found to play a role in both the levels of awareness and the concern that leads to action. With reference to the work of Anderson et al (2010), the educational status of community residents was not found to be a vital precursor for environmental awareness or perception per se, but was however found out to be important in determining or steering environmental action such as a household's active participation in recycling measures. In short, despite the significant levels of environmental consciousness,

low levels of education could derail environmental action. Ekpenyong (2009) maintains that the general low levels of environmental awareness and concern have a direct correlation to the low levels of education across the continent. This is seen as a significant barrier to the attainment of sustainable development (Conserve Africa, 2011). Education provides the opportunity to shape the attitudes of the population to appreciate the current facts about environmental degradation and the need for proactive measures. The solutions to contemporary problems of improper waste disposal and indiscriminate littering may very well begin with increased awareness, which education has a role to play (Conserve Africa, 2011). This latter point on the possible role of education expresses the need for education not only as the product of the formal 'classroom' structures, but also extends to the campaigns that can effectively delivers a similar output.

The talk about the nature of environmental awareness and concern in Africa would be incomplete without making mention of the work of the various NGOs and environmental groups that play almost a pioneering role in this bid. Environmental groups have been in operation Africa from since the colonial periods, when initial attempts to regulate and protect natural resources of interest came to the fore (Bassett and Crummey, 2003:14). I classify the work of environmental groups and NGOs as being either *indigenous* or *non-indigenous*, indigenous in the sense that the group originates and operates within a national context. The course of their work may eventually lead to the formation of linkages and partnerships beyond the national level, however in that instance it would be a South to North partnership that would meet the needs and aims of the group within that national context. The nature of these partnerships and linkages are crucial in defining a developing environmental movement. The concept of an environmental movement within the workings of environment organisations and groups would be discussed into detail in subsequent chapters.

What is therefore meant by non-indigenous groups are multinational groups that originate or have a 'parent' group outside a particular national context, but may have 'branches' or splinter groups working within that nation. For the purpose of this

discussion, these groups include foreign government agencies that have environmental outreach programmes in other countries. There are a considerable number of these NGO's and groups that have a foreign links or are themselves branches of a larger parent body. They therefore often form North to South partnerships with indigenous groups in the southern nation to achieve their set aims and goals. The experience in Africa has shown that both indigenous and non-indigenous environmental groups have been at work, with non-indigenous ones taking the lead in the nature protection bid undertaking a variety of projects and activities since the 1920s when the first nature reserves were created in Southern Rhodesia (Bassett and Crummey, 2003:14).

Additionally, foreign governments that have placed an emphasis on working to improve the African environment have also made a laudable contribution to raising levels of environmental consciousness, and complemented the non-indigenous effort, with the US government actively at the forefront (Africa Society, 2008). Recent reports about the huge achievements that have been made by such groups ultimately mean that the role of 'external influence' in promoting environmental awareness on the continent cannot be underplayed. Groups such as USAID have been active on the continent and successful in running several sustainability programmes. Its work in East Africa, particularly in Kenya and Uganda has led to the protection of over 7 million hectares of forests (USAID, 2009; The Africa Society, 2008).

Besides the work of foreign government agencies as USAID, a number of non-indigenous environmental organizations have been instrumental in raising awareness and concern in Africa. Notable of these is the Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) which plays a key role within the transnational environmental movement as the "most significant semi-institutionalized network including large numbers of groups from both North and South linked by shared commitments to environmental justice" (Doherty, 2006:862). Present in 71 countries, FOEI's unique federal structure features giving each of its members equal representation in decision making and its drive to address social and political inequality that may be at

the root of environmental problems particularly in the global south, has given it a broader appeal and strengthened its Southern partnerships (Doherty, 2006:862). The emphasis on addressing issues of social justice including problematic issues of food sovereignty, economic and climate justice (FoEI, 2011), have given it a broader base of operation cutting across borders in Africa, instead of focussing on single issue campaigns that may not be common across boarders. In relation to other big multinational environmental NGOs that have been involved in working in the global south, FoEI is consequently credited with being the most feasible in negotiating a common identity between members from Northern and Southern countries (Doherty, 2006:862) and thereby enhances the possibility of organising effective transnational campaigns.

Indigenous African environmental NGO's have also found their place in the sustainable development bid, often filling a vital developmental gap that has been left by most African governments (Cherrett et al., 1995:29). In response to the notion that in Africa environmental concerns are intertwined with socio-economic issues, there has been a clear focus on 'sustainable development' instead of purely 'environmental' ones. However despite the apparent shift in focus, there has been the tendency for Northern partners to inevitably drive the agenda and activities of southern partners (Cherrett et al., 1995:30). Southern groups have depended heavily on the resources and funding of northern partners in an almost one-way direction (Malhotra, 2000:658) which tentatively turns the partnerships into a power relationship, where the interests of northern partners are eventually pursued instead of those that may be directly in the interest of the local people. This situation often causes rippling tension between grassroots groups that develops different ideologies as being better representatives of the environmental concerns of the local people, and the professionalised indigenous groups who are quite harshly, the pawns of their northern partners (Cherrett et al., 1995). In the face of dwindling financial resources available to northern environmental groups, Malhotra (2000) believes that a re-evaluation and subsequent shift of focus from the aid-dependent relationship that dominates most North-south NGO partnerships, to one that is built on established core universal interests in socio-economic problems, is

vital for the future of transnational NGO activity in a and the possibility of creating a transnational social movement.

Moving the discussion forward, a look at Africa's political systems reveals other facets that have made it a 'limiting' factor for environmental concern. The post-colonial governance system in Africa was wholly an adoption of what was handed over to them: a system which favoured modernity and the eventual disregard for indigenous knowledge and traditional land uses systems of the local people which may have pushed for a more considerate use of the environment. (Jamal and Weeks, 1993; Bassett and Crummey, 2003) A general economic collapse that followed Africa's emancipation from colonial rule catalysed its rapid environmental degradation (Timberlake, 1985:181). The results of inappropriate policies and the threat of political instability for most countries meant that the simple means of survival became problematic, leading to a growth in subsistence and survival agriculture, and consequently to the overexploitation of natural resources and environmental degradation (Mabogunje, 1995). Another problem at hand was the rising debts that came with striving to meet the demands of industrialization. Devalued local currencies often led to the overdependence on the mass export of unprocessed raw material to western countries in exchange for foreign capital, which placed extra pressure on an already stressed environment (Mabogunje, 1995). The presence of weak governance and legal structures and policies have left gaps that are exploited by some foreign countries to the further detriment of the African environment. For instance China has emerged as a huge investor in the continent operating in environmentally sensitive sectors such as construction and mining, and usually adopting standards that are internationally below par (Bosshard, 2008:5).

Another issue of relevance worth discussing is the poverty levels prevalent in many African societies. The discourse on the link between poverty and environmental degradation has been extensive. The dominant view on the subject has been that poverty and environmental degradation exist in an almost cyclic relationship where the presence of the former leads to the latter (Duraiappah, 1996; Lufampah, 2005; Comim et al., 2009; Amechi, 2010). This twin-problem is a huge concern in Africa

because of the fact that there is a relative rapid population growth across the continent; in countries where majority of the population depend on low-productivity, rain-fed agriculture for their livelihood and source of income (Lufampah, 2005:367). Additionally, inadequate economic policies threaten the development of sustainable agriculture that will employ advanced and efficient agricultural technologies (Lufampa, 2005:367). The poor and rural communities are known to bear the brunt of environmental degradation, and are only set to have their conditions worsen when naturally, the need for basic survival supersedes any other concerns of environmental protection or sustainable development. Efforts aimed at sustainable development and poverty reduction, including policies, programmes and legal interventions, for Africa cannot be successfully achieved without having as an integral component, measures to address environmental degradation (Comim, 2008:5; Amechi, 2010:115).

Another important matter that has had an impact on the levels of environmental concern on the African continent is the unusual gender relations that exists and how these gender roles affect the environment. In Sub-Saharan Africa, women are regarded as having the potential of playing a vital role as both producers and active agents of sustainable development (Tiondi, 2000) in that women are known to be caretakers of the community and contribute most of the labour that is needed for farming (UNEP'S, 2007) and performing post harvest activities. As a result women are important primary agents who can promote or stifle the efforts of environmental management that leads to sustainable development. Discourses on women and the environment have observed that women are naturally better disposed to care for the environment than male counterparts (Jackson, 1993). Women are regarded as more gentle, patient, caring and possess the instinctive potential to nurture and 'heal' the broken environment, taking care of it in sustainable manner in comparison to men (Jackson, 1993:1948). However, despite the important and active roles that women play in agriculture, their knowledge and experience are seldom tapped in drawing up sustainability programmes (Tiondi, 2000). This coupled with unequal access to endowments such as land rights, decision making powers,

capital and support services create a disparity that results in lower levels of productivity than that of men (UNEP'S, 2007). Rethinking the traditional roles of women especially in agriculture, and addressing the disparities in the privileges accorded men could result in ensuring that they play a more active and potent role in community based sustainability projects, that are beneficial to the environment.

Figure 2.1: How work is divided in Cameroon between men and women.

Percentage of total labour in hours
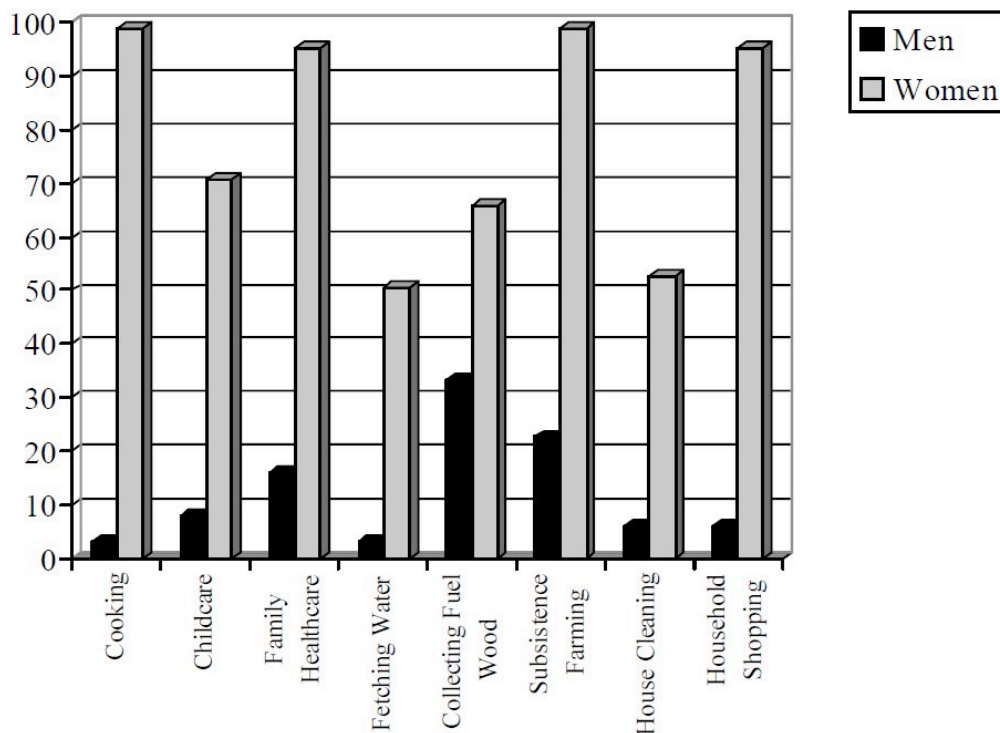
Reproduced from Sikod, F. (2007) 'Gender Division of Labour and Women's Decision Making Power in Rural Households in Cameroon, ' *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3.

Yet another limiting factor that I would briefly discuss, following the recognition of the gender dimension, is the fact that African values and cultural systems in general have been identified to play a role in shaping environmental consciousness; values and ethics that have largely been disregarded in mainstream environmental protection bid. Many indigenous African societies are considered to have some form of traditional management systems in place stemming from some cultural belief systems on environment (Ojomo, 2011:107) which apparently makes them exploit natural resources in a sustainable manner. And on that basis, indigenous knowledge promises to contribute positively to the discourse on sustainable development and

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re-shape the activities of community based environmental NGOs in a 'bottom-up' fashion (Fernando, 2003).

2.7 Conclusion

The western world has developed an established high level of environmental consciousness since the modern wave of environmentalism that began in the 1960s. The use of scientific knowledge, the mass media and the trends of globalization have made environmental consciousness spread beyond the West and is picking up in the developing world, especially in Africa where environmental challenges appear to be of grave concern. Africa's lagging position in environmental consciousness, notwithstanding, has developed appreciable levels of environmental concern, especially when environmental challenges are linked to the socio-economic sustenance of a community, as seen in the South African example.

CHAPTER THREE – ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

3.0 Introduction

Environmental movements have attracted attention as formidable social movements since the late 1960s, which is widely regarded as the origin of modern environmentalism. Growing interests and studies into this phenomenon have led to very strong convictions that the movement is the most "comprehensive" and influential in modern history (Doherty and Doyle, 2006:697). A review of the available literature apparently points at the fact although it is relatively 'young', it can be said that it is a well-studied social phenomenon in the western world. The interesting, diverse and complex nature of environmental movements that have been captured, lends a hand in understanding the movement characteristics and key features that distinguish it from other social movements. However, in the same breath it also indicates the potential for further study in understanding other features of this relatively 'young' movement and its influence in shaping society (Doherty and Doyle, 2006:697).

This chapter will provide a general view of what environmental movements are – their *appearances on the ground*. I will look into what definition of the movement will suffice and the key characteristics that make it distinct. I will briefly examine the underlying theoretical considerations that explain their formation and existence, as well as present within the broader context, environmental movements to be metaphorical *subsets* of the broader umbrella of social movements. Drawing largely on the literature and examples from the geo-political sphere of the global north or western world as it were, selected features of environmental movements such as the scope of their activity would be explored, at the local, national and the transnational levels. Other features such as the levels of institutionalization, methods of mobilization and the range of issues that appear to be of concern to them will also be explored.

For the purpose of this work, the view from the western world is captured in this chapter by making brief references to seven selected countries in the global north

which have had their environmental movements relatively well studied. The overview places an emphasis on their formation as a means of contributing to out understanding of environmentalism and the emergence of environmental movement as a whole within the geo-political sphere of the Western world.

The chapter is not a comprehensive account of environmental movements in the west, neither does it provide a full and detailed overview of the movement characteristics and features, as it has been more thoroughly discussed in previous work (eg. see Rootes, 1999; della Porta and Kriesi, 1999) but rather stands to provide an *informative glimpse* of what environmental movements are in a broad descriptive manner. The focus on the global north throughout the development of the chapter prepares the tone for the introduction of the 'alternate view' of environmental movements in the global south and particularly in Africa by considering three cases: the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in Nigeria and the Green Belt Movement (GBM) in Kenya, which are the most internationally known environmental movements from Africa, and the third, a more recent account of the Save Mabira Crusade (SMC) in Uganda.

The chapter concludes by summarizing broad comparisons of the observed traits of the environmental movement within the two geo-political spheres: north and south. In doing so, I will clearly outline my hypotheses formulated form the comparisons, which I am interested in testing in the Ghanaian case.

3.1 Environmental Movements

Environmental movements have been described as some of the most powerful and influential social movements of the 21st century and are observed to be some of the most enduring movements of the "new social movements" that arose in the industrialized western world in the 1960s though to the 1980s, increasing in popularity alongside the general growth of environmental concern (Doyle, 2005). Their endurance and potential to bring about a change in society, make in-roads into the political agenda of many industrialized countries with liberal democracies and

the potential of its development into a global social movement have been of interest to many scholars in the field.

The foundations of environmentalism and environmental movements can be traced as far back as the eighteenth century to the period where preservationist concerns about declining game species in some countries such as the US drew attention to the perception of a deeper relationship between humans and nature, and which led to the establishment of game reserves (Rootes, 2004:612). This developed alongside conservationist ideals, which sought for a better and considerate exploitation of natural resources as demands for environmental protection grew. The establishment of the Sierra Club, America's first grassroots environmental organization, in 1892 was a landmark in this regard and an important contribution to the development of the environmental movement today through the campaigns that it runs in favour of protecting nature reserves (Bell, 2009).

A more modern history of the environmental movement would be traced to the late 1960s and 1970s when they became increasingly popular and mobilized broad support (Bell, 2009:156). It is interesting to note that there was a parallel increase in scientific understanding of the detrimental impacts of industrialization on the environment and the proportions of highly educated people that could relate to the scientific knowledge that was available, which may have served as a catalyst for driving the movement (Rootes, 2004:612). Scientific knowledge formed the basis of the understanding of environmental problems and the authority backing the claims made by environmental movements (Hannigan, 1995:76). In this regard Yearley (1991:115) comments on the account of western environmentalism that the "green case is a profoundly scientific case". However the absolute authority of science is questionable as a means of making environmental claims and does not go without its criticisms. Another important catalyst for the development of environmental movements was the use of the media to spread claims and concerns (Hannigan, 1995:62; Rootes. 2004:612). The surge in environmental news reporting both in Britain and America in the 1960s and 1970s played a major role in popularizing environmental problems and movements that evolved around them (Hannigan,

1995:62). The role of these so-called 'catalysts' will be re-examined in the next chapter.

An attempt to define what an environmental movement is may prove problematic mainly because of the diversity between the various movements that are 'environmental' and the complex nature of their structure, membership and methods of operation when they are studied in detail. The difficulty in delimiting a concise definition for the phenomenon, leaves it as a rather broad and vague term (Rootes, 1999:2).

One school of thought considers the environmental movement as agents of social change that operate within time periods of dramatic social change (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: 103). This consideration in effect places emphasis on what I will call the critical period of the movement's 'life' which is delimited to the phase when the knowledge interest that define the movement are developed, up until the movement becomes institutionalized. The 'knowledge interest' represents both the issues of concern and commonality. Supporters of this view argue that the movement's intellectuals are bound by specific interests which give it an identity, and which eventually become the driving force for their collective action, and as such a subsequent institutionalization or fragmentation into specialized groups would lead to a conflicting relationships that threaten the viability of the movement in the long run (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). In short the institutionalization of the movements is a contradiction in its terms and would symbolize the 'death' phase of such a movement. This argument makes the conceptualization of a continuous environmental movement problematic.

On the other hand, there is the support in the literature of the perceived existence of the environmental movement beyond the process of institutionalization. This view has led to Diani's (1995) definition of the environmental movement, which regards the movement as a 'network of informal interactions that may include, as well as be individuals and groups who have no organizational affiliation, [and] organizations of varying degrees of formality that are engaged in collective action

motivated in shared identity or concern about environmental issues' (Diani 1995:5). I find Diani's exposition as a critical step beyond the boundaries put in place by Eyerman and Jamison, making it feasible to see the life of the environmental movement beyond its possible institutionalization.

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In essence and in the simplest terms, an environmental movement can be described as the collective aggregation of individuals or groups (movement actors), formal or informal that are engaged in collective action and motivated by a shared identity or concern about an environmental issue(s).

In the environmental movement, "collective action consists of any goal-directed activity engaged in jointly by two or more individuals. It entails the pursuit of a common objective through joint action – that is, people working together in some fashion for a variety of reasons, often including the belief that doing so enhances the prospect of achieving the objective" (Snow et al, 2007:6)

</div>

Textbox 1.1: Defining an environmental movement

The institutionalized / non-institutionalized dimensions of a movement can be distinguished in two elementary ways; first from its constituting movement actors and secondly by the nature of collective action shared between actors.

The institutionalization of a movement is the shift from loose informal interactions of the movement actors, as earlier described by Eyerman and Jamison, (1991) to more specialized, formalized and professionalized interactions and actors (Jimenez, 1999:151). The formalization of both actors and the interactions between the actors of a movement results in the formation of specialized groups, and movements that can be outwardly recognized as organizations (Jimenez, 1999:151). The institutionalized movement can also be described in terms of the fact that the shift towards formalization leads to the dominance of "institutional-based" actors that utilize "institutional channels" for collective action, such as lobbying and soliciting campaign contributions (Snow et al, 2007:7). Consequently, as the process of institutionalization progresses "conventional forms of action and negotiation with authorities prevail" (Jaminez, 1999: 151). And as a result collective action in an

institutionalized movement is usually normatively sanctioned and seen as "constituted groups acting in the name of goals that would hardly raise an eyebrow" (Tarrow, 1998:3).

The non-institutionalized movement, on the other hand evokes the idea of loose, temporary collectives that aggregate for collective action (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991) and act as agents of social change. The actors in this regard are not formalized or professionalized and collective action often falls outside of institutional channels (Snow et al, 2007:7). This involves action that appropriates "public and quasipublic places for the purposes other than those for which they were designed or intended" (Snow et al, 2007:7). Furthermore, such non-institutional collective behaviour refers to "group-problem solving behaviour …ranging from protest demonstrations, to behaviours in disasters, to mass diffuse phenomena, such as fads and crazes, …and even revolution".

Some of the broad features of the institutionalized and non-institutionalized movements are summarized in table below.

Descriptive features / viewpoint	Institutionalized movement	Non-Institutionalized movement
Managerial perspective	- Professionalized /formalized actors - Lobby organizations - Acknowledged societal actors	- Fundamentalist grassroots activists - Social misfit / critics - Militant mass protesters
Ideological profile	- Less confrontational - More dialogue - Preferred co-	More confrontational/ demonstrative

		• Less dialogue
	• operation with state • More sensitive to public issue cycles / shift in political climate	
Organizational profile	• Active marketing / branding methods • Career campaigners • Use of expertise/experts • Financial mobilization channels • Regular Supporter / membership based • Hierarchical / formal positions / leadership • Long term	• Volunteer based • Sporadic / reactive • Informal positions / leadership

Summary table drawn by author (Sources: Rootes, 1999b; Brand, 1999; Tarrow, 1998; Rootes, 2004).

Institutionalization of a movement therefore would not necessarily represent the 'death' of the movement as earlier claimed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991) but may very well add up to the diversity and complexity that environmental movements practically are. The lynchpin of the movement would be what Diani (1995) describes, as its shared identity of environmental issues and the movement actors being involved in collective action. Rootes (2004: 610), describes this as the 'network approach' to viewing and defining environmental movements. The inclusion of the institutional dimension in the definition of the movement then makes it possible to consider environmental movements as a subject of study, creating the opportunity for empirical investigation of aspects of the movements that are of interest, such as the network linkages, shared identity and collective action. It also makes it possible to be able to continuously identify and characterize environmental movements that

have emerged in recent times that are increasingly specialized and institutionalized, which may not be protest oriented or formed within periods of social change that are not as dramatic as earlier movements, as both interest group communities and environmental movements in their own right (Rootes, 2004:611).

3.2 *Subsets* of social movements

The beginning of this chapter makes mention of environmental movements as one of the most significant social movements of recent times with the capacity to bring about change in civil society. This warrants the further elaboration of what social movements in general have been described to be and presents the bigger picture within which the environmental movement falls within and takes note of the 'criterion' for its classification. Once again, there is no clear simple or universal definition of what social movements are. An examination of the many movements identified to be social movements would show huge disparities across several of the characteristics between the movements and even within a particular identified movement. However the literature suggests that despite these disparities there are some properties that seem to serve as a converging point for their classification. These shared properties are appropriately called [the] "family resemblance" (Crossley, 2002).

On account of these "family resemblances", Doherty and Doyle (2006:702) identify four elements that are cardinal in classifying social movements and which form the basis of considering the environmental movements as such. Firstly, the constituents of the movement are united by a common identity that is manifested in activities of collective action. This sustenance of this shared identity also falls in line with Turner and Killian's (1964:307) differentiation of a movement from one off, spontaneous crowd or group dynamics. The movement develops its collective identity over time and making a mark of who they are, what they believe in and the forms in which they act (Doherty and Doyle: 2006:702).

The second characteristic of the social movements lies in the network ties of the movement and how it engages with its constituents or other groups to share resources, and how they participate in common action. The mere participation of movement constituents in collective action as a definitive feature cannot be replaced by the vital need for interaction and exchange of resources within constituents and eternal groups with which there is a shared identity. The third characteristic is for social movements to be involved wholly or partially in some form of public protest. And fourthly they are considered to challenge "some feature of dominant cultural codes or social and political values" (Doherty and Doyle, 2006:703).

However social movements are so diverse and dynamic that this four-tiered characterization in practical terms proves to be problematic and far from entire. However using it as a guide, the environmental movement may then be appropriately classified as a social movement. The first two factors of a shared identity and network ties appear to be universally accepted to be adequate classification features. However the latter two features, has been contested as insufficient on the grounds that the identity of an environmental movement could be adequately defined as the common commitment to the importance of environmental concern, and that the environmental movement does not need to exhibit the latter two features per se, in order to be a considered a social movement. Goldblatt (2003:136) similarly maintains that placing more emphasis on the shared identity, which is evident in the environmental movement's goals further widens the environmental movement's parameters to embrace the diversity that exist on the ground. Therefore, taking into consideration the presence of a shared identity and adequate network ties as the distinguishing features, it allows for groups that never take part in protests or challenge the political order to be included in the environmental movement bracket. It is from this point of view that I use the mathematical metaphor of a *subset* to describe how the environmental movement is ideologically a social movement.

3.3 Theoretical considerations: Collective behaviour, resource mobilization and collective action.

The engagement of the constituents of a social movement in collective action is a critical feature and an underlying definition of a movement. Over the years collective action tendencies have been studied with social theorist expounding theories to explain the character of social movements and I will consider a few such theories below. In this brief section I will speak in general terms of these theories as they relate to social movements, having established environmental movements as metaphorical *subsets.*

One of the early theories to explain the character of social movements and collective action was the 'collective behaviour' theory. The mobilization of individuals to take a collective action was considered a sign of the break in the balance that existed within a thriving system. A sign of dissatisfaction with the traditional norms of society that no longer provide a support for their grievances or that was not flexible enough to accommodate their change in behaviour (della Porta and Diani, 1999:5). As a result, these individuals group together and are forced to oppose unsatisfactory norms of the social order and exhibit nonconformist behaviour that aim not only to remedy the situation but to introduce new social norms they deem as acceptable (della Porta and Diani, 1999:5). This trend above identifies with what had already been described as 'strain and breakdown theories' as the principal explanation for the occurrence of collective behaviour in society (Buechler, 2004:48). What this meant was that collective behaviour contesting the norms and structures of society arose when there was a degeneration of the 'social controls and moral imperatives' that normally held it back when such controls were in place (Buechler, 2004:48). In that case social movements are explained by collective behaviour as being the product of some form of social crisis, and collective action becoming consequential response. The link between collective behaviour theory and that of strain and breakdown appeared conceptually appropriate in explaining the character of social movements and collective action within. However the analysis of the theory revealed inadequacies in fully explaining the social movement character when neither strain nor a breakdown of dominant social control, led to forms of collective

behaviour and action. The 'strain and breakdown' theory background of collective behaviour gave a negative direction to its focus, which meant that collective behaviour could not be possible in a constructive means, but only when there were some degenerating factors. However, this not being an absolute, there was evidence, which strongly suggested otherwise, especially in recognition of the positive and constructive elements of collective behaviour (Buechler, 2004:49). In this sense manifestations of collective action such as protests were not merely consequential but could be deliberate, rational, calculated steps taken to bring about a needed social change (della Porta and Diani, 1999:8). Turner and Killan (1964) appropriately introduce a balanced definition of what a social movement would be in the context of collective behaviour and their influence on social change. They regard social movements as being capable of "resisting" or "promoting" change of the group [society] that it is a part of. The promotion of change appeals cognitively to be a more positive step as compared to the resistance to the change that a strain and breakdown of social structure of stability would lead to.

Alongside the debates about the adequacy of the collective behaviour theory couched in the strain and breakdown paradigms to explain the character of social movements and collective action, emerged a more favourable theory of 'resource mobilization'. The underlying assumption of the theory is the assertion that the availability of resources to individuals enhances the likelihood of collective behaviour within that social movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004:116). This alternative view of social movements does have some elements of collective behaviour embedded within it, in that traditional resource mobilization theory is regarded as "collective actors struggling for power in an institutionalized context" (Jenkins, 1983:530). However, unlike the classical linkage of collective behaviour and collective action being the result of the break down and strain in social control and which prompts the formation of social movements, the resource mobilization theory explains the that the occurrences of strains or grievances are secondary to the formation of a social movement because of the latency of the occurrences social grievances (McCarthy, 1977; Jenkins, 1983:530). As Jenkins (1983:530) puts it, "[in society] grievances are relatively constant, deriving from structural conflicts of

interest built in to social institutions and that movements form because of long term changes in group resources, organization and opportunity for collective action". Resource mobilization theory places an emphasis on societal support and analyses the various resources that must be mobilized within the social movement for collective action (McCarthy, 1977:1213). Then in this regard the manifestations of collective action such protests, which are deliberate, would be centred on the individuals continually taking stock of the cost and benefits in the light of the resources available to them.

The mobilization process refers to the actions that must be taken by the group to secure collective control of the resources that is needed for collective action (McCarthy, 1977:1212). These could be both 'tangible and intangible' and are generally classified en-bloc into money or labour (McCarthy, 1977:1216). I am inclined to support Edwards and McCarthy's (2004:125-129) elaboration of the various kinds of resources available under the resource mobilization theory. In summary they identify an array of five groups of resources that will enable the formation and define the character of a social movement. These range from moral resources that allow for legitimacy and social acceptance of the movements activities. Cultural resources describe the vital knowledge and conceptual tools that that make a movement more effective on the ground. It could in other words be described as the 'technical know-how' of organizing movement activities and strategies. The categorisation of socio-organizational resources refers to the infrastructures, social networks and other formal organizations that can be controlled by social movements for the benefit of collective action. Human resources, which are the easiest to relate to, refer primarily to the individuals involved in the movement activities and the various skills and other forms of labour that they contribute. By extension Edwards and McCarthy, make mention of the other *derivatives* of human resources such as leadership, effective co-operation and experience. The final category in this elaboration is material resources and this covers the "financial and physical capital" including money and assets that are the disposal of the movement (Edwards and McCarty, 2004).

Beyond awareness of the resources that are available and are mobilized by social movement constituents, is the concern about sources being either external or internal. This important consideration of the source of the resources to be mobilized would lead to another important recognition of the potential limiting factor of the resource mobilization theory's ability to account for the formation and character of social movements. Although social movements practically acquire their resources from both internal and external sources, a dependence on externally sourced resources for a specific movement would mean that the movements goals, objectives and activities could be potentially stifled or at worst completely constrained when access to these sources is denied (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004:135).

3.4 'Appearance on the ground': a brief overview of environmental movements.

As briefly mentioned earlier, the diversity and complexity of environmental movements presents a broad range of activities that are evident in society. They range from movement organizations that operate on a local level, much wider at the national scale of even transcend national boundaries to be branded as a Transnational Environmental Movement Organization (TEMO). They also vary in terms of their structure ranging from movements that exhibit some amount of institutionalization and the adopt more formal and rational forms of actions to those that are less bureaucratized grassroots mobilizations; EMOs that are more radical and very unconventional in their activities, being involved in direct action strategies on targets of interest. A strict categorization of EMOs would once again only prove problematic, and the categories elaborated below are primarily for illustrative and a broad classification purposes.

3.4.1 Local, national and transnational

Local EMOs have been found to be very active in keeping environmental issues and concerns alive in society, usually by organizing campaigns and mobilizing support for the cause they identify (Rootes, 2007:722). They arguably keep environmentalism

alive by the persistent and recurrent nature of mobilized concerns of environmental issues, which rises to meet a perceived environmental threat or challenge. And eventually through this means are often seen a source of innovation and a stimulus for bigger environmental organizations that may have lost focus (Rootes, 2007:722). Studies conducted on local environmental movements reveal a significant variation in the types of issues that are of concern (Saunders, 2006:4) and the local campaigns do play their part in throwing emphasis on environmental issues that have lost attention or play a discovery role in identifying issues that have not yet gained ground as being a problem. This then allows the often larger and more influential national organizations to take up the campaigns to the governmental level, and with the potential to initiate policy responses or concrete results from their campaigns (Rootes, 2007:725). I find this 'discovery role' crucial in determining the possible outcome of national organizations in that the local campaigns do not only help to 'discover' environmental issues of contention but in effect play an educational and developmental role in the growth of a national organization, both by making them more effective from the benefit of the in-depth understanding of environmental issues which local campaigners have the advantage of learning, and by so doing become more representational of the issues of national concern. Again, it can be said that the interaction of the local movements with the national would only enable the latter become more 'geographically extensive' (Rootes, 2007:727), covering more ground as it were.

The potential for local organizations to be adequately described as viable environmental (social) movements does not lie only in the existence of some form of alliance and the pursuit of goals by collective actions but also in the existence of a shared identity that transcends the collective action efforts and in some ways binds them to their cause for possible future actions. In short it is in the shared identity rather than collective action that defines them better as social movements. The absence of shared identity would lead to mere organizational links and not a meaningful movement. Evidence suggests that it is possible for local campaigns to run alongside each other on varying themes and issues but collaborate on some joint ventures as appropriate. A good number of members of local environmental

movements have been found to hold other EMO memberships or have some other form of affiliation or support for other EMOs. However the overriding factor for the movement would be the sense of a common purpose that unites their identity (Saunders, 2007:743). The role of the national EMOs and the local is not one-sided as it has been observed that some national organization such as Friends of the Earth (FoE) play an active role to some extent in encouraging and supporting local campaigns, recruiting and training supporters, whereas others such as Greenpeace would employ local supporters in its own initiated campaigns (Rootes, 2007:725). Although the Greenpeace approach may fall short of encouraging local initiatives, compared to the autonomy FoE provides local organizations it works with, this Greenpeace role will still go down as a form of local involvement.

The formation of networks between different EMOs plays an important role in defining the character of the movement and the strategies that emerge from it. Networks enable EMOs to literally expand their involvement and participation across a broader range of issues and geographic areas. By embracing broader issues of concern and addressing a wider range of issues, the EMOs in effect develop to reflect the very nature of environmental problems. Because environmental issues themselves are so diverse, the attempts of solidarity and networking amongst EMOs would lead to a broader movement and a wider scope of action (Schlosberg, 1999:127). The common ground within the network linkages either in the theoretical ideologies or practical strategies between them would in effect be a manifestation of that shared identity that is crucial for the movement.

Networks between EMOs can exist across all levels, local, national or even across national barriers. In what Schlosberg (1999) refers to as the 'rhizomatic effect', EMOs are able to share in the same environmental concerns across distances and borders. Just like rhizomes (a special type of root system) of plants, networking allows for EMOs to be connected in such a covert manner that the effects or the influence of one would 'sprout' in another, even in a different location, across both the distances and the differences that may lie between, providing a source of some

form of solidarity and security, and the sharing of vital resources and information (Schlosberg, 1999:129).

There is an increase in awareness of the transboundary nature of environmental problems (Yearly, 1994:158; Rootes, 1999:300; della Porta and Diani, 1999: 26) and how the shared effects of these problems ought to be addressed at the international level, prompting co-operation and support, and the introduction of several treaties and multinational agreements. Issues ranging from the treaties on the ozone layer in the 1980s to climate change today, as well as the protection of areas outside national boundaries such as the high seas, outer space and the conservation or protection of resources that fall within such global commons, all seem to arouse some degree of global concern (Yearly, 1994:159). Indeed the term "environment" has become some form of currency that increasingly attracts attention in a globalised world with EMOs which have gained credibility and become authorities on environmental issues able to shape the popular perception and understanding of environmental problems. Their account of these issues often gains more support than those of 'official' or national governments (Rootes, 1999:301). Consequently there has been a growth in the number of environmental organizations that see the potential of tapping into the transboundary nature and concern for environmental issues to strive for some form of transboundary action when the need arises. According to research findings, the exponential rise in numbers of transnational EMOs from the relative handful of 17 in the 1970s to a figure of over 160 by the year 2000 (Doherty and Doyle, 2006:699) is a confirmation of the aforementioned. Transnational EMOs work to gain the attention of the powerful in society, often targeting international organizations that are economically important like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as supranational or regional organizations such as the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (della Porta and Tarrow, 2005:2; Kriesberg, 1997:16). Some EMOs even have offices affiliated with the regional bodies to help push their agenda forward (Rucht, 1997:202).

Transnational EMOs also have the potential of influencing activities in different locations far away from their home and catalysing the development of environmental movements within other nations depending on the prevailing political structures. Transnational influences are a great asset in churning resources and in amplifying the local voice to be heard and supported particularly in environmental protest. Such is the case of the environmental movement in Hungary, which developed at the end of communist rule through influences of western (Europe and American) environmental organizations and ideas, and through the financial resources that they facilitated (Kerényi and Szabó, 2006:808).

3.4.2 Levels of Institutionalization and operational tactics

With reference to levels of institutionalization, EMOs range from the highly organized and institutionalized through to very informal and unstructured movements (Rootes, 2004:609). The highly organized movements in many ways resemble business corporations in their set up, size, income and administration (Rootes, 2007: 1430) being established, legally registered and having similar characteristics to those of large corporate entities. As far as some degree of institutionalization is concerned, two of the most popular EMOs – Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) and Greenpeace International – are good examples of what I could describe as multinational giants from the corporate point of view and both having a headquarters based in the Netherlands. FoEI boasts of its national presence in 76 countries as at January, 2011 and the largest environmental movement of grassroots networks of local activists, with about two million members worldwide, declaring an annual income of €2.7 million at the end of 2009 (Friends of the Earth International, 2011). Greenpeace International similarly commands a presence in 40 countries with national and regional offices that co-ordinate affairs and campaigns, as well as an even higher annual income (€196 million for the year 2009) raised from global fund raisers (Greenpeace International, 2011).

The institutionalization of movements is widely regarded as a success (Rootes, 2007:1430) with the ultimate being when the movement metamorphosizes into a political party. However as intimated earlier, institutionalization of a movement is not always seen as welcome news and is regarded by some as representing the end of the movement in itself (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). Institutionalization of a movement also makes it susceptible to criticism of becoming increasingly similar to the bureaucratic corporations to which movements often stand opposed. This somewhat hypocritical appearance of institutionalized EMOs has stood the test of their criticism, remaining resolute to the shared identity and effective network mechanisms with other EMOs. Consequently the classification by Eyerman and Jamison of the movement as the temporary and fragile state between its formation and institutionalization is thus refuted by the arguments of the persistence of an observable environmental movement beyond institutionalization. Characteristic of this is the participation of highly institutionalized EMOs like Greenpeace in active mobilization efforts and environmental protests against targeted environmental dangers. Institutionalization in many ways provides opportunities for networking and mobilization of environmental protest and in this case does not appear to be a barrier to environmental movement activity, but a potential catalyst.

Another characteristic of interest would be the styles of actions of EMOs that are adopted in movement activities. The more institutionalized ones tend to be more conservative adopting less direct action and embracing less confrontational tactics such as the use of the mass media to draw sufficient desired attention for the more powerful in society to take some form action. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) is a good example of a mainstream EMO that has a preference for non-confrontational tactics with practically no reputation of being engaged in environmental protests (Doherty and Doyle, 2006:698). However with the changing face of modern environmentalism, some EMOs take advantage of advanced information technology and communication systems both to spread their views and mobilize support. It is almost apparent that there is a developing trend of what I would call a 'virtual confrontational tactic' – an ICT based non-physical confrontation that is nonetheless powerful in its terms. It is now possible for them to run effective

campaigns on their websites, full of pictures, videos, fund raising links and other interactive material, literally making a good website the stepping stone for possible patronage and success of the movement mobilization efforts. The features of a good website allows EMOs to mobilise supporters in such a way as Rootes (2006:777) describes, for them to be able to 'bear witness' to the issues that are of concern. In its "Choose a clean energy future" campaign which was run during the BP Deepwater Horizon oil disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, Greenpeace USA went to great lengths to employ the services of an award winning photographer to capture the most graphic images for its website so that so that 'viewers' and supporters would be able to bear that vital witness to the issues at hand (Greenpeace, 2010).

Another form of non-direct action tactic is the use of complex lobbying processes that some EMOs employ by engaging the powerful in a more smooth process of negotiations. A more 'advanced' form of this style of action is evident in transnational EMOs that regularly lobby international conferences and summits on environmental issues of concern. Their role and participation is increasingly becoming crucial as seen in the highly publicised 2009 Climate Change Conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark which saw a record number of them participating and lobbying at different levels to push for more firm greenhouse gas emission reduction commitments by heads of nations.

In contrast to the non-confrontational forms of action just described are the EMOs that embrace direct action tactics as a preferred style of delivery. A review of the pertinent literature on forms of environmental activism reveals that those EMOs see environmental protest and activism as both a legitimate means and an efficient means of registering their concerns (Roberts, 2007). Their involvement in direct action tactics allows them to be classified as radical movements in comparison to other conflict-averse counterparts. It must be said that a study of radical movements having a preference for direct action tactics would reveal that despite their innovative measures they are often non-violent in nature. The relatively few occasions of violent environmental protests observed in Spain and Italy in the 1970s and 1980s, from hindsight were more as result of other underlying political factors

and not the primary environmental concerns (Rootes, 2007; 1430). A similar situation can be said of British violent confrontations that were characteristic of environmental protests in the 1990s. It is clear those prevailing political conjectures, such the introduction of the poll tax in this case and the general protest that rose against the move, are responsible in explaining the apparent violent nature of environmental protests in those circumstances. That clarification notwithstanding, the unconventional strategies of some radical EMOs still warrant mention due to the potential attention that can be drawn from their activities. Some have classified such EMOs into an 'environmental direct action movement', an observable network of EMOs and groups that consider mainstream EMOs as 'slow' and ineffective or failing to deliver desired results and providing very few opportunities for participation of people with radical direct action interests (Doherty *et al*, 2007; 806). Members or participants of direct action efforts have been found to be characteristically young, university-educated and new to environmental activism (Wall, 1999; Doherty *et al*, 2007:806). Environmental direct action usually occurs at the local level focusing on the mobilization of support against pressing issues of concern. Such actions are additionally characterized by a measure of spontaneity and individualism, with very little recognizable leadership or detailed planning. These factors as well as the focus of direct action mechanisms on a pragmatic change through the resistance of identified 'culprits' of their environmental ills, usually corporate capitalist, have made them less media oriented as compared to other mainstream EMOs. The consequence of this is that their activities often do not make headlines beyond the local sphere (Rootes, 2007:729).

Although some may have a recognized presence at the national level, the movement is usually composed of loosely networked groups that allow for a lot of fluidity and exchanges about strategies and forms of action. One of the most iconic and easily recognizable EMOs actively engaged in direct action is Earth First!, a group which emerged from the US in 1980 and which made inroads to the UK in the 1990s and totally transformed the face of environmental activism in the UK. The radical group's use of direct action tactics as strong as sabotage in some instances, such as the several anti-roads protests that were organized in the UK in the 1990s (Wall, 1999;

2000), have made their name almost synonymous with 'environmental protest and civil disobedience'. They boldly bemoan the conventional tactics of mainstream EMOs, and criticize their seemingly bureaucratic and corporate inclinations, calling for followers, Earth First!ers, of a radical movement that would do all that it would take to draw attention and bring about change (Earth First!, 2011).

3.4.3 Issues of concern

Additionally a look at the issues that are of concern to EMOs would once again reveal a wide diversity of issues that range from those that are purely 'environmental', such as issues of air quality and climate change, as well as issues to do with the conservation and protection of natural resources. Other issues of concern may not be strictly environmental but could cover some economic and social concerns, which may have links or effect on the environment, so that in such cases environmental concern may be a derivative of other issues of concern (Schlosberg, 1999:127). One of the common 'environmentally related' issues that have been found to attract EMOs attention has been those related to the concept of environmental justice. Environmental justice refers to the fight for equality (justice) in the apparent inequalities that exist in the distribution of environmental harms and dangers in society, and in pushing for the balance to the equation would mean addressing other issues that relate to employment, housing, healthcare and other issues of 'social, racial and economic justice' (Schlosberg, 1999:127). The *environmental relationship* lies in the connections that can be made from those lapses in planning or the uneven distribution of the benefits and access to the factors mentioned above, and the environmental degradation that can result from it. The campaign for environmental justice would result in a reduction of pollution, improved technologies, and a greater concern for the environment (US EPA, 2009).

There are some specialist movements usually on the national level that are committed to mobilizing support for specific issues. The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) is an iconic example of a British EMO concerned primarily with the protection and conservation efforts of bird species, running extensive

campaign in that bid.   Other EMOs embrace multiple concerns that reflect the campaigns they run. The FOE for example has taken on the additional mandate of striving for 'global justice' in addition to its traditional nature conservation concerns, where as Greenpeace is on the other hand is generally silent about such issues (Rootes, 2006:769). Similarly the WWF's primary commitment to the protection of endangered species and habitats has been broadened to embrace issues that seek to find long-term solution to the problems of the people in the localities of interest (Rootes, 2007:769; WWF, 2011). The extension of their concerns does bring to light the apparent connection that exists between poverty, the quality of life and consumption patterns of a group of people and environmental degradation particularly prominent in their activities in the global south. The broadening of the issues of concern for these EMO activities enable them to address environmental issues within the economic and social contexts within which these problems are situated. It does go to prove that environmental issues are truly diverse and intertwined and a purely ecological approach may not be sufficient. To buttress that line of analysis would be the recent report of the breaking up of the iconic 'Climate Camps' that had been drawing crowds of environmental activists each year since 2006, to address emerging issues of climate change in the UK (The Guardian, 2011). The climate camps were an a good example of a what I referred to as a 'specialist' environmental movement, focusing on one major issue, and their announced break up in order to embrace broader ecological, social and economic issues does indeed represent the intertwined nature of environmental problems and the growing preference of a varied approach to the issues of concern for environmental movements.

Nonetheless an attempt to generalize the issue of concern for EMO activity across the regional or transnational level will reveal some patterns for the purpose of classification. EMOs in the US, Canada, Australia and the Nordic countries on the whole have been preoccupied by wilderness issues (Rootes, 2007:1431). The general picture across Western Europe will also show that issues to do with the protection of landscapes and the prevention of environmental degradation appear to be dominant, whereas in the case of Eastern Europe the issues of concern have been

more to do with 'personal complaint' than of 'global environmental consciousness' (Rootes, 2007:1431). The view across the global south reveals that environmental concerns are merged with other factors, which are social, political or economic, and environmental movement mobilizations cover these.

3.6.2 Africa

As mentioned in earlier sections of the work, the environmental movement in Africa appears to be under-studied with very few accounts included in the main academic discourses on the subject. Doyle's (2005), attempt to paint a picture of the global dynamics of environmental movements fairly acknowledges this gap in existing knowledge, and heavily relies on cases studies from Southeast Asia to make his conclusions about the environmental movement in the global south. Notwithstanding the lack of rich data as it were, the evidence available suggests that the environmental movement in Africa is based on issues of livelihood and survival and not strictly 'environmental' or 'green' as is largely the case in the west. As Salih (1999:2) explains, the definition of the term "environment" for the African has a meaning greater than the physical elements of nature, and encompasses the dynamic relationships that the African society has with nature. To the African the environment is very much as synonymous with the physical elements of nature, as it is the services accessed and benefits provided by nature which are vital for everyday survival for the majority. This definition helps in understanding why the environmental movement is therefore one of survival and livelihood, because of the direct impacts that environmental degradation has on the people. Thus, this definition and perception of the environment is vital in understanding the basis of the environmental movement not just because of the direct dependence of people's livelihood on the environment, after all dependence on the environment for livelihood is inevitable, even in the western world, no matter how indirect that one may be. However I find that the more important factor is the proportions of direct dependency; an issue of how in Africa it is a *majority* of the people that have this direct dependence on the environment for everyday livelihood.

The movement is mainly a bottom up approach represented by groups who engage in environmental struggles as a means of seeking redress for the wider range of problems of inequality and social injustice. The government and huge foreign industries has been mainly the target for the movements who regard them as the having unfair control of the environmental resources and enjoying the benefits (Osaghae, 2008:191). The accusing finger has often been pointed at the operations of foreign industry players who are regarded by the movements, as finding Africa as a region of less control and regulation and capable of exploiting resources in the most environmentally hostile manner. This crime against the environment is aided and abetted by governments or powerful individuals who stand to make selfish gains.

One of the reasons why the environmental movement in Africa may have been late in coming is the fact that in most of the African states, social movement activity in itself was suppressed by authoritarian military governments which were common, or by single party governments that did not take kindly to any form of perceived opposition (Obi, 2008:3). The suppression of social movement came after a the struggle for independence from colonial rule which had in many states, had stirred up a coalition of social movements drawn from different backgrounds including workers, students, farmers and political parties. There are indications that the African liberation struggle, such as the Mau-Mau Movement in Kenya, which was a struggle for freedom and for land, had strong environmental components. It also illustrates how similar opposition to colonial control of resources is similar to the present day struggles of the environmental movement against the State (Obi, 2008:4).

However the emphasis of nationalization for post-colonial governments led to the suppression of the variety of social movements, including the environmental, and soon regarded them as distractions and instead needed to focus on 'nation building' (Obi, 2008:3). This repressive rule continued until the 1980s when most military regimes and single-party states bowed to pressure from the international community, and began to return to multi-party democracy. The return to multi-party

politics and growing number of internal conflicts and crises that these governments often had, provided useful gaps for the social movements to re-emerge and become more visible once again.

Another interesting feature of the environmental movement in Africa is the gender dimension. The emphasis on the roles that women play goes beyond their acknowledged support and participation, but highlights the important detail that their participation stems from the fact that they suffer the most in the face of environmental degradation. The traditional roles of women through out Africa, both domestic and reproductive, compel them to heavily rely on the environment. Consequently in a degraded environment where the sufferers are marginalized from the equitable use of resources, women have been regarded as the "most marginalized of the marginalized" (Obi, 2008:2).

Three examples of the development of the environmental movements in Africa would be considered below. The 'Movements for the Survival of the Ogoni People' (MOSOP) in Nigeria and 'The Greenbelt Movement' (GBM), which are arguably the most popular environmental movements known outside Africa, and the fairly recent 'Save Mabira Crusade' in Uganda.

3.6.2.1 Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in Nigeria

The Ogoni people, one of the smallest of the two hundred plus tribes that are found in Nigeria, number about half a million, found in oil rich Niger Delta plains. Despite the vast oil reserves, the people of Ogoni, who were predominantly farmers, were poor and felt cheated by a succession of governments that controlled their land and oil, from which they made several billions of dollars since commercial exploration began in 1958, none of which flowed to the Ogoni. By the 1980s the environment was seriously degraded from the activities of multinational petroleum companies, notably Shell. But the grievance of the Ogoni people was not only an ecological one but also a struggle immersed in the ethnic politics of self-determination and minority rights of indigenous people to control their resources (Agbonifo, 2013). The Ogoni

felt that they had lost their independence and sovereignty in post-colonial Nigeria and were now at the mercy of repressive federal governments, which were dominated by the three big ethnic groups in the country (Saro-Wiwa, 1995).

The MOSOP was the umbrella body of a number of groups in the Ogoni area, including, students, workers, trade unions, youth groups, women and traditional rulers and sought to fight the cause of the Ogoni through media reports and other publications, and tactfully lobbing pressure groups to confront the Nigerian government and the multinational petroleum companies.

One of the most important methods of mobilization was the opportunity that partnerships with foreign human rights and environmental groups and NGOs provided, It allowed the voice of the oppressed to be heard outside Nigeria and hoped that the international response and condemnation would force the government to consider their plight and claims detailed in an 'Ogoni Bill of Rights' which they had drafted and presented.

The Ogoni struggle has been detailed in several accounts (eg. See Saro-Wiwa, 1995 and more recently Agbonifo, 2013) and the above is by no means a comprehensive summary. But in review I find three interesting aspects about the struggles that contribute to our understanding of African environmental movements.

The first is the strategy to partner with international groups and NGOs to literally help raise its voice, knowing the influence that the international community has on African governments. Their main success arises from the globalised attention that the movement received, making it possible to forge further alliances, and explore other 'spaces' and opportunities for movement activity as it were, which was not available to the movement within the national arena, or on their own. In this regard, one example of the success was how the oil giant Shell, finally bowed to international pressure and ceased its operations in Ogoni, in 1993, albeit with many questions left unanswered (Obi, 2008).

Secondly, Ogoni struggles also show the complexity of the ethnic and tribal systems in Africa, and the challenges and potential conflicts that both central and federal governments systems that took over after independence have raised. As mentioned earlier, the politics of tribalism played an important role in unifying the groups that formed the MOSOP (Agbonifo, 2013). The ethnic factor cemented their collective identity as the aggrieved and provided a means through which sustained mass mobilization was achieved by using indigenous idioms of solidarity and unity (Obi, 2001).

Finally the Ogoni case also highlights the damaging consequences that conflicts and disagreements in leadership can have on the strategy and fortunes of the movement. There is a potential pitfall in leadership struggles amongst institutionalized movements in Africa swaying movement actors from the efforts at collective identity and leaving them to the perils of their differences. With hindsight it can be said that it was such difference that almost led to the collapse of the MOSOP in the mid 1990s. As a result of leadership differences between radical and moderate elements, four local chiefs who were accused of being 'sell-outs' to the government were attacked and killed by a mob of radical MOSOP members, leading to the arrest, trial and eventual execution of nine of the MOSOP leaders, including their famed spokesperson Saro-Wiwa. The account of the trial and execution is a very well known one, probably the most documented aspect of the Ogoni struggle, including the heavy-handedness of the repressive military regime that refused to back down to international pressure in that instance. However what I find interesting is the lesson that, beyond the resistance from the powers that be, the environmental movement is potentially threatened by underlying leadership struggles, such as in the case of the MOSOP, which almost killed the movement after the execution of the nine leaders.

3.6.2.2 The Green Belt Movement in Kenya

The GBM is yet another case of the environmental movement in Africa's resistance to authoritarianism and the monopolization of resources by governments to the

detriment of the local people. The movement was formed through the work of the National Council of Women of Kenya, and its main aim was to address environmental degradation, poverty and the marginalization of women from the grassroots (Obi, 2008). What is unusual about the GBM that contributes to our knowledge of the environmental movement in Africa is the emphasis it places on the gender dimension. It identifies with the struggles of women as the most "marginalized of the marginalized" and seeks to address issues of environmental degradation and the poor living conditions of people, mainly through tree planting exercises (Muthuki, 2013)[5]. Besides the ecological benefits of reforestation, the tree planting exercises provided a steady source of income for the women who planted the trees as they were paid by GBM, and also ensured that there was a steady supply (replenishment) of fuel wood (GBM website, 2012). This clever approach to the plight of women and the ecological problems of Kenya really worked very well and was soon adopted in an alliance of GBM in other African countries, using the plight of local women as a key objective of their claims and mobilizing women as agents of change.

Beyond the tree planting and sustainability programmes, the bigger picture for the GBM was tackling the root cause of the inequalities that had caused the marginalization in the first place, organizing popular support both locally and internationally, and mass demonstrations, to oppose decisions and policies of the government that appeared to deprive the local people of their land rights and access to the environmental resources (Muthuki, 2013). In that case tree-planting exercises became symbolic gestures for the locals to 'reclaim their land' (Obi, 2008:14).

3.6.2.3 The Save Mabira Crusade in Uganda

The SMC in Uganda is a fairly recent example of how the environmental movement in Africa is expanding and gaining ground in other countries, even in places where social movement activity was virtually invisible in times past (Child, 2009:204). It also shows how there is an increasing realisation of the opportunities that the civil

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[5] See Muthuki (2013) for a recent comprehensive account on the GBM

society spaces provide, and the demands that can be placed on governments to be more accountable.

The SMC is centred on the Ugandan government's decision in 2006 to give away about a third of the Mabira forest to an international company to be converted into a sugar plantation. The SMC was formed through a network of NGO, academics, local communities and opinion leaders to oppose the government's plans mainly because of the views held that the forest was in itself a form of national heritage being one of the largest and biodiverse hardwood forests in Africa (World Rainforest Movement website). Additionally the livelihood of several local communities depended on the Mabira for fuel word, medicinal herbs, fruit and timber.

The decision to give away a part of the Mabira, which was protected by law since 1993, also followed a series of degazetting of a number of national parks and forest reserves for various commercial ventures. The locals had soon learnt of the detrimental effects of deforestation, and the failure of the government to deliver economic promises such as employment opportunities for locals communities that forest were destroyed, which may have been an incentive to them.

The SMC organised a public demonstration on the 12th May 2007, to protest the government's plans. Although it was planned to be peaceful, confrontations with the police turned chaotic and five lives were lost, leading to the arrest of some of the leaders of the SMC (World Rainforest Movement, 2012).

The point of emphasis however is the results that this mass demonstration and public resistance brought despite the unfortunate costs. Within a fortnight the government backed down and rescinded its decision to give the forest away. The struggles of the SMC are not entirely over as talk of the forest giveaway keeps being resurrected. However the events of 2007 have strengthened the SMC to persist in their fight and eventually just like the previous cases of MOSOP and the GBM, have forged international partnerships with transnational groups like FoEI, to help raise its voice even louder.

3.6.2.4 Environmental Justice in Africa

Following on from the special focus on the emergence of the environmental justice movement in the US, I briefly consider its emergence in Africa as well.

In Sub-Sahara Africa, South African cases of environmental justice have been the most documented, and mainly centered on the heavily industrialized city of Durban in the Kawzulu-Natal Province (McDonald, 2002; Peek, 2002; Sparks, 2006; Leonard and Pelling, 2010; Jaggernath, 2010). The origins of the environmental struggles in South Africa emerge directly from the longstanding legacy of apartheid politics and its discriminatory policies and practices, forcing blacks to live in poor, overcrowded "Bantustans" near industrial complexes. Durning's (1990) analysis is unequivocal in concluding that despite the fact that apartheid is a widely known an example of political injustice, it was also "the most reprehensible example of environmental injustice" (Durning, 1990).

According to McDonald (2002:4) the definition of environmental justice culled from the South African Environmental Justice Network Forum, is essentially "social transformation directed towards meeting the basic human needs and enhancing the quality of life – economic quality, health care, housing, human rights, environmental protection and democracy". This leads to what is referred to as an "environmental justice approach, which seeks to challenge the abuse of power which results in poor people having to suffer the effect of environmental damage caused, by the greed of others". This definition is not only suitable for the South African cases, but would be apt for the Ghanaian case, especially where there is the absence of racial underpinnings or an apartheid-like system that could readily explain segregation and a disproportionate distribution of environmental burdens. However because of the presence of abuse of power and greed by some dominant forces that results in poor people suffering environmental injustice, this definition provides a relevant insight in understanding the persistence of environmental justice even in places like Ghana where racism is not recorded in the same way.

Durban is heavily industrialized and one of the most polluted areas in southern Africa, containing two of South Africa's four oil refineries, Africa's largest chemical storage facility and over 180 smokestack industries (Peek, 2002; Leonard and Pelling, 2010), with a population of over 3million people, of which only 11% are white and the vast majority coloured - 63% black and 22% Asian (Marx and Charlton, 2003) it is possible to understand how the environmental struggle would persist even after the abolition of apartheid, because of the exposure to the hazardous effects of such concentrated industrial activity to the racially colored communities. The South African cases of environmental justice are significant in the sense that they closely resemble the original US movement such that in addition to the established fact that poorer communities bear the burdens of environmental pollution, there is the racial element being brought to bear through the apartheid legacy. Consequently local civil society organizations have been very active in an attempt to take on the polluting forces and address the persistent environmental injustices (Jaggernath, 2010; Leonard and Pelling, 2010). Notable cases include the community resistance in the South Durban Basin, which is the actual hub of industrial activity, particularly against the oil refineries and paper mills, to address its pollution and other industrial risks (Peek, 2002; Spark, 2006; Leonard and Pelling, 2010; Kalan, undated). As the hub of the industrial buzz, the South Durban Basin which was originally a thriving wetland, and market gardening area (Peek, 2002) was artificially drained in the 1940s to make way for industrial development, as well as the site for low cost and informal housing (Jaggenath, 2010). Consequently the quality of life of the people has been severely impacted upon due to frequent environmental problems that result from industrial activities in these areas. These communities have been forced to endure and continue to endure socio-economic and environmental conditions that impact negatively on their health and wellbeing.

The local mobilization efforts led to the formation of its institutionalized "environmental justice movement" called the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA) which brought over 10 local environmental groups to collectively engage the government and industry to address the industrial risks

they face and underlying racial discrimination (Peek, 2002; Leonard and Pelling, 2010).

3.7 Conclusion

3.7.1 Comparative commentary and key hypotheses

It would require a more detailed and extensive account than I have captured above to fully appreciate the dynamics of the environmental movement, be it in the global South or the North. However this account provides an *informative glimpse* of what the movement is within the North-South divide, its formation, issues of concern and the peculiarities, especially of African movements which I am more interested in. An attempt to generalize the differences or similarities of environmental movement, within and across the North-South geo-political divide would fall short of being absolute. Nonetheless the broad summaries that I make below merit some consideration.

From the above it is clear that the environmental movement in the Africa appears to take a lagging position, behind the movements in the global North. Where as the movement in the global North took to its feet from the 1970s, the movements in the Africa are distinguished from the mid to late 1980s and the 1990s and are still under-developed or unknown in many states. One quick observation is how the rise in environmental consciousness in the western world from the late 1960s and 1970s seems to 'coincide' with documented movement activity, shows both the possible interrelatedness between environmental consciousness and movement activity, and also gives credence to the assumption that the 'late start' of the environmental movement in the south was because of its lagging position in environmental consciousness as well. The possible environmental consciousness-movement nexus will be explored later in the Ghanaian case.

Secondly the environmental movement in the North appears to be more spontaneous, quickly rallied around issues of discontent, or some event or catastrophe. The democratic political systems prevailing in the Western world

appeared to provide a conducive atmosphere for social movement activity without the repressive tactics of opposing powers, whereas in the African cases considered the movements appears more dilatory and gradual in its formation despite the persistence of serious issues of discontent and concern. This may be indicative of the presence of authoritarian repressive governments that do not entertain social movement activity or an indication of how immature democracies are unwilling to tolerate any form of opposition. Furthermore, the gradual build up of movement activity in the Africa may have a bearing on the access to resources and the challenges that the process of resource mobilization brings up. Once again this would be examined a bit further in later chapters.

Despite the diversity and complexity of the environmental movement in both the north and the south, it can safely be argued that the movements in the north are concerned mainly with environmental issues that can be described as 'postmaterialistic', consisting of environmental issues that are related to quality of life, conservation, aesthetics and beauty, and more globalised issues such as climate change. The movements in Africa, however, appear to be more multi-dimensional, going beyond what can be strictly defined as 'environmental' to focus upon both the mundane issues of pollution and degradation, and environmental issues that are intertwined with issues of social justice, indigenous rights and the livelihood of local people.

Furthermore there is an observable role that the vibrant culture of Africa plays in the activities of the environmental movement. As mentioned earlier, the issue of indigenous rights coupled with the demand to access and control environmental resources plays a role in mobilizing support for the movement. It would be interesting to explore further how far culture facilitates or even stifles the movement especially in a culturally diverse terrain like Africa.

The distinct gender roles of the traditional lifestyles in Africa, cannot be overlooked. The gender dimension has been claimed not just because of the few examples mentioned earlier, but also out of the fact that systemic gender inequality manifests

itself in various facets of social life in Africa, from employment to inheritance. It is because of this fact that it is interesting to note its role in the development of the environmental movement.

Finally a look at environmental movement activities across the north-south divide shows an increase in partnerships and linkages of African movements to their Northern counterparts. From a cursory look at these partnerships, there is an observable dependency of the South on the North. The cases mentioned point out to how some African movements identify with the North for some form of legitimacy and as a means of exerting external pressure on the home front. This dependency surely would play out differently, on a case-by-case basis, and it yet again another interesting point worth investigating.

Summary comparative table of broad feature between Environmental Movements in the Global North/ Western World vrs African cases sampled.

Global North	Africa
• Leading position; • Earlier formation (rising trend after 1960s modern wave of environmentalism)	• Lagging position • Later formation (post 1980s)
• Spontaneous formation	• More gradual formation (some repressed)
• Resource independent	• Largely resource dependent of foreign partners outside geographic scope
• Postmaterialistic Outlook	• Materialistic outlook
• No clear cultural/ traditional influence	• Cultural / traditional influence (eg. Indigenous people rights)
• No gender role featured	• Traditional Gender roles (especially women) featured

CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY

4.0 Study Design and Methodology

This chapter briefly considers the site of the empirical fieldwork carried out and examines the main methods employed throughout the study as well as their relevance for the data collected. It also briefly touches on ethical concerns and some limitations of the study that were identified and duly acknowledged prior to commencement of the work.

4.1 Methodology

In order to achieve the aims outlined in the introduction to this work and to answer the main research questions, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in this study. In practice the study was approached in two parts in order to cover both the aspects of the environmental movement as well as elements of environmental consciousness that were of interest in Ghana. This mixed process involved the use of semi-structured interviews, content analysis, participant observation and focus groups. In terms of the actual fieldwork, a total time of approximately five months was spent in the field in two separate trips, gathering the relevant data. The first trip was in December 2010 for five weeks and was used for establishing vital contacts and sources of data and assessing the feasibility and logistics such as transportation and accommodation required for a full scale investigation of the environmental movement. The second trip was between January and May 2012, and involved travelling to four of the ten regions in Ghana (see figure 3.1 below) for the collection of substantive primary data.

4.2 Site location and physical characteristics

Ghana is a former British colony that gained independence in 1957, becoming the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to do so. It has an area of 238,538 sq. km (or 92,100 sq. mi.), and an estimated population, as at the 2010 census, of 24.6 million people (GSS, 2012). Ghana is located in the Gulf of Guinea about five degrees north of the Equator. The Greenwich meridian (longitude 0 degrees) passes through Tema.

Almost half of the country lies less than 152 meters (500 ft.) above sea level with Mount Afadjato as its highest point at almost 885 m or 3000ft. The country shares boundaries with Cote d'Ivoire on the west, Burkina Faso on the north and Togo on the East (EPA, 2011).

In terms of geographical zones the southern half is mainly tropical forest or wooded-savanna while the northern half is savanna. There are two distinct rainy seasons in the south i.e. May-June and August-September; in the north, the rainy seasons tend to merge. A dry, northeasterly wind, the Harmattan, blows in January and February (EPA, 2011).

Ghana is well endowed with natural resources, including fertile soils, forests and mineral deposits of gold, manganese, diamonds and bauxite (UNEP, 2008). It is the world's second largest producer of cocoa and the second largest gold producing country in Africa (Natural Resource Watch, 2012). Additionally, it discovered oil in off shore deposits in 2007 and started commercial production of crude oil in 2010 (Natural Resource Watch, 2012) making the exploitation of natural resources a significant contribution to its GDP. However, agriculture is the mainstay of the Ghanaian economy contributing about 34% of its GDP, mainly through small-scale subsistence farming. The main energy resources in Ghana are wood fuels, electricity and oil products, with wood fuels dominating the energy usage of the country.

By 2010, Ghana's population increased by a significant 30.4 percent over the 2000 population census figure of 18,912,079 (GSS, 2012). The demands of a growing economy, averaging at about 7.8% in the period 2009-2013[6] (world Bank, 2014), and increasing population growth meant that it faced a major challenge in meeting is energy demands in a sustainable manner. This demand for energy and economic development, amongst other reasons such as the changing climate, has put a direct strain on the natural environment (EPA, 2011). The main environmental challenges

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[6] World Bank Country annual GDP growth figures
http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG/countries/GH?display=default (last accessed 30/06/14).

that the country faced included deforestation, land degradation, diminishing water stocks and waste management. In view of these challenges the government has responded in a variety of ways to regulate and protect the environment. These range from the passage of an Environmental Protection Act (ACT 490 of Parliament) in 1994 which mandated the establishment of an Environmental Protection Agency, the establishment of a dedicated "environment ministry", to Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEA) that were conducted as part of the Country's Poverty Reduction Strategies.   However, in addition to these and a myriad of several draft environmental policies and pilot programmes, implementation and a full mainstreaming into the national development agenda remains problematic. It is on this note of the persistence of environmental challenges in the light of a growing economy and political stability that this study was conducted.

Other aspects of Ghana's political and legal status as well as its culture and media are discussed appropriately in later sections.
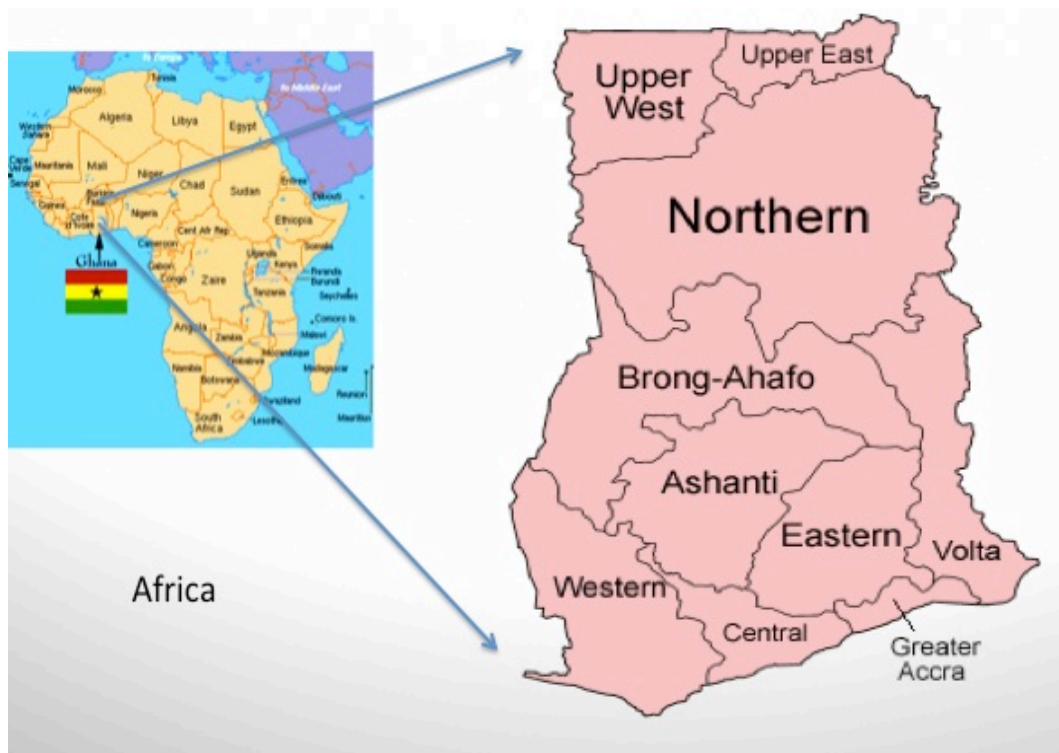
Figure 3.1: Map of Ghana showing its 10 regions.

4.2 Study on the environmental movement

The study of the environmental movement in Ghana was done mainly through the use of semi-structured interviews with identified environmental groups or institutionalized actors, with the interview schedule having questions aimed at exploring the environmental movement activity and aspects of environmental consciousness and concern. The data collected from these interviews was scrutinized to find any evidence of collective identity, action, shared resources etc (movement activity) between the actors to serve as the basis for the characterization of the environmental movement.

Two case studies of community protests were also studied, with actors interviewed to learn more about the 'movement potential' of these events, and any evidence of movement formation based on the basic indicators of collective identity, collective action and shared resources amongst the actors. These grassroots, spontaneous, community based actors contributed to the discussion of the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement, when it was later characterized.

4.2.1 Institutionalized Movement Actors

A snowballing method of sampling was used in order to arrive at the sample to be studied. In this way prominent environmental groups and organizations, which identified themselves as 'environmental' were contacted and their heads or representatives interviewed. The initial contacts with two of the environmental groups were established during the first field trip and were based on the recommendation of a local academic. These groups were termed as the 'movement actors' or 'Environmental Movement Organizations' (EMOs) as they would form the basis of my scrutiny of any 'movement activity' that existed between them. Informal talks were already held in the preparation phase while working on the research questions and during the process of establishing interview guidelines. By applying the snowballing sampling method they were asked to refer other environmental movement actors that they knew or had partnered with at some point. Additionally,

relevant government agencies and private organisations that interact with the identified environmental movement actors were also interviewed. The flexibility of semi-structured interview was useful in collecting rich data, allowing interviewees to freely emphasize on issues that were important to them or exclusive to their work (Bryman, 2008:433; Babbie, 2008:335). My reasons for using semi-structured interviews are parallel to Brown's (2003:1789) observations on the merits of the method in the context of community health research, as it gives a "voice to individuals and community-based organizations and characterizes the community in a full and complex fashion". Using semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask follow-up questions that had not been initially thought of and more importantly, allow informants to focus on events or observations that are of interest or require in-depth emphasis, producing a variety of natural results even when the same template of questions has been applied. Again, Brown (2003:1789) refers to this result of using such a qualitative method as one that "focuses on values, gets close to people and phenomena, emphasizes the daily practices that shape social action, employs case studies within a broader social context in which power relations are key, uses narrative as the expository technique, and works to create an interactive and dialogic understanding".

The interviews were digitally recorded and each spanned an average of about an hour and a half.

4.2.2 Non-Institutionalized Movement:

In considering the non-institutionalized movement actors, recent events of environmental degradation that had led to various forms of mass protest were considered. These case studies were conducted in the communities where the actual environmental damage and protests occurred, highlighting the grassroots mobilisation tactics and strategies of local communities and their relationship with the institutionalised movement actors in sustaining their struggles. The cases selected were also spread across the rural – urban divide. Two, which I have labelled the "Occupy Yayaso" and "The Water March", occurred in rural farming communities

and concerned issues of water pollution and the displacement of local farmers after the destruction of their farmlands by multinational mining companies. The third case provided an urban example by considering the struggle of a community whose environment has been adversely affected by the operations of manufacturing companies in the Industrial city of Tema. In all the cases, community residents as well as selected opinion leaders were interviewed.

In all, 31 interviews were conducted for the study of the environmental movement (Appendix 2).

4.3 Participant observation and focus groups

In addition to the main methods of semi-structured interviews and the content analysis conducted, I also adopted two other qualitative methods of participant observation and the use of focus groups, with the latter being in a specific and limited manner.

Much of the fieldwork could be described as a form of participant observation as I paid 'working trips' to the EMO's and conducted interviews there. I also travelled, in the course of the case studies of the non-institutionalized movement, to the sites of contention and observed the 'sights and sounds' of the communities firsthand. For instance, the extent of environmental degradation, lack of social amenities and unique features that played a role in their narratives, such as the prevalence of deep, excavated mine pits that had been abandoned after mining operations were all taken in. Indeed, it is in this vein that Gans (1999) maintains that much of the fieldwork process of data collection is in fact a part of a "participant observation umbrella" (Gans, 1999:540). According to Kawulich (2005), participant observation is the first step to longer ethnographic studies, and the advantages of the method, amongst others, "helps the researcher get the feel for how things are organised and prioritized, how people interrelate, and what are the cultural parameters" (Schensul *et al*, 1999: 11). This consequently helps the researcher develop a "holistic understanding of the phenomena under a study that is as objective and accurate as

possible given the limitations of the method" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002:92). Furthermore, participant observation can be used to "help answer descriptive research questions, to build theory, or to generate or test hypotheses" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002:9). On that note, Kuwalich (2005) suggests that the method helps increase the validity of study since the method enables the researcher have a better understanding of the context within which the observations and phenomena occur.

I assume the "participant as observer" stance throughout this work where the emphasis is placed on observation and interacting closely without participating in the study phenomena or subjects (Kuwalich, 2005) making it a more passive stance.

 I also assume a more active "observer as participant" stance (Kuwalich, 2005), where the researcher participates in the activities of the study subjects, yet in a periphery manner with the main role of this stance being only to collect data. This so called observer as participant stance was used in addition to the expert interviews with the representatives of the EMOs and grassroots groups. Specifically, I had the opportunity through informal interactions to be invited to the strategy meetings of the coalition that embodies the largest environmental movement in Ghana – NCOM. My attendance at the NCOM meetings was very useful for my inferences made later during the analysis of the environmental movement, detailed in later chapters.

In terms of the specific use of focus group discussions, I convened these after a workshop organized by the mining advocacy EMO, Wacam, for journalists from the major media houses in Ghana. The special emphasis on journalists was to generate specialist information on the challenges of the practice of environmental journalism within mainstream Ghanaian media.

Kitzinger (1994:103) and Morgan (1996:103) note that the critical factor in the use of focus groups is the "explicit use of group interaction as research data". As a qualitative method, it is particularly "useful for exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way" (Kitzinger, 1995:299)

This choice of focus groups over the use of interviews was mainly due to constraints on time and resources, and the fact that the data collected would play a minor role in the discussion of this work.

4.4 Data analysis

The units of analysis selected to aid the study of the environmental movement actors included their sources of finances, membership base, the networks and partnerships formed, the methods of mobilization, strategies and tactics employed, and the environmental issues that are of concern.

In addition to data gathered through the interview process, the features and challenges of the environmental movement are also analyzed in the light of the participant observation stance adopted, thereby proving its usefulness as both a data collection method and an analytical tool (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002:10).

4.5 Ethics and governance

Ethical approval for the work was obtained from the Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Kent, Canterbury. Informed consent was gained in writing prior to face-to-face participant interviews, and verbal consent was recorded prior to commencement of telephone interviews. All the participants were adults with the exception of one brief interview with a minor on the instance of the parent's reference to their specific circumstance. The brief interview in this case was conducted in the presence of the parent and with verbal consent obtained.

There were no foreseeable potential risks (such as distress or embarrassment) to the participants of the study, and no participant was paid or coerced to participate. Again the researcher was fully aware of the logistical constraints on local transportation and mobility and precautions were taken to used only government

approved transportation and routes to reduce risks of personal injury and harm. Precautions were also made to ensure researcher safety and especially protected from malaria during stay in rural settlements where the prevalence rate was high at that time of the year.

In terms of data protection, the gathered data was stored in an anonymised form and the key to identification of interviewees was kept in a separate and not disclosed to any other person apart from thesis supervisor. In the report, only broad trends and accounts were used in order not to make it possible to identify the individuals. Additionally my contact information was passed on to all participants so that they could reach me should any problems or questions arise, that required action.

In accordance to the Data Protection Act, data that was attributed to a named or identifiable individual was used only with the person's explicit consent. This was the case in the account of a few of the EMO actors and representatives who personally expressed being identified as a "form of recognition" for their work.

4.6 Limitations of study

In view of the magnitude of the field and the unchartered territory that the study was embarking on, I identified some limitations that could have affected the output or representation of this work as a step of reflexive introspection. Awareness of these limitations serves as a guide to the limits of the claims and interpretation that can be drawn from the results and do not necessarily negate the validity of the work done. I will touch on the most notable of these.

Firstly, the limits of resources available to the researcher, mainly of time and finance, meant that the scope of the study had to be delimited to a feasible size. This delimitation of the study area was naturally mapped out through the snowballing method, and led to a ground-level coverage of four of the ten regions in Ghana. These four regions, all in the southern half of the country, incorporated the most

populous regions, and the 'natural' cut-off guided by EMO recommendations make its plausible for the study to assume a national character, as EMO presence in the northern half of the country was not readily identifiable through the method adopted.

Other than the adoption of this snowballing method, any other means of a ground-level scoping would not have been practically feasible in view of the poor infrastructure as well as transportation challenges, and the limited time and financial resources available for this work.

Secondly, the study proceeds to examine the Ghanaian environmental movement, its features, characteristics and limitations, largely from the perspective of the EMOs and environmental activists. The direct involvement, opinions and responses of the corporate organizations that feature in the narratives of the EMOs and activists are not pursued and there was an initial challenge in getting respondents to participate after an initial contact was made. This involvement could form the basis of another study. The apparent one-sidedness of this study and the critical views of the EMOs about the corporate world is not, by any means, intended to make this work a deliberate critique, but essentially is a product of the EMO viewpoint that I have adopted.

Finally, in addition to the delimited scope and area of study, the method adopted also delimited the themes and environmental activity that was considered to be part of the environmental movement in Ghana. Through the shared identify and collective action of actors, the snowballing method allowed for the characterization of four distinct groupings within the environmental movement in Ghana, namely the 'anti-mining', 'fisheries and coastal management', 'climate change' and 'environmental justice'. By the method, it was observed that the delimited scope of the environmental movement meant that other topical environmental issues that were even of individual interest to some of the EMOs, were not identified as part of the 'movement activity' in this research. What this means is that, although for instance issues such as wildlife protection, were legitimate environmental concerns

in Ghana that some EMOs such as the Friends of the Earth Ghana were concerned with, there was no shared identity building and collective action and activity between any two or more of the EMOs sampled nor were there cases of non-institutionalized movement activity encountered. Making such important environmental issues as wildlife protection, for the purposes of this work, fall outside my thematic characterization of the environmental movement in Ghana.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE NON-INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT ACTORS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter considers the non-institutional, grassroots dimension of the environmental movement in Ghana. In an attempt to appreciate it fully and to tease out critical features that may contribute to a wider understanding and conceptualization of the environmental movement which would be discussed in the next chapter, two case studies are considered. Incidentally both cases are community resistance and protests to environmental and other socioeconomic concerns. The communities studied are both rural and live in close proximity to mining activities and demonstrate how there is a high level of community discontent to the operations of large multinational mining companies, and also how they regard their livelihood as worse of and not beneficiaries of the lucrative proceeds of mineral exploitation. It is the evidence of collective identity formation, collective action, resource mobilization and sharing within these cases that makes them collectively qualify as movement actors.

The chapter is broken in to two halves where each case study brings out dominant features that I have considered both interesting and note-worthy in helping shape our understanding of the environmental movement in Ghana. The first, the Dumasi case, brings to light the presence of an interesting and somewhat unusual gender dimension of the environmental movement. A gender dimension that appears to confront preconceived and widely accepted traditional social views of women in rural African communities. The Dumasi case documents the rare social phenomenon of women-organized and women-led social protest in West Africa and offers a fresh look at the potential of the gender card as a viable strategy of environmental (and social) protest.

The second part of the chapter looks at what I have labeled the 'Occupy Yayaso' campaign, a relatively short public protest that had some peripheral resemblance to the globally renowned 'Occupy London' movement. Although unrelated in ideology or goals, the actual event of the occupation of a piece of land was a novel strategy that registered a strong message of protest against mining activities and saw some relatively prompt response to demands that were being made. In this account, the dominant feature that is of interest to me is the apparent role that 'family heritage' played in gathering support and resources for the protest and how that led to the evolution of novel strategies such as the occupation of a parcel of land.

In both cases I would argue why the features noted are of interest and in what ways they appear unique and could serve in the characterization of the non-institutionalized dimension environmental movement in Ghana as having both a gender dimension and one that the need to protect family heritage is a strong basis for the support of movement ideals and actions. I draw on similar case of environmental protest in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly from Nigeria and Kenya in support of my claims.

5.1 Case one: Dumasi

5.1.1 Site Location and gold mining activities

The Prestea-Huni Vallley district of the Western Region of Ghana is about 335km from the Capital, Accra and houses some of Ghana's most popular mining towns, including the Prestea, Bogoso and the Tarkwa township, which is the second largest gold producing town in Ghana and has over a century of industrial gold mining history. In between these relatively larger industrial towns are several smaller other communities and villages such as the small community called Dumasi, which is at the centre of this case study.

The area of the district is covered by gold and diamond bearing rocks that are known in West African geological parlance as the 'Birimian and Tarkwaian' rocks that are also predominantly found in other West African countries such as Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Guinea, Senegal and Liberia. According to Wright *et al* (1985:40) the 'Birimian' and 'Tarkwaian' rocks are metamorphic rock formations found in West Africa that usually occur in close association with each other, with the latter being more known to contain gold deposits. Interestingly the nomenclature of these West African rocks originates from the 'Birim' region and the 'Tarkwa' township mentioned above, both in Ghana as these were the first areas in West Africa to have the rocks thoroughly studied and classified. I find this geological note important, as it gives an indication of how important and popular the "Prestea-Huni Valley" district is to the mining industry in Ghana and in the wider West Africa region, not only in terms of actual mining explorations but also to the study and understanding of precious mineral deposits in West Africa. Ghana was known as the 'Gold Coast' until independence in 1957 and Botchway (1998: 510) stresses that this was a name descriptive of its resources and importance.

The district has several active mines scattered through it, some of which are in very close proximity to villages and populated communities. Collectively it has the highest concentration of mines in any single district on the continent, most of which is owned by some of the biggest names in the industry (Akabza, 2001:147). It also lies in the part of the country that receives the highest amount of rainfall annually and has vestiges of the ever-dwindling tropical rain forests in Ghana. The soil is well drained and the arable land makes it conducive for the cultivation of cash crops such as cocoa and oil palm that the residents of the local communities often engage in. It is therefore no surprise that the operations of mineral exploration, particularly in large surface mining concessions does interfere , amongst others, farming activities and is a significant threat to the source of livelihoods. An issue that I will discuss in much more detail later. Additionally, there has been a shift from use of traditional labour-intensive deep shaft mines to modern opencast (surface) mines (Akaabza, 2001; Tsuma, 2011). This, however, involved a move towards towards heap leaching and carbon leaching processes (Tsuma, 2011). The cyanide used in the heap leaching

technique mineral extraction from the ore is a significant feature in the Ghanaian mining industry and a major source of conflict between companies and local communities (Tsuma, 2011).

About 35km from the town of Tarkwa is the Bogoso/Prestea mine concession owned by the Canadian company Golden Star Resources Limited (GSR). The company has a visible presence in the mineral exploration industry not in Ghana but in other African countries such as Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Niger and Sierra-Leone, as well as other properties in South America notably in Brazil, Suriname and French Guiana (GSR, 2012).

Figure 1 below shows the extent of its operation in Ghana and neighbouring Cote D'Ivoire. It also gives a birds-eye shot of the location of Tarkwa in the southwestern corner of the country and its proximity to the Bogoso/Prestea property.
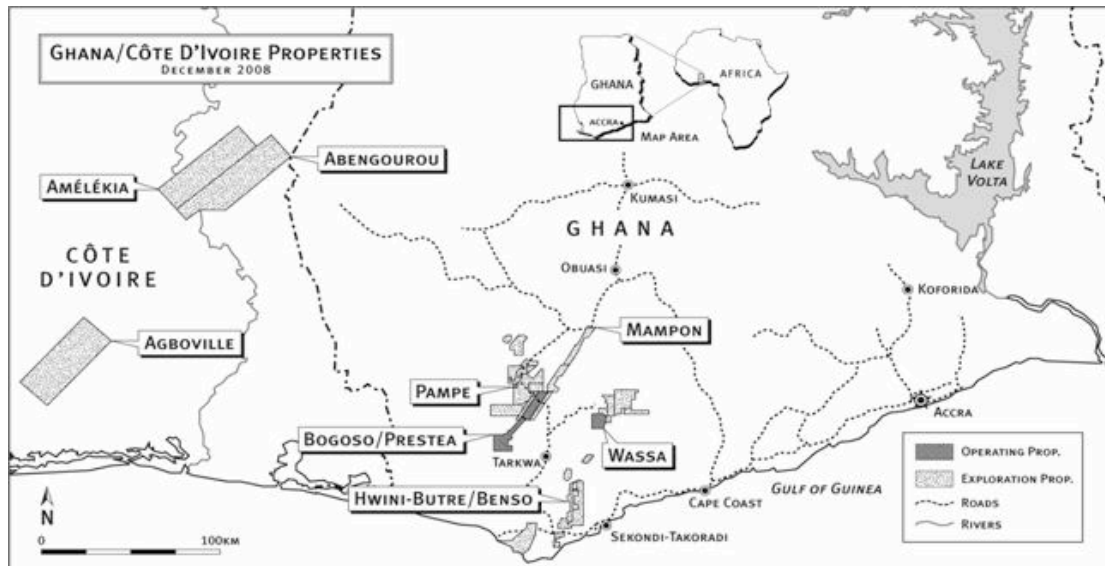
Figure 5.1: Shows the various exploration properties of the GSR in Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana, West Africa. (Source: Golden Star Resources).

GSR was established in 1992 and by the end of 2011 had produced over 2 million ounces of gold from its global operations. It operates the Bogoso/Prestea mines

under the locally registered name of 'Golden Star Bogoso/Prestea Limited' (GSBPL). The Bogoso/Prestea property is in actual fact a mine complex that consists of several active gold mines and gold prospecting concessions scattered in between the towns of Bogoso and Prestea. At present, the mines are all open surface pits with the exception of one deep shaft pit in Prestea, which reaches a depth of about 1.5km. This twin-town property as I choose to call it, is a very large one covering an approximate distance of 85km in length. It also operates a refractory processing plant at the Bogoso end of the property (GSR, 2012). Figure 4.2 below gives a pictorial representation of the Bogoso/Prestea property and the relative locations of the Bogoso, Prestea and Tarkwa towns.

Both Bogoso and Prestea have been historically known as gold mining towns in Ghana with the deep shaft mine in Prestea established by the colonial administration in 1873. Gold mining in Bogoso began in the early 20th Century and in both cases the mining operations were characterized by deep shaft mines. The ownership of the mines in these towns have changed hands since the government of Ghana took over for colonial rule in the 1950s, and later decided to privatize mining operations to make profits. The government did not have the huge financial capital to invest in prospecting and modernizing operation and as result, resorted to privatization as a means to cut back its losses. In the early 1980s it rolled out a series of macroeconomic reforms under a World Bank Structural Adjustment Programme that facilitated a massive inflow of foreign investment estimated at about 5 billion dollars to date, and subsequently led to the phenomenal growth of the mining sector (Kumah, 2006: 320).

GSR entered the Ghanaian market in 1999 with the 90% takeover of the Bogoso properties, and a subsequent take over of the Prestea concession in 2001. Gold production has been rigorous especially in the light of rising gold prices of the international market. And for the year 2011 alone produced 140,504 ounces of gold from its activities in just the Bogoso/Prestea properties. The company has in recent years through its prospecting activities discovered new gold deposits and built a 2.7 million tonne refractory plant in 2007.

In between the two major towns of Bogoso and Prestea (see figure 2 below) are several small communities and villages that are separated by large tracts of farmland, mining pits and waste rock dumps. These communities live in such close proximity to mining activities that they have been affected in diverse ways by it. From my interaction with some community residents and NGOs that work with them, the overall sentiments on the effects of mining on their total livelihood and quality of life has been negative.

Dumasi is one of the communities between Bogoso and Prestea which is home to the GSR 'Dumasi pit', a surface gold mine. With reference to the map in figure 4.2, the community is located adjacent to the 'Bogoso plant' (see figure 4.2 below). It is made up of about 4000 residents who are historically and predominantly cocoa and oil palm farmers. The effects of mining as they occur in the wider district are also evident in Dumasi especially in recent years when there has been such growth and expansion in surface mining activities, with an open pit gold mine literally in the backyard of the community.
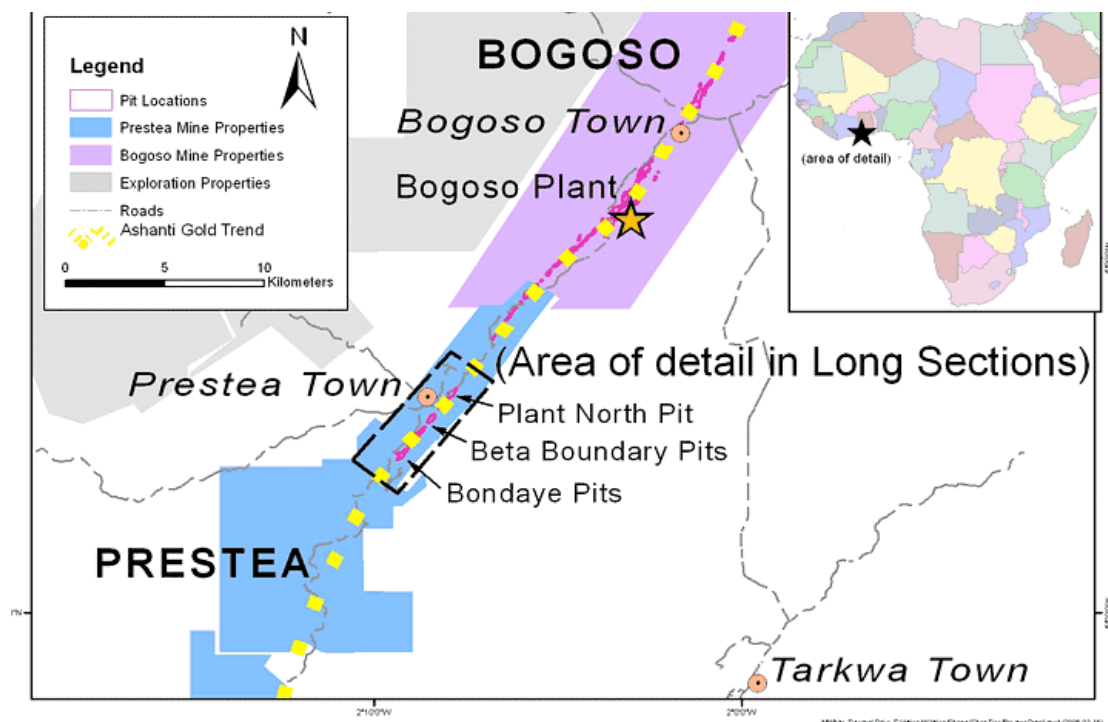
Figure 5.2: Shows the area of the Bogoso/Prestea mining and exploratory concessions and the location of the Bogoso Processing Plant. (Source: Golden Star Resources)

This close proximity to mining activities has led to grave concerns and widespread discontent amongst residents, of the operations of the present owners of the mine. Their discontents cover a range of issues that I will summarize briefly below. It also sets the tone for an appreciation of the situation that contributed to and motivated a social protest that is central to this case study.

5.1.2 Local discontents of mining

The discontents of the residents of Dumasi with the activities of GSR tie in with most findings of previous studies conducted in rural mining communities in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa (Akabza, 2001; Aryee *et al*, 2003; Kumah, 2006; Akabzaa *et al*, 2007; Hilson, 2010). Simply put, most research findings support the view that residents in communities that host gold mining activities are often very unhappy about the detrimental effect that these operations have had on their way and standard of life (Moody, 2001:139). This view is almost unanimous in an interaction with a random sample of residents, with some of the complaints very visible during my brief stay in the community[7]. For the purposes of this study I have chosen to summarize the expressed discontents into three brief categories namely, economic, environmental and health, and human rights abuses which I will elaborate below.

5.1.2.1 Economic

The mining industry in Ghana and other parts of Africa in many ways mirrors the paradox of Africa's impoverishment. In the sense that it is a very resource rich continent, yet materially very poor, typifying the 'resource curse' whereby its attractive mineral deposits have not been able to result in positive growth trends

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[7] Dumasi community residents comprising Respondents 22, 23, 24 and 25 (appendix 2)

(Moody, 2007:44). This poverty is stark and most glaring in the communities that host these mining operations. (See Appendix 1 and 2).

Although the industry significantly contributes to national revenues and GDP, as gold in particular is one of its single largest export commodities, the residents of mining communities do not appear to benefit directly from all the financial gains that the nation receives. The operations of large multinational companies have been hugely profitable, but this profitability reflects only on their balance sheets and the money is exported to their home nations. To start with, very small percentages of the total revenues they rake in each year go to the nation state, and even much smaller percentages trickle down through the government agencies and institutions for the benefit of the local communities where the minerals were directly exploited (Darimani, 2010). The payment of royalty rates remains the biggest source of governmental revenue from the sector and this is in itself very low, likewise the corporate taxes that are negotiated for mining companies to pay. This makes the costs of operations relatively cheap for multinational companies, hence the reason why Ghana and other African countries are such an attractive location.

Ghana's large-scale gold mining companies made about US $5.2 billion between 1990 and 2002, and in that period the government received just US $68.8 million in royalty payments and $18.7 million in corporate income tax (Bracking, 2010:67). Mining companies are required by law to pay royalties of between 3 and 6% of their profits, and GSR, for instance, it has consistently paid a royalty rate of 3%. Out of the relatively small royalties collected, only about 10% is allocated to the fund from which communities such as Dumasi that host the mineral operations could possibly benefit (see Fig 4.3 below). This money (10% of royalties) is meant to be distributed among the respective district assemblies (55% of it) and traditional authorities and the stool/chiefs (45% of it), through the administrator of stool lands. The assumption is that whatever goes to the district assemblies and the stool would translate into financial benefits for the communities. However this is unfortunately far from the truth on the ground (Darimani, 2010:55). Bigger towns may get some investments

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and physical infrastructural development such as paved roads, but the smaller communities like Dumasi are cut off.
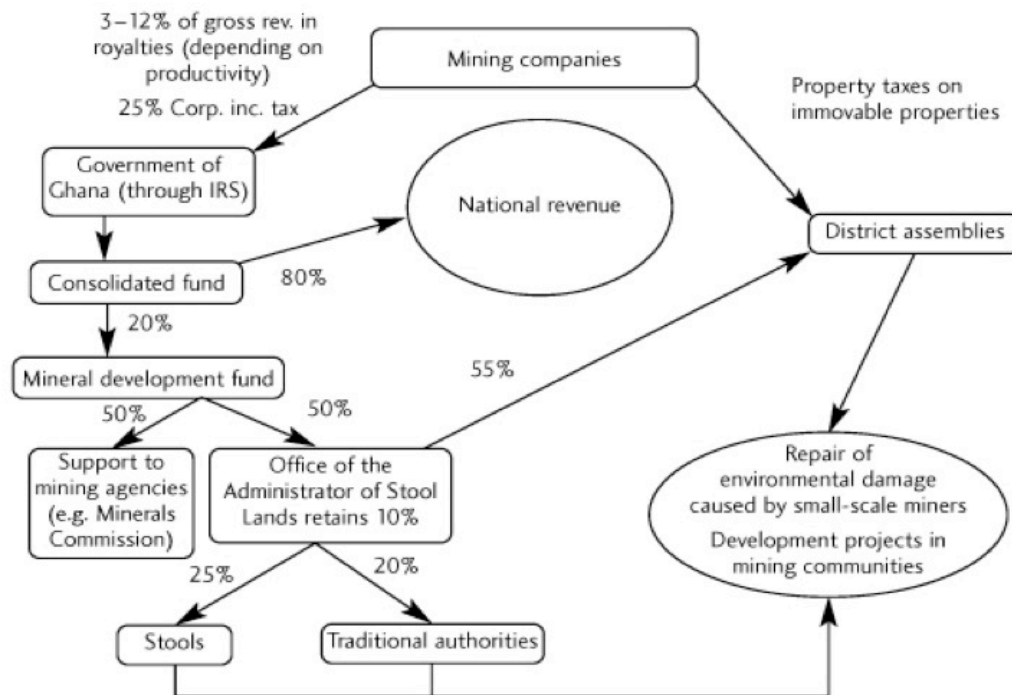
Fig. 5.3 : Flow chart of the distribution of mining royalties in Ghana. Source: Darimani, 2010.

Hilson and Maconachie (2009) make the interesting claim that the poverty levels of African countries that are known to be mineral producers are not so merely because of the widely perceived notion of the mismanagement of funds on the part of leadership, but rather their poor economic standards stem from the inequitable distribution of mineral proceeds outlined above. In short even in the face of Africa's notorious corruption levels, the quantities of money available to be embezzled are small/insignificant in comparison to the revenues that the companies accrue. This is coupled with the problems of a lack of transparency in the sector's financials, illegal capital flight and the further loss of revenue when companies exaggerate their costs to obtain unfair tax deductions (Natural Resource Watch, 2012). Inasmuch as perceived and actual corruption on the part of Ghanaian and African leadership needs to be aggressively tackled, its does too often take away the attention of other critical factors, such as the need to address the small royalty rates that are paid to

host nations by mining companies. This assertion is backed by the fact that studies have shown that amongst developing countries, those that were resource-poor economies actually out-performed the resource-rich economies in terms of economic growth (Kumah, 2006:317) and this questions the perception of the mining sector as an adequate engine of growth for the developing economy.

Mining does have the potential to provide good revenue to host nations who critically need the financial support, however as far as local community residents are concerned, very little is felt in terms of any benefits that the mineral exploration has produced. Mining communities ironically may be sitting on bedrock of gold, but it is with empty pockets that they express their discontent

Additionally, mining activities lead to a displacement of the local people. What I mean by this is the competing interests that mining, especially, the operation of huge surface mines, have with the traditional use of land. In the case of Dumasi, as well as many other communities, large tracts of farmland are taken away from the people and destroyed in the process. With a property size that spans a strike length of 85km, not only are several farms at the mercy of prospecting and mining activities but the very existence of the entire community and their way of life. Sassen (2014) describes this displacement and expulsion of poor and marginalized groups as a global problem, which when put in perspective has led to millions of small-scale farmers in poor countries losing 220 million hectares of land. In these poor countries, complex contracts and legal provisions literally serve as a "channels for expulsion" and allow the authorized removal of local communities and rural economies from their land (Sassen, 2014:2)[8]. The flaws of the legal system in the Ghanaian case are examined at a later section.

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[8] Expulsions are not exclusive to abjectly poor countries and do occur in richer economies as well, as seen in the growing impoverishment of the middle class in rich countries. However, "the character, contents and sites of these expulsions vary enormously across social strata and physical conditions" (Sassen, 2014:3). For eg. Minorities in rich countries who are warehoused in prisons, and able-bodied men and women warehoused in slums are all forms of expulsion.

The loss of occupations and sources of revenue are also not always compensated by the mining operations since the majority of residents are not skilled enough to be offered any kind of employment at the mines, with the exception of the very few that are able to land the menial jobs. And on the whole there is a huge disparity between the number of job opportunities that mining companies create for community residents as opposed to the occupational losses that they suffer.

Upon interacting with community residents it appears that that this economic discontent of job losses hits them as some form of disappointing reality, as many of them had been persuaded or were under the impression that the mining activities would in some way offer them an opportunity to enter salaried employments and ultimately lead to better economic prospects. For the majority the loss of their livelihood has hit them hard with the additional blow of having to deal with the disappointment and emotional stress caused.

 The rising unemployment levels have also created a new problem of its own as some are enticed to take part in illegal mining activities, popularly called 'galamsey' in Ghana. Illegal mines are operated under very unsafe conditions and are very exploitative. I will revisit this issue of illegal mining under the discontent on human rights abuses.

5.1.2.2 Environmental and health

The livelihoods of most rural communities have been shaped around the presence of a number of natural resources such as water and arable land. However the operations of mining, especially large-scale surface mines, appear to threaten the existence of these resources (Moody, 2001:38). Rivers and streams may be dammed, heavily silted or polluted in various ways, making their water unsafe for consumption or rendering it useless in providing other needed services for agrarian communities.

Another looming danger are the threats that mineral production, which often uses poisonous chemicals such mercury and cyanide in the case of gold extraction, pose to underground water stocks and surface supply. One of the major sources of this form of pollution is the use of poorly constructed cyanide containment ponds and their frequent unreported leakages (Akabzaa et al, 2007:31). Studies have shown how many rural mining communities have had their underground water stocks, which they often fall back on after surface water becomes polluted, also become equally unsafe for human consumption (Babut *et al*, 2003:217-218). This fact often renders common corporate 'socially responsible' acts of providing bore-holes as alternate sources of water for the mining communities, an unsatisfactory gesture.

Land degradation is also very rife especially in areas whether surface mining methods are employed. Large tracts of potentially arable land, or in most cases farmed lands are cleared and exposed to the dangers of erosion and in the process produce dust balls that pollute the air. Coupled with the absence of proper remediation measures, sites of degraded land characterized by ghastly pits and mountains of waste rock dumps become permanent fixtures of the landscape of mining communities (see Figure 4.3 below). Very little attention is paid to the damaging effects of land degradation on the environment and the material livelihood of the people, let alone other so called 'postmaterial' concerns such as aesthetics and how unsightly the rural landscape becomes after the 'rape' of mineral exploration. Tucked away from the urban eye, it often takes only a visit to these remote communities to fully appreciate the extent of degradation and the burden on the people living under such conditions.

Fig. 5.4: One of the gold mine pits that are scattered around major mining towns, showing two heavy duty dumper trucks (circled) for emphasis of scale. Source: Wacam, Ghana.

The prevalence of illegal mines, which are often very shallow, also contribute significantly to land degradation. Because of the crude and semi-professional equipment used, illegal mine pits were very shallow, situated near water sources and by virtue of the semi-intensive, unscrupulous nature of work, the miners found the need to move around from one location to another quite frequently in order to make enough significant gold finds. Although the mines were relatively small in size, their cumulative effect as they moved from one site to another meant that a large surface of land was eventually degraded. These mines also used very poisonous chemicals such as mercury and cyanide in their operations and had no means or facilities to properly dispose of the waste material produced, and as a result the waste was always indiscriminately dumped in open fields.

Fig. 5.5: Author at one of the several "galamsey" illegal mines dotted in between the mining towns of Tarkwa and Bogoso, in the western Region. Showing land degradation and interference with ground water systems (Source: Author's own).

The direct ramifications of poor environmental quality outlined above, is the health concerns that are associated with them. Community dwellers are known to have suffered various ailments ranging from respiratory difficulties, to skin cancers as a result of polluted air and water. What makes it worse for smaller communities like Dumasi is the absence of proper medical facilities or personnel for around the clock healthcare provision. Residents would have to travel to the nearest town for treatment and that makes the entire process costly and unattractive. Most people suffer a variety of ailments in silence and comprehensive data on the true costs to life are not readily available.

Some studies conducted in some other mining communities in the Western Region of Ghana revealed that mercury contamination present in water sources, farm produce and fish stocks was significant (Babut et al, 2003:217) suggesting the possible causal relationship between the exposure and consumption of these and the incidence of some diseases. In a similar study by Akabzaa *et al* (2007:43-48) collecting disease prevalence and occurrence data from 1989 to 2009, it was found that during the period 1997 to 2003 that was studied, there was an increase in the

incidence of the deadly malaria in mining communities from 1997 to 2001 when surface mining was at its peak, and a corresponding drop in the numbers when surface mining activities declined from 2001 to 2003 (Akabzaa *et al*, 2007:48). The pits dug and soil excavations created very suitable breeding grounds for mosquitoes, especially during the rainy seasons. This direct correlation illustrates how the quality of the health of the mining community residents is gravely affected by surface mining in particular. This relationship translates as a spike in a preventable disease like malaria which already takes numerous lives in Ghana each year.

5.1.2.3 Human rights abuses

There have also been some reports of human rights abuses that are perpetrated by the big powerful multinational companies. These range from abuses of their right to life, development, property and dignity (Ayine, 2001:90). In Ghana, mining community dwellers have on occasion accused mining companies of using violence and disproportionate force when they protest and voice their grievances. There have been claims that some of the mining companies use illegal cells to detain and punish small-scale local miners when they clash with them (Ayine, 2001:91; Akabzaa *et al,* 2007:78), and there had been isolated incidents of the use of firearms on locals by the security operatives of these mining companies. Although none of the residents of Dumasi expressly mentioned any experience of GSR's use of violence against any of them, the fear of the possibility was apparent especially based on what they had learned from other mining communities. The presence of guards at the various security gates and check points leading to GSR's properties, had created an intimidating atmosphere that did not encourage any of them to contemplate public protest as a means of voicing their concern. Having said that, it makes it even more interesting to document how their apparent inhibitions were overcome in a public protest that took place in December 2011 and that was unique in that event as a turning point for the community. I describe this in more detail as the 'march for water' in subsequent sections.

Fig. 5.6: Suspected illegal miner shot without provocation by a mining company's private security, receiving hospital treatment in handcuffs (circled). Prior to NGO's intervention and provision of legal aid. Source: Wacam.

Another form of abuse that locals in mining communities face in the apparent loss of land and deprivation of property (Ayine, 2001:92), is the emotional abuse that comes with the losing invaluable articles of inheritance. In traditional communities, land is one of the commonest forms of inheritance that is passed on from one generation to the other. And over the years the people form very deep sentimental and almost spiritual relationships with the land. Two very interesting illustrations of the means through which these close attachments are formed from the interactions with community residents are the fact that the land serves as the burial sites for the dead and a means of communicating with the dead. For instance in traditional religious prayers, libation is often poured on the ground to invoke the blessings of dead ancestors buried there. Secondly, it was common practice for traditional birth attendants after the delivery of a baby, to bury the umbilical cord and placenta in the family compound as a means of connecting the child to its home as it were. The belief therefore remained, that irrespective of the journeys and how far life can take that person he or she would always be connected to their hometown, and in a spiritual sense never forget where they have come from.

In view of this, a great deal of stress and emotional pain is suffered when mining companies, take away their land from them for mineral prospecting often without

adequate or prompt compensation (Ayine, 2001:92). Even where compensation is paid, it is often underestimated as a function of the economic activities that it supported and this important, yet intangible value is very often neglected. This in my opinion amounts to one of the greatest human rights abuses that mining communities face. The depth of their loss does not depend on the cessation of any material benefits that were being enjoyed from the land, but the intangible value that comes with family inheritance.

Additionally in most cases there have not been adequate environmental impact assessment procedures that are participatory enough to engage the locals in assessing their needs, and allowing them to voice concerns or discuss the measures that would mitigate any discontent they may have with mining. Often, the companies are granted their operating licenses by the government agencies in the capital city without prior or full consultation with the local community, leaving them with no choice other than to cope and adjust to the repercussions. Because it does not appear a priority, negotiations for compensation could take several years after the commencement of mining operations, creating a needless struggle for what is rightly due community residents and a prolonged period of associated pain and hardship[9].

5.7: A Dumasi Community resident pointing out the damaging cracks to one of many houses as a result of the frequent dynamite blasting by the mining company. No compensation or cost of repair has been paid. Source: Author's own (picture used with permission).

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[9] Specific concern and personal experiences raised by respondent 22 (appendix 2).

This lack of proper EIA and social impact assessment procedures is underpinned by several factors including the lack of political will, the absence of an institutional base or legislative framework for it, the lack of adequate scientific data and the relative low numbers of skilled personnel to undertake these activities. Irrespective of these underlying reasons, the fact remains that it has led to the local communities forming the general social perception of mining companies, aided by national governments, as greedy, selfish and solely profit oriented.

The problem of the spread of illegal mining mentioned earlier, which attracts some local residents, as the only means to earn a living, also constitutes human abuses. The owners of the illegal mines are alleged to be some foreign individuals or businessmen from the cities who capitalize on the availability of cheap labour and the high demand for gold to make some quick money. In recent times there have been reports of an influx in several mining towns across the country of Chinese businessmen who provide the equipment for the activities of these mines. It is known that the working conditions in these illegal mines are harsh and inhumane, often without the use of appropriate equipment and safety measures and the utilization of basic rudimentary artisanal tools and equipment (Aryee *et al*, 2003:132). Most of the mines are shallow pits and trenches that contribute to environmental degradation, but others are much deeper, and these often involve scavenging on abandoned or spent deep shaft pits that haven have been left by the mining companies, and most of which are structurally unstable and potential death traps. During interactions with residents of Dumasi, most people personally knew someone who had died as a result of engaging in some form of illegal mining.

I interviewed a 15-year old sixth grade pupil[10] who attended a school in the next town, about 7 miles away, who reported that he had repeatedly been two or three hours late for school each day. Instead of an 8am start, he usually worked in the mines for some money or was engaged in long treks to fetch water from boreholes

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[10] Brief interview conducted (respondent 24) with the consent and in the presence of his father a Dumasi community resident and farmer, who was also an interview respondent (respondent23).

in neighbouring communities. At the weekends he would join several other teenagers to work in these illegal mines to make just about GHs 3 (the equivalent of about £1 at the time of writing)[11] for a whole day's work of about 12 hours. The adults were paid slightly more at about GHs 4 per day (about £1.30p). The employment of minors and the low wages that illegal mines pay, associated with the distraction from education and robbing minors of the enjoyment of their childhood, do constitute grave human rights abuses that have been perpetrated often indirectly by the activities of mining companies like GSR. In the case of this boy in question, at age 15 he was already at least four years behind in his schooling and the future for him and potentially several other children was not very bright. This is a clear violation of the educational rights of children, and children's rights as a whole (Ayine, 2001:94) when mining activities force minors to compromise their education and engage in child labour.

5.1.3 Water at the centre of discontent: the traditional view of water and case of water pollution at Dumasi[12]

As mentioned earlier, the discontents of mining activities briefly described above appear to be common to most rural communities in which similar research has been conducted. However inasmuch as Dumasi was no exception, one particular concern – with water quality and the access to clean water – was apparent as the chief of all concerns communicated. This was because of the destruction of their waster sources through the activities of GSR. Mining companies were given the absolute rights to the water resources found within their concessions, and this was sanctioned by the country's 2006 Minerals and Mining Act (703) which apparently put the interests of the mining companies ahead of those of the host communities. The Article 17 of the 2006 Minerals and Mining Act, clearly states that;

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[11] £1 (British pound) traded at GHs 3.00253 (Ghanaian Cedis) as at 4th February, 2013. According to the currency exchange website
http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert/?Amount=1&From=GBP&To=GHS.
[12] Account on water stress in Dumasi by respondents 15, 22, 25 and 26 (appendix 2).

"Subject to obtaining the requisite approvals or licenses under the Water Resources Commission Act 1996 (Act 552), a holder of a mineral right may, for purposes of or ancillary to the mineral operations, obtain, divert, impound, convey and use water from a river, stream, underground reservoir or watercourse within the land the subject of the mineral right".

This provision put a lot of power in the hands of mining companies to use water resources at their discretion, and consequently it was the local communities that hosted them, that suffered when water sources were polluted or destroyed.

Access to water and issues of water pollution were the most important concern to the Dumasi community mainly because of two reasons. The first reason stems from the traditional views that rural communities have about nature which make water pollution an issue close to their hearts, and the second is the practical difficulties that the absence of safe water supply has on their livelihoods and the execution of everyday tasks. In order to fully appreciate the former, it is apposite to deliberately digress briefly to discuss the traditional view of nature that tends to produce an ethic of care and concern.

To the local dwellers, water is not seen merely as another natural resource that can drive the local economy and support basic livelihood. Much more than that, they held an almost sacred view of water sources as the very source of life, forming part of the very general view that humanity was conceived as an integration of nature and the universe. And out of this general belief arises the tenet that nature cannot be violated without endangering life in totality. This view of human existence being inter-twinned with nature has resulted in several African communities having evolved some traditional environmental ethic of care for nature (Hagan, 1998:27).

Additionally, traditional communities are in awe of the beauty and power of nature, often regarding the elements of nature as having some form of mystical powers worthy of respect and often times worship (Maathai, 2010:162-167). Leading to the formulation of a host of practices and regulations that ensure that the integrity of

and rhythm of nature. Its is very common to see communities name and deify rivers, lakes and streams as having spirits and souls, offering sacrifices or having shrines that commemorate festivals and ceremonies to both to celebrate the good of nature and to give thanks in appreciation of all the benefits that the natural world bestows.

The traditional African community by its beliefs and practices abhors the general notion of the objectification of nature, and its presence as mere 'raw materials' for production and exploitation (Maathai, 2010:162). As a result traditional rules and regulation that govern the environment are very ecocentric in nature, and by extension form the basis of the widely held view that indigenous peoples often live in relative harmony with nature.

In essence this ethic of care is manifested in the various practices that ensure a sustainable use of nature. For instance the Akan tribe, which is the largest tribe in Ghana, covering most of the Western Region of Ghana, including the people of Dumasi, have traditional laws regulating the exploitation of nature, enforced by the performance of rituals and ceremonies that mark periods whereby rivers, lakes and forests under constant use are temporarily closed to public access to enable specie diversity in the ecosystem to re-generate and reproduce (Hagan, 1998:28). For instance there were 'days of rest' also known as taboo-days during which the land and rivers were expected to rest, and breaking this rule was considered a bad omen. The spirit of the land and the rivers, as they believed, deserved to rest on these days and not be disturbed (Abayie-Boaten, 1998:3). Theses rest days and periods were once again essential for ecosystem regeneration and invoking an ethic of care and consideration in the use of the environment. The reverence for the elements of nature that were regarded as having spirits of their own was so high that on some occasions its disturbance or use would be accompanied by the offering of prayers and rituals, to as it were, appease the spirit of nature. Busia (1954:194) captures the practice of Ashanti wood carvers as follows;

"An Ashanti craftsman will endeavour to propitiate certain trees before he cuts them. He will offer an egg, for example, to the Odum tree saying, 'I am about to cut you down and carve you; do not let me suffer harm"

The carver offers this prayer to the spirit of the prized Odum tree (*Chlorophora exelsa*) as a sign of respect and consideration, before cutting even a single tree down, bearing in mind that any careless treatment of the tree could result in the sprit bringing a bad omen on him. Therefore, without recourse to a scientific basis or methods of conservation, such traditional beliefs went a long way to promote a form of cultural conservation of nature.

In addition to this strong ethic of care, the second consideration of the practical difficulties posed by water stress was also seen in the example of Dumasi, making the combination of these two factors a strong basis for subsequent collective action, which is illustrated by the 'March for water' described in the next section below.

The Community was not connected to the main treated water pipeline network and was fully reliant on six streams that flowed through and around it for their water needs. However the operations of the GSR has led to a pollution of all the six water sources making them unfit for human consumption or use in agriculture. The six streams namely the *Apopre, Worawura, Nana Nyaboa, Akyesua, Benya* and *Abodwese* are very small streams that on average are about 2 metres wide and just about 1m deep. And out of these six, two of them the *Apopre,* which flows from the east to the west of the community, and the *Worawura*, which flows from the north to south direction of the community served as the main sources of drinking water because of their purity and clarity, and the other streams used mainly for agricultural purposes.

However the tailings dam of the Bogoso mine properties was constructed very close to the source of the streams and over time cyanide leeched into the water source causing it to get polluted. This initial problem of cyanide pollution became evident in 1992, before the ownership of the dam was transferred to GSR with visible fish kills

and several complaints of skin rashes after using the water for bathing. A borehole was constructed in the community to compensate for the pollution and as means of using the ground water sources instead of the open streams for human consumption. By the early 2000's the population's demand on the single bore hole had grown so much that some residents had resorted to using the polluted *Apopre* stream for other domestic activities. Additionally, research conducted by some environmental NGOs that had began an outreach programme in the community (Obiri et al, 2010) showed that the levels of iron, mercury and other heavy metals were dangerously high and a clear indication that besides the open streams, the very water table in the community had now been polluted from the years of mining activities. The situation had become so bad that the farmers also reported crop failure and low yields as a result of using the polluted stream for crop cultivation[13].

Fig 5.8: Dead fish floating on the surface of one of the streams surrounding the Dumasi community, as a result of cyanide pollution. Source: Wacam.

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[13] Personal communication (2012) with Obiri S. lead author of study report Obiri, S., Dodoo D. K., Essumang, D. K and Armah, F. A. (2010) 'Cancer and Non-Cancer Risk Assessment from Exposure to Arsenic, Copper, and Cadmium in Borehole, Tap, and Surface Water in the Obuasi Municipality, Ghana', *Human and Ecological Risk Assessment: An International Journal* 16 (3).

Frustrated by the lack of safe water for human consumption, from both bore holes and the open streams, the residents appealed to GSR, the present owners of the mines, to come to their aid and provide them with safe drinking water. As a result, in 2003, two plastic water tanks were made available to the community with GSR committing to refilling them by employing the services of water tanker trucks from the bigger towns of Bogoso or Tarkwa, anytime the stocks run out. Within a year the community realized that the two tanks were not enough to meet their needs. This was more apparent because of other major cyanide spillage events such as one in October 2004, which put the residents completely off using the streams for any kind of domestic activities and so made them fully reliant on the water tanks.

After some persistence and persuasion, GSR agreed to provide two additional tanks to meet the community's needs. However over the next seven years the community struggled to meet its water needs even with the four tanks provided as the population grew. But more especially they struggled because GSR was not regular and punctual in its refilling schedule, which meant that the community could go for days without water when the tanks run out. It naturally meant that some people had no choice than to resort to the use of polluted water as they agonizingly waited for the refilling of the tanks.

By mid-2011 the community had started advocating for a more permanent solution to their water stress and was lobbying through the local chief to get GSR to provide an extra tank as a temporary measure. Negotiations for either permanent water supply or an additional tank were not making any progress and it was difficult to get access to the mine authorities to discuss issues. Security guards at gates and checkpoints manned all the access points. The residents were struggling to cope with limited water supplies and living conditions had become even more difficult since GSR's service of refilling the water tanks had become more and more irregular[14].

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[14] Respondents 25 and 26 (appendix 2).

In December 2011, out of the frustrations of the people, the women of Dumasi organized themselves at the community centre and embarked on a landmark public protest, marching to the main gates of GSR to register their discontent and demand prompt remedy.

5.1.4 'The march for water'[15]

The water crisis in Dumasi had affected every aspect of the community life. However the women in the community who were traditionally required to keep the household running felt the burden even more strongly. The execution of domestic chores such as cooking, washing and caring for children were made very difficult without access to safe water sources. Some resorted to a difficult commute to the neighbouring town 7 miles away for borehole water, and others somehow made do with the unsatisfactory polluted streams.

The burden of the women was not merely a physical one in terms of the increased difficulty in the accessing water for domestic use, but it also came with associated emotional distress especially when the difficult decision to use the polluted water brought about an additional range of health concerns. There was an apparent rise in the incidence of skin cancers, pigmentation and rashes that were attributed to the use of polluted water for bath or cooking. This created an extra chore of women having to care for the sick, especially children. Furthermore the women interviewed shared the distress they felt when it appeared that the men of the community who were leading the efforts of negotiating the solution for the water crises and making no head way, vented their frustrations on their women in the home setting.

Over time it appeared to the women that the men had almost given up on the situation and become almost apathetic in accepting that the water stress was now a part of the community life.

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[15] Account and details based on interview with respondents number 25 and 26 (Appendix 2).

Through the community capacity building outreach work of Wacam, a mining advocacy NGO[16], a female resident of Dumasi was encouraged and supported to stand to stand for election as the Assembly member to represent the Dumasi electoral area on the district assembly. This effort In March 2011 was successful and for the first time ever, Dumasi had a female Assembly member. Assembly members form part of the wider District Assembly, and were responsible for advocating for the needs for their communities at that level[17], which amongst others would include some developmental projects that could be financed by the District Assembly common fund through the Local Government Ministry. However in most cases the District Assemblies were not adequately resourced to become effective vehicles of change in the respective communities they covered.

In an interview, the Assemblywoman[18] described the period between July and December 2011 as the worst for the community, when the refilling service of their water tanks was the least regular, and inadequate in meeting the community's population. During that period, attempts by the men and opinion leaders to secure an additional tank, and regular refilling service was stalled. Having had enough of the struggle and distress, the women mobilized themselves to take action with the new Assemblywoman taking the lead. Information was spread by word of mouth that there was a need to take the matter into their own hands, and all the plans were kept away from the men of the community. Consequently very early in the morning of 12 December 2011, a group of over two hundred women gathered at the community centre where the tanks were situated. The women were clad in red and black traditional funeral clothes to symbolize their grave displeasure, almost to say that they were in mourning. Additionally they each carried empty buckets and

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[16] Wacam is one of Ghana's biggest and foremost mining advocacy NGO's. a discussion on Wacam is detail in the next chapter.

[17] District Assemblies are the pivotal administrative and developmental decision-making organs of the Local Government. They have deliberative, legislative and executive functions and are the planning authority for the districts, including key developmental planning in the area of health, education etc although central policy comes from the local government ministry (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, 2010:33) see further " A Guide to District Assemblies in Ghana" http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/ghana/10487.pdf (last accessed 25/03/13).

[18] Respondent 25 (appendix 2). Did not object to being identified in report as Assemblywoman.

'gallons'[19] as symbols of their grievance and embarked on a march to the main entrance of GSR singing and chanting songs. The women blocked the main road that led to the corporate offices on the mining site and prevented vehicles from entering, disrupting the commencement of normal operations for the day. Besides the blockade that prevented staff from getting access to work, the entire demonstration was peaceful and did not involve the destruction of any property of GSR.

One woman, who was at the front of the march, described her surprise at how the security guards at the mine premises and gate, who had been a source of intimidation, did not react violently to their protest. There was no direct clash with any security official even though they were on site and held their ground at the gates[20].

At about 1pm, after a stand off of about 5 hours, a representative from GSR came to address them and invited the leadership to come to a meeting with the Corporate Affairs Manager. On the spur of the moment 5 women were nominated as leaders for this meeting. This was a turning point for the women who regarded this invitation as success in its own right. They had initially gotten the impression that GSR was ignoring their protest and had hoped that the women would leave after a short while. But they had resolved to stay and render the mine non-operational by blocking any vehicular traffic in or out. They were prepared to stay for as long as it would take and come everyday if need be because of how frustrating the water situation was for them.

The outcome of the meeting was an agreement by the management of GSR to allow the women to discuss and document their concerns and return at a later date to subsequently present their request. Following up on this opportunity, the women through their five delegated leaders then drafted a petition requesting a permanent solution to the water crisis and submitted a week later, on 19 December 2011. To

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[19] Plastic water drums with screw-caps used to store water in Ghana.
[20] Specific claim by respondent 26 (appendix 2).

their delight GSR responded and agreed to their request, promising prompt action to bring a permanent solution to the water crisis.

The progress in the negotiation process and the response of GSR was considered a huge success on the scale that men and opinion leaders in the community had not been able to achieve, earning the women a considerable amount of respect.

As much as the promises for a permanent supply of water was good news, two months quickly passed since the assurances and there were still no tangible steps that the community could see. This led to another petition being sent on 28 February 2012 and a request for 2 additional tanks as a temporary measure as the company worked out the modalities of permanent water supply. This second petition received an immediate response that very day from a newly appointed Corporate Affairs Manager of GSR, who also invited the leadership of the women for further discussions, and gave assurances that the situation would be addressed.

The additional tanks were provided as a temporary step and the plans to provide the community with safe drinking water were laid out. They had employed the services of a geologist who confirmed that the ground water sources in the heart of the Dumasi community where the first bore hole had been dug had become contaminated with unsafe levels of heavy metals. But he also did feasibility studies in the wider area and discovered an area on the outskirts of the community that was far away from the tailings pond of GSR and where ground water was not affected by mining activities and as such was safe for human consumption. The plan was to construct a mechanized bore hole that would be piped into the community to a number of taps that would be situated at vantage points. This plan of a pipe network for the community supplying water from a safe mechanized borehole appeared to sit very well with the community as the best solution.

The only challenge was the fact that the area that was identified as a safe zone for the construction of this borehole was private land under cultivation and as such GSR had to enter negotiation with the owners and agree on adequate compensation

before the project would commence. At the time of writing the negotiations were still underway.

5.1.5 Traditional roles of women and Dumasi's paradigm shift

The case of Dumasi is interesting in more ways than one. It does not only represent an example of a non-institutionalized response to environment-related concerns but also presents some evidence of a paradigm shift that confronts the widely accepted traditional views of rural women in Africa and is unique in a number of ways. The observed paradigm shift from the Dumasi case also cements my classification of the gender dimension of the movement. In other words, the classification of a gender dimension is not solely because of the mere participation of women, but more so because of the championing of issues that directly affect women and creation of an inadvertent shift in the traditional roles of gender.

Before I proceed to discuss what is unusual about the women's movement in Dumasi, it is important to quickly review what the traditional view of women in Ghana and most of Africa is, which would help the reader to better appreciate how the actions of the women constitutes a paradigm shift in itself.

In rural traditional communities, women are responsible for managing the home. This responsibility involves a plethora of women-exclusive chores that often puts a disproportionate burden of work on them in the traditional home.   Home management duties ranged from fetching and providing water, cooking, cleaning and childcare. And practically, they were responsible for every other task that formed part of the process of meeting the house management chores. For instance in order to cook, cook women were actively engaged in the process of getting fuelwood or producing charcoal which is predominantly used in rural communities (Dovie *et al*, 2004:124; PREDAS, 2007).

Rural women are additionally involved in farming, often undertaken for subsistence purposes, and thereby play a major role in the local food production process. They are engaged at all levels of this process from the clearing of land, through planting, harvesting and more importantly the processing of harvested crops (Sigot, 1995:1). Women are not normally paid for any of these tasks and so despite their efforts and hard work, they often do not gain any financial independence.

Most traditional African societies are dominantly patrilineal in nature and have laws that exclude women from the ownership of property, and as such women are marginalized when it comes to access to and control of resources, and their inputs are usually not commensurate to the personal benefits that they could derive (Sigot, 1995:6; Opare, 2005:91). The result of this system is the creation of power relations that ascribe controlling powers to men and a subordinate role for women. They are consequently excluded from decision-making power, leadership and authority in the communities. In short, women are often silently discriminated against and exploited (Maathai, 2010:164); 'silently' in terms of the cultural acceptance that makes such discrimination go on unchallenged.

In view of the above, one then understands why the water problems of Dumasi were handled solely by the male traditional opinion leaders up until the point of the demonstration. The men were culturally mandated and reasonably expected to take the lead in all the initiatives necessary for decision making. Hence the onset of male apathy and acceptance of the crisis as their new way of life had a damaging effect on the possibility of a future solution.

The traditional roles of women provoked a female response in Dumasi in two ways. Firstly, the women saw themselves as some form of last resort since their expectations of men were not being met. The idea of considering themselves as a last resort rests comfortably with the cultural fabric that places women in the background of the responsibility of handling social affairs. In essence the 'last resort' mentality stirred up a new sense of responsibility that hitherto had not been exercised or invoked. Secondly, by virtue of the indispensable nature of water to the

fulfillment of the domestic responsibilities of women, the water crisis meant that there was a disproportionate burden that was felt by women as they were unable to perform their culturally assigned duties. Although they had endured for several years, this burden reached its tipping point when it became apparent that the men had shirked their responsibilities and become increasingly apathetic. In my opinion, this 'last resort' mentality and the disproportionate burden of domestic chores on the women accounts for the paradigm shift that challenged the status quo and provoked the women's movement.

5.1.6 Unique social change?

In evaluating this interesting case of the women's movement at Dumasi, I ask whether it is unique and, if so, in what ways. I also ask why it is important to our understanding of the broader concepts of women's engagement in protests in Africa and the environmental movement in Ghana. In response to these I argue that the case does present some unique features and lessons, in terms of how the events confront widely accepted views of traditional society, and how it gives weight to an argument of subtle yet significant social change. Additionally as an understudied phenomenon, and in the light of social protests as a rare occurrence in Ghana, I use that Dumasi case as a basis of conceptualizing the gender dimension of the budding environmental movement. I proceed to expand these views below.

Firstly the women's movement in Dumasi in my opinion is important in the way in which the confrontation of the accepted traditional view and roles of women has led to a significant social change. The most obvious change is the manner in which women have discovered their leadership potential and an avenue to exercise it. The spontaneous birth of the leadership of the Dumasi grassroots movement and subsequent involvement in the negotiation process with the management of GSR for the needs of the community brought to bear the potential that has been culturally suppressed by their subordinate roles. The relative success achieved in the negotiation process earned them considerable respect amongst the men and

traditional opinion leaders, to the extent that following the protest they were able to convene follow-up meetings to discuss the details of the petitions, and draft follow-up petitions when the requests were delayed in being met. It is also interesting to note that at no single stage in the process did men attempt to stifle or usurp the leadership of the negotiations that used to be, and traditionally should have been, their responsibility. It was in some way so to speak that the men had grown to accept the women leadership potential and achievements. Some of the women also expressed their delight at the fact that they felt more respected and appreciated in the community due to these exploits.

The women of Dumasi have made a bold statement in response to the systemic gender inequalities that are rife in traditional communities. The fact that that they stood their ground in the protest until they were given the attention that they demanded also shows that they were not prepared to allow the fact they were women result in them being ignored.

Another interesting feature about the women's movement and the Dumasi case, which follows on the social change described above, is how the women have capitalized on civil society engagement for their advantage. What I mean by this is that the women have become actively engaged in the community outreach events of environmental NGOs, notably Wacam, and through that means have further developed their leadership potentials. Although, gender empowerment and capacity building has been a focus for these NGO outreaches, especially seen in the support provided for the election of a female Assembly member, the motivation for more women to become involved has increased ever since the successful protest. With the help of the NGO a smaller group of women have been trained to monitor and report incidents of cyanide spillage from the waste containment ponds of the mining company. The Assembly woman in particular has benefited from some literacy classes and has been trained to be able to send text messages from a mobile phone and report any issues of concern to the NGO[21]. Even more impressive is how much

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[21] 'Assemblies' in this Ghanaian context are the smaller pivotal administrative and developmental decision-making organs of the Local Government. They have deliberative, legislative and executive

progress and an impact the literacy programme has had, to the extent that, although she had very little formal education, she was able to put together simple notes and observations as part of her reporting duties. Throughout this process the NGO had discovered that women now were more concerned and readily collaborated in serving as informal environmental monitors. The collaborative efforts of the NGO and the heightened interest of the women in taking charge of water pollution (and other related environmental) issues has given the women a renewed sense of leadership and responsibility for the environment.

This engagement of women by the NGO in pro-environmental activities is similar to Maathai's observations in the Green Belt Movement (GBM) of Kenya, in that she describes women as being more innovative and interested in environmental activities such as the tree planting programmes that were at the heart of the GBM. As a result, the practical hands-on training that they received effectively transformed the rural women into what the has been referred to elsewhere as "foresters without diplomas" (Maathai, 2006:28). The other observed advantage of engaging women was how they tend to readily share their knowledge and experience received with other women, thereby creating a chain of knowledge spread throughout the communities.

This relationship between the women of Dumasi and Wacam will be revisited in the chapter on networking for resource mobilization amongst the actors of the Ghanaian environmental movement.

Finally the Dumasi case serves good grounds for conceptualization of the environmental movement in Ghana as having a gender dimension. As mentioned above, it is particularly interesting to cover Dumasi because of how rare protests are in Ghana, let alone protests organized and led by women. The gender dimension also contrasts with the few cases across the continent, notably in Kenya and Nigeria,

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functions and are the planning authority for the various districts, including key developmental planning in the area of health, education etc although central policy comes from the local government ministry (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, 2010:33) see further " A Guide to District Assemblies in Ghana" http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/ghana/10487.pdf (last accessed 20/01/15).

where women have been involved in events of public protest. For instance women were known to have participated in the 'Mau Mau' movement in Kenya in the build up to independence from colonial rule. The participation of women differed from the roles that men played in the movement. Santoru (1996:256) describes the involvement of women in the protest and struggles as being a 'passive' one. The passive description refers to the background support roles that women provided for the men that led the protests and movement ideals. For instance they served as 'food couriers', who were very instrumental in providing food to guerilla gangs in the forest or act as spies in getting information from the security forces. For this reason the women of the Kikuyu tribe for instance were referred to as the 'eyes and ears' of the Mau Mau (Santoru 1996:257). The men on the other had dominated the 'active' roles of the Mau Mau, where the term 'active' refers to the fighters at the frontlines of the struggle. In short, despite the fact that there was a gender dimension of the Mau Mau movement, that dimension was a passive one.

Another reason why the involvement of women could be given the passive tag, was because of the fact that despite the involvement of women, there were no women-related issues directly involved in the discourse of the struggle (Sanoru, 1996:260). On that note, and borrowing the idea of the active and passive gender dimension of a movement, the Dumasi case is a good example of a how the gender dimension is an active one. Active, both in terms of the homogenous involvement of women in the leadership and at the forefront of the protest, and as well the fact that the ideals of the protest were centered on women-related issues.

Additionally I believe that the gender dimension as it plays out in the Dumasi case is also unusual in the manner in which it represents a case where women's involvement in protest to advance a cause achieved relative success that came at minimal costs. What I mean by this is that, in comparison to the few other cases of women involvement and leadership in public protest in West Africa, the relative success and progress chalked by Dumasi women in getting their demands heard, albeit not yet met by a dominant force, and the evidence of significant social change, makes it a shining example.

For instance, taking a look at the cases from the Niger Delta in Nigeria which has reported some active involvement of women in public protest for environmental and social justice causes, the costs to human safety, recognition and the dignity of women have been high.

The Niger Delta has been the epicenter of oil production in Nigeria since the 1950s and over the years, the region has suffered considerable degradation of the environment particularly from sporadic oil spills and the practice of gas flaring by multinational oil companies (Anugwom and Anugwom, 2099:335). As a result, the socio-economic fabric of the area has broken down making the lives of the local residents, as they cannot engage in meaningful agriculture, which was their mainstay. The environmental degradation, coupled with the capitalist interest of the government and oil companies without due regard of the needs of the locals, characterized by acts such as the forced seizure of land by the Federal government for oil interests, have led to the people being marginalized and impoverished in their own native backyards (Patch, 2006:40; Ikelegbe, 2005:253). And in the midst of this marginalization, women suffer a worst plight as they struggle to cope with domestic commitments prescribed by culture. The relationship between capitalism and the marginalization of local women has led to the occurrence of a women-specific resistance. A number of women-led and women-organized protests that publicly challenge the dominant forces have arisen over the years (Anugwom and Anugwum, 2009). One of the notable examples of women organized protests is the 2002 stand-off between local women and the Chevron-Texaco's staff, whereby women occupied and prevented normal operations for a number of days, threatening to take off their clothes, until the management gave in and agreed to their demands (Stephens, 2006:597).

What is different about the female protests in the Niger Delta is the fact that although they have been largely non-violent, women have been left with no choice but to resort to extreme measures to drive home their point. Women have often resorted to extreme measures such as the threat and use of public nudity as an

expression of desperation (Patch, 2008:41; Stephens 2006:597; Oriola, 2012: 545). The use of nudity as a 'weapon' is not uncommon especially by post-menopausal women as an extreme measure of protest and has been reported to be used as early as the 1920s in the Aba women of Eastern Nigeria's resistance to proposed economic reforms (Oriola, 2012:545), as well as in Cameroun and other parts of East Africa, especially when they feel their safety is threatened (Stephens, 2006:596).

Despite these occurrences it is important to note that for traditional women, covering up one's nudity is in actual fact one of society's treasured values associated with motherliness, dignity and privacy (Stephens, 2006:596). So for traditional women to breach these social and cultural values as a form of protest signifies how deep-seated the concerns are. It is almost as if saying that the reason to live, or the cause for which they were going nude, was equal to the loss of dignity and worth as women. Public nudity was a strong statement of disgust and an act of what is described as 'genital cursing' of the person or reason that had provoked such an extreme measure, in quite a similar manner as invoking what I described earlier as the 'last resort' mentality.

Besides this non-violent involvement, another dimension of women involvement in protest in the Niger Delta which has not been widely documented is the apparent role that women play in the Niger Delta insurgency. Unlike the widely accepted perception of women being non-violent in the Niger Delta campaigns, they have also taken part in violent struggles as well taking part in kidnapping episodes (Oriola, 2012:542). These demonstrate how extreme measures have been adopted by desperate women, and the potential dangers that involvement in the insurgency have exposed them to.

The social movement in the Niger Delta, although having women actively engaged in protest and resistance enough to warrant a gender dimension tag, I consider the extreme measures that they have been forced to adopt as being too high a cost for the 'benefits' they derive. The use of nudity, which defies traditional and cultural norms of dignity and womanhood, is a price that I contend women should not be

driven to pay. And it is on this note that I make the analogy of the Dumasi case reflecting how there was so to speak less of a price to pay for traditional women to engage in public protest. Although there are some similarities in the gender dimension of the Niger Delta's movement and the Dumasi case, such as the prolonged nature of their struggles, pushing marginalized women to the wall to adopt what I earlier referred to at the 'last resort' mentality, I acknowledge that there are big differences in scale and complexity of cultures that make simplistic comparisons between the two potentially problematic.

Nonetheless, I contend that the difference between the cases provides an avenue for contemplating underlying explanations, so to speak, why there was less of a price to pay for women in Dumasi. These explanations will contribute to deepening our understanding of the Ghanaian environmental movement and identifying possible challenges that it faces. I cite factors such as the present political climate in Ghana, and relative growth in the rule of law and the effective intra-national missionary work of established NGOs amongst others as possible reasons. I will revisit this issue of the gender dimension of the Dumasi case being less 'costly' in comparison to other cases of women involved in public protest such as those in the Niger Delta, in a subsequent chapter.

5.2.0 Case two: Yayaso

This second study considers another example of community resistance of the residents of Yayaso to the operations of another multinational mining company, Newmont Gold Mining Corporation (Newmont), and sheds more light on the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement in Ghana on the basis that the case provides evidence of grassroots mobilization in forging collective action and identity, which amounts to 'movement activity'. I find it another interesting case because of the novel strategy of protest that was developed and the spontaneous repercussions that it had in addressing local community discontents with mining companies. Although the scale of the protest was small, it is also interesting to note

how their strategy was nonetheless effective in getting the dominant forces to back down and consider their claims.

Furthermore the Yayaso case also demonstrates how local community resistances irrespective of scale, can transform and affect the welfare of other communities living under similar conditions, and on that note makes it worthwhile to consider these case studies for their social transformation potential and not merely one off events of mass action. Finally the Yayaso case also provides some insight into the nature and dynamic of resource mobilization both at the rural community level and the wider scope of the Ghanaian environmental movement, which will be considered in more detail later on in chapter 7.

5.2.1 Yayaso and the Newmont mine project[22].

Newmont Gold Mining Corporation is a multinational gold mining company established in 1921 with its headquarters in Colorado, USA and its main operation sites in several countries such as the USA, Australia, Peru, Indonesia, Bolivia, New Zealand, Mexico and Ghana. Unlike other multinational mining companies in Ghana that have other operations in Africa, Newmont has no representation in any other part of the continent and hence planned upon its entry into the Ghanaian market to develop huge and ambitious projects that would see it becoming its future core operating hub in the region. The Ghanaian concessions held were in two regions, Brong Ahafo and Eastern, and the gold reserves between theses concessions were estimated at the enormous total of 20 million ounces (Newmont, 2008).

Newmont first entered the Ghanaian market in 1997 with its prospecting operations and by 2006 started producing gold at its Brong Ahafo region mines. However, the focus of this section is on its ambitious project in the Akyem area of the Eastern Region of Ghana which encountered some community resistance (see figure 3 below).

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[22] Account the Yayaso resistance based on interview with respondents number 27, 28 and 29 (Appendix 2).
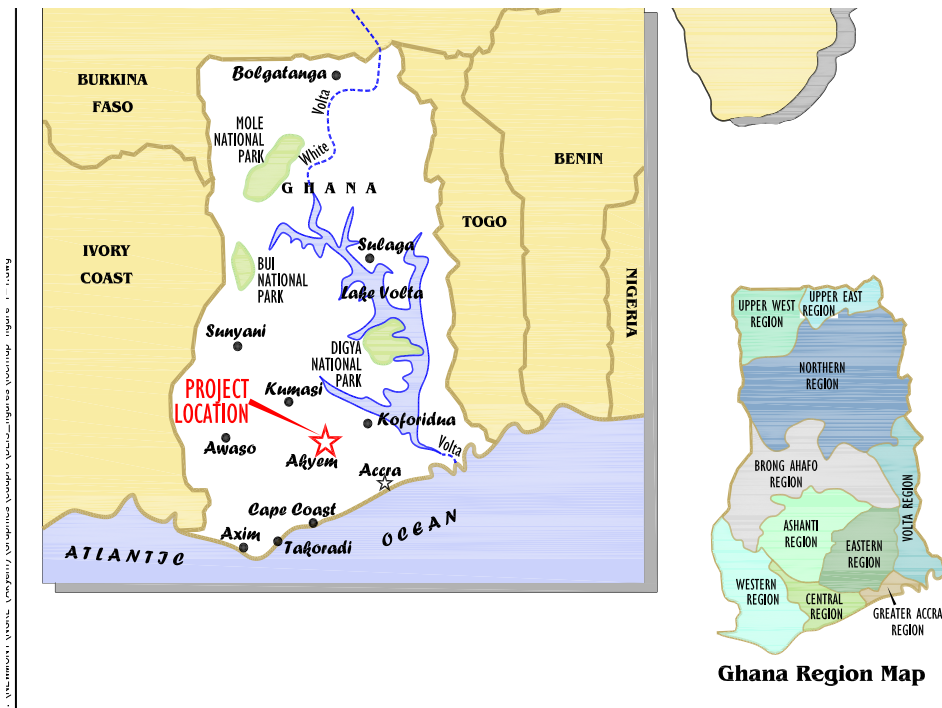
Fig. 5.9 : Map of Ghana showing the distribution of the 10 Regions (right hand side) and the location of the Newmont Akyem mine "Project" (Main picture on left hand) Source: www.newmont.com/africa

Newmont's Akyem mine project was to construct a mega mine complex from scratch that would span an area of 1,903 hectares, which consisted of excavation and mine pits, waste rock dumps and tailings containment ponds, water processing and pumping plant and ore processing plants (see figure 2 below). As well as a host of other support facilities such as administration, health, fire quarters and access road network. The actual mine facility was a large surface mine covering an area of about 139 hectares.

The project was situated in the heart of the Birim-North District of the Eastern region of Ghana, situated about 180 km north-west of the capital Accra.

The proposed area covered a number of villages and communities that included Yayaso. The communities were traditional farming oriented ones and were naturally concerned about the their fate during the period of 2004-2008 when Newmont's prospecting and negotiations for its license were underway. The concerns of these

local communities mirrors those raised in the Dumasi case, as many of them were conscious of how it was becoming common knowledge that the emergence of a huge multinational mining company often spelt doom for the local communities that hosted the operations. To many of the local residents the prospects of realizing any material benefits which would motivate them to readily accept the activity of mining companies, or compensate for imminent losses, were very slim[23].

The other major concern that the locals and other environmental NGOs and activist raised about the project was its location being in close proximity to two specially designated forest reserves. The Ajenjua Bepo and Mamang Forest reserves had been designated and protected under law since the creation of The Forest Reserve Concept by colonial authorities in 1927. This allowed the protection of virgin Ghanaian forests from encroachment and illegal logging and mining activities. The government in 1996 through its Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines, placed a moratorium on mining in forest reserves following growing concerns about the practice and encroachment (Boon at al, 2009).

Further to this was its release of the 1999 National Land Policy[24] document which was very ecocentric in its wording and explicitly spelt out the protection of forest reserved from activities such as mining or being cleared for the purposed of crop plantation. For instance Section 4.4(b) states that;

> "All lands declared as forest reserves, strict nature reserves, national parks, wild life sanctuaries and similar land categories constitutes Ghana's permanent forests reserves and wildlife estates, and are 'fully protected' for ecosystem maintenance, biodiversity conservation, and sustainable timber production".

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[23] Specific claims by respondent 27

[24] Ministry of Lands and Forestry (1999) 'National Land Policy' http://theredddesk.org/sites/default/files/National%20Land%20Policy.pdf (last accessed 04/02/2015).

Clearly this clause in the policy, recognizes the protection of forest reserves as being essential to a wider benefit of ecosystem management and hence require as it were "full protection". Further more, in terms of the need to protect forest reserves, Section 4.5 (a) also states that;

> "To ensure the conservation of environmental quality, no land with primary forest cover will be cleared for the purpose of establishing a forest or tree crop plantation or mining activity".

Again this clause strengthens the ecocentric tone of the policy document, by basing the need to protect primary forests as an integral part of the conservation of 'environmental quality". References to both terms of 'environmental quality' and 'ecosystem maintenance' provided a point of view for the protection of forests not in terms of economic value, but as a good in itself and for the benefit of nature. Furthermore, and most importantly, it is very explicit and non-ambiguous in prohibiting 'mining activity' on areas that have been demarcated as forest reserves.

However in 2003, the much needed intervention in protecting forest reserves was controversially reversed by the government to grant entry permits to select companies to allow mining in forest reserves. This was laid out in a Ministerial Regulatory Document, "Operational Guidelines for Mineral Exploration in Forest Reserves for Select Companies". These guidelines were essentially to monitor the rate of mineral exploration in forest reserves such that the total area of production forests under active mineral exploration would not exceed 2% of the total forest reserves in the country at any point in time. And it was under this provision that Newmont's permit for the Akyem mine project was granted in 2008.

The contention with this provision was a two-fold one. First in terms of how unethical it was for the government to relax the regulations protecting forests, putting it capitalist interests ahead of obvious environmental considerations and

Figure 5.10: Map of the Newmont Gold mine project site showing the overlap of the mine pit and the Ajenjua Bepo Forest Reserve and it proximity of local communities.

thereby making it liable to be accused of being bedfellows with the rich and powerful mining companies. Secondly it was a concern as to how difficult it would be for the government to effectively monitor how far mining companies upheld their

obligations and kept away from encroaching further into the forest reserves once they had gained entry. This was especially so when the forest reserve was not merely within the allocated concession of the mining company, but was the very location of the open pit mine. Specifically, the Newmont project had almost its entire 139 hectare open mine pit within the area of the Ajenjua Bepo Forest reserve (see figure 4 above). The area of the mine within the forest reserve meant that a total of about 13% of the forest would have to be cleared for the construction of the open pit mine (Newmont, 2008).

The government's apparent weak stance on environmental protection in favour of mining operations is one issue that has dominated the discourse of mining advocacy groups such as Wacam and the NCOM (discussed in subsequent chapters). This is evident in the absence of firm legal provisions that protect the environment instead of weak policy statements that are easily reversed at the will of the government. In the instances where some legal provision have been made, it has been accused as being weak, giving the government too much power and appearing to serve the interests of the mining corporations and not the local people of Ghana. For example the virtually absolute powers of the government in relation to land acquisition, use and mineral rights are captured in Articles 1 and 2 of the 2006 Minerals and Mining Act (703) that states that;

> "Every mineral in its natural state in, under or upon land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water-courses throughout the country, the exclusive economic zone and an area covered by the territorial sea or continental shelf is the property of the Republic and is vested in the President in trust for the people of Ghana".

> "Where land is required to secure the development or utilization of a mineral resource, the President may acquire the land or authorize its occupation and use under an applicable enactment for the time being in force".

The absolute powers of the sitting government over mineral interests enables it to exploit it as it sees fit, and renders other regulatory provisions and policy documents such as the 1999 National Land Policy very weak in safe guarding the ideals of environmental protection and conservation. This issue of Ghana's weak environmental laws, particularly the 2006 Minerals and Mining Act contributing to the unsatisfactory repercussions that mining communities face and being a major challenge to mining advocacy groups identified in institutionalized environmental movement would be discussed in detail in the chapter on the 'challenges of the environmental movement' in Ghana.

5.2.2 Community discontent and "Occupy Yayaso"[25]

Yayaso and the other communities located with the area of the Newmont mine project site were primarily concerned that the mining activity would directly and adversely impact their farming activities and leave them worse off. The communities were engaged in oil palm, citrus and cocoa farming as their major source of income, interspersed with subsistence food crop farms that supported domestic livelihood. For Yayaso in particular, the area of the village had be designated under the mine project plans, as the location of the mine's waste rock dump. As a result the entire community was under the threat of not only losing their land, but along with that, their dignity, identity and self worth on that land that hand been passed on from one generation then other. Interacting with the residents revealed a deep felt attachment to their land, not merely as a parcel of property, but an inheritance that defined their identity and family image.

Additionally, the local discontent with the mine project was also in the fact that Newmont had been granted permission to mine within the Ajenjua Bepo forest reserve. They considered the forest reserve as sacred ground, which coincided with the colonial designation of forest reserves in the first instance. Traditional communities often used pristine forested areas as royal mausoleums and for burying

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[25] Account of discontent and resistance based on interview with respondents number 27, 28 and 29 (Appendix 2).

important public figures, and considered them as the resting place of the guardian spirits of the community. These beliefs resulted in the creation of several acres of sacred groves that were virtually untouched, revered and protected by traditional custom. This helps understand why it was easy for such forest reserves to be easily identified and designated by colonial authorities even when there were communities living in close proximity to them. What this meant was that, the forests did not just occur, but had rather been protected traditionally through local customs and beliefs over the years, so much so that the colonial designation as a forest reserve only confirmed and formalized the status that was ascribed by tradition. Ntiamoah-Baidu (1998:153) argues that on the basis of systematic studies, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the traditional beliefs systems can adequately promote environmental conservation efforts, only if they are properly enforced. This practice of traditionally protecting forests by allocating a sacred status either through its use as royal mausoleums or regarding them as the abode of the guardian spirits of the communities is not an isolated one to the Eastern Region. Other case studies have shown how prominent the practice is and its scope across the country right from the south, notably the Guako Sacred Grove in Pokuase, Greater Accra Region (Adomako et al., 1998:9) up to the Mashelegu Sacred Grove in the Northern Region of Ghana (Dorm-Adzobu and Ampadu-Adjei, 1995:49). Interestingly several studies have shown that many of the designated sacred groves in the country, that enabled a protection of some forest cover, were under threat of destruction and had on occasion prompted initiatives such as the 'Cooperative Integrated Project on Savanna Ecosystems of Ghana by the UNESCO with the EPA to help conserve these sacred groves (Adomako et al., 1998:8).

On this note, Newmont's mine project was clearly in breach of both the protected status designated to forest reserves and the traditional values that the local communities held for sacred grounds, making the latter a strong reason for spontaneous disapproval. The issue of Newmont intending to mine in the forest reserve also attracted the attention of mining advocacy groups and NGOs that would later come and collaborate with the community residents to fight for their rights.

At the heart of the Yayaso discontent was the grievance of one particular clan. The Denkyira family[26] owned the largest parcel of land in the community, and this 180 acres had been passed on from one generation to another, mainly for the use of crop cultivation. The vast land was the source of wealth, and prestige for the family in the community and as a result it had decided lead a campaign to resist the takeover by Newmont.

In the face of the inevitable land loss and a consequent loss of economic livelihood, negotiations were being made with Newmont to pay some adequate compensation for the lands that were being taken away. However the process of negotiations was moving at a very slow pace and work had already began in parts of the mine project site. Furthermore, the family accused Newmont of deliberately undermining the locals by negotiating with a self-styled chief on behalf of the several communities for paltry one-off payments, that the locals were being encouraged to accept.

The family resolved not to accept any money without Newmont engaging with them personally to discuss the terms of the compensation. They regarded their exclusion from the negotiation process and the resultant financial payments proposed from Newmont as a form of belittling their self worth, and a "cheap sale" of their birth right and family heritage. The idea of the need to protect family heritage can be in a way likened to the Ogoni struggle in the Niger Delta in which the struggle was in essence one that was motivated by both the need to protect their rapidly degraded environment at the hands of multinational oil companies, and also very much a fight for self-determination of a minority ethnic group that was on the path to possible alienation and extinction (Saro-Wiwa, 1995:70). The Ogoni struggle was rooted in the need to protect their heritage and political existence as an indigenous and independent ethnic group, fighting the dominant forces of the government interest and multinational oil companies. The government of post-independence Nigeria was

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[26] Respondent 27 also an opinion leader of Denkyira family

The traditional concept of the family, as used in this case as well, refers to the extended family system. Where relatives trace kinship to a common paternal ancestor and are often two or three generations deep.

biased towards the interests of the larger ethic groups such as the Hausa-Fulani, Yoroba and Igbo, and had presided over a regime of political marginalization and oppression of very small ethnic groups of such as the Ogoni, paying no attention to their rights as a people (Saro-Wiwa, 1995: 96). It is as a result of such political marginalization in the pursuit of political interests that have allowed smaller communities to suffer at the hands of multinational companies. Similar to the Denkyira family in Yayaso, the Ogoni felt that as a small ethnic group, they had been taken for granted and their heritage, in the form of their land, language, way of life, and virtual existence were at a risk of being 'cheaply' taken away.

A few members of the family living in Accra who were regarded as more educated and literate played an important role in forging the resolve of the Denkyiras living in Yayaso to resist the takeover by Newmont. They identified the lack of due process and disregard for a group of people's dignity and heritage (land). It is interesting to note the apparent importance of the family in Yayaso to have access to encouragement, counsel and an informed opinion from their educated migrant members living in the capital city[27]. And how being motivated by a shared concern to protect family heritage and dignity, both Yayaso resident and non-resident members of the family resolved to stand their ground and demanded to be engaged directly in compensation discussions.

When attempts at getting a favourable engagement with Newmont had failed and work had commenced on the land in the vicinity of the community, the family on 27 February 2012 launched a campaign to draw all its members to pitch camp on the portion that was being cleared. The occupation of the land in similar fashion as the 'Occupy London' protests saw 11 adult members of the family squatting in makeshift structures all across the allotted work site, in the path of earthmoving machines and similar machinery. They remained on the land, threatening that the only way to allow Newmont access to progress with their work and eventually take over of their

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[27] For instance See Appendix 5 for copies of Petition letters drafted with the help of educated family members on behalf of rural dwelling family members and other community residents (Source Respondent 27 in appendix 2).

family land was for them be crushed to death by the machinery. This occupation of the land in Yayaso was a novel tactic amongst rural mining communities in Ghana, and a clever way of registering their desperation and a means to prevent the clearing of the site that would eventually lead to the destruction of their 180-acre family heritage.

After several hours, this standoff eventually paid off as the family was invited to the negotiation table to discuss the terms for adequate compensation. In the face of the inevitable and government-permitted takeover of their land, the concerns of a loss of economic of livelihood were addressed by demanding that Newmont absorbed family members into its workforce. As a result 10 of them were offered employment with the company, and they regarded this as a somewhat better consolation for being denied future income from agriculture. The actual financial payouts for the land were no simple task, as family members living in the capital had once again gotten involved and engaged the pro-bono services of a pro-environmental legal NGO, the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL) in Accra. The involvement of CEPIL meant that the interests of the Yayaso residents would be better represented and communicated, though this nonetheless would be a lengthy process.

Another interesting development from the 'Occupy Yayaso' protest is how it sparked public protests across other communities that had initially agreed to Newmont's financial compensations[28]. The protests similarly disturbed the work of Newmont, particularly in a community called Timpongso, where operations were brought to a total halt. It appeared to have dawned on them that they had been totally removed from the negotiation process and may not have received an adequate measure of compensation. Additionally, the fact that Yayaso had been able to get Newmont to the negotiation table may have meant that the pressure and protest could also yield the same for them. The only challenge, however, was the fact that most of these residents had already collected some financial compensation

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[28] Specific claim made by respondent 28 (appendix 2).

through the Newmont community representative, and as a result the fight was for an increase in the financial payout that Newmont had already given them.

The result of these protests across the communities that had become conscious of their right to be involved in compensation negotiations and given more respect was the formation of a 'Concerned Citizens Association' to further organize and streamline their petitions for fair treatment. Once again this was led by the Denkyira family at Yayaso, with strong influence from non-resident members living in the capital city that shared their common sense of belonging and worth. Through the work of the residents association, the non-residents of the community in the capital were effectively networked in the preparation and drafting of letters, getting pro-bono legal advise and attracting the attention of mining advocacy NGOs that were all based in Accra (See Appendix 4).

5.2.3 "Occupy Yayaso": Importance and significant social change?

The above narrative of the 'Occupy Yayaso' protest, as I chose to call it, is an interesting case in helping to understand the non-institutionalized environmental movement in Ghana. I also identify a few reasons and features why it is an important and noteworthy case, and how the events may contribute to some form of social change in the traditional African society.

Firstly I identify the novel approach of an occupation of land to protest grievances against the mining company as the manifestation of the frustration and show of the 'last resort' mentality that most rural mining communities have to adopt as the only means to resist being taken for granted. The basic similarity in the two cases of the non-institutionalized response by local communities looked at so far, therefore lies in this 'last resort' mentality that that drives new, innovative and unconventional forms of resistance.

Secondly it is important to note the value attributed to the lobbying process, in that the public protest is only seen as the key to access the lobby room. This therefore may be a viable reason why the protests have been characteristically non-violent in nature. The need for direct negotiation and the lobbying process appears to put some form of a human face to the inconvenience that mining operations may bring to the residents of communities that host their activities. As this was evident in the Yayaso case where the protest was churned partly because residents had been removed from the negotiation process and even though some compensation had been planned to be paid, the lack of involvement was a fundamental flaw to the process, which was interpreted as a way of ignoring of their interests.

Another interesting feature is how the protests led to the formation of ties with mining advocacy groups and NGOs, mainly through the work of non-resident indigenes in the capital that saw the opportunity to amplify the voice and effort of the local people. Advocacy groups and NGOs play an important role in developing the movement ideals and formation of loose partnerships that enable various forms of continuity after a major protest event. In both Dumasi and Yayaso cases environmental NGOs played important roles in ensuring the continuity of their struggles and movement ideals beyond the actual protest events that gave birth to the movement in the first place. For instance the engagement of the pro-bono services of CEPIL by the Denkyira family in Yayaso, enabled them to make the most of their opportunity to initiate and directly negotiate their compensation packages from Newmont. The guiding principle for obtaining compensation from Newmont was contained in Article 74(2) of the 2006 Minerals and Mining Act(703) which draws from the spirit of the original Ghanaian constitution and which states :

> "In making a determination under section 73(3), the Minister shall observe the provisions of article 20(2)(a) of the Constitution which states that, in the case of compulsory acquisition of property, prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation shall be made".

This provision invokes three key conditions for the payment of compensations; namely "prompt", "adequate" and "fair" that most mining communities were deprived of if at all any compensation was paid to them. Or at best, as was the experiences in some cases, the payment of compensation met only one or two of the above conditions. The involvement of CEPIL in the negotiation process provided the community of rural dwellers, most of whom were semi-illiterate and illiterate, the possibility at least, to invoke the conditions of 'fairness' and 'adequacy' in the outcome of the compensation negotiations.

This NGO-community partnership is a defining feature of the environmental movement in Ghana, which makes events such as Yayaso worth documenting as part of the budding environmental movement, and distinguishes them from one-off events of mass mobilization and public protest. It provides the community a channel to get its voice heard especially in the capital where most of these NGOs and responsible government agencies are based. Another very important way in which the NGO involvement in the local movement plays out, is the apparent rise in environmental consciousness that their engagement brings. The consciousness does influence the resolve of the local residents to stand up for their rights or to make their grievances known. In the case of Yayaso, the inspiration of the Denkyira family that had received counsel and legal advice from civil society engagement, led to the occupation and the relative success of getting Newmont to negotiate with them. This resolution was deeply rooted in a very small conscious group of rural dwellers that knew the full effects of mining on their environment and livelihood, and what the due process of compensation should be. As a result their consciousness and resolve, it gave birth to an indirect and possibly unintended current of transferred consciousness to residents of other communities to rise up and demand fair and better treatment. The formation of the 'concerned residents association' both formalizes and serves as evidence of a galvanized environmentally conscious community. These community-NGO partnerships do not go without their own criticism, which will be re-examined at a later section.

In addition to the rise in environmental consciousness, is the unique ways in which resources are mobilized for the local movements. The Yayaso case throws light on the involvement of non-resident indigenes, who, although they are physically removed from the site of oppressions and immediate harm, are equally involved in the struggle. It is interesting to note how both resident and non-resident indigenes share very strong ties, and in this case, to their family heritage that was at a threat of being cheaply taken away, and fight together for commensurate compensation. The family heritage in the form of the land that was being taken away provided the basis of a shared identity for both resident and non-resident indigenes and the prompted resource rich residents in the city to come to the aid of the resource poor residents in the rural community that were living in close proximity to the threats. In this Yayaso case the support given by the relatives resident in the city, who were more literate to understand the full effects of Newmont's take-over, as well subsequently seeking pro-bono legal aid for the rural relatives, can for the purposes of resource mobilization classification be described as the provision of both moral and human resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004: 126). The support for resistance based on the need to protect their family heritage being taken away cheaply is a very strong moral resource that was shared between both the city and rural dwellers; an intangible resource (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004: 125) that was shared despite the fact that the actors of the movement were geographically separated. Additionally, the very presence of educated and more conscious urban city dwellers and the engagement of CEPIL serves as valuable and tangible human resources that have special skills and expertise that prove useful to the movement ideals. I consider this interesting dynamic of the involvement of resident and non-resident indigenes in the movement building process as it occurred in Yayaso, as case of promise and another reason for its documentation. This is because of the likelihood of rural community dwellers that suffer the ills of mineral exploitation, having relatives that are more educated, environmentally conscious and better resourced living in the urbanized communities to help in the resource mobilization efforts of local grassroots movements. The likelihood is significant because of the common trend of rural-urban migration that has seen high numbers of rural dwellers relocate to bigger cities for economic reasons. In that case the ties of family heritage and common

ancestry could prove strong enough and a vital moral resource to attract some form of support for the movement ideals. The potential for this means of support for local movements, judging from the Yayaaso case, is one worth investigating further in the future. I will discuss in more detail the nature of resource mobilization in the environmental movement in Ghana in a subsequent chapter.

5.3 Conclusion

I have considered two interesting cases that throw light on the nature of non-institutionalized environmental movement activity in Ghana. Both cases re-emphasize the disproportionate burden that rural communities that host mining activities face and their resultant discontent for mining operations. Removed from the public eye, the persistence of their struggles prompts what I have called the 'last resort' mentality that has propelled local residents to break traditional norms and conventions and express their discontents in protests. It can also be inferred that there appears to be a weakened stand on the part of the government to protect the interests of rural mining communities and is largely seen as being on the side of the mining companies to enjoy the financial proceeds reaped. Evidence of this is seen in the passage of weak laws and regulatory instruments governing mining operations in Ghana, that allow what can be described as a 'legal exploitation' of local communities, leading to environmental degradation, displacement and hardship.

In both cases the protests captured have been non-violent in nature but with residents firm in their resolve, backed by their 'last resort' mentality, they evolve novel strategies and methods that have challenged the traditional status quo of rural communities, particularly those of gender, as seen in the Dumasi case. It is also fair to acknowledge that the traditional view of nature, which allowed the local dwellers to ascribe revered and spiritual statuses to the elements of nature through their beliefs and customs, also played an important role in stirring up their discontent with mining operations that appeared to disregard and destroy the environment.

Based on the traditional view of nature and the persistence of discontent, the features of the protests captured in this study reveal that the non-institutionalized movement has both a gender dimension and need to protect family heritage as a foci for local movement mobilization. Also it is apparent that there is an important role that the engagement of environmental NGOs and civil society groups with local communities plays in the continuity of the life of the local movement after the main events of public protest. These loose networks and partnerships have been useful in capacity building and a supply of resources vital to the movement building process. The nature and practicalities of resource mobilization have been deliberately touched on in brief to make way for a full discussion in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER SIX - THE INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT ACTORS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to consider the institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement in Ghana. This will be done by characterizing the various Institutionalized movement actors encountered in my study, that would form the basis of the identification and a more in-depth analysis of the 'Institutionalized environmental movement' at the latter part of this thesis, when evidence of networking and movement activity between these actors has been gathered. It is the evidence of networking and the formation of collective identity and action between these Institutionalized groups and organisations that will form the 'institutionalized environmental movement'. Hence the reason why they are termed as 'movement actors'.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the classification of the actors as being 'institutionalized' primarily refers to their relatively high level of organization, administrative structures and personnel and more importantly a legal recognition by the State to formalize their operations as Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). As a result, the use of this 'institutionalized' classification captures a broad spectrum of NGOs and civil society groups to include highly professionalized and structured groups to others that are loosely structured and less formalized, often classed as 'semi-institutionalized'. Additionally the classification brings up huge variations in the features of the groups that are of interest, such as their size (staff and members), scope of operations, available funds and external partners.

For the purpose of this piece I have chosen to use the term 'institutionalized' to refer to the movement actors that have been legally recognized by the state and formalized their operations as NGO's and civil society groups that are registered with the Government of Ghana's Registrars General's Department or have submitted paperwork for that purpose. This focus therefore, allows me to conceptualize both

highly institutionalized and the semi-institutionalized movement actors under one umbrella, and provides the basis for my use of the term.

In addition to the NGOs and civil society groups identified, this chapter considers the role of government agencies, namely the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology (MEST) that frequently interacted with the institutionalized actors identified and therefore had the potential to be actors within the environmental movement.

The narratives on the various institutionalized movement actors invariably also throws more light into the broad nature of environmentalism in Ghana, capturing some background information on issues that are of concern, as well as the character, history and developmental trends of the actors.

6.1 Environmental movement actors

6.1.1 League of Environmental Journalists (LEJ)[29]

League of Environmental Journalists (LEJ) was formed and registered as an NGO in 1992, by a group of journalists that saw the need to advocate for an increase in the coverage of environmental stories in the mass media, particularly in the Nation's leading newspapers. It had been observed prior to its establishment, that the news headlines had been dominated by political stories and although the country was facing serious environmental degradation and associated threats, which made it a substantive matter worth documenting, environmental issues, had remained under-represented in the mass media.

The LEJ began with membership consisting of representatives from every media house that was based in the capital city Accra but over the years some of the media houses folded due to several constraints and at present has an active core

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[29] Account and opinions of group expressed are based on interview with respondent number 1 (Appendix 2).

membership of about 25 members. The core aim of the group was to actively investigate and report on environmental issues that would then be published by the various media houses that the members represented. The central aim was to push for prominence and 'front page' coverage as much as possible especially because there had been an observable gap in the amount of environmental news that got published, despite the prevalence of grave environmental concerns. By using the resources available to them the LEJ sought to conduct more or less "literary campaigns" of environmental issues that were of concern in the mass media[30].

The principal environmental concerns that members were tasked to cover ranged from sanitation issues, unsustainable mining, bio-diversity loss to waste management, especially the emerging problem of electronic waste disposal. The LEJ has pioneered and championed an on-going campaign against the proliferation of electronic waste (e-waste) and the serious environmental hazards that improper disposal leads to. This campaign stems from the fact that Ghana and many other African countries actively engage in the importation of used electronic goods like televisions and refrigerators from Europe and the western world, most of which are in essence out-moded technology and have very short life spans, breaking down after very short use on arrival in Africa, or do not work at all. The problem is not the second-hand trade per se, but rather how this trade is disproportionately skewed in handling obsolete electronics that ideally should have been disposed off (Basel Action Network, 2005). Worst of all, most African countries where the trade in second-hand electronic appliances has become big business are not equipped to deal with the eventual electronic waste that is produced when these appliances breakdown or remain inoperable in the state that they were imported (Greenpeace International, 2008). In effect, Africa's attraction to cheap obsolete second-hand electronics has created a ticking time bomb of an electronic waste problem that would blow out of proportion if appropriate measures are not taken to address the issue. The commonest form of e-waste disposal at present is burning in open incinerators, releasing very harmful and poisonous gases into the atmosphere, or

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[30] Quote used by interview respondent 1 (appendix 2).

burning as the means to reveal the metal through which scrap metal dealers scavenge .

Fig 6.1: Ubiquitous sale of used electronic goods along some principal streets of Accra. Source: Author's own.

The LEJ's pioneering role in the campaign against e-waste has led to considerable media coverage by local media houses and a feature in a Greenpeace International video documentary on the gravity of the issue[31]. And its work has also been recognized by a number of awards and citations, either as an NGO or as a result of individual work carried out as part of the LEJ goals. Notably amongst the list of recognitions and awards is the founder's receipt of a Laureate of UNEP's "Global 500 Award" in 1998[32], for the contributions made towards raising environmental awareness amongst the Ghanaian population. A prestigious award with previous recipients such as Wangari Maathai and former US President Jimmy Carter.

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[31] See further the research and video documentary conducted by Greenpeace International into the growing electronic Waste problem in Ghana.
http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/news/features/poisoning-the-poor-electroni/ (accessed 22/02/13).
[32] See further http://www.global500.org/Roll-of-Honour-/-Laureate-Database/Mike-Anane.html (Accessed 21/02/2013).

The LEJ does not operate a strict formalized leadership structure but rather a semi-formal structure with the founder serving as the convener of meetings and steering the organization of activities for members. Although its operations result in members travelling all across the country, it operates a centralized administration from a single office in the Capital Accra.

In addition to their strategy of organizing "Literary campaigns" The LEJ regularly organized workshops and training events that would raise environmental awareness levels amongst its members and sustain their interest in the subject. As well as equip them with skills to conduct thorough research and accurate reporting. This goal was identified to be particularly important since the two main professional journalism schools in the country did not offer courses on environmental journalism.

According to the founder of the LEJ[33] the costs of running the NGO activities which mainly go towards funding field trips for data collection and conducting interviews all over the country, as well as running the workshops and training events, come from donor funds. The LEJ's major donor partner is the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)[34], which provided up to 90% of funds where as the remaining costs were borne through the personal funds of members. It did not require members to pay any form of dues or generate any financial contributions from their activities.

The LEJ has a fairly loose relationship with the government mainly because of what it describes as mistrust that exists between itself and the government agencies that are responsible for the environment. The apparent fear has been borne out of the basic perception that the LEJ is government critic and its main interest is to "wash the government's dirty linen in public"[35]. Consequently, with the exception of some few engagements with the EPA, they have not been properly involved in discussions

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[33] Same as interview respondent 1 (appendix 2). Respondent was not opposed to specific references being made to the founder of the group in the report.
[34] For more on DANIDA see http://um.dk/en/danida-en/ (accessed 22/02/2013).

[35] Quote from Interview respondent 1 (Appendix 2).

on issues that it has highlighted in the media, and could potentially have given useful feedback because of its thorough investigative fieldwork approach. Despite this somewhat strained relationship with the government, it considers its campaigns a success when steps are taken to address the issues that are of concern. The LEJ believes that even when it is ignored in consultation meetings and deliberations about issues that it has campaigned for, the public awareness raised and the and the positive response received from the government on some occasions are huge successes. One important reference of this, is the developments that have arisen from its longstanding campaign against the e-waste, which has led to the government announcing a ban on the importation of used refrigerators, mainly because of the acknowledged risks that old refrigerators could contain CFC that were banned under the United Nation's "Montréal Protocol on Substances that deplete the Ozone Layer". This notable development received widespread coverage by both local and international media as a significant step in the right direction (BBC, 2012). This 'success' has only bolstered the LEJ's resolve to campaign for a comprehensive control of e-waste, as other used and very old electronics, particularly TV sets and computers are imported en-mass into the country on a daily basis. The added worry even with a ban on imported used fridges is the absence of an appropriate policing and monitoring mechanism that would ensure that such a ban is effective, considering that fact that over 2 million used fridges had already been imported and were 'floating' on the local market before the ban was announced.

The limited resources available to the LEJ made it specialize and skew its campaigns toward e-waste and mining issues, and if were to have access to more financial resources, it would then have invested more time on other environmental problems and also aimed at finding a way to increase public participation in environmental decision making which it regards as an important feature that is absent in Ghana. The LEJ is of the opinion that the greater percentage of the Ghanaian population that are affected by the detrimental effects of environmental degradation need to be more aware of the causes and damage, to be able to potentially engage in some form of positive action. Consequently, mass education of the general public would be the route to take to ensure that this goal is attainable.

In addition to its own work, the LEJ is a member of a number of coalitions and networks and partners with other environmental NGOs that seek to champion various environmental issues that are of concern. Notable among these are its membership and pioneering role in the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM) and the African Network of Environmental Journalists, as well as partnering with other civil society groups such as the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL), Wacam and Friends of the Earth Ghana, to execute various projects.

6.1.2 The Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology (MEST)[36]

The MEST is the Ghanaian government ministry ultimately responsible for the formulation and implementation of polices that would protect and promote the quality of the environment, as the country ultimately aims to adopt measures of sustainable development. Over the years, particularly since 1992 which marked the beginning of Ghana's unbroken chain of democratic rule, the mandate of the ministry has changed from one that deals purely with the environment to one that recognizes the interrelationship, potential, and benefits of incorporating the promotion and development of science and technology in the fulfillment of its mandate.

There are four core agencies of the ministry through which most of its work is done namely, the environmental protection agency (EPA), the Town and Planning Country Department (TPCD), the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission (GAEC). In addition to these core four, there are a host of other government institutions and commissions that work hand in hand with the MEST in environmental policy formulation, monitoring and compliance, such the Water Resources Commission (WRC) and the Forestry Commission (MEST, 2012).

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[36] Account and opinions of MEST expressed are based on interview with respondents number 2 and 3 (Appendix 2).

Naturally the ministry is headquartered in Accra, with its sub departments and agencies located in all 10 regions of the country. It identifies with the growing need to address environmental degradation in the country and other associated environmental threats. The spatial distribution of environmental threats makes it difficult from the government's point of view to clearly single out and label what would be the typical "Ghanaian environmental threat", however on the basis of the distribution, different regions are more prone or associated with different kinds of environmental threats that demand governmental action. These include, land degradation, deforestation, pollution of water bodies, introduction of invasive alien species of plants, e-waste and general waste disposal, as well as climate change. The ministry's approach to dealing with environmental threats also identifies with the "temporal and dynamic"[37] nature of environmental threats, in that certain environmental problems attract more attention than others, even on the global scene, making it only right to keep in step with such developments. For instance, the issue of deforestation used to be at the forefront of affairs in the late 1990s, whereas today the major environmental threat that attracts the most attention is climate change.

According to one of the representatives of the ministry I interviewed,[38] environmental protection has not been sufficiently demonstrated to be a concern amongst the majority of the Ghanaian populace. The exception to this may be in cases where local livelihood has been directly linked with the environment, or in other words where the environmental degradation has an adverse impact on human sustenance. The lack of environmental concern can therefore be linked to people's proximity to environmental threats, and not just the proximity alone, but proximity that is related to livelihood and survival. This observation gives no support however to the postmaterialist hypothesis of affluence and its relationship to environmental concern, as there were some affluent communities that did not appear to attach much importance to environmental protection because it did not 'directly affect' them. Consequently some form of what could be appropriately termed a "proximity

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[37] Quote from interview respondent 3 (appendix 2).
[38] Interview respondent 3 (appendix 2).

hypothesis" was more probable in explaining the lack of environmental concern observed in Ghanaian society. The government was however on course to addressing the general challenge as it fully recognized the importance of environmental issues and their impact on national development. One of the clear indications of the importance attached to the MEST is the appointment of the sector minister as a government cabinet minister.

As far as resources necessary to properly function were concerned the ministry was currently in the best position that it has ever been, being able to attract skilled human resources with the requisite technological knowhow. One of the key reasons for this shift is because of the re-structured government salary system, which makes it possible to offer reasonable salary packages to its employees. Financially, it gets most of its funds from foreign sources, which represents an estimated 70-80% of its annual budgetary allocations. This also includes money that is sourced through its development-focused agencies, with its current biggest fund provider being the Global Environment Fund (GEF)[39]. These externally sourced funds most often are tied to projects and specific causes. Although it is ultimately useful to have money for some pro-environmental projects, the attached prescription on how the money should be spent does not always necessarily result in the government addressing environmental issues that may have been top priority on its list or of immediate concern to that local population. Prescribed projects that are attached to foreign sourced funds are often more 'globalised' in nature addressing the most trending topics and issues on the international level. According to the ministry[40], this 'restriction' in how external funds are spent may very help explain the ministry's "temporal and dynamic" approach to dealing with environmental issues. This approach through which addressing some environmental issues take priority over others is a reflection on the agenda setting consequence of relying on externally sourced funds. In addition to the apparent restrictions, the reliance on foreign

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[39] As of 2012, Ghana had received just over $66 million from the GEF. See further a report on the Ghana's allocation of the GEF. http://www.thegef.org/gef/sites/thegef.org/files/publication/Ghana%20-%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf (last accessed 04/02/2015).
[40] Specific reference to interview respondent 3 (appendix 2).

money is not the best way forward, as Ghana's fast growing economy has achieved middle income status making it more suited to attract foreign loans, instead of the grants that it previously attracted.

The ministry plans to set up its own eco-fund from locally generated funds to be able to support other initiatives, including the establishment of specific co-coordinating offices for the various treaties and agreements that the country is a signatory to.

The MEST is regarded as the most direct representative of the government, and in interactions with the various environmental NGOs has been regarded as their final point of call as far as petitions and requests that need government attention is concerned. It does also have a fairly loose relationship with environmental NGOs criticizing many as not being well informed but 'noise making' only to attract media attention and be perceived to be doing some work. It does however identify with the work of a few environmental NGOs such as the Hatoff foundation, Friends of the Earth Ghana and Abantu. Apart from being the receptacle of civil society grievances with environmental issues, it also sees itself as playing an important collaborative role in fostering the environmental movement by providing letters of accreditation to local groups to attend international conferences and workshops.

6.1.3 The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)[41]

The EPA, which is one of the four core agencies of the MEST, is the foremost public body responsible for the protection and improvement of the Ghanaian environment. It also collaborates with other stakeholders and interest groups to manage and seek solutions to environmental problems. The present agency traces its roots to as far back as 1974 when an environmental protection council was set up by the government of the day as an attempt to regulate environmental interventions for the young independent and rapidly developing country (EPA, 2013). The establishment of this council was a direct consequence of the raised awareness of

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[41] Account and opinions of the EPA expressed are based on interview with respondents number 4 (Appendix 2).

environmental degradation that was gained after the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden. However, in 1994 Act 480 of Parliament established the agency to co-manage, protect and enhance the quality of the environment. Quite similar to the establishment of the agency's preceding council, the EPA was formed after the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janerio, Brazil, when the international focus and awareness on the environment were intensified (EPA, 2013).

The EPA has its headquarters in Accra, within the same precincts as the MEST, and operates under several themed departments and units that enable it to be suited to address the different environmental issues that are of concern; these include the units responsible for mining, environmental education, natural resource management, chemicals management, coastal management and climate change.

With the realization of the link between development and environmental management, particularly in the case of a developing country where it was important to create the balance, the mid-1990 saw the introduction of environmental laws that would help regulate and control human behaviour that had a direct impact on the environment. The EPA's core business then evolved as the principal regulatory body that enforced these environmental laws. The main legislative instruments in place that govern its activities include the main EPA Act 480 of parliament, which serves as an overarching framework for environmental regulation, and a few specific instruments such as the Environmental Assessment Regulations dealing with the procedures of registration and acquisition of permits of any environmental activities. As well as the Pesticides Control and Management Act of 1996 and the Minerals and Mining Act of 2006. There are plans to in the pipeline to draft a legal instrument to regulate Ghana's young oil industry, which had commercial production commence only in 2010.

Clearly one of the challenges of the EPA is the inadequate laws that fully regulate all the sectors and programmes that it undertakes, especially since command and control mechanisms are seen to be the easiest to enforce. The development of

environmental law in Ghana and most parts of Africa for that matter is a much-needed aspect of the fight to preserve and promote environmental quality.

In as much as it is difficult to label one environmental threat or concern as the dominant issue, from its work, the EPA identifies with the challenges of environmental degradation from mining as one of the most important concerns. This is because Ghana, like many other African counties that have commercial deposits of minerals have built their economies on these extractive sectors relying heavily on the revenues that they accrue. As a result the development and exploitation of the extractive industry is so key and important to the national governments, that any attempt to balance mineral exploitation with environmental protection appears to be in conflict with the government's developmental plans. The rural communities that host these activities mostly feel the negative effects of mining.

According to the EPA[42], besides the issue of environmental degradation that comes from mining; by examining the nature of other identified environmental threats on a rural-urban basis reveals that environmental and land degradation is prevalent to the rural areas where poverty and the rapidly growing population are plausible exacerbating factors, especially in areas where people are forced to over-rely on and use natural resources at a pace that does not meet natural regeneration time frames. Consequently environmental benefits previously enjoyed for agriculture and other associated livelihood activities cannot be sustained, making the rural communities poorer and worse of and having to resort to the exploitation of more resources to keep up the survival. This creates a vicious circle of poverty and further environmental degradation. Additional environmental threats of concern include rapid deforestation and loss of plant cover, and seasonal bushfires particularly in the northern regions of the country, which typically feature grassland savanna and experience dry weather patterns from winds blowing from the Sahara dessert. Local communities in the farming and hunting seasons deliberately set bush fires to both

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[42] Specific claims made my interview respondent number 4 (Appendix 2).

clear the land and lure game in a desired direction, and in that process destroys large tracts of grassland when the fires get out of control.

In the urbanized areas, commonly identified environmental threats are mainly to do with management and improper disposal of waste. Indiscriminate solid waste disposal has led to many open drains in the capital city Accra, which leads to annual flooding during the peak of the raining season, destroying property and with associated fatalities[43]. As aptly described, Accra suffers form a plague of solid waste mainly from plastic that blocks most of the city drains, a problem that rears it ugly head when it rains (Okyere *et al*, 2012:20) and a problem that is made worse by defective engineering and buildings in waterways (Okyere et al, 2012). The EPA decries the challenge of plastic waste disposal in a manner that echoes the emerging global "anti-plastic bag norm' as described by Clapp and Swanston (2009: 318). However there is very little evidence of this norm manifesting in Ghanaian domestic environmental regulation and policies, as have been seen in other settings in the global south, such as Bangladesh, India, Taiwan and South Africa (Clapp and Swanston, 2009: 319-320).

As far as resources are concerned, the EPA does acknowledge that it not adequately resourced with all the staff and expertise that it requires. Similar to the situation at the MEST, recent government overhauls of salary structure have made pay packages more attractive than they were in the past. However they still fall short of being able to attract specialists and engineers that are needed in the specialist areas of it programmes. At present specialist functions are outsourced to other institutions or government university academics for help when the need arises. Besides these challenges of lack of experts, the agency is generally understaffed, especially at its posts outside the capital city and in the rural districts, making it difficult to offer prompt and timely responses to issues that are of concern. Closely related to the matter of human resources is the added problem of inadequate structural resources

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[43] For sample of news reports on the Accra city floods see, Joy FM
http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201110/75422.php and BBC
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15475084 (accessed 20/02/2013)

that would have been necessary for its work. As mentioned earlier, because of inadequate staffing in the sub-urban and rural districts, the EPA relies on continually transporting staff from the headquarters in Accra to all the locations all over the country. It therefore has a fleet of vehicles that serve that purpose. However there are other infrastructural challenges that hinder the pace and smooth transaction of its work; most notable of these is the fact that the EPA des not have any laboratories where necessary scientific analysis of samples can be conducted.

The EPA receives money from the government through the MEST, which according to its representative is not enough to fully execute all its programmes, prompting it to internally prioritize, making some programmes and projects more funded than others. Additionally, just as in the case of the MEST it receives money from foreign donor agencies and banks that usually give money with specific projects or environmental programmes attached. For instance the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provides funds for the Ghana Environment Management Project (GEMP) which runs programmes aimed at tackling issues of drought and desertification, as well as the World Bank providing funds for a project on sustainable land management (Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 2013)[44].

The EPA considers itself a facilitator in its relationship with local NGOs, a facilitator in terms of the fact that the ultimate goal of their combined outputs would ultimately be to the benefit of the environment, recognizing that the NGOs are what it refers to as "co-managers" of the Ghanaian environment. This facilitative role often plays out in the form of technical support and information that the EPA provides to the NGOs in the course of their work (EPA, 2007)[45]. It also organizes and offers diverse training programmes and workshops to help in capacity building efforts of the NGOs all in the spirit of "co-managing" the environment. In practice the EPA has a number of inter-

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[44] See further a note on the GEMP on the Ghanaian Ministry of Food and Agriculture website http://mofa.gov.gh/site/?page_id=6459 (Last accessed 02/02/2015).

[45] For instance the EPA interacts with Local NGOs such as Friends of the Earth and provides technical information on some of its projects , which is in turn used in awareness campaigns. See further a 2007 report on the EPA's project on addressing persistent pollutants http://www.pops.int/documents/implementation/nips/submissions/Ghana%20NIP.pdf (last accessed 02/02/2015).

sectoral partnerships with a number of local NGOs doing collaborative work on specific projects or issues. It however does not provide financial assistance in any form directly to the NGOs to undertake any of their targeted projects.

This co-management paradigm is helpful in appreciating the somewhat loose, yet healthy relationship that exists between the government's regulatory body and some of the local environmental groups that it identifies as making helpful contributions on the ground. This stems from the fact that in light of the EPA's limited resources, it is unable to do many direct interventions in cases of environmental disregard and breaches of laid down environmental regulations all over the country, and in those instances, community oriented interventions of local NGOs have been of great help. However, despite this praiseworthy description, the 'co-management' paradigm in the EPA-NGO relationship is not a perfectly oiled wheel and gaps of friction often occur that allows the NGO fraternity to harbour varying degrees of discontent for the EPA. The EPA is accused of not sufficiently engaging the environmental NGOs in debates, consultation and meaning collaborative work, making it often time appear to be on the opposite side of its own 'co-management' coin. These strains in the EPA-NGO relationship arise as a result of several factors, but one important reason is the fact that the EPA regards the NGO fraternity in Ghana to lack leadership and only finds its voice in reaction to the government's perceived failures. This lack of leadership manifests in their inability to empower the groups and communities that they have worked with over the years to become independent of NGO support. As a result the work of many of the local environmental NGOs creates somewhat an NGO-community relationship that thrives on the local communities being continually dependent on the NGOs, and never being "weaned" of them as it were. This posturing does not build the capacity of the local communities to be able to effectively negotiate in issues of discontent with dominant forces, neither does it serve their best interests in the long term but rather appears to be of benefit to the NGOs to maintain their interventionist agenda. Hence, the marginal changes and improvements seen throughout the country as a result of the intervention of local environmental NGOs may very well be a result of this criticism of an undue relationship of dependency.

6.1.4 Abibiman Foundation[46]

The Abibiman Foundation (AF) was set up in the year 2000 to promote the idea of sustainable development amongst local communities in Ghana. The word "Abibiman" is loosely translated from the Akan language as the "black race" or "black people" but more appropriately and in the context of the NGO, is translated as the "African" Foundation[47].

In order to achieve the broad aims of promoting the ideals of sustainable development the NGO focuses on issues concerning the environment, gender inequality as well as the youth and children, and runs different programmes to meet the needs of these targeted sectors. Consequently The AF is not exclusively what may be referred to as an environmental NGO, but takes the form of a general social action NGO with the environment as one of its focal points. Environmental issues that are of concern to the AF include, loss of biodiversity, diminishing stocks of natural resources, and climate change, with climate change topping the list on its agenda.

The AF as an advocacy-based organization adopts the strategy of lobbying and petitioning the government and dominant powers as it makes a case for the environment. It also believes firmly in organizing community outreach events to raise consciousness and general education levels in society about the gravity of the issues of environmental degradation and how urgent solutions need to be sought and employed. It does not however engage in direct confrontation and protests as a means of registering discontent or attracting the government's attention. Rather it uses the mass media, advertisement and publicity material, and workshops to convey its message to the public. Without having a working website the AF have more recently resorted to creating a channel on the video sharing site 'YouTube' to

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[46] Account and opinions of the Abibiman Foundation expressed are based on interview with respondents number 5 and 6 (Appendix 2).

[47] Translation as given by respondent number 6 (appendix 2).

spread its message and work to Ghana's increasingly social media-conscious population.

It operates from a single office in the Industrial city of Tema, 25 Km east of the capital, and has a permanent staff of 8 workers that co-ordinates its activities. Additionally it engages the services of a number of volunteers who come onboard when there is a campaign running.

As far as its environmental outreach is concerned it organizes and runs environmental clubs in local schools. These clubs are called the "Green Life Clubs" and at the time of writing operated 15 of them nationwide, with plan to work with the Ghana Education Service to support an expansion drive in state owned schools. The work of the clubs stems out the belief that the young people and the youth need to be adequately informed about the environmental threats that the country is facing and encourage them to grow up to defend the environment and adopt more environmentally friendly behaviour. One primary activity that all the Green Life Clubs engage in is periodic tree planting exercises first on the school premises and then in selected areas. The students are then charged with the responsibility of looking after the trees on their campuses, ensuring that they thrive, which allows them to bear witness to the important linkages between the survival of nature and our very human existence. Because of the added responsibility of students taking care of the trees, the AF dubs its initiative as a "tree growing" exercise which has more depth and is more sustainable compared to mere 'tree planting' exercises which don't include any plans for follow up to ensure success. Through this very interesting initiative the AF hopes to inculcate an ethic of care into the lives of young Ghanaians, beginning with those that are in the schools that they work with. The 'growing exercises" are also used for commemorative purposes to make any landmark progress achieved in its advocacy work. This is often done in conjunction with a reputable government official or public figure and covered by the media and contributes to its publicity efforts.

The AF forms loose partnerships with a few local environmental NGO's to work on specific projects or campaigns when the need arises. Besides these loose, occasional partnerships, it is a member of a few coalitions and networks of local and African environmental NGOs particularly, those that deal with the contemporary issue of climate change. These networks include the Gender Advocacy on Climate Change and the Pan African (GACC), the Pan African Climate Justice Alliance (PACJA) and the African Youth Initiative on Climate Change (AYICC). Its work in the Gender Advocacy on Climate Change brings out an interesting dimension of the involvement of women in the climate chance advocacy. This would be examined in later sections of this work as part of the overview of the environmental movement in Ghana.

The AF receives funding for its work form international sources such as Oxfam Novib in Holland, the United Nations Millennium Campaign (UNMC) and the Global Climate Change Alliance (GCCA), which serves as a platform for dialogue and exchange of experience between the EU and developing countries in their bid to address the globalised effects of climate chance[48]. Additionally it receives some funding from international organizations for specific projects such as funds received from Greenpeace international for the production of video documentaries and testimonials of its work. About half of its annual budget it sourced from these international partners, apart from which the AF also mobilizes funds from local sources. One principal expenditure that is sourced locally is monies for staff salaries that are obtained from the government (Ministry of Work and Employment's) National Service Scheme (NSS, 2013)[49]. The scheme provides employment opportunities for fresh graduates and young talent mainly from the state owned tertiary institutions, with government organizations and companies for the duration of a year. Although it is predominantly utilized by government organizations, selected private organizations are able to use the scheme to fund employees. It is therefore on this note that the AF employs a few graduates each year as part of its full time staff base at its headquarters in Tema. The opportunity to attract educated

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[48] For more about the work of Oxfam Novib see http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/ (accessed 25/-5/2013) and the GCCA at http://www.gcca.eu/about-the-gcca (accessed 25/03/2013).

[49] See more on the Government of Ghana's National Service Scheme http://nss.gov.gh/home/mandate-of-the-scheme (last accessed, 02/02/2015).

talent without direct cost to the organization has been a significant contribution to helping the organization meet a level of human resource needs, that may not have been possible to have been done with its existing financial resources. As further to its fund raising efforts, it occasionally has its budget subsidized by personal funds of the founder which are mainly used to local and some international traveling cost. In their experience, international travel is seen by the local public as somewhat a luxury and consequently quite difficult to raise funds in the name of a Ghanaian public good[50].

In spite of its ability to source external funds, it identifies the lack of adequate funds as a major limiting factor to the introduction and running of new environmental initiatives. Additionally there it considers the support received from the government to be inadequate, especially in forging a relationship where their expertise could be used in training programmes offered by government regulatory bodies, or even engaged much more in the discourse on environmental problems and contribute to finding solutions for the future. The inadequate engagement of the government's environmental regulatory agencies is regarded as a way sidelining some environmental NGOs and means of it showing selective endorsement for the activities of a few NGOs. According to the representatives of AF, public recognition for the work of environmental NGOs also appears to be low especially in the urban areas, and this has had an impact on the moral of volunteers that have worked with them. The public does not appear to readily appreciate the amount of effort and sacrifices made by environmental activist to drive campaigns, and although public approval and rewards are not the primary motivation for being activists, the AF contends that increased public approval would significantly boost morale of volunteers and workers. This is another reason why it has made the youth its target for its education programmes since they are more easily impressionable and would grow up appreciating the work of environmental advocacy.

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[50] Claims made by respondent number 5 (Appendix 2).

6.1.5 Corporate Social Responsibility Movement[51]

The Corporate Social Responsibility Movement (CSRM) can be described as a youth pressure group based in the industrial city of Tema, about 25 Km east of Accra. Tema is a coastal city on the southern border of the country along the portion of the Atlantic Ocean known as the Gulf of Guinea, with the Greenwich meridian (Longitude 0) passing directly through the city. It is also home to the largest and busiest of the two deep seaports in the country; consequently it hosts a large number of industrial activities including the country's only oil refinery, that take advantage of the proximity to the port for the import and export of commodities. The opening of the manmade harbour in 1961 by Ghana's first president was considered a tremendous feat for the newly independent nation with the hope that it would catapult its efforts at international trade and commerce. Alongside the booming maritime activities and rapid industrialization, the creation of a city transformed most of what used to be the location of traditional fishing communities of the Ga tribe, consequently leaving them to resettle and concentrate in the surrounding areas of the "Chemu Lagoon" which flows into the Gulf of Guinea.
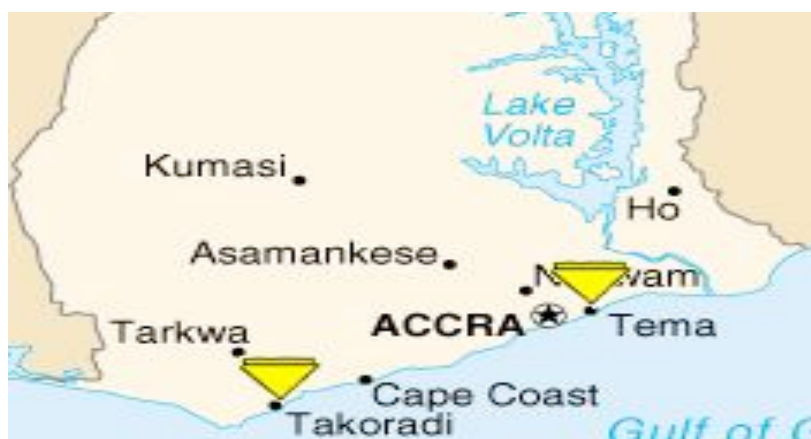
Figure 6.2: Map of Southern Ghana Showing the two Harbour cities Tema and Takoradi along the Gulf of Guinea.

The CSRM started with the Tema Municipal Youth Coalition, which comprised of the executives of all the various youth groups registered with the Tema Development Council. The mandate of the coalition, established in 1999, was to mobilize the youth

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[51] Account and opinions of the CSRM expressed are based on interview with respondent number 7 (Appendix 2)

as a pressure group to respond to a number of issues that were of concern and directly affected the welfare of youth and the entire metropolis. The CSRM was later formed as an offshoot of this youth coalition by members that were interested in focusing on the impact of industrial activities on the "Chemu Lagoon". This was because the attention of the interested youth executives had been drawn to the fact that a number of industries and production companies based in Tema had used the lagoon as a liquid waste dump. Additionally the founding group of the CSRM had been inspired through their interactions with volunteer researchers from the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) who were conducting some work on Responsible Corporate Citizenship in Africa. The realization of the disregard for the rights and need of the local communities living around the lagoon by the 'irresponsible' activities of some corporate bodies in Tema led to the formation of the CSRM in 2001. As a youth-led and mobilized group, its main strategy was to campaign and protest to raise the awareness of the struggles of the local fishing communities who were the original dwellers before Tema's industrialization, and more importantly to push for change.

Their first public protest campaign was an innovative idea in 2002, which they called a "Human Cloth Chain" along the main road that linked "Ashiaman" to "Tema New Town" (from the beginning of the industrial hub to the fishing community). This idea was to have residents line the streets holding their traditional cloths as a continuous chain along the entire 15km stretch of the main road, to make a bold an imposing statement to commuters about their displeasure. With a lower turnout than expected the human chain was rerouted to circle around the city centre which nonetheless served the purpose of raising awareness and it stirred up curiosity amongst observers and virtually served as an 'informal launch' of the CSRM in the Tema metropolis.

The CSRM's work was focused around three main issues covering the environmental concerns, the lack adequate corporate social intervention programmes and a disregard for worker health and safety issues[52].

The major environmental discontent with the activities of several industries based in Tema was the fact that most of them did not have the means or facilities to treat liquid waste and consequently channeled all their untreated waste into the lagoon as conduit to the sea. This development eventually adversely affected the ecosystem of the lagoon, killing aquatic life and leaving it in a dead state. The destruction of the life of the lagoon also adversely affected the livelihood of local fishing communities that relied on fishing activities, mainly of the popular tilapia, as a means of survival.

The change they desired was also for companies to factor their corporate social responsibility programmes as part of their costs of operations, bringing to light the idea that they had carefully thought about the full extent of their activities and how it could potential impact the environment, with the cost of any mitigation budgeted for and fully covered by the company. As it stood, corporate social responsibility programmes appeared to be entirely philanthropic; a favour done to communities after profits have been made.

And finally the third subject in their campaigns was to dealt with the observed, blatant disregard for the health and safety of the workers of some the industries, particularly those that made up the unskilled and semi-skilled labour force recruited amongst the indigenes.

So in essence the CSRM was to serve as a pressure group on behalf of the indigenous Tema residents, mainly within the fishing communities to campaign on theses three identified social justices issues, with the concerns of the Lagoon being it central and 'environmental' campaign. The CSRM identifies with the consequent struggles of the local communities for survival, and the destruction of an aquatic environment as a

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[52] Specific claims made by respondent number 7.

breach of the rights of the indigenes and a disregard of the traditional values and beliefs of the people of a once sacred lagoon. The campaign and struggles of the CSRM for premeditative action especially for the damage caused to the Lagoon and the cultural desecration that the pollution inadvertently represented.

The CSRM operates a structure made up of a core team of 11 members. The team members are essentially volunteers and received no financial remuneration for their work and time put into the CSRM. An executive director and executive secretary who are the only two members with some formal designated roles lead the core team. Without having a formal office, the activities are run from the home of the executive secretary they pool together financial contributions from personal funds as they are all employed elsewhere, and run the activities of the group with these funds. As a result the group considers itself to be financially constrained but is able to do sufficient Tema-based work. The localized scope of its activities has enabled it to concentrate its resources meaningfully on its streamlined campaigns. Personal funds account for up to 60% of its annual expenditure and solicits the rest of its funds from the German based Friedrich Ebert Foundation[53] which provides funds under its project management schemes in Africa, for work directly related to the CSRM's attempts at getting publicizing the damage being done to the Chemu lagoon and the need for some kind of remediative action[54]. The funds have also gone more specifically in helping the CSRM chair and organize stakeholders meetings in and attempt to bring both the local authorities and traditional leaders on board it dialogue with industry to assume responsibility and respond appropriately. Additionally the CSRM has been privileged to benefit from pro bono services of the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL), especially since they decided to take legal action on one of Ghana's industrial giants; the Tema Oil Refinery for pollution and destruction to the aquatic environment of the Chemu Lagoon and to demand costs of remediation. The case is in many ways a landmark case for the Ghanaian legal

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[53] For more on the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and its global outreach in support of sustainable development http://www.fes.de/sets/s_fes_i.htm (Accessed 12/03/2013).

[54] See further local news reports on the deplorable state of the Chemu Lagoon on the online news portal 'Ghanaweb' http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/economy/artikel.php?ID=120267 (last accessed 04/02/2015).

system and an interesting example of how the environmental justice dimension of the environmental movement is playing out to extend to the corridors of the law courts, a development which differs markedly from the general scenario of environmental struggles in other parts of Africa, and as mentioned earlier, will be revisited in a subsequent section. The pro bono services of CEPIL have undoubtedly waived potentially huge legal costs that could have stifled or even collapsed the activities of the CSRM. Put in a positive sense, the partnership between the two has enabled the pursuit of an otherwise farfetched goal, allowing the David to pitch a fight against its Goliath.

6.1.6 Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL)[55]

The Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL) was established and registered in Ghana as an NGO in 1999 with a focus on public interest law and the protection of human rights. As a result the scope of its work in Ghana covers the provision of legal aid, dealing with issues of land rights, conducting research and legislative advocacy in the parliament, and generally working on related issues of governance in areas where they can hold the government to be more accountable to the Ghanaian citizenry.

It is fully indigenous Ghanaian organization unique in terms of it being the first and only organization to offer pro bono legal services in the areas listed above. This statement also holds true in comparison to other sub-Saharan African countries. It operates from its headquarters in Accra and is in the process of opening a second office in the Western Region of the country to facilitate its work especially with the mining communities there.

As far as resources are concerned, CEPIL relies heavily on donor funding, raising between 90% and 95% of its annual expenditure from international funding

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[55] Account and opinions of the CEPIL expressed are based on interview with respondents number 8 and 9 (Appendix 2).

partners, with its largest being Oxfam America[56]. Its remaining funds are raised for the nominal fees that it charges for very occasional work done for the public that is not pro bono. The centre is run by three full time practicing lawyers[57] and three other staff that oversee the administration and paper work of the organization. The lawyers have in recent times, beyond the research and gathering of relevant data, become very actively engaged in using the courts as an avenue for redress in situations where disputes arise and alternative measures fail to yield any success. This development is also another first in the development of Ghana's legal system where an NGO steps in on behalf of aggrieved clients in cases that are of public interest, a deviation from the norm of civil suits where the grievance is limited to people's personal injury. With the work load and the vast avenues for work in developing public interest law in Ghana, CEPIL team of three dedicated lawyers are far from being enough and with the resources available is difficult to attract more qualified lawyers to commit to their work. The work of CEPIL has come at a great sacrifice to the legal practitioners who have weighed the public good and the output of their work, over the potential benefits and rewards of conventional legal practice in Ghana. Access to legal advice and engaging the services of a lawyer in Ghana (and most places in Africa) comes at very high costs that the ordinary citizen usually cannot afford. Additionally, the few courts are perpetually inundated, with workloads making court cases drag much longer than they reasonably should, further increasing the costs of judicial redress. On average the ordinary Ghanaian does not engage the law courts or the services of lawyers at any point in their lifetime. This makes the work of CePIL a very welcome introduction into Ghanaian society providing pro bono services and extending the reach of legal aid and practice to extents that were previously not attainable[58].

Ghana's growing democracy, which has been unbroken ever since the return of multi-party politics in 1992, following a long spell of instability and frequent military

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[56] Respondent 8 refrained from mentioning actual figures, and only expressed funds as in relative percentages.

[57] The Ghanaian legal system does not differentiate between the legal practice of solicitors and barristers, as is the case in the UK. Lawyers are essentially trained in an integrated manner over a longer period, and are eventually qualified to carry out both functions.

[58] Specific claims made by respondent 9 (Appendix 2).

juntas, has allowed for the development of the various arms of government, with a deeper entrenchment of the rule of the law and independence of the judiciary. This development although being very laudable especially in relative terms to the entire sub-Saharan region, does not go without its weaknesses and challenges. For example the main strategy of CEPIL in terms of legal advocacy is done through tactfully lobbying the government. It describes its relationship with the government as one that is "accommodating" and not necessarily always co-operative, and has room for progressive improvement. This relationship between it and the government appears strained when its proposals are consistently deemed to be mere measures of antagonism, and not in the constructive sense as a possible contribution towards national development. To make matters worse, it is often accused by the government as being a tool in the hands of opposition political parties to derail the government's developmental agenda. One recent example is CEPIL opposition to the current government's decision to secure a $3 billion loan from the Chinese government for a number of infrastructural developments in the country, arguing that the terms of the loan are unfavourable and potentially illegal since the government had used the country's oil revenues as a collateral for a period of 15 years[59]. These concerns were also reiterated by the leading opposition party making it easy for the government to label CEPIL as bedfellows with the opposition. These baseless accusations crop up irrespective the fact that Ghana's democratic growth since the establishment of CEPIL has seen three different changes in governments, alternating between the two largest political parties. It faces a host of other challenges that centre mainly on the receptiveness of the legal system in accommodating the work of a Legal NGO, especially when access to the law courts is concerned.

The critical provision of legal aid and assistance on a pro bono basis has led a number of organizations and civil society groups partnering and benefiting from the

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[59] The use of the country's oil revenues as a collateral for this controversial Chinese loan has been branded as illegal because it contravenes the provisions of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act, which restricts the collaterisation of oil revenues for debt to a maximum period of 10 years. See a media report on this contention at http://allafrica.com/stories/201305281281.html (Accessed 12/2/2013).

work of CEPIL. It is through these partnerships that the work of CEPIL becomes integrated in the environmental movement in Ghana. It has partnered with the CSRM based in Tema to take legal action in against industrial giants in a fight for the remediation of a polluted Lagoon. It also collaborates with the mining advocacy group "Wacam", mainly in fighting for compensation for local residents who's property and human rights are adversely affected by mining operations. Additionally in view of the scope of its work in the mining communities in Ghana CEPIL was a founding member of the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM); the advocacy network of NGO's that deal with mining issues.

CEPIL in reviewing its work with its partners in Ghana can claim a number of significant successes that is enabling it to achieve its primary objectives as a public interest advocacy group and a means of advancing the dissemination of the rule of law in the country. The successes in renegotiating several compensation packages of residents in rural mining communities adversely affected by mineral exploitation is a feather in their cap and does give them the motivation to continue in the fight to develop this "new" public interest law space in Ghana. CEPIL believes in using the law courts as the last resort when negotiations fail to yield appreciable results, mainly because of the higher costs and the longer duration of court litigation in Ghana.

6.1.7 Friends of the Earth Ghana (FOE)[60]

The Friends of the Earth Ghana (FOE) is the local affiliate of the globally known 76-nation network of Friends of the Earth International (FOEI). Established in 1986, it has a reputation of being one of the oldest recognizable environmental NGOs in the country that is still in operation. FOE Ghana was the first to be established in any African country and at present, FOEI is represented in 15 other African countries. Its establishment in 1986 is significant because this precedes what has been described

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[60] Account and opinions of the FOE expressed are based on interview with respondents number 10 and 11 (Appendix 2).

as the wave of environmental NGO growth and awareness, following the 1992 Rio convention, which had aroused global consciousness and triggered transnational environmental NGO activity (McGann and Johnstone, 2005).

Its core mandate is to promote sustainability through activities that help shape local policy formulation and capacity building of communities. The FOE Ghana operates a very formalized structure and has its centralized administration done from a national headquarters based in the capital Accra. Its operates at both the national and the local level with its national activities overseen by its national director. In order to facilitate its local campaigns, the FOE, additionally has offices in each of the 10 regions in the country, making it the environmental NGO with the capacity to boast of a national coverage in these terms[61].

The issues that are of concern to the FOE and consequently guide its formulation of relevant programmes range from, climate change, forest and bio-diversity conservation, desertification and land degradation, gender, trade and environmental sustainability and fisheries. It runs a number of specially tailored programmes to address the environmental challenge enumerated with the help of its programme directors leading these causes.

This set up enables it to run campaigns at the national, local and African level, as it co-ordinates the affairs of the 15-nation Friends of the Earth Africa group, mainly to with the issues of sustainability and trade and environmental governance in the extractive sector.

FOE is funded through grants and donations that it sources from various foundations, diplomatic missions, and special fund raising campaigns. These funds that are sourced internationally form the bulk of its revenue, representing about 90% of its annual income. Some of these notable international funding partners include the US based Ford Foundation, DANIDA of the Danish Government, the

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[61] Claims made by respondent 10 (appendix 2).

Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID) of the UK government, the commonwealth Foundation, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In addition to these foreign sourced funds, FOE runs a number of clubs that form part of its subscribing membership which pay annual dues. Its registered members stand at about 15,000 and the funds generated from their dues contributes the remaining 10% of the FOE's annual budget. Also more recently it has received some financial assistance from the newly constituted National Resource and Environmental Governance programme which is an environmental NGO platform supported by local fund providers to monitor the government's commitments to environmental governance.

With regards to its human resource, 12 permanent staff run the FOE secretariat in the capital with a network of 5 programme directors and regional representatives running its other offices in the country. In addition to the permanent staff, FOE benefits tremendously from a stream of volunteers, both local and international that number about 40 in any given year. FOE receives a good number of international researchers, students and environmental activists that serve in volunteer capacities, and most of who are sent by affiliate institutions that it has some partnership with. Theses long-term partnerships that have made it possible for it to have a thriving volunteer base that helps it carry out a large amount of its work.

The main operation strategy of the FOE is the use of policy advocacy tools and ground level community engagement for its local programmes. It is one of the few Environmental NGOs in the country with a working and fairly up to date website[62].

The FOE has a good relationship with a number of civil society groups in the country, especially at a time where there is an increasing awareness and appreciation of the work that NGO's do. This is a huge step forward especially when a review of their

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[62] This commendation of having a fully functional website does not go with the disclaimer that it was last updated in 2011. Demonstrating how some of the information is potentially out of date yet in comparison to the majority of Ghanaian Environmental NGOs, it is a plus that at least it has one only needing a regular update. http://www.foe-gh.org/index.php (accessed 12/2/2013).

work and existence reveals a period in the beginning when the public was not very receptive to the work of NGO and not as supportive as they are now[63]. However, it is selective in forming in partnerships as there still exists quite a number of groups that are not very knowledgeable of the issues, do not invest in research and capacity building as so are not able to make a meaningful impact on the ground. This point about the low capacity levels of some groups and NGO make the sector liable to criticisms about their competence and motives in the first place. This comment relates to one of the challenges that the environmental movement actors in Ghana face and will be discussed accordingly.

However, in recognition of the positive contributions of some local environmental NGO's, the FOE forms partnerships with a number them mainly to work on thematic areas or programmes of interest. These include being a founding member of the National mining advocacy platform, the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM) and the nationwide advocacy platform for improving forest and biodiversity management called the Forest Watch. It also partners with the public interest law NGO CEPIL to provide legal aid on a pro bono basis to residents of communities that have suffered human rights abuses.

FOE considers its biggest successes in Ghana as being able to raise the level of awareness about the destruction of the country's forest reserves, gathering media attention to the subject and paving the way for the increased media reportage (FOE, 2011)[64]. For instance its activities exposing the encroachment of some mining companies into protected forest areas, have in the past led to some international companies back out in the fear being named and shamed as being environmentally irresponsible. As well as its community based programmes that have empowered community residents to become aware of their rights and be bold to stand up for them. This has consequently created a situation where industry players are

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[63] Specific claim made by respondent 11 (appendix 2) who had been one of the longest serving staff members.

[64] See further a report on the FOEs work on forestry management in Ghana, entitled 'Forest Laws, community rights and social responsibility agreements' http://www.foe-gh.org/doc/FOE%20BOOK%20DOC%20-%20web.pdf (last accessed 05/02/2015).

becoming more responsible because the citizens are keeping them on their toes (FOE, 2011).

6.1.8 Zeal Environmental Technologies Limited[65]

Zeal Environmental Technologies Limited (Zeal) is a fully indigenous private company that deals with waste management of the marine environment. Specifically it operates a port reception facility at the Takoradi Harbour, the oldest of the only two deep-sea ports in the country. The company was started in 2000 after Ghana became a signatory to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL 73/78)[66], and the recognition that there was a significant gap to be filed as far as waste management from the harbour operations were concerned, considering the fact that there was no port reception facility in place. The Tema harbour did have an expatriate company handling its port reception, but this essential service was missing in Takoradi. Consequently the establishment of Zeal was an attempt to fulfill the provisions of Annex 1 and Annex 5 of the MARPOL protocol. This essentially meant that they collected general garbage and oil waste from the vessels that docked at the harbour for onward proper disposal.

The Takoradi Harbour, situated in the Western region of Ghana is adjacent to Ghana's offshore oil fields located within its territorial waters in the Gulf of Guinea (part of the Atlantic Ocean). Consequently Zeal was contracted by the government to manage the waste from the drilling processes when commercial production of oil commenced in 2008.

The challenge has been to adopt the use of best practices and adopt management processes that would meet international standards as well as confronting the need

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[65] Account and opinions of Zeal expressed are based on interview with respondent number 12 (Appendix 2).
[66] See Summary on MARPOL by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) http://www.imo.org/About/Conventions/ListOfConventions/Pages/International-Convention-for-the-Prevention-of-Pollution-from-Ships-(MARPOL).aspx (last accessed 12/4/2013).

for an attitude change of both the harbour workers and local communities in favour and a cleaner and healthier environment. One case is point was the struggle to effectively dispose of the plastic drums that the vessels used to temporarily store oil and chemical waste prior to docking. This process incurred the displeasure of the local community residents who has made is a business and a habit of using these containers as domestic water storage containers, both in ignorance of the potential adverse health implications and also born out of their frustrations with having to store water from the frequent shortages from the national supplier. Due to the toxic nature of the waste stored in these plastic drums Zeal completely destroys them by punching holes in them and running them over with bulldozers making them non-useable. To enable it to achieve relevant success it runs periodic education programmes on the local radio stations and has plan in the pipeline to raise funds and distribute free water storage containers to the local communities.

Fig. 6.3: Crushed waste oil drums, prior to their safe disposal. Source: Zeal Environmental Tech. Ltd.

Zeal operates from its offices at the Takoradi Harbour premises, and well as a smaller administrative office in Accra. It has acquired a 6.5 acre piece of land away from towns and community dwellings to develop a purpose built facility to concentrate all its waste management operations. This would have modern and

improved equipment for handling oily wastewater, incinerators, drum crushers and shredders and oil-based mud. This would significantly improve its operations and adoption of best practices to meet international standards.

It has a staff of 40 permanent workers with about 60-80 interns who are mainly students in the country's tertiary institutions and some volunteers. It therefore has a good human resource base, as it is able to attract and retain talent from the graduate pool Ghana's biggest universities to fill job vacancies in all its sectors ranging from account officers to chemical engineers. It is funded by its generated income from services rendered, as well as the private investment of the founder and CEO. It does not receive any financial supplements from the government or any other funding body locally or internationally, but more recently has secured a loan form the International Finance Corporation (IFC) to finance its planned expansion and developmental work on the 6.5-acre land it has acquired.

Zeal has regular interaction with the government but believes that there is more room for increased capacity building of the various government agencies that it interacts with, notably the Customs Excise and Prevention Services (CEPS), the equivalent of the Border Agency in the UK. There have been previous misunderstandings about the actual work of Zeal, and it has even been charged import duty on some occasions for waste metal. This was clearly wrong as the waste metal was not meant for the local scrap metal trade, but for disposal and as such did not have any commercial value. There is also the added suspicious that some government agency workers are implicated in the trade in the hazardous material, especially the waste plastic drums on the local market, making it more difficult for Zeal to effectively deal with the situation[67].

It also plans to improve working relations with the municipal authorities and the regional chapter of the EPA to foster some co-operation and healthy working relations. Preliminary steps have been taken by inviting officials of these agencies for

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[67] Specific claims made by respondent 12 (appendix 2).

working tours of Zeal, to gain a better insight in their operations and appreciate how ultimately they are all working to improve the environment, and there literally are on the same side.

As far as partnerships with local environmental NGOs are concerned, Zeal has identified that as a gap that needs to be filled. It is aware of the work of a couple of environmental NGOs that work in the broad field of coastal and marine environmental management and would be useful to partner with them for some community-based work. It plans to start with collaborative educative programmes on radio, with its staff and those of the environmental NGO's featuring as resource persons.

It regards its work at the Takoradi harbour as a huge success, especially in filling a crucial void long before the Nation commenced commercial oil production. As well as contemplation the potential dangers of transboundary conflicts that could arise from offshore oil activities without the services of an efficient waste management regime in place. This has also led to an increase in the revenue that the government of Ghana is making from the maritime sector since the presence of port reception facilities has made it an attractive destination for vessels that operate under strict environmental, health and safety regimes.

6.1.9 Friends of the Nation (FON)[68]

The Friends of the Nation (FON) describes itself as a 'socio-environmental' NGO because of its broad focus on issues that span both social and environmental concerns. It strongly believes in adopting the ecosystem approach in dealing with both social and environmental issues. It adopts the strategy of working with community residents that are to benefit from its projects and initiatives, and believes that they are the best stewards of their environment and possess unique

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[68] Account and opinions of the FON expressed are based on interview with respondents number 13 and 14 (Appendix 2).

knowledge and more importantly an attachment to their land, which allows them when empowered to do much better than what any government agency can do for them.

FON was established in 1993 first as an environmental campaign group focusing on clean up campaigns and greening of local communities. It is based in the twin coastal cities of Secondi-Takoradi, which is the capital of the Western Region of Ghana and is also the hub of Ghana's young offshore oil industry. FON does some work in the three other coastal regions of Greater-Accra, Central and Volta, but to a large extent its work is centered on the Western Region.

Over the years, FON have shaped its work around three main areas, which gives it its unique character and adopted 'Socio-environmental' tag[69]. The first is to do with natural resource management and the protection of the natural environment. This includes both the forested areas and wetlands of the mid to northern section of the Western Region of Ghana, and the marine ecosystems of the coastal belt at the south of the region that borders the Atlantic Ocean. Secondly, it focuses enterprise development of small and medium scale businesses in the wider communities that they work with. The push for enterprise development stems from the FON's realization that there appears to be a correlation between unemployment, poverty and an increase in environmental degradation. This is because the poor and unemployed are inadvertently more likely to be over depending on the natural environment for survival or be more easily attracted to resort to being engaged in environmentally damaging practices like illegal mining and logging as a means of survival. Enterprise development also means that the FON assists community residents in securing micro-credit facilities, mainly by preparing and helping them bid for available grants or provide training for them to learn and develop some trade and craft skills. This in turn allows them to start or expand a business, which augments their otherwise traditional lifestyles of subsistence agriculture, and making them less dependent on nature. Thirdly the FON focuses on what it refers to as

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[69] Elaboration and claims according to respondent 14 (appendix 2).

'Community Development' mainly through the promotion education of children in the communities it works with, as a long-term measure of ensuring that sustainable development in the future would be attained by a more educated population. As well as using the scheme to prevent the lure of parents engaging their children in various forms of labour and employment at the expense of their education. For instance the FON ensures that one of its conditions in place that guides the disbursement of micro-credit facilities to community residents is the fact that any children of the applicant must first be enrolled in a school. This has gone a long way to re-shape the priorities of parents and giving more importance to education of children, instead of using them as a cheap and ready source of full time labour. On the other hand community development as a strategy of FON involves the engagement of policy makers of the fisheries and forest industries and lobbying them to push forward their interests, in the areas where it identifies gaps or needs for reforms.

FON relies heavily on external (foreign) funding which accounts for over 90% of its annual expenditure. Its major funding partners include the DFID in the UK, World Bank, Oxfam and the University of Rhode Island in the USA[70]. The remaining less than 10% of its annual budget is covered by some revenue it generates from consultancy fees charged to the Business Sector Advocacy Fund (BUSAC), which is a fund set up in Ghana with the assistance of USAID and DANIDA to provide grants to support the work of local businesses, especially those that are promising and have the potential of boosting the local economy and yet may find it difficult to access credit from the traditional banks. FON charges a consultancy fee for services rendered to local small and medium scale companies by helping them win and benefit from BUSAC grants[71]. This serves as a way of offering its rich local expertise to the communities as a business development tool whilst making some income in the process. The consultancy costs are only levied against winning bids and the local businesses do not directly incur any costs. In a way this strategy of generating funds

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[70] Respondents refrained from discussing actual figures and preferred to limit the discussion on funds as relative percentages.
[71] See further on the interesting initiative of the BUSAC fund
http://www.busac.org/mainsite/about/objectives.php (accessed 24/04/2013)

indirectly through BUSAC cannot to strictly labeled as being a local source. It is 'local' in the sense that the fund is based and administered by a secretariat in Accra, yet the actual sources of the fund are foreign.

FON runs an interesting and unique structure comprising of 'staff', 'focal persons' and 'constituents'. It originally started off as a membership based organization but this was replaced by the three-tier system in 1996 when it evolved from being a simple environmental campaign group, and became fully institutionalized with an established headquarters in the Western Region. The permanent staff are based at its head office and are all paid a monthly salary. The focal persons however work on a volunteer basis and are essentially the lead contacts the FON has in the various communities that they work in, acting as information links and general liaison officers. Vital expenses for these focal persons, such as transportation and telephone credits, are however covered by the FON. Focal persons are therefore very important to the continuity and success of its programmes in the various communities. The constituents then refer to the actual residents of the communities where their projects are being run. FON regards the co-operation of community dwellers as an important component of their work and as such has evolved the paradigm of its organizational structure to consider them as being more or less co-workers in the form of 'constituents'. This conceptualization makes it possible for the FON to see community residents not only as beneficiaries of their work; a people they work for, but rather see them as a people they work with to achieve greater good for all as well as building trust amongst the community residents.

Additionally, FON benefits from a number of volunteers and student interns that spend varied lengths of time on one project or another. Most of these volunteers are students from the various tertiary institutions that spend their long vacations with them. As far as volunteers are concerned, the FON has since 2009 enjoyed a special relationship with the Coastal Resource Centre of the University of Rhode Island in the USA. The partnership sponsors and sends specialists to work with the FON on a coastal and fisheries management project in the various coastal communities in the Western Region of Ghana (Figure 6.4 below).
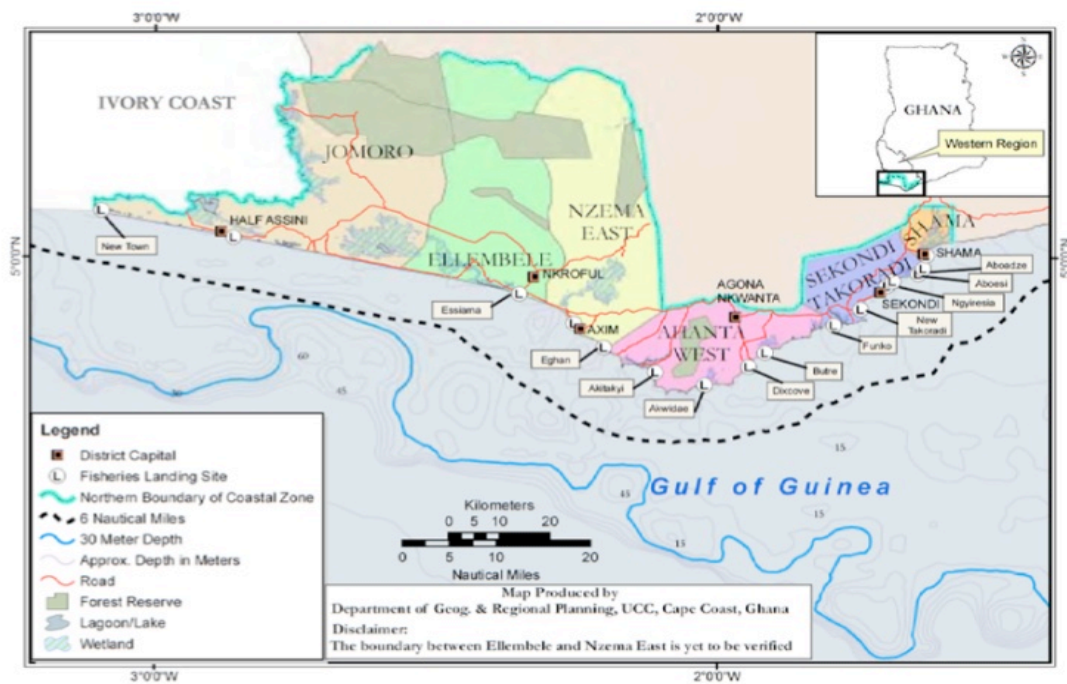
Figure 6.4: Map of the Coastal Districts and communities of the Western Region of Ghana. Source: Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

The Integrated Coastal and Fisheries Governance Initiative project, dubbed "Hen Mpoano" (meaning our coast in the local Fanti language), is an attempt at promoting sustainable development in Ghana by addressing poverty, food security, sustainable fisheries management and biodiversity conservation. This ongoing project also supported by the USAID and the World Fish Centre, has seen the FON playing host to the University of Rhode Island Teams, providing them with local assistance and logistics including office spaces at their head quarters.

In recognition of the relatively overlooked marine environment as far as environmental efforts of various local groups are concerned, the FON is also at the forefront of the consolidation of a coalition of interested local civil society groups that address issues of fisheries and coastal management to better lobby the government and campaign for improvements that are needed. This coalition called the Civil Society Alliance for Fisheries Agenda (CAFA) was constituted in 2009 and will be discussed in the next chapter.

6.1.10 Wacam[72]

Wacam is a human rights and advocacy NGO formed in 1998 to address the needs of the various mining communities in the Wassa West District of the Western Region of Ghana. The Wassa West District is one of the largest in the Western Region, made up to of 24 towns covering a land area of about 2400 sq km, with faming being the mainstay of the community dwellers (Figure 6.5 below). The district is also known for its vast gold deposits and is home to the operations of eight transnational mining companies running several open shaft gold mines.

The mining operations often conflicted with the agricultural and land needs of the communities, often leading to gross human rights abuses by the mining firms. And it was as a result of this that Wacam was formed. The NGO started off as "WACAM", representing the acronym "Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining" reflecting the constitution ad scope of its operations. For the founders, the Wassa West district was chosen to form an organized resistance against the wanton disregard of local communities by the mining companies for three main reasons. The Wassa District is the site of Ghana's oldest goldmines, dating back to the early colonial days and has seen three major periods of aggressive mining, otherwise referred to as the "jungle booms" (Agbesinyale, 2003) mainly because most of the gold deposits are located deep with forested areas. The first boom was after the 1870s when the colonial Europeans made initial inroads into mid-land Ghana (then Gold Coast) from their hitherto coastal base, and in this process discovering the abundance of alluvial gold deposits, but this boom was disrupted by 1901 as a result of the frequent resistance to European domination by the Ashanti kingdom. The second boom started in 1925 when efforts were being made to revive the global economic distress resulting from the 1st World War and this was also disrupted by the 2nd World War after 1938. With the third jungle boom being what is currently

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[72] Account and opinions of Wacam expressed are based on interview with respondents number 15, 16 and 17 (Appendix 2).

ongoing and which started in the 1980 after a recovery of the global financial crisis of the 1970s[73].

The other two reasons why the founders of Wacam choose to work with the Wassa West District was because of the hardships observed firsthand when working as civil servants in the region (prior to taking an early retirement) and the desire to be a grassroots based NGO, as well as the personal connection with the district as the hometown of one of the founders was located within the district. Furthermore there was personal resentment on the part of one co-founder about a development that led to a traditional cemetery where a deceased child had been buried becoming non-existent as the entire area was excavated for an open shaft mine[74]. This latter reason evokes the concerns of personal injury as the motivation for environmental concern and movement activity.

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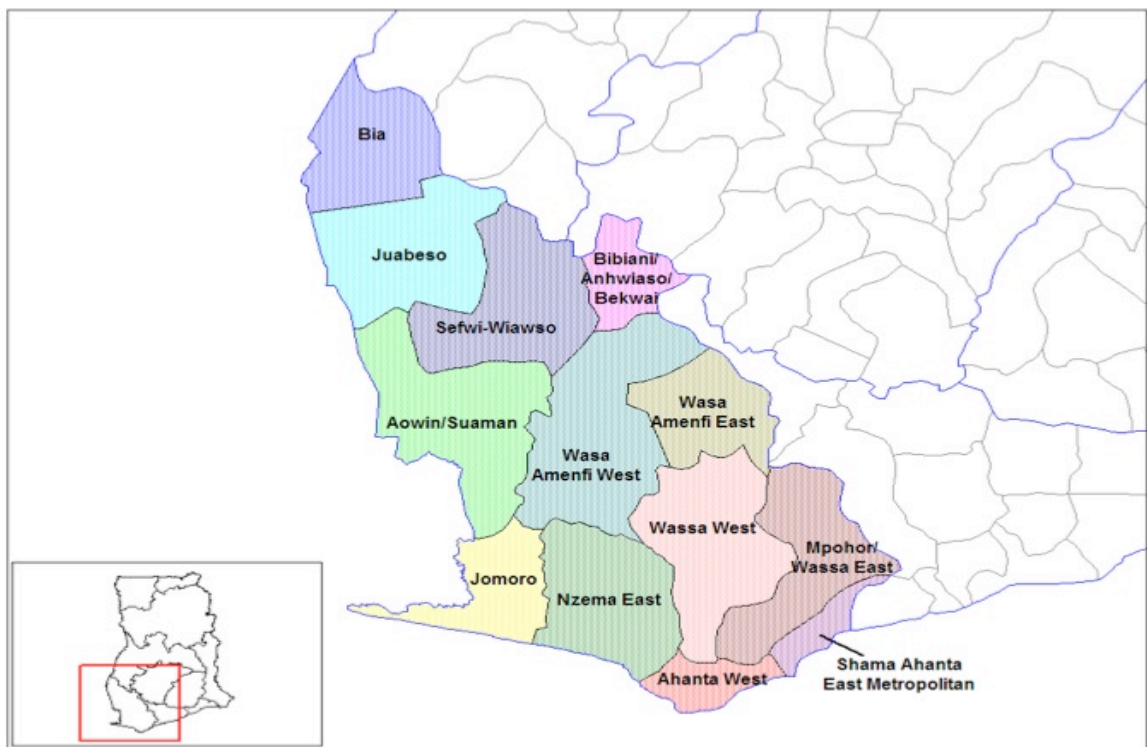
[73] Information on Ghana's "Jungle booms" gathered from personal interview and lecture presentations of Owusu-Koranteg, Executive Director of Wacam, and as captured by Agbesinyale, P. K. (2003) 'Ghana's Gold Rush and Regional Development: The Case of Wassa West District. *Spring Research Series* No. 44. Dortmund
[74] Specific claims made by respondent 16 (appendix 2).

Figure 6.5: Map of the Western Region of Ghana showing the Wassa West District and 15 other districts of the Region.

However in 2008, there was a need to change its name from the acronym WACAM to simply "Wacam" mainly because of the fact that the NGO now has extended its work to other communities outside the Wassa West District, including other gold mining towns in Western, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions of the Ghana. Interestingly the name "Wacam" phonetically sounds similar to the phrase "Wa ka me" in the Akan language (the most wide spread language in Ghana) which loosely translates as "to be bitten" and in this interesting twist conveys the basic sentiments of the communities that they represent[75]. This is so because, inasmuch as Wacam represents an NGO conscious of the struggles of local mining communities and a pioneer in promoting community led resistance through improved capacity building and technical support, their work has been a huge success and spread across several communities mainly because of the fact that most these communities are actually fed up and aggrieved by the years of their ill treatment and are ready to also reach out for help.

Wacam operates administratively from two offices, one in Tema in the Greater-Accra Region and the other in the town of Tarkwa in the Western Region of Ghana. It has a full-time salaried staff base of 6 and 15 part-time workers that are engaged at different times for specific projects. Wacam also benefits from a large number of volunteers from Ghana and abroad, with about an annual average of about 40 volunteers. Additionally it identifies with various groups of locals and residents in the communities that it works with, training them and involving them in information dissemination, sensitization of interest and information gathering processes – essentially turning them into community activists. For instance it runs an "early warning programme" where residents in mining communities are trained to identify new environmental and health threats that require immediate attention, such as cyanide spillages, and how to report them to Wacam using mobile phone text

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[75] Specific translation and elaboration provided by respondent 15 (appendix 2).

messages and even in some cases emails or even taking samples in sterile containers. Considering the fact that most of these community residents are semi-literates or illiterates, the training programmes have enabled them to take advantage of modern technology and keep Wacam abreast with developments on the ground in-between their scheduled community visits, which also allows them to be better prepared and arrange the necessary help for the communities, or prompt an immediate response in the case of an emergency. This strategy of direct community engagement has cemented Wacam's mantra as a grassroots-based NGO with an extensive network of contacts on the ground, and helped foster good long term relations and trust in the various communities that it works with. To the extent that these groups and individuals in the in the mining communities often consider themselves to be 'members' of Wacam and at present number about 600 people in total.

Wacam is funded 100% by donations and grants it receives from international partners and donor agencies. These include Oxfam America, CARE International the development agency of the Catholic Church in Austria - DKA-Austria, and the Danish Development NGO IBIS West Africa[76]. It had adopted a policy of not soliciting or receiving money from the World Bank, companies or bodies that also fund or sponsor activities that are seen to be environmental destructive. This is to avoid any conflicts of interest and prevent it from being objective and open minded in it its criticisms[77].

Wacam employs a number of tactics to achieve its broad aim of ensuring environmental and social justice is served to the people of mining communities that have suffered in silence for far too long. This is a 5-fold approach that include media advocacy through published article in the local print media. Secondly, they also organize legal public protests and picketing, by obtaining police permission in compliance with the Public Order Act, as a means of registering displeasure and

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[76] See About DKA Austria http://www.dka.at/english (accessed 24/4/2013) and IBIS West Africa http://www.ibiswestafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=2&lang=es (accessed 24/04/2013).

[77] Specific claim made by respondent 15 (appendix 2).

drawing attention to their cause. Thirdly they actively promote and deliver capacity building programmes to the local with a specific emphasis on gender and women empowerment. And this stems from the realization that inasmuch entire communities have suffered the detrimental effects of industrial mining, there appears to be a disproportionate burden on women by virtue of their traditional assigned roles and domestic responsibilities. Traditional women have also been identified to be very passionate and very capable of effectively mobilizing grassroots concern in a manner that challenges the widely perceived and accepted subordinate roles of women in traditional African communities, and unearthing their strong leadership potentials. Fourthly, Wacam also employs a tactic of naming and shaming the perpetrators of injustices in international publications and media. It recognizes that the most of these companies at fault are multinational and are incorporated in countries where strict environmental laws and standard standards were kept. The naming and shaming of multinational mining companies in the international media often gets them to sit up or at least gets their attention to be more interested in future discussion, as it has the potential of affects shareholder interests. For instance Wacam has in the past nominated and pushed for two multinational mining companies to receive the Swiss-Based "Public Eye Awards" which creates a platform for a "Hall of Shame" for the worst performing corporations in the area of environmental and human rights abuses. American owned Newmont Gold Ghana Limited was "awarded" in 2009 and South African owned AngloGold Ashanti Goldfields Limited received the "award" in 2011[78]. The final tactic Wacam uses is the engagement of various stakeholders in dialogue and lobbying.

It considers its major successes to be the raising of general public awareness of the plight of mining communities, and the consequent shift in public opinion that is taking place. More Ghanaians have become increasingly aware of the reality of the destructive effects of mining to local communities and the cautious of the 'myths' and shallow perceptions that the commencement of industrial mining was bound to bring immediate economic good to the communities. In its opinion, more

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[78] See press release on the 2011 "Public Eye Awards" held in Davos, Switzerland.
http://www.publiceye.ch/en/news/press-release-january-28th-2011/ (accessed 04/05/2013).

communities are now wary of readily accepting the claims of mining companies and learning for the experiences of other communities are pushing for better terms, negotiation processes and eventual compensation. Wacam's consistent use of media reportage has brought about a shift in focus in the media as many more newspapers have accepted to publish mining related stories as news that is in the interest of the public[79]. This is especially so because of the break in dominance of the state owned media houses, and the flood of several private media houses that are able to freely criticize the government. It also employed the services of professional journalist and photographers to help frame and package stories as professionally as possible. This has not only helped churn quality articles but has benefitted from contacts and connections that the journalist had in other media houses. Wacam has also been actively involved in organizing workshops for media practitioners to further sensitize interest and raise capacity of journalist.

Other successes relate to several instances where the welfare of mining communities have been improved and protect through lobbying for prompt and adequate compensation packages. This has been achieved also with the help of the public interest law NGO, CEPIL. This partnership with CEPIL is but one of the number of alliances and coalitions that Wacam is a part of and works with. Notable of the civil society partnerships is the NCOM of which it is a founding and lead member.

6.1.11 Third World Network Africa (TWN)[80]

The Third World Network Africa (TWN) considers itself as a "Pan Africa Policy Research organization" based in the capital Accra. It is part of a wider TWN group of independent non-profit organizations involved in issues relating to development, developing countries and North-South affairs. The TWN group was formed in 1984 in

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[79] See example of such media reports on Ghana News Agency website, entitled 'Wacam advocates policy on mining operations' 'http://ghananewsagency.org/economics/wacam-advocates-policy-on-mining-operations-in-ghana-53012 .

[80] Account and opinions of the TWN expressed are based on interview with respondents number 18 and 19 (Appendix 2).

Penang, Malaysia at the concluding session of an International Conference on "The Third World: Development or Crisis?". TWN's International Secretariat is in Penang, Malaysia with offices in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and Geneva, Switzerland. There are researchers based in Beijing, Delhi, Jakarta, Manila and New York. The Latin America Regional Secretariat is located in Montevideo, Uruguay and the African Regional Secretariat is in Accra, Ghana[81].

TWN Africa registered its operations as an NGO in Ghana in 1994[82] and as the African secretariat of the wider TWN group it conducts research on a number of socio-economic themes on several African countries.

Its core work on in Ghana is to conduct policy research on three main thematic areas and offer policy alternatives to the government ideally through lobbying and presentation of its reports. Three broad areas of its critique comprise firstly of economic concerns and assessing the cost-benefit dimensions of government policies, and also aiming at promoting transparency around the governments economic dealings. Secondly it deals with the social aspects of government policy taking into consideration the concerns of gender, cultural traditions, human rights, housing etc and in light of the safeguards that the government has or should have put in place. And finally, it examines the government's environmental policies and initiatives put in place to protect the environment.

The environmental focus is in comparison to the other two areas is quite narrow and on that note specializes more with environmental issues emerging from the extractive industry in Ghana. It works to identify communities that have been adversely affected by the environmental impacts of the players in the extractive industry. More specifically, these environmental impacts of concern include issues of water pollution, land degradation, hazards of situating mine pits in close proximity to communities, as well as issues relating to the dislocation and resettlement of

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[81] See more on the TWN international website http://www.twnside.org.sg/twnintro.htm (accessed 22/03/13).
[82] See more on TWN Africa website http://twnafrica.org/indexx.html (accessed 22/02/2013).

communities. The central question underpinning all of its work is asking to what extent is the government policy in relation to the issues identified and what improvements can be made. For instance the environmental and social impact assessment (ESIA) requirements that mining companies have to comply with are key instruments for its work, which it reviews and points out gaps. This has been found to be crucial to a myriad of challenges facing the extractive industry. On this matter it has identified three fundamental flaws with the design of the ESIA process in Ghana. First is the inadequacy of the time frame stipulated for the assessments, which stands at 90 days. This time is very short considering that some mine concessions are large as 120 kilometer-squared, making them rush through the process as a "box-ticking exercise". Secondly, there is poor dissemination of notices about displacements, excavations and other operations as stipulated in the ESIA, which are normally only published in selected print media and not accessible to the entire rural community. And thirdly public participation hearings when conducted, often excludes a greater majority of the ordinary residents, and is devoid of proper feedback mechanisms, which essentially undermine the whole essence of a public, hearing[83].

In terms of its structure, posture, levels of professionalization and office size, TWN appears to be the most institutionalized EMO considered in this Ghanaian study. It has efficient resource mobilization avenues that enable it work efficiently. In terms of finances it sources its funds from developmental organizations based in Canada, USA and the Netherlands. This forms nearly 100% of operational revenues for the organization. It is able to draw in and attract a good number of professionals that work as permanent staff researchers and project officers, including two PhD holders (this is no mean achievement for a Ghanaian NGO). It also liaises with academics in the local universities and the Council for Scientific Research for Africa, on a number of work project as and when the need arises. It also plays an active role in a number of networks and partnerships including the African Initiative on Mining, Environment and Society (AIMES) which brings together mining advocacy civil society

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[83] Specific claims made by Respondent number 19 (appendix 2)

organizations from 15 African countries. As well as a similar local group called the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM) of which it is a founding member. The details of the NCOM will be discussed later in the next chapter.

6.1.12 Abantu for development (Abantu)[84]

'Abantu for development' started in London in 1991 by a female Kenyan activist living in exile and a group of other African women living in Europe. The main aim of the formation of the group was to promote gender equality and serve as Africa's foremost gender advocacy NGO to project the voices of women in the development discourse on the continent. A regional office for West Africa (ROWA) was opened in Accra in 1998, which together with another office in Kaduna, Nigeria, Abantu-ROWA coordinates all the affairs of the NGO within the sub-region promoting gender equality a region that is gender polarized.

The death of the founder in 2003 led to the closure of the London office (headquarters) and a decentralization of Abantu with the Regional Office for West Africa in Accra registering as an autonomous NGO responsible for its own affairs and fund raising.

Abantu's work is centered on three core areas[85]. Firstly it focuses on governance issues with the aim of influencing the governance system, process and relationships in the country and in the rest of the sub-region as a whole to promote women's rights and democracy. It recognizes the gender imbalance in the governance system both in terms of the very low women participation, and the fact that the democratic history and traditional systems have not allowed for a gender balanced outlook in government initiatives and policy interventions. Secondly, Abantu focuses on peace-

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[84] Account and opinions of Abantu expressed are based on interview with respondents number 20 and 21 (Appendix 2).

[85] See further on Abantu Website "Areas of Work" http://abantu-rowa.org/areas-of-work/ (last accessed 02/02/2015).

building based on the premise that men and women are affected differently by conflict with women usually bearing the greater burden of atrocities. It also works to provide women with the platform to contribute their knowledge and experiences in the dialogues of re-conciliation, reconstruction and peace-building in areas that have experienced conflict. And thirdly and more recently it has identified the connection between climate change and gender as an area of focus, since women bear more burdens in communities that are adversely affected by a changing climate. Across these three thematic areas, Abantu essentially seeks not simply to work for women, but more so to "use women to work for women", making women empowerment very key in its activities, similar to the ethos of the Wangari Maathai's Green Belt Movement mentioned earlier[86].

Abantu's four-fold strategy adopted in its work are as follows[87]. First, through public advocacy to raise awareness on the issues of gender inequality and women's rights. This is done through the creation of advocacy campaigns, events and material, mainly targeting the media and policy makers as avenues through which it spreads its messages. Secondly, it conducts research and publishes its findings on aspects of gender inequality identified and what alternatives or solutions could be prescribed. This is usually forwarded to policy makers, politicians and party representatives, government ministries and affiliate agencies. Thirdly, Abantu organizes training and capacity building programmes strengthen women's ability to demand their rights as equal citizens of their communities through deepening their understanding, knowledge and skills of development issues from a gender perspective. These programmes are delivered to variety of audiences all over the country ranging from local community residents to tertiary students. Finally, Abantu adopts a unique in house "institutional development" strategy which it to ensure that commitment to women rights and gender equality are fundamental building blocks of ABANTU'S existence and growth. This means that in areas such as recruitment, staff

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[86] Specific claim and quote by respondent 21 (appendix 2).

[87] See further on Abantu website 'How we work" http://abantu-rowa.org/about/how-we-work/ (last accessed 02/02/2015).

development, remuneration, work environment, programme design and implementation as well as financial management are all pro-women.

Ultimately, Abantu prefers a non-confrontational and non-violet stance in its dealings with the government. It adopts a what it refers to as "lobbying with reason" where there is careful balance in being firm when making demands without bowing to governmental pressure or control, which civil societies organizations are prone to. As a women-led gender advocacy organization it appears to be particularly careful of any attempts to "tame" them in a male dominant government within a region that is not openly receptive to women leadership[88].

Abantu is a small yet highly institutionalized organization, with a small number of permanent staff numbering eleven, but works with a number of volunteers and university interns on its projects. With regards to resource mobilization, Abantu is funded entirely fund from international donor agencies with one of its principal funding partners being the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, otherwise known as UN-Women[89].

Abantu is a member of a number of partnerships and networks with other civil society groups that seek to promote gender equality and women's rights both locally and internationally, as well as the newly formed Gender Action on Climate Change for Equality and Sustainability (GACCES). GACCES is the fulcrum of Abantu's inclusion in this study of the environmental movement in Ghana and presents a view into a small yet viable avenue for movement building around a new and contemporary environmental issue of climate change, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

6.2 Conclusion

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[88] Specific claim and quotation by respondent 20 (appendix 2).
[89] See more on the work of UN Women http://www.unwomen.org/ (accessed 25/03/2013).

This chapter has exploratively captured the key institutionalized players that could form the basis of an environmental movement in Ghana. This has essentially documented the results of the snowballing approach adopted to the semi-structured interviews conducted. The evidence some networking and partnerships between these actors, and which accounts for "movement activity" would be discussed in the next chapter.

The account identifies the range of players to include the government's environment agencies, a private environmental service provider and a number of EMOs. At a glance, the institutionalized environmental movement that results from identified movement activity (networking, collective identity, collective action etc) would be dominated by small, professionalized EMOs that focus on a number of environmental and related socio-economic issues. It is one the account of there being movement activity between the sampled actors that the question "is there an environmental movement in Ghana?", can be adequately answered.

The specific features of interest, and a meta-analysis of the actual number and dynamics of the actors considered, and how they interact with each other in movement building would be one of the subjects of discussion in the next chapter of this work.

Essentially this chapter has helped provide a picture the number of issues that are of concern to the environmentally conscious caucus of EMOs and has provided a wider picture on the emergence of indigenous groups and Ghana branches of the bigger international EMOs that are dedicated to tackling environmental issues from the ground up. This chapter is a documented compilation and a response to the question, 'who is concerned with the environment In Ghana and what is being done about it?' As this work is in many ways seminal, this documentary summarizes the accounts of essential EMO presence and activity that are not widely documented or found in published form.

CHAPTER SEVEN - CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to serve as a synthesis of the main issues and themes under examination in this work so far. It provides a more coherent view on the discussion on the environmental movement and aspects of environmental consciousness that have been of interest and considered, and more importantly allows an appreciation of how the Ghanaian case sits in comparison to knowledge from literature on the subject. In order to achieve the above, the discussion in this chapter is structured and signposted into three broad sections. These sections are appropriately titled and indicative of the breadth and focus of the discussion. The first is an overview of 'the environmental movement', which on the basis of identified movement activity (networking, collective identity, collective action etc) provides a generalized view of the environmental movement in Ghana and which actors form the movement or movements if distinct groups evident. This will incorporate both the themes and features of the institutionalized and non-institutionalized actors described earlier on. Furthermore it also attempts to characterize the environmental movement based on its thematic areas of influence or concern, with what I refer to as the 'anti-mining' movement being the most elaborate and prominent.

After the identification and classification of the movement, the second section of the discussion focuses on the various and unique strategies that are employed by the movement, in the light of the available resources, and concludes by critically examining the obvious and rather obscured challenges that the movement faces.

Thirdly the 'Questioning postmaterialism' section is a deliberate enquiry into the scarcity hypothesis of the postmaterialism theory's sufficiency to explain the nature of environmental concern in Ghana. This brings together the responses of the local EMOs as the basis of comparison, and uses them as a point of departure to describe what the alternate hypothesis might then be, in an attempt to theorize the apparent lack of environmental concern in the Ghanaian community.

This seemingly compartmentalized approach to the discussion nonetheless intrinsically captures and addresses the various research questions outlined at the very beginning of this work. Namely;

1. How widespread is environmental concern

2. What are the issues of concern/who is concerned about what

3. How have environmental groups/NGOs developed (domestic pressure/ foreign 'missionary' work)

4. Is there an environmental movement in Ghana?

5. What are the chief obstacles to environmental groups' development and operation in Ghana?

7.1 'The environmental movement'

7.1.1 Overview

In review of the environmental movement activity captured so far it is plausible to say that there *is* an environmental movement in Ghana. The movement for the ease of classification incorporates both institutionalized and the non-institutionalized dimensions. Where, as described earlier, the institutionalized dimension represents movement actors that have various degrees for formalized activity and organizational set up, and have legitimized their operations by registering with the relevant national authority as not-for profit institutions or NGOs. The classification in its broad sense encapsulates both highly professionalized and well structured organizations and those that are somewhat semi-structured and less professional, with the emphasis of the classification (for the purpose of this work) being placed on the institutional recognition gained by the entities when they registered with the relevant government authorities.

The non-institutionalized dimension on the other hand strictly refers to spontaneous grassroots mobilization efforts to meet a common environmental goal. This was captured by considering two community-based episodes of protest as a result of some hardship or harm that they suffered from a degraded environment. As earlier highlighted, this non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement provided the opportunity to capture unique features emerging from the traditional and cultural fabric of the Ghanaian society, confirming the strong position that culture plays in the formation of the movement, but also more interestingly exhibiting how in its spontaneity, it could lead to a provocative change in this very same traditional fabric. The involvement of women in the leadership and organization of resistance and civil disobedience at the traditional community level is testament to this claim.

The evidence of networking, partnerships, collective identity formation and collective action between the actors identified, both institutionalized and non-institutionalized is what makes ups the environmental movement in Ghana.

In terms of an overview, the environmental movement in Ghana appears to be skewed towards the institutionalized line, as the great majority of the movement actors can be positioned on that side of the divide. Although the snowballing sampling method I adopted could inadvertently skip cases that could have been relevant in highlighting the non-institutionalized dimension further, the breadth and scope of the sample covered provides enough evidence that support the presence of the dominance of the institutionalized movement.

Having established this classification divide of the presence of institutionalized and non-institutionalized environmental dimensions of the movement in Ghana. I will proceed to discuss further its features of distinction and interest below.

7.1.2 Defining the movement

In reviewing the set up and features of the environmental movement in Ghana, it is clear that beyond the broad classifications of an institutional and non-institutional divide, it is possible particularly based on the specialized focus or environmental themes which movement actors embrace to describe the environmental movement further. These descriptions based on the issues of concern or specialist focus of the movement becomes a defining feature of the movement and allows me to characterize it under smaller groupings which, although may appear segmented, are in my opinion more homogeneous groupings as they incorporate both the institutionalized and non-institutionalized dimensions. This division based on focus and issues of concern also better highlights the partnering, shared resources and shared identity between the movement actors within the groupings. Essentially, it also within these smaller grouping that it is easier to appreciate their very identity as social movements, as Rootes (2007:610) would put it, by a "scrutiny of the network links, collective action and evidence of shared identity".

On this basis, I have grouped the environmental movement in Ghana into four identity groups: the "anti-mining movement", "environmental justice movement", "fisheries and coastal management movement" and the "climate change movement". This nomenclature is purely for ease of description and identification and is based on my deduced observations and analysis and not necessarily what the movement chooses to be referred to or identified by. I will elaborate on these groupings below.

7.1.2.1 The "anti-mining movement"

What I refer to as the anti-mining movement in Ghana is the most prominent and visible grouping of the environmental movement, both in terms of constitution and also by the fact that it thoroughly cuts across both the institutionalized and the non-institutionalized divide.

Despite Ghana's heavy dependence on the extractive mineral sector, especially gold mining, and coupled with the fact that this historical dependence has led to persistent social and environmental concerns that are similar to other countries that have mineral dependent economies, the anti-mining movement in Ghana is not as elaborate and structured as those that have sprung up in Latin American counties, such as Peru and Chile for example, within the last decade (Urkidi and Walters, 2011). Whereas their more elaborate anti-mining movements, characterized by regular episodes of resistance and protest, have embraced concerns that have spanned beyond the loss of property, human rights abuses and environmental degradation to include critical issues of labour inequalities and feature workplace resistance and mobilizations centered on exploitation and unfair pay and compensation packages often for the low-skilled employee bracket as the motivation for organized resistance (Urkidi and Walters, 2011). To illustrate, the Latin American Observatory for mining conflicts recorded more than 150 active mining conflicts in the region from the year 2000 to 2010 involving over 40 different Latin American Organizations (movement organizations). The scope and persistence of anti-mining protest on such a large scale, as well as the broad mobilization and consultation efforts on the ground is reflected in the results achieved in forms of redress and interventions on behalf of local communities and groups. In other words the Latin American anti- mining movement, is not merely elaborate and vibrant in terms of movement activity such as the persistent protest, but has also become known as being effective in driving home their demands to dominant forces and authorities, and even on occasion resulting in the cancellation of mining projects (Urkidi and Walters, 2011).

The Ghanaian case on the other hand is less elaborate and particularly focused on resistance to the dispossession of their livelihoods and the disruption in the use of the environment as a source of subsistence. Despite the fewer recorded protests and conflicts, and the noticeable absence of a labour dimension to the movement in Ghana, I find it appropriate nonetheless, to label it an "anti-mining" movement mainly because the pivotal idea behind such a definition captures the resistance by local mobilized efforts against a "colonialisation" of their "lifeworlds" and the

material environment that support their livelihoods, by dominant forces which in this case would be the mining corporations. As Bebbington et al. (2008:8) explain further "[the anti-mining movement] can be understood as a response to the threats that particular forms of economic development present, or are perceived as presenting, to the security and integrity of livelihoods and to the ability of a population in a given territory to control what it views as its own resources". Consequently, on the basis of this elaboration also, the recorded cases of resistance to gold mining exploration in Ghana by a concerted group on movement organizations (the institutionalized dimension) as well as grassroots spontaneous episodes of resistance (the non-institutionalized dimension) documented becomes this "anti-mining" movement that I am referring to here.

The most visible formulation of this anti-mining movement in Ghana is the coalition of mining advocacy groups, NGOs and movement organizations to form what is called the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM). It is apposite at this point to talk briefly about NCOM, describing its origins and evolution into the nearly nationwide "anti-mining" movement that it is, as well as pointing out the mobilizing role that the central core of movement organizations (actors) already described in previous chapters play[90].

The NCOM started off in 2001 by four movement organizations that had interests in mining advocacy, namely the TWN, Wacam, CEPIL and LEJ. The decision to come together was in response to a specific catastrophic event of cyanide spillage on the 16th October, 2001 at a town called Abekoase near Tarkwa in the Western Region of Ghana by the South African owned Goldfields Ghana Limited. One of the cyanide containment ponds of the mining company ruptured during a heavy down pour resulting in a considerable run-off into the River Abekoase, which consequently led to fish-kill and reports of ill heath for several community residents that had used the water for domestic purposes. According to Wacam, "The disaster left more than one thousand people without access to drinking water. Virtually all life forms in the river

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[90] Based on interviews with representatives of Wacam, TWN, CEPIL, FOE, LEJ (appendix 2) and a special feature by Darimani, A. in the first edition of the NCOM newsletter in 2011.

and its tributary were killed. Hundreds of dead fish, crabs, and birds lay on the banks of the river and floated to the surface" (Owusu-Koranteng, 2012; Personal communication). When news of this incident spread amongst these mining advocacy groups, the then government minister of state in charge of the environment defended the mining company in a release, tampering the seriousness of the incident and quoting that "only 52 fishes had died". This somewhat simple and careless statement was picked up by the founding four EMOS as a reflection of the neglect that that local communities hosting mining operations had suffered and gathering joint resources and expertise, launched a campaign to seek redress for the Abekoase cyanide spillage, especially since cyanide spillages were increasingly becoming common place and needed to be checked.

What is noteworthy at this point in appreciating further how the group of four EMOs came together to respond to the incidents at Abekoase, was the fact that they each recognized the specific expertise of the other member that would be valuable for a collective campaign and welcomed that contribution[91]. So in essence the group was formed as a strategic alliance between four EMOs all interested in mining advocacy. In this regard, CEPIL was to provide legal aid and representation for the affected community. Wacam appeared to have a deeper penetration on the ground and would provide access and contacts to different levels of the community, including the chief. TWN by nature of its posture was do provide the research needs and draft report, and the LEJ cover the unfolding events and campaigns, and ensure that there was some priority given in the media, and the issue did not quickly disappear from the public eye. This division of labour provided the basis for a thorough and purposeful campaign, in line with their shared preference of adopting a lobbyist approach for their campaigns.

The coordinated campaign strategy developed on the 26th of October 2001, was centered on using a concerted media rebuttal of the government minister's attempt to trivialize the issue, and threatening legal action against the mining company. This led to a surprising turn around by the ministry and the establishment of a committee

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[91] Specific claim and detail by respondent 18 (appendix 2).

to hear and investigate the claims of the group. The result of the consultation mediated by the ministry was ground breaking, as within one month the Goldfields Ghana limited agreed to an out of court settlement and pay an impressive one billion cedis[92], for the use of community development and to bear the cost of medical treatment for all the residents that had fallen ill from consuming the polluted water or fish.

The relatively prompt and significant success of this campaign led to talks in November 2001 to formalize and better organize the activities of the group "for collaborative and collective campaigning" for the future. The conclusion of the talks was the decision to set up a formalized coalition under the name "National Coalition on Mining" (NCOM). The member organizations would each take turns to annually serve as the secretariat for the NCOM, hosting and chairing meetings within their term. The other significant process in the official birth of the NCOM was the expression of interest by the Friends of the Earth Ghana (FOE) following the Abekoase campaign to come on board as a member of the coalition. This was accepted in recognition of FOE's work with local communities in rural and suburban parts of the country and the wealth of contacts it had on the ground. By February 2002, when official NCOM meetings began, it was a coalition of 5 EMOs that had both varying and overlapping interest, but saw the prospects of championing the cause of mining communities in Ghana together, as the best way forward in making significant progress for the country.

Another significant landmark was the events of the following year, which ensured that the coalition was not a "one-off" or "one-event" group, but encouraged the member organizations to develop a firm collective resolve, as well as paving the way for the future growth and expansion of the coalition. This was the Government of Ghana's decision in 2003 to allow conditional access into forest reserves that had

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[92] Approximately, $40,000 as per the exchange rate in December 2013. The Ghanaian currency was redenominated in July 2007 from "cedis" to "Ghana cedis" at a ratio of 10,000:1, so at present the value of the fine would quoted as 100,000 Ghana cedis. See http://www.bog.gov.gh/privatecontent/Public_Notices/Redenomination/Re-denomination%20of%20the%20Cedi(FAQs).pdf (Accessed 2nd Feb, 2014).

been previously protected by the 1994 Forests and Wildlife Policy in order to allow mining operations.

Although Ghana's forest reserves were not in the best of shape, the country had come a long way in its attempts to protect and conserve forest reserves. The history of forest policies and resources management in Ghana dates back to 1906 when legislation was enacted to control the felling of commercial tree species and the creation of the Forestry Department in 1908. The demarcation and reservation of the forest estate was largely completed by 1939 and a forest policy was adopted in 1948 (Boon et al., 2009:2). Even though successive Forest Policies gave due regard to the need to demarcate, protect and preserve forests, there was always a skewed emphasis on the use of forests to feed a thriving timber industry, leading to the over-exploitation and demise of some forest reserves (Boon *et al*, 2009:2). And in the light of international pressure and growing awareness, the 1994 Wildlife and Forest policy was introduced as an attempt to protect the critical rate of forest loss (Opoku, 2006:19-21).

Consequently, the government's move in 2003 to allow mining in forest reserves was largely regarded as a retrogressive one since the Wildlife and Forests Policy, albeit with a lot more room for development[93], had secured some protection for the rapidly degrading forest stocks and also limited the government's draconian utilitarian authority over natural resources (Opoku, 2006:19).

NCOM's response to the governments move was the launching of a campaign dubbed "Stop surface mining in Forest Reserves" not only to protect the actual forest stocks but also the rights and property of local communities that were often ignored. This campaign, unlike the relatively short Abekoase campaign, became a long standing struggle and one identifying feature of the coalition for the next few years to come. The longstanding "anti-mining" campaign was successful in two

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[93] The 1994 Forests and Wildlife Policy was seen as a necessary refinement to the existing 1974 Forest Protection Act, which had given the government Minister draconian powers over Forest Reserves. The Forest and Wildlife Policy was Drawn by the Forestry Commission which hand been established by the Forest Commission Act in 1980.

significant ways. Firstly, the pressure put on the government and the lobbying and negotiation processes employed did not result in overturning the government's decision but nonetheless yielded a favourable compromise. The government eventually decided to cut back on the amount of forest reserves re-opened to mining from 2% to 0.2% of the total national forest reserves. This significant reduction consequently meant that only 5 mining companies would receive licenses to mine in forest reserves as opposed to the 17 mining companies as initially planned. Secondly, as a result of the campaign, in 2005 the NCOM played an important role in proposing changes and amendments to the proposed Minerals and Mining Bill, which was later passed as an Act of parliament in 2006 (Darimani, 2011).

These two notable successes of NCOM did not go without criticism, since despite the reductions in forest reserve mining concession, the practice would still legally continue and lead to the potential environmental and social discontents of the hosting communities. By inference, I see this gap in an absolute success of NCOM in overturning the government's position on mining in forest reserves, to be linked to the future struggles of the Yayaso community that was captured in the grassroots mobilization case study, "Occupy Yayaso", in a previous chapter above. Similarly, the final version of the Minerals and Mining Bill that was passed as an Act in 2006 has been criticized as being weak and safeguarding the economic interests of mining over the concerns of the environment and host community residents. However, the NCOM regards its amendments, such as the legal recognition that all lands have value for compensation that made it through to the final stage as a success however marginal (Darimani, 2011).

In the course of NCOM's "Stop surface mining in forest reserves" campaign, there were deliberations to expand the coalition beyond the 5 core EMOs. These deliberations were important in two ways as they firstly brought to light the internal conflicts of varying opinions of how an expansion may lead to a "diluted" focus on mining, and secondly they paved the way for a well thought out structure for the expansion to ensure that the concerns and focus on mining was not altered in the bid and process of expansion. In essence in as much as the NCOM identified the

need to expand is membership and subsequent scope of coverage, the care and inputs in forward planning to ensure that the ideological position of the group remain intact is noteworthy.

The deliberations on expansion of the coalition also led to the development of a strategy to have a 3-layered membership base comprising of relevant NGOs and EMOs, representatives of communities in mining areas and individuals working or interested in mining related issues. By 2012, the NCOM had grown to include about 40 different groups, expert individuals, and community representatives from all large-scale mining concessions in the country, making it merit and reflect its "national" title even better. The 3-layered approach enabled NCOM to expand not only as an advocacy and pressure group, but enable it develop into a formidable and diverse platform for learning, sharing, information dissemination, capacity building, amplifying community voices and solidarity for coordinated campaigns. It organizes strategy meeting for all members twice a year and adopts a lobbyist approach and engages with relevant stakeholders in dialogue in making its demands, and as such does not actively engaged in protest as a primary strategy tool, although it has supported a few non-violent resistances in the communities. The use of the media is still high in the NCOM toolbox raising public awareness to mining issues in the mass media. The EMOs pool together the financial resources need for logistics and running campaigns, and sponsoring local activists and community representatives. NCOMs expansion to has led to the involvement of mining communities where resources other than gold are mined. These include bauxite, manganese and salt mining in the north of the country[94].

Other notable campaigns and successes in charting NCOM development, and carving a niche for itself as the "anti-mining" movement in Ghana include the "Stop Violence in mining campaign" in 2007, which was in response to reports of brutalities and the use of force by multinational mining companies against any resistance from local community residents. This campaign raised awareness of a hitherto hidden problem,

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[94] Specific claim by respondent 25 (appendix 2).

and prompted the Ghanaian Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) to conduct an enquiry and a study into the social and economic rights of communities affected by mining. The question that remains outstanding is whether this involvement by CHRAJ has halted the threats and cases of violence that community resident were dealt with often in the bid of mining companies to forcefully evict them off the lands that they hand secured as concessions. On this note the NCOM believes that its work and campaign raised the awareness of the concerns that were later confirmed by the CHRAJ, which has led to fewer cases of violence being recorded. The key role of CEPIL within NCOM in using legal threats against perpetrators in the cases of human rights abuses, must also be acknowledged as they have led to a significant number of out of court compensation payments in cases that would have most likely been swept under the carpet had the NCOM not intervened. However the problem of Human rights abuses still exists, as highlighted in a recent report by Oxfam America (2011) after a community resident and suspected illegal miner was tragically shot dead by private security operatives of the South African owned mining Giant Anglo Gold Ashanti[95]. The release by Oxfam, which mentions Wacam's role, is also an indication of NCOM's work in gaining international recognition.

Another successful campaign by the NCOM was a campaign to raise the royalty rates paid by the mining companies from 3% to between 5-6%. The mining companies by law had been given a flexible range of 3 to 6% payment of royalty on gross revenue, depending on productivity. Article 3 of the 2006 Minerals and mining act stipulates that;

> "A holder of a mining lease, restricted mining lease or small scale mining license shall pay royalty that may be prescribed in respect of minerals obtained from its mining operations to the Republic, except that the rate of royalty shall not be more than 6% or less than 3% of the total revenue of minerals obtained by the holder".

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[95] See Press Release of Oxfam America's call on the Ghanaian government to step up efforts in addressing the human rights abuses in mining communities. The release shows how the local issues are now gaining international attention and Oxfam's endorsement of Wacam's work.

A study by NCOM (Darimani, 2011) revealed that when royalty rates were paid by most of the mining companies, they did so at the lower limit of 3% irrespective of high productivity and soaring global gold prices. However in response to their campaign most of the mining companies have now increased their royalty payments to between 5 and 6% of their annual revenues. Although NCOM's efforts may be seen as commendable in this regard, this success in securing increased royalty rates within the limits prescribed by law is only the beginning, as it does not do away with the fundamental grievance that most mining advocates, including NCOM, have about the low amounts of royalty that is paid in general. This means that even at the improved 5-6% royalty rates there was still more to campaign for to secure a raise.

What then has become the main issue of contention is the fight to push for better rates, and the need for legal reform in the long term, because as it stands the present royalty rates, no matter how much one can raise arguments that they are unfair, unethical or inadequate, are by no means illegal and may not change until the law compels that change.

The final interesting feature in the development of NCOM as Ghana's anti-mining movement is the formation of a forum with the coalition to focus on the community voices and the improvement of networking at the community level. This forum started in 2006 dubbed as the "National Campaign Forum of Communities". In essence the forum was to provide a specialized platform for mining communities to interact with other communities to facilitate networking opportunities, share common lessons and challenges from their struggles. What is interesting about this specialized forum is that it offers broad participation of a wider group of the community residents (not just representatives that attend NCOM meetings), as well as includes other stakeholders of concern such as the small-scale artisanal miners who represent a unique category of victims and potential culprits of environmental degradation. Additionally the forum occasionally features the involvement and direct engagement of some policy makers and political office holders to enable them hear first hand the community voice. The forum takes after NCOMs system of rotating the

hosts, and sees the meeting rotates amongst the participating communities every year. This development of a special forum for the mining communities is very important in two main ways. Firstly, it offers the opportunity to network and share ideas, experiences and challenges forges a sense of solidarity and comradeship at the at the grassroots level that is useful in shaping their 'inter-personal' collective identity in the movement irrespective of their geographic differences, thereby creating a form of what I would call a 'cognitive homogeneity' at the very base of the movement. Secondly, the rotational approach in the actual process of mobilizing the communities enable the participants to see first-hand the commonalities of the struggles within the community setting creating a sense of shared 'extra-personal' identity that includes the physical environment, property and natural resources. They get to see themselves collectively as a people of 'polluted-waters', degraded farmlands and abused landscapes that are worth fighting for.

The future of the anti-mining movement in Ghana rests with the NCOM continuing its facilitating role and keeping its focus to address the problems of large-scale mining via its dual approach of lobbying the government and relevant authorities, and working with capacity building projects from the local mining community residents. The NCOM does have its fair amount of challenges that have mainly arisen from the dynamics of institutionalization and fractures of disunity that have appeared between some EMOs over time. I will briefly talk about some of these challenges later on in this chapter. However a purposeful expansion of the vision of NCOM and growth has in my opinion enabled it remain focus and momentum, and makes it foreseeable that it will retain its status as the focal anti-mining movement in Ghana.

A case in point, which has contributed to sustaining NCOMs zeal, is its current work with the development of the Africa Mining Vision (AMV). The AMV is the regional attempt by African countries owing to international pressure and the realization that there was a need to think outside what it calls the traditional "mining box" and find better ways in which African countries could continue to harness their natural

mineral wealth to their advantage[96]. Drafted in 2009 by African ministers for mining under the auspices of the UNECA, AU, AfDB and UNCTAD the AMV is informed by several other sub-regional and multinational policy efforts to maximize the development outcomes of mining in a sustainable way. Notable of these include the "Johannesburg Political Declaration and Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the Yaoundé Vision on Artisanal and Small-scale Mining, the Africa Mining Partnership's Sustainable Development Charter and Mining Policy Framework, and the SADC Framework and Implementation Plan for Harmonisation of Mining Policies, Standards, Legislative and Regulatory Frameworks" (UNECA, 2009).

The AMV acknowledges that, although the benefits of mining to certain national economies may be evident, local costs (environmental impacts and social and cultural disruptions) associated with mining especially to local communities were not being adequately compensated for. This is made worse by the magnitude of special incentives offered to mining companies, which arguably reduce the share of rent on which African governments depend to fund their social and development programmes (ECA, 2004; UNECA, 2009). There is also the argument that mining has not fulfilled its poverty reduction role and poverty reduction has not been mainstreamed into mining policies, often due to weak linkages into the local, regional and national economies (ECA, 2004) making it only appropriate for relevant African governments to rethink the future of their mineral dependant economies to, amongst others, promote a "sustainable and well-governed mining sector that effectively garners and deploys resource rents and that is safe, healthy, gender & ethnically inclusive, environmentally friendly, socially responsible and appreciated by surrounding communities" (UNECA, 2009). Naturally mining communities and localities are integral to the achievement of the AMV's key goals. NCOM plays a role together with several other civil society groups involved with the AMV by popularising the tenents of the AMV amongst the communities to raise their

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[96] See more on AMV website Africa Mining Vision (AMV)
http://www.africaminingvision.org/about.html (accessed 4/02/2014).

awareness and consciousness, and work in the supplying evidence based research to back the tenents. NCOM also works with the development of toolkits used in capacity building programmes and well as attending roundtable meetings for civil society organisations to provide feedback and comments on the policy development process.

Reviewing NCOM's history and work, there is no doubt that it has played a pioneering role in the attempt to make a concerted effort to query and respond to the various discontents of the mining industry in Ghana, and especially those of the host communities. The fulcrum of the anti-mining movement rests with the NCOM and so far its growth and developments only point in the direction of a more specialized movement that has evolved over time into an institutionalized body, but yet has managed to retain its core ideologies that have been vital in carving the collective identity of the member of the group. What is interesting and challenging about the anti-mining movement is NCOM's deliberate delicate balance of institutionalism, a character and posture drawn from its original institutionalized EMOs, and the inclusion of non-institutionalized elements of grassroots activism within its fringes. This attempted complex balance cannot become mentioned without the criticism on the disturbance of grassroots radicalization by the institutional posture of the whole.

However the 3-layered structure of NCOM also makes it possible for it to have meaningful community impact out of its preferred lobbyist approach with dominant forces. In essence, my observation is that it has been possible for it to translate what I would call the 'boardroom strategies' and copious 'PowerPoint slides of opinion' into vehement ground level action especially in the light of its non-confrontational preference and protest averse stance. Its thriving more than a decade since its inception makes it Ghana's oldest visible dimension of the environmental movement in every sense of the word, and supports the idea that institutionalization does not necessarily lead to the death of a movement. NCOMs unique structure and growth at its own natural pace has enabled it, irrespective of some challenges to maintain its

networking, resource mobilization and collective identity as the "anti-mining" movement in Ghana.

7.1.2.2 The Environmental Justice Movement

The second classification of the environmental movement in Ghana is what I have dubbed the "environmental justice movement". This essentially captures the account of the institutionalized EMO, the Corporate Social Responsibility Movement (CSRM) and their struggle against industrial pollution. Before I go on to briefly describe this, it is important to clarify the deliberate choice to separate the "anti-mining" movement from what I'm calling the "environmental Justice movement". Traditionally the commonality between these two groupings; the struggles for justice and equity for disadvantaged people and the consideration of the right of a group of people to environmental quality (Jamieson, 2007), would make it logical to place the "anti-mining movement" within a broader environmental justice paradigm. However the decision to separate them stems from two mains reasons. Firstly because of the sectored skew of the "anti-mining" movement, making its separate classification as a movement serve as a spotlight on this specialized area. The nomenclature and classification therefore recognizes the depth and breadth of this sectoral skew, deserving special mention as it were, which overshadows the obvious commonalities with the environmental justice movement. Secondly the environmental justice dimension of the Ghanaian environmental movement concerned with the remediation of the heavily polluted Chemu lagoon in the harbour town of Tema, which I will describe below, has interesting resemblances to the seminal cases that describe the origins of the environmental justice movement in the US and elsewhere – struggles against industrial pollution. Additionally, one distinction between the environmental justice movement and the anti-mining movement from the Ghanaian case is the fact the environmental justice movement is built on an environmental struggle in an urbanized area, as compared to the rural situated struggles of the anti-mining movement.

The Ghanaian case bears some similarities to the struggles in Durban (Chapter 3.6.2.4), as the environmental justice movement recognizes the disregard for the rights and needs of the local communities living around the lagoon by the 'irresponsible' activities of some corporate bodies in the industrial city of Tema. As mentioned earlier, the city of Tema, is also home to the largest and busiest of the two deep seaports in the country, and consequently it hosts a large number of industrial activities, including the country's only oil refinery, that take advantage of the proximity to the port for the import and export of commodities. The opening of the manmade harbour in 1961 by Ghana's first president was considered a tremendous feat for the newly independent nation with the hope that it would propel its efforts at international trade and commerce. Alongside the booming maritime activities and rapid industrialization was the creation of a modern city that transformed most of what used to be the location of traditional fishing communities of the Ga tribe, consequently leaving indigenes (Manhean traditional area) to resettle and concentrate in the surrounding areas of the Chemu Lagoon which flows into the Gulf of Guinea.

Hence the CSRM was formed in 2001 as a youth led and mobilized group, the main strategy of which was to campaign and protest to raise the awareness of the struggles of the local fishing communities who were the original dwellers before Tema's industrialization, and more importantly to push for change. The formalization of the CSRM was a culmination of two years of youth led campaigning and grassroots mobilization to raise awareness to the plight of the local Ga people, especially those in the suburb called 'Tema Manhean' (the area around the lagoon).

The major environmental discontent with the activities of several industries based in Tema was the fact that most of them did not have the means or facilities to treat liquid waste and consequently channeled all their untreated waste into the lagoon as conduit to the sea. This development had eventually adversely affected the ecosystem of the lagoon, killing off aquatic life and leaving it in a dead state. The destruction of the life of the lagoon also adversely affected the livelihood of local

fishing communities that relied on fishing activities, mainly of the popular tilapia, as a means of survival[97].

The change they desired to see was also for companies to factor their corporate social responsibility programmes as part of their costs of operations, bringing to light the idea that they had carefully thought about the full extent of their activities and how it could potential impact the environment, with the cost of any mitigation budgeted for and fully covered by the company. As it stood, corporate social responsibility programmes appeared to be entirely philanthropic, a favour done to communities after profits have been made.

Finally, the third subject in their campaigns was to dealt with the observed, blatant disregard for the health and safety of the workers of some the industries, particularly those that made up the unskilled and semi-skilled labour force recruited amongst the indigenes.

In addition to these highlighted environmental and social discontents that form the core issues of concern of the environmental justice movement in Ghana, is the added intangible discontent that are cultural in nature. Besides the Chemu Lagoon's role in the material sustenance of the indigenous community, it is revered as a deity and worshipped as part of the traditional African religion, which is also becoming extinct and alien to the new generation of younger community residents. Like many other traditional African communities, rivers, lakes, lagoons, some forests and even mountains are ascribed with the status of a deity, especially when they are directly linked in the support of community livelihoods. The heavy pollution of the lagoon is in no small terms an insult to the beliefs and practices of the indigenous Ga people as the lagoon has even lost its aesthetic appeal. A personal visit to the site of the lagoon revealed the extent of pollution, showing the blackened soil of the banks indicative of liquid oily pollutants filtered through it. One is greeted with the pungent smell of turbid, stale lagoon water, visibly not capable of supporting much

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[97] Specific views of respondent 30 (appendix 2)

aquatic life and the added pathetic site of its increasingly becoming a receptacle for solid waste as the pressures of overcrowding and a rising population have led to some people unscrupulously resorting to using portions of the banks of the lagoon to dispose of their waste, in the absence of proper waste disposal mechanisms in the community.

Figure 7.1 – Picture of Author (left) and Vice-chair of the CSRM (right) at the bank of the inland end of the lagoon, showing solid waste dumped on bank.

Figure 7.2 – A section of the polluted "black waters" of the Chemu lagoon in Tema, Ghana, attributed to industrial waste channeled into it. (Picture source: Naa Norley, Journalist, *Ghanaian Chronicle Newspaper*).

The sentiments of the community residents voiced by the representatives of CSRM who are also local conveys a message of frustration and despair of a people who have been taken for granted and allowed to suffer the burdens of a degraded environment as some corporate authorities make financial gains. This is clear from an interview with the community chief Nii Adjei Kraku as part of a previous 'business and community relations' study conducted by Boateng (undated)[98]. He disclosed that:

> *"In the not too distant past, the lagoon constituted an important source of fish and inland water fishing was one of the main occupations in this community. The women folk were also fishmongers who harvested mangroves and other wood products for fuel- wood from the lagoon to process fish for sale. Nearly 90% of the mangroves are already gone. Fishmongers now have to buy wood at market in order to smoke their fish. The inland fishing activities have also evaporated into thin air with the destruction of the lagoon"*

Again to Boateng's (undated) work, an interview with the chief priest of the community Nii Lumo Bortei Doku touched on the cultural significance of the lagoon and revealed the anguish that they felt at its pollution. He stressed that:

> *"We attached great spiritual importance to the Chemu lagoon. The lagoon was believed to be inhabited by a deity. For that reason it was revered and protected through various traditional practices aimed at maintaining and*

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[98] Boateng, J. Y reports on the "Tema oil refinery case" as part of the "Enhancing Business-Community Relations project" which was a joint international initiative between United Nations Volunteers (UNV) and the New Academy of Business. Implemented in seven developing countries, the purpose of the initiative was to collect and document information on business-community practices as perceived by all stakeholders, build partnerships with them and promote corporate social responsibility practices. This can be found on the 'Business in the Community' website. http://www.bitc.org.uk/sites/default/files/kcfinder/files/Tema_Oil_Refinery.pdf (accessed 20/02/2014).

preserving it. The spirit that resided in the lagoon has deserted the community as a result of the pollutants discharged into it. This has contributed to the widespread anguish and misery in the community".

The Chemu lagoon case is interesting; it strikes home that deep within the industrialized purpose-built city of Tema, with its busy harbour, booming industries, glorious motorway linking Tema with the capital, and a reputation for affluent communities, lies the derelict story of the Manhean communities living around the lagoon, which is obscure to most of the outside world. They attribute the disproportionate environmental burden that they bear to the greed and negligence of the industries operating in Tema, making it fall in line with the South African definitions of environmental justice (McDonald, 2002).

However since the formalized creation of the CSRM in 2001, it had really acted as a pressure group putting pressure on the government authority through the Local council, and directly on some of the industries that operated in the community to adopt mainly to adopt a more environmentally friendly approach to their operations and to take responsibility for the polluted state of the lagoon. Out of the number of targeted industries located in the municipality, which includes cocoa processing and textiles industries, the Tema Oil Refinery stood out as the industrial giant whose operations were adversely affecting the lagoon the most.

The Tema Oil Refinery (TOR), established in 1963, is a vital element in Ghana's economy; as the only refinery in the country it supplies refined fuel for the country's automobiles and airlines as well as kerosene and liquefied-petroleum gas (LPG) for domestic use. The refinery, which has a distillation capacity of 45,000 barrels per day (bpd), is fully owned by the Ghanaian government. The process of the oil refinery involves the boiling of the crude oil and the use of seawater as a coolant to remove heat generated. The resultant heated seawater is discharged without any pre-treatment directly into the local Chemu lagoon. According to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), TOR alone, discharges about 50 million gallons of heated seawater at 61 degrees Celsius into the lagoon daily (Boateng, undated). This

temperature is considered as being too high and disruptive to aquatic life. Additionally this heated water is inadvertently contaminated with oily waste, worsening the pollution of the lagoon. In terms of volume of liquid waste discharge into the lagoon, TOR's discharge is ranked third after cocoa processing and textiles. However, as far as the concentration of pollutants is concerned, TOR tops the polluter list (Boateng, undated).

Bearing this scenario in mind, and the activity of the CSRM as a pressure group mounting, the origins of an environmental movement, or better put the identifiable point at which the CSRM's activity metamorphosed into the environmental justice movement, can be traced to a catastrophic event on 7th May 2007, when the TOR spilled a large volume of oil into the Chemu lagoon. According to the CSRM[99] this oil spill was quite a serious one, yet did not make the headlines of the local media, meaning that it possible that it would go unnoticed by the outside world and only leaving the Manhean communities to continue suffering and bear the full cost of such degradation. The CSRM saw this the perfect moment and opportunity to escalate their struggles with the biggest industrial giant and seek appropriate redress. The leadership made contact with the pro-bono public law NGO CEPIL to collaborate and proceed to bring to file a law suit against the TOR. The engagement of CEPIL was vital to this novel strategy of seeking legal redress. CEPIL identified with the struggles of the Manhean communities and the environmental injustices they suffered to be principally a matter of public interest and in line with is operational mandate. CEPIL's previous work, especially with the NCOM had earned it a reputation that had spread amongst the Ghanaian EMOs and suddenly brought a ray of hope to EMO strategies that previously was not conceivable[100]. The highly expensive and lengthy processes of law suits meant that most EMOs, even those

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[99] Respondent 7 (appendix 2)

[100] See further, CEPIL's report on human rights cases in mining communities, Centre for Public Interest law (2010) 'Mining communities and Human Rights cases' http://www.cepil.org.gh/cases/mining-communities-human-rights-cases/. (last accessed 04/02/2015).

were reasonably resourced shied away from the law courts, let alone smaller and under resourced groups like the CSRM.

With the CSRM and CEPIL strategic partnership in place, a lawsuit was filed at the High Courts in June, 2007 (CEPIL, 2010; Ice, 2011). This was a ground breaking move as this was taking a step further from the previously used tactic of the threat of legal action which had on occasion prompted an out of court settlement. It was also ground breaking in its scale, in an almost Biblical proportion of setting up a 'David' against a 'Goliath' of an industry like the TOR, the backbone of the nation's energy. Another interesting approach that the CSRM and CEPIL took in filing the case, was that although they were to file as joint plaintiffs, the representative of the CSRM entered the joint suit as a private individual and local resident of the Manhean Community. Hence the case read "Centre for Public Interest Law and Richster Nii Amarfio *vrs* Tema Oil Refinery"[101]. This approach was interesting and clever as they anticipated the question of legal standing being raised by the defendants. Hence the CSRM being represented in the suit by a local resident strengthened their case as plaintiff having directly "suffered injury" by the actions of the defendants (as well as being in the public interest). Instead of suing as joint plaintiff that were made of two civil society organizations. The lawsuit was asking the courts for the following (see appendix for full statement of claim):

> *"(a) A declaration that the defendant was negligent in spilling oil into the Chemu lagoon;*
>
> *(b) A declaration that the oil spillage into the Chemu lagoon is a violation of the rights of the inhabitants of Chemu particularly the rights of those who are settled along the banks of the lagoon to a clean and healthy environment under the constitution and under international law;*

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[101] Detail provided by respondent 8 (appendix 2) and See further, Centre for Public Interest Law (2010a) 'CePIL vrs TOR', http://www.cepil.org.gh/cases/strategic-public-interest-cases/center-for-public-interest-law-and-anor-vs-tema-oil-refinery-tor/ (Accessed 02/02/2014).

(c) An order enjoining the defendant to clean up the Chemu lagoon under the supervision of the EPA;

(d) An order of perpetual injunction to restrain the defendant from further pollution of the aforesaid lagoon through oil spillage or other means."

As anticipated the TOR attempted to have the case dismissed before a substantive trail commenced, by raising a preliminary objection and claiming that CEPIL did not have standing to sue on behalf of the lagoon or the local people, calling the plaintiffs "busybodies seeking cheap popularity" (CEPIL, 2010).

A ruling on the objection raised was yet again another groundbreaking feature of this case and a step forward for the environmental justice movement. The court ruled in favour of the plaintiff, that they did have legal standing and could initiate legal action (See appendix for copy of ruling). With this hurdle scaled TOR responded by appealing the dismissal of its objection and amending its position from arguing against legal standing to a more complex case by claiming that;

"occasional spills in insignificant quantities from its refinery cannot be the cause of the alleged level of pollution and annihilation of all life forms in the Chemu Lagoon mentioned in the pleadings of the plaintiffs."

The back and forth nature of the legal process in Ghana, and the amendments sought by TOR, if at all intended, have only succeeded in lengthening the already slow legal process, even before the substantive trail began. With TOR flexing its legal muscle with formidable legal teams that will explore every opportunity to escape culpability. At the time of writing the trial is still ongoing and promises to be significant in its outcome, no matter which way it goes. However the courage displayed by the CSRM and CEPIL by going to High Court has demonstrated the resolve of the small, urbanized environment justice movement within the city of Tema that, as small as they are, they are certainly not insignificant. Additionally the

ruling of the High Court to grant the plaintiffs legal standing is a huge step in the growth of the rule of law in general, and in particular the court's new receptiveness to public interest law cases. This significant step is noteworthy considering the challenges of legal standing previously faced by civil society organizations and environmental NGO's in attempting to institute legal action against environmental degradation. This was highlighted as far back as the 1970s in Christopher Stone's seminal thesis "Should trees have standing?" and seen even in international environmental law cases in both the developed and developing world, such as the US and Nigeria[102]. I will touch on this point again in the subsequent discussion of the strategies and challenges of the environmental movement in Ghana.

7.1.2.3 Fisheries and Coastal Management movement

The next classification within the environmental movement in Ghana is what I have termed the "Fisheries and Coastal Management movement". This in comparison to the other two classifications described above would appear to be a much smaller, less elaborate, yet important aspect of the environmental movement that is poised to grow. Just like the previous classification, the fisheries and coastal management movement stems from an institutionalized attempt to by local EMOs to galvanize support and resources to achieve common goals. It is interesting to note the development of this section of the environmental movement in Ghana because the country has an extensive fishing industry that is that involves a large number of the population and is recognized as one of the traditional occupations in the country.

Ghana's geographic location along the Gulf of Guinea has made fishing an important part of the national economic activities and its documented history dates as far back

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[102] The challenges of legal standing faced by civil society organization in their attempt to use the law courts to seek redress for environmental degradation is an acknowledged challenge, both in the developed and developing world. Notable cases include Massachusetts v. EPA [Massachusetts v. EPA, 549 U.S.___,127 S.Ct. 1438 (2007)] brought before the US supreme court and the attempt push or environmental justice by 8 communities from across the Niger Delta to sue Shell ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, Total FinaElf and Agip joint venture companies, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, and the Nigerian government, in the Federal High Court to stop gas flaring (http://www.climatelaw.org/cases/country/nigeria/gasflares/2005Jun20/ accessed 04/02/2014).

as the 1700s and 1800s when Fante fishers from Ghana introduced ocean fishing to communities along the coast of the country (Atta-Mills et al, 2004; Aheto et al., 2012). Ghana's commercial fishing sector did not emerge until the 19th century when river boats were modified to handle the surf and rough seas along the West African coast (Agbodeka, 1992). And since its emergence enjoyed local dominance and a wealth of indigenous knowledge systems as fishing did not attract colonial attention as an economic venture until after the 1930s (Akyeampong, 2007).

Commercial fishing is now an important occupation within the various communities and regions along the coast. The fishing sector employs 2.5% of the total population, contributing about 20% to the total Ghanaian labor force (Aheto et al., 2012). Although the fisheries sector comprised of both inland fishing (rivers, lakes, lagoons) and the marine sources in the country's territorial waters, the marine fishing is by far the most important source of local fish production, delivering more than 80% of the total supply (FAO, 2004). Broken down further, the marine sub-sector in Ghana consists of three main sectors, namely small scale, (or artisanal on canoe), semi-industrial and industrial sub-sectors. The artisanal sub-sector refers to the small-scale fishing operations by semi-skilled fishermen that often use simple implements and a dugout canoe. These canoes are either man-powered by oars or more recently by the use of small outboard motors to facilitate propulsion (Akyeampong, 2007). This artisanal sector is at present the most important in terms of fish outputs within the marine sector contributing 60-70% of the marine fish output. This statistic is evidence of the change in fortunes of the Ghanaian fishing industry, which was heavily industrialized from the 1960s soon after independence (Atta-Mills *et al*, 2004). At the peak of the fishing industry in the 1970s, the Ghanaian government under its State Fishing Corporation owned several industrial-fishing fleets and invested heavily in marine offshore fishing even operating in foreign waters (Atta-Mills *et al*, 2004). However gross mismanagement and political instability led to the poor economic performance of the sub-sector and its eventual decline and collapse by 1980 (Akyeampong, 2007) making the small-scale fishing take over as the nation's backbone of the fishing industry. There are over 11,200 canoes and more than 124,000 small scale fishers operating actively from over 300 landing sites located

along the entire 550 km length of the coastline of Ghana (Aheto et al., 2012). The actual size of the sector is much larger and engages about 2 million people, when fish processors and traders (which normally includes their dependants) are taken into consideration (MoFA, 2013). And this illustrates the importance of the local fishing communities to the survival of the Ghanaian fisheries sector.

The country's marine catch is dominated by pelagic fish[103] such as Round Sardinella, Flat Sardinella, Chub Mackerel, Anchovy, Frigate Mackerel, Seabreams, Burrito, Scad Mackerel, Cassava Fish, Tiger Fish, Cuttlefish, Soles, Red Mullet, Hake and varieties of tuna such as the Yellowfin, Bigeye, Skipjack and Black Skipjack (Antwi-Asare and Agyei, 2011).

Fish is usually a cheaper and appreciated source of protein, and forms a staple in the diet of many Ghanaians, including many communities further inland and away from the coast. According to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) about 75 percent of the total domestic production of fish is consumed locally. Fish contributes about 60 percent of the country's animal protein intake (MoFA, 2013). On the other hand, the smaller proportion of fish that is not consumed locally also makes significant revenue though export. Fish is the country's most important non-traditional export commodity and the fisheries sub-sector accounts for about 5 percent of the agricultural GDP. Export earnings from fish and fishery products on average account for approximately 60 million US Dollars annually (MoFA, 2013).

A scan along the coastal regions in Ghana would reveal important urbanized towns and cities, such as the capital Accra, and the two harbour cities of Tema and Takoradi. However tucked in-between the over 500km shoreline are several sub-urban and rural communities that despite the bustling economic activities of fisheries sector, are known to be some of the poorest in the county. The high

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[103] Pelagic fish live in the pelagic zone of ocean or lake waters - being neither close to the bottom nor near the shore - in contrast with 'demersal fish', which do live on or near the bottom (http://oceanservice.noaa.gov/facts/pelagic.html accessed 25/02/2014). Hence making it possible for the small-scale fishers to get a good catch using simpler nets and implements ad they do not need to fish too deep in the ocean.

dependence on natural resources and increasing environmental degradation as a result of climatic and non-climatic factors has meant that poverty remains a critical socioeconomic issue in the coastal zone of Ghana especially in the absence a comprehensive national policy for the management of the coastal natural resources (Lawson et al, 2012).

In Lawson et al (2012) study they found out that the poverty experienced by coastal communities in Ghana was multi-dimensional as it was not only related to income and consumption levels, but also extended to a lack of basic needs (access to shelter, health, and sanitation) and the ability to cope with shocks. Similarly Kruijssen et al., (2013) assert that in the light of the prevailing poverty, it is important that any needed interventions in the future have to be made with the understanding of poverty that goes beyond measuring income, to include factors such as education levels, health status, ownership and control over capital, financial and natural assets and access to social amenities. Other studies have also shown that the poverty situation, if unabated only stands to get worse especially in the face of the growing concerns of climate change. Badjeck et al. (2011) have noted that with higher sea level rise and extreme weather events the number of risks faced by the fisheries industry in Ghana is bound to increase; resulting in fewer fishing activities and many losses such as capsizing of fishing vessels, gear damage and even deaths caused by accidents. Fishing activities will be impacted severely, with decreased investment and increased rates of environmental degradation, making it plausible that a majority of people would even quit fishing. Consequently Badjeck et al. (2011) found that with the predicted impacts of climate change on fisheries in Ghana, livelihoods of dependent communities would be severely impacted, as a result poverty will increase; and there will also be an increased demand for credits to venture into other occupations. In this scenario, fish consumption will decrease and price of fish will likely increase, leading to food insecurity, as fish would no longer remain an inexpensive source of protein (Badjeck et al., 2001).

The apparent neglect of the coastal regions, reflecting in the poverty and increasing environmental degradation has been the main driving force for the few local EMOS

that have been drawn to concentrated work within such regions. In this regard, the local EMO Friends of the Nation (FON), described earlier, is at the forefront civil society efforts in the relatively overlooked marine environment[104].

The FON as the oldest and a highly institutionalized EMO with a special focus on the marine environment operating in all 4 coastal regions of the country and has its headquarters in the Western region and another office in the Volta Region. It has since 2009 partnered with the Coastal Resource Centre of the University of Rhode Island in the USA. The partnership sponsors and sends specialists to work with the FON on a coastal and fisheries management project in the various coastal communities in the Western Region of Ghana, with the university's project having an office in the FON premises. One major project embarked on through this FON-URI partnership is what was an Integrated Coastal and Fisheries and Coastal Governance project dubbed as the "Hɛn Mpoano" project (our beaches in the local Fante language). This was also supported by other international agencies such as the USAID, WorldFish Centre and SustainaMetrix. The main objectives of the project were as necessary as they were ground breaking, as there hand not been such studies conducted in the marine environment in the country. The objectives included:

"creating a coastal and marine governance program for the Western Region; addressing fisheries governance issues in the region; improving the governance of coastal resources in the focal areas of Shama District, Cape Three Points and the Amanzule Wetlands and undertaking a major communications, outreach and capacity building effort" (CRC, 2014).

It took 5 years, from 2009 to the end of 2014, to achieve these targets. The process of this work, facilitated by FON's knowledge and work on the ground involved a variety of stake holder dialogue and discussion forums involving community residents, fisher folk and mongers and the government agencies (Mills et al*., 2012).

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[104] Opinion of respondent 10 (appendix 2)

Besides the outlines objectives for this structured approach with international partners aimed at achieving sustainability in the coastal regions in Ghana, the FON realized the need for a local approach to vocalizing and addressing the need for sustainability within the coastal communities.

And hence soon after the commencement of the project the FON saw the need to galvanize the efforts of interested local civil society groups and individuals to form coalition that specifically address issues of fisheries and coastal management to better lobby the government and campaign for improvements that are needed, especially in the light of new emerging concerns such as the country's new oil find and its off shore drilling. As a result a coalition called the Civil Society Alliance for Fisheries Agenda (CAFA) was constituted in 2009. Since then the CAFA has become the hub of the budding 'fisheries and coastal management movement' as part of the local environmental movement in Ghana.

From an institutionalized point of view, the main partners in the coalition are EMOs with an interest in fisheries namely the FON and the CSRM, FOE, as well as the Ghana National Canoe Fishermen Council, some media representatives, representatives of research institutions and individual fishers.

It appears the main target of the coalition is to lobby and achieve some form of significant structural and legal reforms governing the fisheries sector, both to improve environmental sustainability, and the socio-economic conditions of the local fishing communities.

One of the main contentions of the CAFA is that it is apparent that the country does not seem to recognize or treat fisheries as a 'natural resource' as defined by the Ghanaian constitution[105]. This is seen by the omission of fisheries from the National Resource and Environmental Governance (NREG) programmes. The NREG programmes are a World Bank funded initiative to assist relevant government

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[105] Specific claims on CAFA made by respondent 13 (appendix 2) speaking as founding and core member.

agencies to that work in the area of protection of the environment and natural resources; these include the agencies for mining, forestry and wildlife[106].   The omission of fisheries, according to the CAFA is an indication of the government taking the sector for granted. Making it an issue that needs to be addressed.

Closely linked to the above, is the other major contention of the CAFA that relates to the poor implementation of legal provisions to protect the fisheries sector, more specifically, the Fisheries Act 625, passed in 2002[107]. Although it is in principle a laudable step for a developing country such as Ghana to have separate legislation to govern the fisheries sector, there are two main concerns that CAFA has that need to be urgently addressed. Firstly the Fisheries Commission, which is the government's agency responsible for the Fisheries Act, appears poorly resourced, and has had a rather checkered history that had affected its proper function. There appears to be functional challenges and an indistinguishable relationship that exists between the Fisheries commission and Ministry of Food and Agriculture that it falls under. This has made if difficult for general enforcement and compliance of the Fisheries Act. Secondly section 36 of the Fisheries Act provides for the establishment of a Fisheries Development Fund which was to be used amongst others to aid "the promotion and development of fisheries in the country, to provide assistance to small-scale fishery co-operative enterprises and to promote research and studies of the fishing industry" (Section 36 (a) – (d), 2002 Fisheries Act, Republic of Ghana). However CAFA asserts that this fund has not been openly accounted for, nor has there been clearly prescribed guidelines for accessing it, thereby creating a developmental challenge for the artisanal fisheries sector, counter to the objectives for establishing the fund.

More recently CAFA's lobbying concerns have been expanded to include the off-shore exploration of Ghana's recent oil find. Specifically claiming the current operations in the oil and gas sector were in breach of Section 93 of the Fisheries Act.

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[106] See the Wold Bank's comment on Ghana's National Resource and Environmental Governance Project. http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P102971/natural-resources-environmental-governance-project?lang=en&tab=overview (accessed 22/02/2014).
[107] Republic of Ghana, Fisheries Act 635, 2002. http://mofa.gov.gh/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/mofa_fisheries_act_ghana.pdf (accessed 22/02/2014).

The section covers the need for conducting comprehensive impact assessments, prescribing that:

> *"Any person or government department or other agency planning to conduct any activity other than fishing, which is likely to have a substantial impact on the fisheries resources or other aquatic resources of Ghana, shall inform the [Fisheries] Commission of the plans prior to the commencement of the planned activity with a veiw to the conservation and protection of the resources". (Section 93 (1), 2002 Fisheries Act, Republic of Ghana).*

This very strict provision on paper clearly recognizes the need for impact assessments as a precautionary measure before the commencement of potentially harmful activities, which would most certainly include oil explorations, considering the nature of the off-shore drilling process. What is also important to note is that besides the above provision of a separate fisheries impact assessment is considered as an 'additionality clause', that must be met together with the general environmental impact assessments. This is further clarified by Section 93(3), which states that "the requirement under this section shall be in addition to any other requirement of the Environmental Protection Agency". The CAFA's claims that the process of granting the licenses to the oil companies operating in the country was in breach of this Section under the Fisheries Act as any environmental impact assessments were only done in fulfillment of general EPA requirement, and did not meet the additionality conditions of a special and separate fisheries impact assessment.

These highlighted concerns are CAFA informing its lobbying position with the hope that they would form an integral part of a broader campaign to address other problems such as dwindling fish stocks, unfair competition from international companies using sophisticated equipment to poach fish[108], as well some still

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[108] This is formally referred to as illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) and is a reported common practice in the coastal waters of West Africa, Making it an issue of concern for some European countries such the UK which source a lot Tuna from West Africa. See the UK's DEFRA's reported concern on the issue,

engaging in unconventional methods such as the paired-trawling approach[109], which adversely affects the livelihood of fishing communities.

Similar to the anti-mining movement's approach, the fisheries and coastal management movement embodies by the CAFA also adopts a lobbyist approach, recognizing the near absolute powers that the government agencies wield and appeal to them for support or the change they require. This has since its inception been in concert with media representation and the use of press conferences to launch campaigns[110].

In addition to its on-going campaigns for a more empowered and active Fisheries Commission and a focal point in safeguarding the needs of the local fishing communities, it has very recently launched a novel campaign aimed to address the unexplained deaths of whales that had been washed ashore in recent years. The death of three whales washed ashore in the Western region, in the month of October, 2013 (20th, 21st and 31st) were thought to be very alarming and extraordinary. According to the FONs records, these three deaths made up a total of 20 whales that had been washed ashore in the last four years, without the government or EPA initiating any meaningful study or investigation into the occurrences. The situation was also alarming assuming there was any health and safety concerns within the territorial waters that were being overlooked that the fisher folk needed to be aware of, or even in handling the carcasses as they were left on their own to dispose them off. As well as the added dimension of superstition

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http://www.stopillegalfishing.com/sifnews_article.php?ID=103 (accessed 20/02/2014). As well as campaign and dramatic intervention Greenpeace International (http://www.greenpeace.org/africa/en/News/news/Exposed-Illegal-Fishing-in-West-African-Seas/ accessed 22/02/2014).

[109] Paired-trawling as a fishing method has been banned in Ghanaian waters, because of the damage to the sea-bed near the shore and the fact that it often prevented fish from spawning, and was also unfair to small-scale fishers who couldn't make any meaningful in areas that paired trawlers were operating. See news report about fishermen bemoaning the continuation of the practice, allegedly by foreign operative usually under the cover of night, http://stma.ghanadistricts.gov.gh/?arrow=nws&read=22451 (accessed 20/02/2014).
[110] See example of such media engagement on Ghana News Agency website, article entitled "probe management of fisheries development fund" http://www.ghananewsagency.org/science/probe-management-of-fisheries-development-fund-cafa-31124 (last accessed 4/02/2015).

since in the absence of a scientific explanation the locals often regarded the occurrence as some sign of bad luck or omen, and would perform rituals before proceeding to bury the carcasses. Furthermore, the coalition had renewed concerns as to whether the oil drilling activities had anything to do with this trend, especially since the recent finds were in the Western region where the oil blocks were located. Or whether the drilling had an underlying negative impact that was now visible because the whales were larger, reminiscent of their grievance about the fact that a specific fisheries impact assessment had not been done before the oil drilling commenced.

Figure 7.3 – Locals in the process of burying one of the dead whales (source: FON, Ghana).

The campaign, which was largely a media centered one was launched in October, 2013 and dubbed "President Mahama – Save our whales" was to bemoan the apparent silence and inaction of the government on the issue, and raise awareness of the potential seriousness. This culminated in sending a signed petition to the office of the president, as well all other related government ministries and agencies calling for urgent action[111].

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[111] See online petition created by CAFA core member FON at http://fon201320.epetitions.net/ (last accessed 01/02/2015).

The concerns of the CAFA are not necessarily farfetched as recent studies by the Wildlife Conservation Society employing satellite tracked movements of humpbacked whales identified possible breeding areas in the warmer waters off the West African coast. It also showed other valid concerns such as the fact that the whales shared these waters with offshore oil rigs, major shipping routes, and potentially harmful toxicants (WCS, 2014). The studies concluded that there was "clearly [the need for] all of the countries on the west coast of Africa to work together on a range-wide humpback whale conservation strategy and consider the possibility of creating a whale sanctuary" (WCS, 2014).

The launch of the 'save our whales' campaign raised a considerable amount of awareness to the issue as it courted high media patronage. However it remains unclear whether any concrete institutional response or desired changed would be gotten from this campaign. This is against the backdrop of a press release by the EPA that unequivocally ruled out any suspicion of any danger or health and safety threats earlier on in September before the campaign launch, when reports of unusual whale deaths were beginning to circulate. According to the Public Affairs Department of the EPA "the incidence of whales being washed ashore was a global occurrence and not limited to Ghana" and furthermore "Within the last four months, 10 whales were reported to have been washed ashore in various locations in Asia, the Americas and New Zealand" citing possible reasons to be injury from other predators, collision with maritime vessels, disease and old age (EPA, 2013). Furthermore it ruled out any possible blame on the recent oil explorations emphasizing that the oil companies had carried out a satisfactory environmental impact assessment. This entrenched position of the EPA puts them at opposite poles with the CAFA, and it although it may on one hand serve as a motivation to push the campaign through, it is also consequently plausible to presume that the campaign may attract very little governmental action.

The activities of the fisheries and coastal management movement is significant for a country like Ghana which has a big fisheries industry that apparently has not received enough governmental attention to meet the needs of local stakeholders,

both socio-economic and those that are environmental. Although the work of foreign EMOs in the fisheries sector in West Africa such as the campaign and intervention work of the Greenpeace International[112] is noteworthy, it is interesting to document this emerging movement under the auspices of the CAFA because even though fisheries are an important aspect of local economies and livelihoods along the West African coast, stretching from Cameroon to Senegal, similar local movement activity with a fisheries focus is not common and remains obscure from academic literature.

7.1.2.4 Climate Change Movement

The fourth classification of the local environmental movement in Ghana is what I have termed the 'climate change movement' indicative of its specialized focus on concerns about the predicament of climate change. Once again this dimension is an emerging one and much smaller in terms of scope and activity, but nonetheless relevant because of some specific details such as the purposeful involvement of gender (women) and the plausibility of the future prospects of the movement as interest and attention in climate change appears only to be a growing trend on the continent and worldwide.

Climate change is by far the most topical environmental challenge in this present generation that is attracting the most globalized attention (Henson, 2006; King, 2011)[113]. Simply put, the release of certain gases into the atmosphere as a result of human activities, particularly by the western world during the course of industrialization, has created a greenhouse effect by trapping more of the sun's heat and the resulting warmer world is the underlying reason behind the changes in the

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[112] As noted above; the fight of Greenpeace international against illegal fishing in West African waters. See eg. http://www.greenpeace.org/africa/en/News/news/Exposed-Illegal-Fishing-in-West-African-Seas/ (accessed 25/02/2014).

[113] Robert Henson's "Rough Guide to climate Change" provides an easy read on the global challenge of climate change, condensing his arguments on the 'symptoms' already visible, the underlying scientific explanations and possible solutions that can be adopted for the way forward.

global climatic systems (Henson, 2006). The scientific authority backing the claims and predictions of climate change, evaluated by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), an international body representing over 195 countries, has almost legitimized their conclusion that climate change is a factual occurrence and human induced (Manning, 2011; IPCC, 2013). The fifth series (2013) of the IPCC's periodic 'assessment reports' has emphasized that warming of the climate system is "unequivocal" (IPCC, 2013:4). This scientific consensus drives the globalized efforts under the UNFCCC to address climate change.

Despite the globalized nature of climate change and the dire predictions that its effects have and would have on different regions of the world, it stands out that primarily because of its geographical position, Africa is bound to suffer much more than any other region in the world (UNEP, 2007; Toulmin, 2009). Climate change is predicted to cause biodiversity loss, poor agricultural yields, droughts and reduced water supply, higher incidence of pests and diseases, and the likelihood of mass migration of human settlements and possible ripple effects of conflicts in volatile regions (WWF, 2002; World Bank, 2013). These predictions are of further concern for two other reasons: firstly because of Africa's reduced capacity to deal with the costs of mitigating and adapting to climate change; and secondly because of the fact that it is the region least responsible for the historical GHG emissions that account for present day climate change and as such it would be 'unfair' for the global community not to take proportionate steps to avert this injustice. These two concerns resonate through the UNFCCC's work in both its application of a 'common but differentiated responsibilities principle' to guide a divided approach to dealing with climate change based on the respective capabilities of countries to afford the costs of mitigation and take responsibility of historical emissions (Toulmin, 2009).

Understandably, poorer countries have been recognized as being especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The UN identifies 49 least developed countries that require special assistance with respect to funding and technology transfer. Of these 49 countries, 33 of them belong to the African continent, showing

how extreme vulnerability to climate change can be easily described as an African problem[114].

The urgency in addressing climate change from an African point of view has gained rapid momentum moving on from the international negotiations at the UN level to the direct involvement of international EMOs and civil society groups working with several African communities on climate change related projects. These projects spearheaded by International EMOs have created a buzz of civil society led climate change action through several local-foreign alliances however this has allowed very few local-local networks to form. Notable groups and projects that have led to local-foreign alliances in addressing climate change in Africa include "CARE/WWF Climate Advocacy partnership"[115], "The 92 group" which is a coalition of 22 Danish organizations[116], Austria based "NGO platform for climate Justice", US-based "InterAction"[117] and the "Climate Action Network"[118]. These focus on a plethora of issues that border on both the mitigation and adaptation of climate change in Africa. They also show how important local EMOs are in building up the adaptive capacity of local communities in the face of a changing climate.

In terms of the specific foci of climate change advocacy and activity, these cover challenges that are both environmental and socioeconomic in nature. A breakdown of the challenges that poorer developing African countries face in climate change adaptation would reveal amongst others a gender dimension that outlines how women would suffer disproportionately and are therefore more vulnerable in such communities throughout the LDC. This stems from cultural inequalities mentioned earlier and the traditional and domestic roles assigned to women, such as securing water, food and fuel for cooking and heating. The connection of Gender and climate change has been fully recognized by both the UNFCCC and the UNDP eliciting the

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[114] See more on the UNFCC's LDC work programme
http://unfccc.int/adaptation/knowledge_resources/ldc_portal/items/4751.php (accessed 29/02/2014).
[115]http://www.careclimatechange.org/files/advocacy/WWF_CARE_Statement.pdf (accessed 28/02/2014)
[116] www.92grp.dk. (Accessed 28/02/2014).
[117] http://www.interaction.org/   (accessed 28/02/2014).
[118] http://www.climatenetwork.org/ (accessed 28/02/2014)

need to draw up programmes and policy directives that draw on women's experiences, knowledge and skills and supporting their empowerment will make climate change responses more effective[119]. This point of view, of the gender dimension of climate change, is important because of its centrality to the climate change movement in Ghana.

A quick look within the growing buzz of activity on the issue of climate change within the civil society/NGO circuits revealed that a noticeable local-local partnership occurred once again within a formalized coalition that focuses on the identified gender dimension of climate change. This coalition is known as the Gender Action on Climate Change for Equality and Sustainability (GACCES). The notable members of the seven-member coalition sampled in this study include the Abantu and the Abibiman Foundation, with the Abantu assuming a coordinating role within the coalition[120].

GACCES was formed in 2009 by local EMOs that were interested in mainstreaming gender perspectives into the Ghanaian government's environmental policies especially in the face of growing global attention on climate change. The coalition soon took shape attracted funding from UN Women[121] – the United Nations organization dedicated to the gender equality and promotion of women empowerment to undertake a two year programme to campaign for the need to "Build capacities to influence climate change policies from a gender perspective".

The main objectives of the coalition in running the two year campaign were amongst others, to first raise awareness of the gender-climate change link and how that played out in the Ghanaian society. Additionally they hoped to further promote the need to actively involve women at all levels of decision making on climate change.

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[119] See for eg. UNDP policy brief on the linkages between Gender and climate change http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/Gender%20and%20Environment/PB1-AP-Overview-Gender-and-climate-change.pdf (accessed 28/02/2014).

[120] Details on GACCES provided by respondent 21 (appendix 2).

[121] UN Women is the UN organization for gender equality (see http://www.unwomen.org/ accessed 28/02/2014) – The agency was formerly referred to as UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women).

And finally to establish a relationship with key players, ranging from government officials, policy makers and community leaders to ensure a continuous engagement on gendered issues of climate change from the medium to the long term. From these broad goals of the coalition it was clear that their focus made women both subject and object of their campaigns. On a more 'tangible' note, the coalition also embarked on a livelihood support project, through which projects were launched and developed in target communities that would in one way or another count towards tangible climate change mitigation or adaptation steps. These include tree planning exercises and the construction of bore holes to provide potable water.

One of the publicized livelihood projects of GACCES is the introduction of subsidized improved cooking stoves in the Northern regions of the country as a better alternative to the traditional charcoal or firewood cooking stoves that the women used.

Fig 7.4 – One of the GACCES Livelihood support project sites in Lawra, a rural community in the Upper West Region of Ghana, promoting the "improved stoves". (Picture Source: Abantu)

The improved stoves[122] were specially designed for regions where access to electricity or LPG was not possible and hence were dependent on charcoal and

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[122] Similar stoves have been marketed in Ghana by International NGO "Relief International" as being energy efficient praising its carbon reduction credentials and allowing it to even claim carbon offset credits as part of the UNFCCC Clean Development Mechanism

firewood for domestic activities. This had led to a surge in deforestation rates in these areas and a strain on women who were responsible for gathering and preparing fuel wood before their 'actual' domestic duties commence. There were also added concerns such as about unhealthy smoke inhalation that came with the operation of the traditional stoves over time. As a result the newly designed stoves had a more efficient combustion system which boasted of using 50 – 60% less wood and charcoal and provide tremendous socioeconomic, environmental, and health benefits to users and their communities, which were very welcome. This was particularly more necessary in the three northern regions in Ghana because of a number of factors such as the increasing desertification from the arid conditions of a widening Sahel Savanna making fuel wood more scare, as well as the fact that two of the main economic activities of the northern women, shea butter production and "pito brewery" (local beverage) mean that demand for fuel was high.

GACCES initiative of introducing the improved stoves to these rural northern communities is both a timely climate change adaptation and mitigation measure in a region that is already precariously positioned to suffer from climate change.

Another specific landmark in the development of GACCES came in 2011 in the run up to the UNFCCC Conference of Parties meeting hosted in Durban, South Africa. Civil society and NGO participation at such high international levels on environmental matters have seen an exponential increase in the participation of civil society groups and NGOs. To illustrate, the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment drew an attendance of about 400 NGOs, and two decades later at the 1992 United Nation Conference on Environment and Development in Rio saw this number rise to about 7000 NGOs, and this rose even further at the 2002 World Summit for Sustainable Development recordings over 21,000 accredited NGOs (DeSombre, 2007). The UNFCCC provides accreditation for observer statuses for the participation of environmental NGOs and local groups such as GACCES regard the

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(http://www.ri.org/story.php?ID=18 accessed1/03/14) . However its operations focused on relatively affluent urbanized towns that could buy them at the expense of poorer rural communities. Hence the work of GACCES has been very important in that regard.

acquisition of accreditation and opportunity to make representation at such high profile international meetings as some form of legitimization and recognition of the quality of work being done on the ground.

After gaining accreditation for the 2011 UNFCCC conference of parties meeting in Durban, GACCES launched its awareness campaign dubbed the "roadmap to Durban" in the last three months before the conference in December. The strategy was to form an advocacy team that would travel across the country to engage with local communities and incorporate feedback into a 'position paper' that would be forwarded onto the Ghanaian climate change negotiators. Once again an important aspect of the campaign was the decision to involve the media in various press briefings that would be held intermittently, and this recognizes the potential of the media in the dissemination of information as a campaign strategy for the local environmental movement[123].

The ultimate goal in this campaign was to continue liaising with the government in order to track the implementations and outcomes of climate change negotiations in the future.

GACCES' eventual participation at the UNFCCC conference was monumental in projecting its voice at the highest level possible. In addition to participating and monitoring the negotiations of the LDCs tracking the inclusion of gender texts into national action plans, GACCES also had the opportunity to mount an advocacy stand in the designated "Africa Pavilion" showcasing the impacts of climate change on women's livelihoods especially those more vulnerable in the northern regions of the country using a case study on the basket weaving industry in the northern town of Bolgatanga.

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[123] According to Respondent 21 (appendix 2) Advocacy team comprising representatives from core EMOs Abantu and Abibiman Foundation and mobilized interested individuals.

Figure 7.5 GACCES stand at the UNFCCC conference in Durban, South Africa. Source: GACCES.

It was apparent from discussions that the 'road to Durban' campaign had greatly boosted the morale and momentum of the work of GACCES providing it with an almost reproducible format for future campaigns. It consequently marks the beginning of future "Road to …" campaigns that would be launch in the run up to the UNFCCC conferences, keeping its ideals as contemporary and current. It is difficult and quite early to be able to evaluate how the governmental inaction and commitment levels on climate change issues would impact the activities of GACCES and its ultimate goal of influencing policy outcomes. It is however to its credit that some tangible gender focused climate change adaptation and mitigation work, which is arguably much needed, will continue on the ground[124].

7.1.3 Features of the environmental movement in Ghana

This section which follows the classification of the environmental movement in which I identified four viable sub-categories of the movement, namely the anti-mining, environmental justice movement, fisheries and coastal management movement and finally the climate change movement, is an attempt to probe further the environmental movement to tease out features that would further aid the

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[124] Specific claims by both respondents 5 and 21 (appendix 2).

characterization of the movement as it appears in Ghana. This brief section is noteworthy as it does not only summarize broad distinct characteristics but also provides some idea of the commonality of these features across the boundaries of the movement sub-classes identified above, making them also serve to some extent as the idiosyncrasies of the environmental movement in Ghana.

7.1.3.1 Small and institutionalized

The first outstanding feature of the environmental movement in Ghana is the dominance of very small, institutionalized EMOs, most operating from small-unbranded offices and with a handful of staff. They tend to have a recognizable 'leader' who keeps the vision and ideals of the EMO on track. The small nature of the operations is mainly to keep the running costs of the EMOs at a minimum. This is also true for the fact that in most cases only a single office is run without any branches or hubs in other parts of the county irrespective of how outward looking or 'national' their goals and mandates are.

The main exceptions to this are the FOE and TWN which are affiliates of bigger international EMO, and a highly institutionalized local EMO with permanent overseas partners, respectively. Because the scale, levels of institutionalization and scope of an EMO's presence are related to financial resources, it is understandable that these two are the leaders in that regard because of their useful overseas partnerships.

The other exception to this is Wacam which operates an "on-field" office in the Western region in close proximity to the towns in which it operates. This small satellite office qualifies it to be described as having more than one branch outside its urban Tema headquarters. However in this case this does not reflect a position of affluence or abundance of resources, as the facility has been made available as a result of family and personal ties of the leadership to the town, making it more their personal property than that of the EMO.

7.1.3.2 Pro-urban Geographic distribution

An examination of the geographic distribution of the EMOs actively involved in the environmental movement in Ghana reveals that the great majority is based in the capital and two other urban regions. Their scope of operations covered in this study cuts mainly cuts across the southern half of the country, save the outreach exploits of Abantu (in GACCES) and the comparatively extensive scope of FOE Ghana. This paints a picture of the southern half of the country as the hub of environmental movement activity. Three of the four sub-categories identified under the environmental movement, namely the anti-mining movement, fisheries and coastal management movement and the environmental justice movement, all occur within this southern geographical hub.

What is again interesting to note is the location of the headquarters of majority of the institutionalized EMOs, as they have their operational headquarters in the capital city, Accra. The exceptions are the CSRM and Abibiman Foundation which are based in Tema, which is relatively close to the capital (within the same region) and equally as urbanized, making the FON the only institutionalized active EMO in the environmental movement in Ghana to be headquartered in a different region, but also in a town that could be classified as relatively urban. I chose to describe this trend as a 'pro-urban' bias in the situation of institutionalized EMOs in Ghana.

7.1.3.3 Intra-national missionary work

This 'pro-urban' geographical distribution of the institutionalized EMOs in Ghana has led to another interesting feature of the movement. This is also because of the dominance of the institutionalized dimension of the movement. It is clear that with the exception of the CSRM working in the same area as its base, all the other EMOs are involved in active outreach activity beyond the localities where they are situated to other parts of the country. I have chosen to refer to this feature as the 'intra-national missionary work' of the EMOs. This intra-national missionary approach is also to a large extent indicative of the urban – rural dynamics between an EMO's

situation and its focus of operation, in that the largely pro-urban EMOs in Ghana (in terms of their formalized bases) are in actual fact outward looking in their operations into the more rural and suburban parts of the country. It is therefore interesting to consider this dynamic as subsequent features would lend more insight into this preference of EMOs to be situated in the capital which has higher running and administrative costs for most EMOs.

The intra-national missionary tag also captures the sentiment that the environmental movement in Ghana is dominated by indigenous institutionalized EMOs over the possibility of having international EMOs setting up branches and operating from some supra-national headquarters. The notable exceptions are the TWN and FOE, which are local offshoots of bigger multinational EMOs. Nonetheless the dominance of the indigenous EMOs makes it possible to capture this feature adequately.

7.1.3.4 Protest averse

Another feature that appears to be distinct in the environmental movement in Ghana is its largely protest averse position. This is particularly true of the institutionalized EMOs that have deliberately adopted a preference for negotiation and formal lobbying. The strategic engagement with the masses and the their representation as it were, have been very much in the form of advocacy and education to raise awareness, and this has been the main reason why there is a growing use of media engagement. To some extent, it is possible to tease out the grievances and complaints through these public awareness campaigns run by the EMOs but their expression falls short of full blown public protests, marches or acts of civil disobedience. The very few protests recorded by the EMOs are in essence outliers to the their normal trends of operations or preferences.

The situation is significantly different when the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement is considered in which the cases recorded are born out of public protests and civil disobedience. However it was observed that all the

cases considered, after the initial 'birth protests' of the movement, appeared to gravitate over time towards a non-protest stance, adopting the position of lobbying and formal or semi-formal negotiations thereafter. This trend in both the cases considered may be largely attributed to the influences of institutionalized EMOs that get on-board with the struggles later on, and help in the continuity process, albeit altering their strategic preferences.

Other reasons accounting for the protest-averse image of the environmental movement are the few unfortunate incidents of the use of disproportionate force by security agencies, both the police and those privately hired, to curtail public protest. These sentiments were shared by both the FON and Wacam, which had had some brush with security agencies in the past[125]. The consequence of this is that, it has the tendency to kill the movement even before it finds it feet, especially in the rural setting and hence the reason why strategies were developed that favour dialogue rather than confrontation.

Another interesting reason identified is the fact that public protest in Ghana naturally attracts the tag of being in opposition to the government, and being politically motivated no matter what the claim. This is true because the public protests mimic the industrial strike actions and labour demonstrations that opposition parties are known to co-ordinate. Consequently the attraction of the 'opposition tag' according to the FON, leads to the government ostracizing the EMOs and failing to work or co-operate with it. This has far-reaching and dire effects for the causes for which they stand most of which would demand some form of co-operation from the government.

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[125] Although not a relatively frequent occurrence, there are some serious cases of brutality by security operatives that have been reported. See again the Oxfam (2011) report on such in the mining sector: "Human Rights Violations Continue in Ghana's Mining Sector" http://www.oxfamamerica.org/press/human-rights-violations-continue-in-ghanas-mining-sector/ (Accessed 4th Feb, 2014).

7.1.3.5 Gendered outlook

An examination of the environmental movement in Ghana from the cases considered points interestingly to the gendered dimension, which plays out in two ways. First is the involvement of women in the grassroots protest of environmental discontent as seen in the Dumasi struggle documented. As indicated earlier, what is novel about this case is not merely the involvement of women in a male dominated culture that suppresses women social roles into an obscured background, but the initiative in taking steps and subsequent leadership that makes the women's involvement every bit a novelty within the Ghanaian sphere. However unintended that this may have been, the subtle social change that the events led to, falls in line with the calls for more involvement of women in local community affairs (Opare, 2005). Commenting on studies conducted in rural communities in Ghana, Opare (2005) notes that the lack of an effective voice in community affairs constitutes a serious obstacle to women's socio-economic advancement. In that light it would take radical measures such as the case of Dumasi to launch women from their positions of obscurity into a more vocal, visible and involved constituency within the local community.

It must be recalled that the leadership of traditional rural women in protest and resistance to a struggle came at what I referred to as 'minimal costs' in comparison to the other documented cases of similar struggles, such as with women's involvement in the protests in Nigeria's Niger Delta region where they had to endure the "undignified' process of public nudity to attract attention to their plight (Patch, 2008; Stephens 2006; Oriola, 2012). The use of nudity, which defies traditional and cultural norms of dignity and womanhood, is a price that becomes a cost too high to pay. Such actions only expose the vulnerable women to further abuse and disregard. I question whether in the event such extreme 'last resort' measures actually work, because they only place these women in a position of ridicule and further disregard.

The second gendered dimension manifests in the specialist EMO, Abantu, that was a women-led formalized attempt to influence and affect the welfare of Ghanaian

women. Their central involvement and leadership in the climate change movement put a specific focus on the environmental predicament. The obvious challenges of climate change to a developing country like Ghana presents a plethora of different foci that a budding formalized movement could address, so Abantu's role is crucial in narrowing the focus on the gender impacts.

Both dimensions of the gendered outlook of the environmental movement ultimately affirm the underlying fact that environmental stresses and degradation affect women in a disproportionate manner, making them the 'victims of victims'. Hence their direct involvement in the movement is especially interesting. It highlights the potential of women stepping up to address and champion causes that are for the community common good, but more specifically for the interests of women. Thus the gendered Ghanaian movement, and other noteworthy examples such as the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, celebrate the fact that African women can be and are the best ambassadors for their own affairs, and that even in the face of hostile environments, women have the potential to bear the costs, as in Nigeria's Niger Delta cases, to stand up for themselves at the tipping point of oppression.

7.2 Challenges of the environmental movement

Moving on from this discussion on the types of resources that are available to the movement, which incidentally have a bearing on the features described earlier, I move on to consider some issues and teething problems that the movement faces. In the light of the available resources, engagement with the EMOs and representatives revealed some specific and universal problems that might potentially hinder the growth, progress or the very life of the movement. These challenges may be critically viewed as comprising those that arise from within the partnerships and coalitions, as well as that are externally generated beyond the immediate influence of the movement or EMOs, or in the case of the presence of weak political will, that may be the part of the identified goals that movement aims to address. To make my point I will touch on these briefly below.

7.2.1 Limited finances

The most universal challenge to the environmental movement was the acknowledged limit upon the funds that the various EMOs had. The absence of adequate funding had directly affected size, scope of operations, influence in coalitions and many more. Most of the EMOs identified other environmental issues of concern that they would have engaged in if they had access to available funds. In this regard, albeit somewhat a negative thing, it was the lack of funds that had pushed the EMOs to specialize on one or two issues of concern, as they could not afford the capacity to expand.

This was also directly related to their scope of operations in the country. The EMOs considered agreed that would have planned a wider presence in other communities, towns and regions in the country if they could afford to do so. This would have also meant an increased investment in physical capital to facilitate the process. Another interesting implication of the lack of adequate funds on the dynamics of the environmental movement in Ghana is the fact that EMOs find it difficult to attract and employ some of the skilled labour that they need or even at times engage their services. For instance the high costs of laboratory analysis for samples of suspected polluted water was a huge cost that Wacam had to continuously bear, in order to create better cases against the mining companies and provide evidence that could lead to proper compensation.

Another case in point is the fact that although CEPIL lawyers made a proactive decision to privately take on cases that were not pro-bono in order to augment their staff salaries, this inadvertently took them away from the actual pro-bono work. The Ghanaian EMO's reliance on external sources of funds meant that it was often irregular, not guaranteed or, more importantly, had recently become less accessible largely due to harsher financial conditions around the world. Aldaba et al. (2000) predicted on the basis of studies in Latin, Central America and Asia that the outlook for the flow of funds from the West in support of NGO activity in developing

countries was a bleak one. This had pushed local NGOs to rethink and develop innovative "beyond-aid" approaches to deal with the funding deficit (Aldaba et al., 2000). A closer examination of this outlook reveals amongst others, some key factors that have accounted for the changing scenarios in South America. For instance, local and grassroots EMOs were developing local-specific characters that were not attractive to external funding objectives, as well as the fact that there an increasing number of NGOs thereby increasing the completion for international aid. Both causes mentioned are very plausible in Africa and Ghana for that matter, making it a very good point for the local EMOs to be concerned about their heavy reliance on foreign funds. This is even more imperative considering the added fact that there is a financial crisis that has hit the western world. It would be interesting to note in the future how the Ghanaian cases are responding to this plausible impending threat to their financial sustenance and what other local alternatives could be available from sources such a business philanthropy and the private sector.

7.2.2 Weak legal framework

The relative progress made by Ghana's respect for the rule of law and democratic stability, in comparison to other countries in the sub-region as definitely very commendable. However the beyond this growth, the study on the environmental reveals that there is room for further legal developments that would generally enhance the freedoms of EMO operations and the protection of the environment and local people as a whole.

Ghana has legal instruments and provisions that protect the environment, such as the umbrella Environmental Protection Act, and specific legislation that covers sensitive areas such as forestry, minerals and mining, and the fisheries sector. As mentioned earlier, the general EMO position was that an examination showed that these laws were often weak, and not comprehensive. In other cases it was unclear whose interest the laws were protecting and appeared to grant too much power to the government and too little sanctions should they be contravened. As Wacam noted, it appeared that the drafters of the law had merely done the government a

favour and produced laws that ticked boxes, but was impotent to stop environmental and human abuse.

The 2006 Minerals and Mining Act has been heavily criticized within the anti-mining movement for number of reasons. In addition to the concerns raised about the absolute water rights granted to mining companies within a concession in Article 17, it finds it improper amongst others, that there are provisions for the "compulsory acquisition of land" if the government is interested in it (Article 2), and allows near absolute powers for the government minister to "grant mineral rights" after the determination of a land to be the subject of a mineral concession. This apparent absolute powers mentioned appear to make the property rights of legitimate land owners subordinate to the interest of government officials. Legally allowing for land grabbing and placing other important steps such as proper inclusive negotiations and compensations on a backbench.

Another interesting criticism of the weakness of the mining law is the fact that the punitive measures stated for persons and entities that contravene its provisions (most likely to be the mining companies) are detailed, to pay a fixed financial fine according to Article 108 reproduced below:

> *"(1) A person found guilty of an offence under this Act for which a penalty has not been provided is on summary conviction liable, on first conviction, to a penalty of a fine not more than the cedi equivalent of US$ five thousand".*

> *"(2) On a second or subsequent summary conviction for an offence under this Act, the court may impose a penalty which is not more than twice the penalty referred to in subsection (1)".*
>
> *(2006 MMA, Article 108, Section 1 and 2).*

The idea that the "General Penalty" (as the articles are titled) for offences under the mining law can be fixed in monetary terms, without recourse to rising inflation and forex exchange fluctuations make it very weak. In other words the amount stated in

the fixed fine from 2006 may not necessarily be adequate years later, and casting it in stone by law requires a cumbersome legal amendment to make sensible adjustments. Secondly, the weakness of the penalty is in the actual figure quoted. NCOM argues that $5,000 or even the doubled fee of $10,000 for repeat offenders, is a mere drop in the ocean for the huge coffers of the mining companies and as such would not serve as an appropriate punitive measure or a deterrent.

Furthermore they claim that the subsequent article (109) adds insult to injury as it allows offenders to virtually get away with these paltry monetary fines as debts owed the state or pay them later through lengthy and slow civil procedures.

> *"…where a fine is imposed on a person under this Act or Regulations made under this Act and there is failure to pay the fine, the amount shall be recoverable as a civil debt owed to the State". (2006 MMA, Article 109).*

A possible custodial sentence upon the failure to pay the fine may have been a preferred alternative.

Other examples of the weakness of legal instruments being poorly drafted and incapable of adequately dealing with the protection of the environment are also common in the arguments of CAFA in its critique of the Fisheries Act, which I elaborated in the discussion on the fisheries and coastal management movement.

Two other issues that go beyond the actual weakness of the pieces of legislation but fall within this discussion of the weak legal framework that affects the work on the environmental movement in Ghana are, firstly, the absence of comprehensive measures for monitoring, compliance and enforcement of the law. The agencies responsible for the little environmental legislation in place appear to be under-resourced to do their work. This directly affects the work of EMOs as they tend to take on as part of their campaigns some of those duties that should have been traditionally the job of the government agencies, examples being the environmental monitoring and data collection on water pollution and suspicious death of aquatic

mammals respectively, that both NCOM and CAFA have done at extra costs to them. Secondly, the specific difficulty of EMO access to legal remedies through the contentious issue of standing stood as a major challenge, and as such CEPIL's landmark victory in the Environmental justice movement is a significant step forward. With this in mind, It is however of interest to note the future receptiveness of the Ghanaian courts to hear cases brought by EMOs and civil society groups, on behalf of marginalized groups and even as guardians of the environment. It would only take a matter of time, and repeat practice before such an evaluation can be made and possibly claim that the Ghanaian legal system has matured in that regard or at best customarily grants a form of "*guardian ad litem*" status to EMOS on behalf of the environment.

7.2.4 Weak political will

Another challenge that the environmental movement in Ghana expresses is the weakness of the political will to put the concerns of the environment first. Governments over the years appear to have put developmental needs, and industrialization with its economic benefits, ahead of the environment, and this silent position makes it turn often turn a deaf ear to the campaigns and claims of the EMOs. It is even further frustrating in the cases where the government appears to grant audience in its lobbying processes, but fails to implement the outcome of discussion. It appears as if it is a tactic to sustain some sense of false hope and optimism, as well as keep EMOs perpetually around the negotiating table without them having to resort to protests in the streets.

By engaging the EMOs on how they felt about their perception of the government's weak will to take concrete steps to protect the environment when needed, one couldn't help but also notice that there was an apparent paradox in their relationship (for the majority of them) with the government. On one hand the government was the ultimate target and almost shadow adversary in all their campaigns, recognizing the power that it wields to be able to effect tangible change.

On the other hand there were actual deliberate attempts to balance this government opposition and court attention in order not to forge a head-on collision with the dominant authorities.

The reasons for this paradoxical relationship between the EMOs and government – wanting to befriend the foe – are varied. As mentioned, they include the fear of becoming singled out and antagonized, or even smeared and politically tainted as being part of the opposition. Other reasons gleaned were the need to maintain some form of cordiality for benefits that the EMOs needed. For instance, the government received funds that it disbursed through the EPA for capacity building and training programmes from which a blacklisted EMO would not benefit. Additionally the ministry was involved in some form of accreditation processes for EMOs that participated in international and government mediated conferences. These benefits were naturally attractive for small, resource poor Ghanaian EMOs.

This in part explains its protest-averse stance in favour of cautiously approaching the government with formal negotiations and lobbying.

This weak political will expressed by the EMOs is particularly seen in environmental claims that border on economically sensitive sectors such as the extractive industries and the energy sector. In the case of the corporate social responsibility movement's struggles with the TOR, it was clear to them that the lack of governmental (and agency, e.g. EPA) intervention was because of a clear preferential treatment in favour of the refinery. As Boateng (undated) puts in his study, the TOR is the "lifeblood of the Ghanaian economy" and as such it is understandable why the government is reluctant to place any sanctions on its environmental breaches.

Furthermore, another factor that helps explain this perceived weak political will is the inherent challenges of short termism in a growing democracy. Interactions with the representatives of the residents of the Tarkwa township bemoaned how the election of new members of parliament or the periodic shuffling of District Chief Executives always threw the progress made in negotiations back to the drawing

board as they had to start the lengthy process all over again with new authorities. Similarly, personal communication with the representative of the gold mining town Prestea at the NCOM meeting, mentioned this factor as the major stumbling block in the process of getting the MP of the area involved in land reclamation negotiations with the mining companies.

It is clear that that there teething problems with the government's approach and response rates in dealing with some of the issues of concern to the environmental movement, most of which have been interpreted by the EMOs as a weakness in the political will of whatever government of the day. Without making an attempt to defend the government, it is also in part a demonstration of the complex balance of the government's desire to develop and uphold its responsibility of environmental governance evident in the establishment of specialist agencies as the EPA. This complex balance however more often than not tips the scales in favour of development and the pursuit of economic benefits.

7.2.5 Internal fragilities

Another of the challenges confronting the environmental movement is the presence of internal friction and tensions between some of the EMOs.

This is more evident between the more resourced EMOs as they overcome silent battles of authority and leadership within the movement. For instance in speaking to the founding EMOs of the NCOM, it was quite apparent that there was some contention between two key EMOs each placing an emphasis on their role as being critical to the life of the coalition. Inasmuch as there is a general consensus on who the founding four members are, both Wacam and TWN regard themselves as the forerunners in that process and the principal ones in conceiving the ideas. This is partly because of the fact that that both were on the ground working with communities affected by the cyanide pollution events that led to the formation of the coalition. It appears to be a contention with who got to the issue first and as a

result was instrumental in galvanizing the other EMOs around the issue – in other words there was this sense of ownership of the key struggles (or at least the initial struggles) between these EMOs and wanted to be accorded some recognition of leadership within the coalition. Furthermore it appears Wacam's position was bolstered by the fact that they were after all the community-focused group, specialized only in mining communities and had more knowledge of the issues of on the ground.

This struggle for the ownership of issues irrespective of the presence of a coalition can also be deduced in interactions with the fisheries and coastal management movement, and the climate change movement, where in each case one EMO appear to believe that have worked on the issue longer, have established their identity around the issues or were the most instrumental in organizing and mobilizing other members into the coalition.

Another issue of contention is seen in the discussion on resource mobilization and sharing, and this also explains in part the ownership struggles described above. Some EMOs within the movement express the concern with the uneven contribution of resources, particularly financial, for the benefit of the larger group. In essence, as far as finances are concerned, the coalitions are carried buy the weight of a few and creating a string of free riders in tow. Although naturally an even contribution would not be possible because of the low financial capacity of some, the 'leading' EMOs expressed the sentiment that some of the smaller EMOs could do much more than they were doing at present.

The other concern expressed by interacting with the EMOs was the apparent pursuit of personal agendas and goals of some partners at the expense of the joint goals of the coalition, in that there was some kind of 'fight' for "visibility", survival and relevance as single EMOs that prompted the need for the display of the individualism. Granted that this was fair in helping keeping the EMOs alive as separate entities and meeting the reporting standards that funding bodies prescribe. In short, EMOs as a matter of necessity had to undertake individual projects in line

with their funds received and their proclaimed interests, but this need sometimes raised issues of a conflict of interest when coalition goals were similar, or saw less participation or a reduced commitment of resources at the coalition level in favour of the individual EMO's or personal agenda.

It has also become apparent that there is a sense of legitimacy that the EMOs seek to attract to their work, by specializing and gaining the reputation as specialists within a chosen issue or field. This has also somewhat affected the depth of coalition cohesion, as some EMOs are in favour of more 'solo-side projects'.

7.2.6 External influences

This last point is closely linked to the challenges identified as part of the internal fragilities of the environmental movement. The term external, however, is used in this case to refer to certain non-domestic, foreign influences that sometimes creep into what has otherwise been identified as a very indigenous environmental movement in Ghana.

The most significant external influence, which can be interpreted on occasion, as a challenge, is the movements' heavy reliance on foreign funding. This fact, established earlier, has on the one hand provided resource-poor EMOs with an avenue to meet vital cash shortfalls but, on the other hand, external funding has come with conditions that may not be appropriate for the movement ideals or has prescribed a direction for the use of funds that the EMO may not readily agree to.

For instance TWN cites the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)[126], which is a global coalition of governments, companies and civil society working together to improve openness and accountable management of revenues from natural resources, as driving an agenda that is based on indicators that are too economic and too western-centric. Inasmuch as the funded process involves local

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[126] More on the EITI, participating countries and posted results, see :
http://eiti.org/eiti (accessed 01/03/2014).

and international NGOs as stakeholders, TWN claims the international agenda does not allow for an appropriate accounting of important factors such as the health and human cost of mining. In essence the programme was funded as an "economics" project and so proceeded accordingly. This summarizes similar fears expressed in previous studies (Pearce, 2010; Kapoor, 2005; Petras 1997) about how the dependence of NGOs in the South on foreign aid leads to the formation of a power relationship that is used to push through development agendas that are "formulated in the capitals of Europe and North America" (Pearce, 2010: 622). The critique of the dominance of foreign aid results in a situation where NGOs,

> *"emphasise projects, not movements; they 'mobilise' people to produce at the margins but not to struggle to control the basic means of production and wealth; they focus on technical financial assistance of projects, not on structural conditions that shape the everyday lives of people…linked to a framework of collaboration with donors and government agencies that subordinate practical activity to non-confrontational politics. The local nature of NGO activity means that 'empowerment' never goes beyond influencing small areas of social life, with limited resources, and within the conditions permitted by the neoliberal state and macro-economy" (Petras, 1997:14).*

The conclusion of Petras (1997:6) critique is that NGO dependency[127] on foreign aid leads to the formation of professionalized groups that through their operation have led to "de-radicalized" and "depoliticized" groups of people and communities. Making references to studies in developing countries such as Peru, where such professionalized NGOs were firmly established, the observation was that radical

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[127] I reproduce Petras (1997) apt example in explaining the nature of the dependency of Southern NGOs on foreign aid:
"NGOs foster a new type of cultural and economic colonialism and dependency. Projects are designed, or at least approved, based on the "guidelines" and priorities of the imperial centers and their institutions. They are administered and "sold" to communities. Evaluations are done by and for the imperial institutions. Shifts of funding priorities or bad evaluations result in the dumping of groups, communities, farms, and co-operatives. Everything and everybody is increasingly disciplined to comply with the donors and project evaluators' demands. The new viceroys supervise and ensure conformity with the goals, values, and ideologies of the donor as well as the proper use of funds. Where "successes" occur they are heavily dependent on continued outside support, without which they could collapse' (Petras 1997).

social movements had declined. Kapoor (2005) refers to similar such trends observed in Indian cases – a taming of the grassroots through what he refers to as the "NGOisation of the grassroots" (Kapoor, 2005:210). Furthermore, another worrying trend that externally funded, project-led NGO activity could lead to cases where some NGOs "cook up" projects just to meet funding application guidelines, putting the cart before the horse as it were (Kapoor, 2005:211).

These critical views of the dependence on foreign funding acknowledged by some of the EMOs in Ghana, seems to fit the Ghanaian case, judging from the nature of donor fund dependency for the various projects they undertake, appeal for professionalism and a formalized outlook that strengthens their public credibility, and the protest averse stance of the majority of the EMOs. It can be concluded, with a degree of caution, that the evidence from Ghana seems to suggest that professionalized EMO activity had led to de-radicalized communities in favour of their lobbyist stance. A clearer example would be the deliberate attempts by the EMOs to robe themselves in the non-institutionalized groups within their areas of coverage, as was the case with the anti-mining movement, and on that occasion co-opting them into the structure and work of the NCOM de-radicalizing them and introducing them to the corridors and of lobbying and formal negotiations. The NCOM had turned representatives of the Yayaso community from participants of a radical land occupation right at the heart of the struggle into delegates sitting in an air-conditioned conference suite at a 4-star hotel in the heart of Accra, as bullet points on the strategies for the way forward flashed on a giant overhead screen before their eyes. In attending the NCOM meetings I found this interesting and could not help but realize that the non-institutionalized movement had embraced the solidarity gained from the EMOs and a means of getting access to higher levels of power. At the very least letters were being written and saw that to mean that the government's attention was being drawn to their plight. This contrasts with my earlier positive observation of the institutionalized NCOM trying to delicately balance the non-institutionalized groups it embraced, by forming structures to keep them inclusive.

Despite the plausibility of these claims and the observed similarities of NGO de-radicalization and so called "NGOisation" of local communities, there appears to be a preference among Ghanaian EMOs for funds that do not come with designated projects or prescribed actions attached to them. This may in part explain why the environmental movements identified have not collaborated in depth with international partners on projects and causes, making it possible to still brand it as an 'indigenous' one even despite its heavy reliance on foreign finance.

In conclusion, it is important at this point to re-emphasise the one-sided view of the challenges captured above, mainly from the observations and voiced concerns of the EMOs. As credible and plausible as the claims appear, there would be a need for further studies that would be broader to incorporate the opinion of other stakeholders, to provide a fuller picture of the of the terrain in which the environmental movement in Ghana exists.

7.3.0 Questioning Postmaterialism

Moving on with the discussion on the various aspects of the movement in Ghana, I return to an examination of tenets of postmaterialism as the basis of the description or understanding of environmental concern in the wider Ghanaian society.

Although a relatively well studied concept, the existence of a tension between environmental protection and economic growth makes it a worthwhile investigation to undertake. Postmaterialism, as a subject, as far as the environment is concerned, evokes relevant sentiments in the discourse on the balance of the human need for short-term wellbeing and the need for long-term sustainability.

The origins of postmaterialism trace to the western world in tandem with the general observation of a shift away from tangible and materialistic values with rising levels of security and affluence after the Second World War. According to Inglehart's postmaterialistic theory, people tend to embrace more postmaterialistic attitudes

when socio-economic security rises (Inglehart, 1990; Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart and Abramson 1999).

Inglehart's postmaterialism theory is underlined by two hypotheses; a *scarcity hypothesis* and *a socialization hypothesis.* The scarcity hypothesis explains that individual priorities reflect the socioeconomic environment, in that "one places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply" (Inglehart, 1990:68), whereas the socialization hypothesis explains that there is a substantial time lag involved in the process and an individual's "basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one's pre-adult years" (Inglehart, 1990:68).

In other words, in Inglehart's postulation, physiological, material needs (of safety and survival) take priority over social, intellectual and aesthetic needs. Thus a hungry people will naturally prioritize this need over non-physiological needs such as self-esteem, self-expression and aesthetic survival (Inglehart, 1990:68)

Ghana as a relatively poor third world country presents a good case on the basis of which to test Inglehart's theory, especially on the premise of the scarcity hypothesis. More importantly, the test was to guide and help ascertain the view of what accounted for postmaterialistic environmental concern (concern and appreciation) or the lack of it among the Ghanaian society.

In order to achieve this I have chosen to deviate from the dominant statistical approaches, which test a correlation between postmaterialistic attitudes and socio-economic variables, in favour of a simplified qualitative approach which involved the collated views and responses to questions posed to EMO representatives in the format of semi-structured interviews. This qualitative approach facilitates further elaboration between any identified relationships between postmaterialism and the socio-economic conditions especially as the statistical methods have been criticized as leading to conclusions that are an ad-hoc attempt to explain observed correlations (Hassler, 2006).

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7.3.1 Ghanaian EMO perspectives on postmaterialism

The semi-structured interviews conducted with the EMOs considered in the study of the environmental movement in Ghana and the two government agencies concluded with each representative being asked to provide opinions in response to questions that suggested environmental concern as a postmaterialistic construct.

As mentioned in the introductory sections of this work, the critique of the postmaterialism thesis was a deliberate attempt to filter feedback from the environmental NGOs to ascertain a fit or otherwise, particularly on the claims of the 'scarcity hypothesis" and in the process potentially tease out an apt 'alternate hypothesis' to explain the reason for environmental concern (or the lack thereof) in Ghana.

The questions were also intended to ascertain the basis for the generalized perception of low levels of environmental concern within the wider Ghanaian society, especially in the face of growing environmental degradation. The various relevant views sampled are summarized in bulleted annotations below:

- **League of Environmental Journalists (LEJ):** In an attempt to describe the reasons for the perceived lack of environmental concern amongst the Ghanaian population, the LEJ's critique of the scarcity hypothesis of postmaterialism appears to suggest that as far as it was concerned the material state of Ghanaians did not necessarily determine their levels of environmental concern, as both poor rural and relatively affluent urban dwellers showed some level of concern. However in situations where environmental concern was not seen to be a priority, it places an emphasis on the lack of education as a more plausible explanation whether the community is located in the rural (poor) areas or urban (affluent) areas.

- **The EPA :** In an attempt to discuss and explain the basis of the general perception of a lack of environmental concern amongst the Ghanaian population, the EPA representatives believed that this was largely due to a change in the "original"

Ghanaian culture, especially since colonization which has resulted in a population less concerned about protecting and preserving the natural environment, and consequently needing to be strictly monitored and regulated in the area of environmental discipline.

The "original" Ghanaian culture in this case refers to a traditional society that was governed by laws and traditions that were strictly in favour of environmental protection, and high standards of community health and hygiene as the environment played an important role in the daily lives of the people. This concept of traditional environmental protection was integrated into the lives of the ordinary Ghanaian and characterized by a variety of taboos, norms and practices ensured that abuse was kept at a minimum, fulfilling almost the same role that the EPA was much later formed to do.

However drastic changes in the Ghanaian society brought about by, amongst others, Western education that did not support, teach and encourage African values, rapid population growth, mass industrialization and a resultant rural-urban migration, has led to the shift in society from one that cared and recognized the importance of the environment to one that abused and lived in 'ignorance' of nature's benefits.

- **AF:** In response to the postmaterialism hypothesis as being a sufficient reason to explain a general lack of concern for the environment amongst the Ghanaian population, the AF hold the view that it is insufficient and that the traditional Ghanaian still does exhibit a high degree of environmental concern particularly in the rural and the suburban communities. The situation appears different mainly in the urbanized areas, which are plagued by overcrowding, and poor infrastructure to deal with environmental degradation such as inadequate waste management systems.

- **CSRM:** On questioning whether the postmaterialism thesis is sufficient reason for the apparent lack of concern amongst the general Ghanaian population, CSRM dissented and asserted that the social change driven by capitalism was more to blame for the perceived lack of environmental concern, adding that the traditional Ghanaian prior to Independence and pre-colonialism had their own means of

conserving the environment and ensuring sustainability. These practices, that included traditional norms, beliefs and taboos, were all crafted with a respect of nature at their heart. However the shift in the Ghanaian society post-independence, driven largely by the interests of capitalism, has allowed the traditional values to fade away especially in the urban communities, leaving a cohort of Ghanaians that sees nature as mere utility and a means to an end. In view of this the CSRM is convinced that an increase in affluence only makes the situation of a lack of environmental concern worse, as it only fuels greed and entices the spread of capitalism at the expense of nature. For instance, it can observe that in the relatively affluent Tema municipality, environmental degradation is surprisingly on the rise, with the conversion of green park spaces into accommodation blocks. The poorer communities usually in the rural areas of the country are however very much aware of the environmental threats and very concerned especially when it is affects their livelihood.

- **FOE:** In a critique of the scarcity hypothesis of postmaterialism, FOE maintains that the poor in Ghana are more aware of their environment, appreciating and respecting the elements of nature much better. It believes that poverty has been created and made worse by greed and corruption, especially considering the fact that poverty is relative to riches. The affluence that industrialization has created is in sharp contrast to the life of the poor, and coupled by greed and corruption, the gap between the rich and poor. As a result, relative affluence from the urban Ghanaian perspective has rather fuelled further greed, worsening the plight of the poor. It has changed the perceptions and lifestyles of the affluent urban Ghanaian becoming more selfish and self-centred. Affluence correlated by greed and indiscriminate industrialization has only made the environment worse off as a by-product. This is one of the reasons why the environmental concern, which exists amongst the rural poor, is significant because they clearly are not in a post-materialistic state yet they comprehend and show environmental concern better.

- **Zeal Environmental Technologies Limited:** Commenting on the ideals of applying the scarcity hypothesis of the Postmaterialism theory as a means of explaining the general lack of environmental concern in the Ghanaians society, Zeal is of the opinion that the problem is not to do with the fact

that the society is not "postmaterialistic" but rather to do with a fundamental lack of basic structures and systems that could have ensured that the society was actively engaged in environmental protection. It cites the lack of proper systems of environmental management, for instance recycling plants in most towns and cities, which consequently does not encourage people to be conscious about appropriately dealing with the waste that they produce. Zeal link between the lack of appropriate systems and an apparent "environmental apathy" that it creates in society has nothing to do with the affluence levels in society, but rather a failure on the part of government and its agencies, they are essential services that ought to be in place irrespective of the levels of affluence in society.

- **FON:** In a critique of the postmaterialism thesis to support perceived low levels of environmental concern in the Ghanaian society, the FON holds the view that the situation is largely due to a loss of the traditional Ghanaian values that were more ecocentric in nature, in favour of urbanization. It is this favour for urbanization especially in the cities that is has created a shift in focus from the natural environment and created a society that is apathetic to the need for environmental protection.

- **Wacam:** from his / her knowledge of traditional practices, the traditional Ghanaian was very much aware of the inter-linkage between the environment and the quality of life. They describe the indigenous people to have been first engaged in mining activities as "farmer miners" in that they were very careful not to destroy the quality of the land that supports crop growth, as agriculture was the mainstay economic venture. This was also underpinned by belief systems that accorded respect and a personality to the earth. However it blames the reduced environmental concern and appreciation of nature on the state machinery's placing a priority on economic benefits and monetary profits from the exploitation of nature.

- **Abantu:** Hold the view that the general loss of environmental concern is as a result of the internationalization and modernization of the Ghanaian communities resulting in their giving up their culture in favour of western cultural traits. It all stems from the neglect of their African roots, which are very rural in nature, and embedded with an appreciation of the environment.

- **TWN:** Also holds the view that the Ghanaian's lack of environmental concern is due to the breakdown of the cultural fabric of the traditional society and not necessarily because the people are poor. The biggest driver of this cultural alienation is the consumption-driving approach that the governments over the years have adopted, relinquishing the intangible resource that the natural environment was to the traditional Ghanaian.

7.3.2 The alternative hypothesis: "culture shift"

The comments from the various EMOs, government and private sector sampled and detailed above paint a very interesting picture in the enquiry into postmaterialism. It deliberately and painstakingly allows one to see the range of ideologies and viewpoints on the subject matter. The sampled views appear to suggest that the Ghanaian population does have low levels of environmental appreciation and concern, and this is because it has increasingly become separated from the environment particularly in sub-urban and urbanized towns and cities, where the government's industrialization and development agenda is the driving force of utilitarianism and the rapid flow of rural – urban migration.

Western education, embraced en-masse after independence, albeit of high quality and rigorous in its curriculum, was empty of the traditional values and cultural beliefs that had held the society together, both for environmental good and other benefits. Rather on the contrary, certain elements of western education, for instance in religious studies, debunked and rubbished the beliefs in many cultural systems branding them as evil, uncouth or creating the impression of it being an uncivilized way of life, leading to a subtle abhorrence of the traditional way of life. Thus, national efforts at compulsory education post-independence also unconsciously

marked the beginning of a process whereby a new generation of Ghanaians was being torn away from their cultural norms, traditions and practices[128].

This idea is what I call a "Cultural shift" hypothesis as a means to explain the general perception of a lack of environmental concern in the Ghanaian society as it provides an interesting view of the status quo. In essence the poorer Ghanaian population are perceived to be more environmentally conscious than the relatively affluent urbanized communities.

It is important to note the relevance of the EMOs' views in this study, even in testing the scarcity hypothesis instead of sampling views of residents of the rural communities. As Hassler (2006) notes, when individuals that are directly afflicted by adverse environmental effects or live in direct dependence of the environment, as is often is the case in poorer less developed societies, the concern for the environment has little to do with postmaterialism but is rather a materialistic concern. The EMOs on the other hand provide views of a generalized and less personal environmental concern, as they are aware of the situations but not directly affected or dependent on the environment.

From the account of the Ghanaian EMOs, concern for and appreciation of the environment in the poorer/rural communities deviates from a materialistic tag because, although they did depend on the environment for their livelihood and survival, their concern went beyond the needs for short-term person survival, to incorporate elements of the appreciation of the beauty, personality and character of nature that was worthy of protection for its own sake. This distinction made rural environmental concern switch positions from an obvious 'materialistic' viewpoint to be more similar to the tenets of postmaterialistic society. In this case what accounts for this superficially "postmaterialistic" concern for the environment among rural

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[128] The nature to the traditional cultural values as it applies to the environment has been addressed in an earlier chapter as part of the discussion on the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement, so I would not need to repeat it here

and suburban communities is their ecocentric traditional values that guided a way of life.

Reardon and Vosti (1995) make the claim of the need to re-conceptualize poverty beyond the obvious and common welfare indicators, especially in an attempt to understand the linkages between poverty and the environment. They assert that although some rural communities may be welfare-poor in terms of the access to social amenities, they may not necessarily be poor in terms of the access to labour and other forms of non-financial capital such as land for agriculture (Reardon and Vosti, 1995), and as such they are conscious of the environment and live lives that do not contribute to degradation. This idea of a reconsideration of the poverty-environment links, moving on from the basic perception that poverty leads to environmental degradation and vice versa, allows us to appreciate how some poor communities are able to break this identified link. They may be welfare-poor by one definition, but resource, land, labour, investment-rich in another sense that affects their behaviour toward the environment. This broadened scope of the poverty-environmental degradation nexus may also similarly be at play in the Ghanaian case (despite the fact that it was not studied), that allows the EMOs to see the rural communities as environmentally concerned even though they are 'poor'. Additionally, there is evidence of higher levels of environmental concern amongst poor rural communities based on previous surveys conducted in coastal communities in Ghana (White and Hunter, 2006).

With regards to the perceived low levels of environmental concern in the relatively affluent urbanized Ghanaian communities and towns, the rise in affluence has not led to more observable postmaterialistic tendencies. It is in some of these communities that the worst problems of waste management and sanitation occur. It plausible to agree with the position of the EMOs that for instance the high levels of consumerism has fuelled agreed that obscures environmental concern. Even though such communities are not necessarily materialistic in the sense that they do not struggle to meet basic physiological needs and survival. The production and mismanagement of waste, the removal of green spaces in favour of booming real-

estate investments, are only symptomatic of this growing capitalism and consumerism.

In both scenarios mentioned above where there appears to be an incompatible fit to Inglehart's theory, the critical factor identified has been the traditional cultural values that seem to drive the deviation. The scarcity hypothesis has not held its own on the test with the rural and sub-urban characterization of environmental concern on the basis of this identified strong traditional ecocentric values that make economically poor "materialist" society that even depends on nature for survival, appear to be "postmaterialist" in their appreciation and concern of nature – ascribing, beauty, personality and character to the environment. This observation in particular shows that the materialism/ postmaterialism dichotomy is a poor predicator of environmental concern and points to the presence of non-materialistic environmental concerns amongst the poor.

Again the scarcity hypothesis has not held its own in the account of the relatively urbanized and affluent Ghanaian society which appear to have rather lower levels of environmental concern despite not having any struggles to meet their physiological needs and being more "capable", as it were, to be postmaterialist, and on that basis, to embrace environmental concern. In this case also, the Ghanaian traditional culture comes to play, however it is its apparent neglect and abandonment that seems to account for the present lack of environmental concern.

In terms of the socialization hypothesis, the situation in the urbanized Ghanaian society then appears to be in stark contrast to the hypothesis, in that on the basis of the validity of the claim that the values of one's pre-adult ages were relevant in shaping the future values of adulthood, then the identified lack of environmental concern is seen as a failure for the test. And yet again this is because of the claimed shift in cultural values that have not held their own over time.

On this note, the conclusion to the question posed, what accounted for the perceived lack of environmental concern in Ghanaian society boils down to what I have referred to as the "culture shift" from the traditional values that previously existed.

This claim of a culture shift 'alternate hypothesis' is by no means exhaustive and mainly represents the views of EMOs that were captured as part of the environmental movement study. It would require further study and the expansion of the sample size to strengthen its validity of the observations and conclusions. Nonetheless I still find this 'culture shift' alternative hypothesis deduced to be very interesting and relevant especially as it came from a group of EMOs dedicated to environmental issues and who had thorough insight and experience across the country. It also included views of a government agency and from the private sector and so, albeit a small one, it formed a representative sample of bodies responsible and knowledgeable of environmental concern in Ghana.

Another reason for calling for a more in-depth future study is also to help understand the factors that account for the reported trends of environmental concern and this culture shift mentioned above. For example, as far as the EMOs are concerned, certain factors such as poverty, which drives a rural-urban migration of rural folk who ultimately abandon their culture as a minority way of life in the urbanized communities. Another factor mentioned is the formal educational system which is "unGhanaian" and trains up a Ghanaian elite class that drops traditional values in favour of western traditions.

Ultimately the effect of this test of the relevance of Inglehart's postmaterialism theory is the opportunity to discover and appreciate the dissenting views and the interesting claims that are made out of it, such as this 'culture shift hypothesis'.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to evaluate the environmental movement in Ghana, examining its various facets and features, and helping to provide deeper in sight into the exploratory work on the environmental movement in Ghana.

From the discussions above, it can be concluded that there is a relatively young, budding yet viable environmental movement in Ghana, one that is dominated by small, institutionalized EMOs that mobilize resources through formalized coalitions. This is the simplistic summary of the environmental movement in Ghana.

On the basis of the examination of network links, resource mobilization and the formation of collective shared identity, four different sub-sets of the Ghanaian environmental movement were identified. These, classified around the thematic foci of their ideals and goals, were the 'anti-mining movement', environmental justice movement, fisheries and coastal management movement and the climate change movement.

The galvanizing factors in the formation of these movements in Ghana are all traceable to the political system's negligence of comprehensive environmental governance and the attendant abuses that arise in that process. This has made the government the ultimate (albeit indirect on occasion) target of the movement's appeals, lobbying and protest. This is similar to the observations of Bebbington et al., (2008) in describing the formation of social movements, such that the "social mobilization can be understood as a response to the threats that particular forms of economic development present, or are perceived as presenting, to the security and integrity of livelihoods and to the ability of a population in a given territory to control what it views as its own resources". The Ghanaian study shows a largely non-confrontational response of the movements formed, with a preference for lobbying tactics.

The viability of the environmental movement in Ghana has not come without its own challenges and the principal one identified included weaknesses in the legal framework, limited finances, political instability and internal fragilities within the movements. These challenges also points out to areas where the movements need to strengthen and opportunities for growth. For instance there is evidence of the need for increased collaboration between EMOs that are in partnerships within the formalized coalitions, replacing the fights and struggles for visibility and recognition.

The lack of collaboration between the EMOs and the environmental players in the private sector in Ghana is striking. For instance, the interactions with the privately owned Zeal Environmental Technologies Limited revealed how their port reception facilities and their occasional public awareness events on the local radio stations had made them well positioned and concerned enough about the marine environment to become effective partners in the fisheries and coastal management movement under the leadership of the FON. The plausibility of Zeal's involvement with FON or the coastal and fisheries management movement, when raised during an interview with a representative of the company, was a welcome thought that it would pursue for the future. On a broader note, there are possibly more environmental private firms or others that are not even strictly environmental that could prove useful partners to EMOs within the various movements, with the possibility of providing valuable human and financial resources. As mentioned, this is especially the case as there appears to be dwindling financial outflow from donor agencies in the Western world, and consequently southern NGOs may be encouraged to consider "beyond aid" strategies such as tapping into business philanthropy and other avenues of local funding (Aldaba *et al*, 2000). As far as this study is concerned, movement building has been active within the level of inter-EMO dealings, and as such the potential of the EMO-private sector partnership remains untapped.

Another issue that may well be worth addressing is the apparent lack of a concerted effort by the movements to attract the support of the general public. Beyond moves to spread environmental awareness and publicity of their ideals, concrete attempts to gain "members" from the public seemed elusive. The activists are defined as

"those who are committed to public actions intended to influence the behavior of the policy system and of the broader population" (Stern et al., 1999:82). There was an observable gap between movement activism and movement support from the public. In this regard the Ghanaian environmental movement benefitted from and was driven by the momentum and efforts of committed activists, but lacked the benefits of the important resource that a 'recruited public' could serve. As noted by Stern et al., (1999), public support is critical to movements both in defining social problems and achieving social change through changes in individual behaviour of non-activists that are necessary in achieving movement goals. Additionally, public support provides movement organizations with a valuable resource that can be mobilized in political struggle (Stern et al., 1999). The only exceptions noted are the efforts to engage residents of communities affected by environmental degradation, such as the case of surface mining to get them onboard the discussion and negotiation processes for the changes they desired. This was also more evident as the EMOs engaged with the non-institutionalized cases of public protest recorded. In these examples of affected communities, there was some effort by EMOs to whip up public support and even to get non-resident relations and family ties involved. However the potential of public support in the Ghanaian movements, outside affected groups and communities, remains an untapped resource, one that could tremendously advance the ideals of the movement and possibly pave the way for the availability of other resources.

To conclude, Ghana does indeed have a viable environmental movement, that is actively driving engaging the government as its prime target in a number of changes, across some selected sectors. The Ghanaian environmental movement is the composite of the four sub-classified movements identified. Although the scope of operations, and scale of the movement appears small, it promises to one that has a future especially in its preferred form of a formalized coalition, and considering the fact that it is the earliest identified movement; the anti-mining movement has already been active on the ground for over a decade now.

CHAPTER EIGHT – NETWORKING IN THE GHANAIAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

8.0 Introduction

This chapter briefly examines the nature of networking in the environmental movement in Ghana. This will be done by examining the network ties between the various movement actors that form the four thematic 'classes' of the environmental movement identified to highlight their respective capacities and goals. This will be done firstly under the discussion of networking "within" the environmental movement in Ghana. What I mean by "within" the environmental movement, is taking a look into each of the four thematic classes identified; the 'anti-mining movement', 'Environmental Justice', 'Fisheries and Coastal Management' and the 'Climate Change' movements, and limiting the discussion at networking that occurs within each movement. This discussion on networking within the environmental movement will also encompass that of resource mobilization amongst the various movement actors, because of the fact that networking in a movement primarily enables the constituents to mobilize and share resources, and facilitates the participation in collective action (Doherty and Doyle, 2006). Consequently, highly developed network ties result in more effective resource mobilization channels. As Scholsberg (1999) puts it, "sharing of resources is one of the basic reasons for organizing networks.

This chapter will also entail a brief discussion of networking "between" the environmental movement in Ghana. What I mean by "between" the movement is that the discussion will now look broadly into any networking activity that occurs between the four identified class of the environmental movement. The idea is that these four classes of the environmental movement make up 'the' environmental movement in Ghana and is interesting to note what network ties exist or are created at the at that level.

In summary, the discussion in this brief chapter throws light on two central purposes of networking in the environmental movement so far as collective identity and action is concerned. Firstly, to show that networking facilitates participation and secondly, that it provides channels of resource mobilization and sharing.

8.1 Importance and forms of networking

The discussion on networking is important because it forms a defining feature of the environmental movement, in that, without the evidence of networking amongst constituents the definition of the movement is affected (Rootes, 2004; Doherty and Doyle, 2006). Similar to what Rootes (2004) describes as the "networking approach" to viewing what environmental movements are, Rosenblatt (2004:2) explains further that the environmental movement is not just some "vague concept, but an actual entity; a network, made up of very real interconnections between people and organizations that is greater than the sum of its individual parts".

The examination of the network ties also make it possible to empirically study the environmental movement at the macro level, as opposed to studying the individual membership of the organizations that may make up a movement (Doherty and Doyle, 2006). In effect studying networks shift the focus away from individual people and organizations working on environmental issues and toward the connections that link them together (Rosenblatt, 2004).

The study of environmental movements based on network ties instead of actual individual memberships falls on the premise that networks are considered to be 'predicators of individual participation' within a movement (Diani, 2007:339), because of the fact that the networks may increase the chances for individual actors to become involved, form relationships, linkages and forge new bonds within the movement (Diani, 2007). So where there is evidence of networking within the movement, there is presumed interaction taking place amongst individual actors and the formation of collective identity between the networked individuals. The

networking within a movement may not necessarily be linear, in the sense that movement actors may not necessarily have a reciprocal relationship with one partner in the movement, but rather interact across several channels with multiple actors, making it possible to identify multiple network links occurring between actors of one movement, and overlapping ties with a separate movement. Making it possible for an actor to have membership in more than one movement (Diani, 2007). It is on this basis that I will later in this chapter, briefly discuss the networking "between" the identified environmental movements in Ghana to see how far this appears to be the case.

Examining network ties also allows within a study to distinguish central actors in the movement from those that are peripheral and the focus on networks also means that not one single actor or organization can define the movement (Doherty and Doyle, 2006).

Another importance of looking at network links amongst movement actors is the view held by Tarrow (1998) that networking also facilitates the mobilization of structures and organizational roles of the actors in a movement. These roles can be seen through the organization of collective action and this range from "temporary assemblage of challengers, to informal social networks, to formal branches, clubs, and even military-like cells" (Tarrow, 1998:124). What this means in effect is that whether the movement is institutionalized with formalized actors in a coalition or a non-institutionalized one having temporary or informal actors, the networking potential of the actors plays an important role in evolving roles that will help forge collective action. In terms of structures, Tarrow (1998) further explains that networking enables the movement to develop what he calls "connective structures" that link movement actors and allow for coordination and aggregation. These connective structures link the leaders with the followers, the centre with the periphery and the different parts of the movement (Tarrow, 1998:124). The connective structures are internalized in a movement and are more visible as organizational structures of formalized movements. However because there is invariably some degree of organization in all movements, internalized connective

structures of coordination and collaboration between actors allow for movements to exist even when formal organization is lacking. Tarrow (1998:124) goes on to argue that without some degree of organization, "although movements can reach great peaks of contention, they frequently fade away or dissipate their energies". This contributes to the earlier mentioned position that networking does not only aid the definition of the movement, but in a sense, the sustenance of the movement.

8.3 Framing Network ties for movement participation and resource mobilization

The aforementioned, points to the fact that networking is important to the definition and sustenance of the environmental movement. The network ties become the locus of participation of actors in the movement. In terms of participation, Rosenblatt (2004) quite similar to Tarrow (1998) places emphasis on the how networking provides avenues for the evolution of specialized roles and organizational structures within the movement. In short, networks allow movement actors to be better organized and see more participation.

Rosenblatt (2004) simplifies this organization potential of networks into three frames, which are not mutually exclusive, but illustrate broadly what networking within the environmental movement may resemble.

First of all, network ties may be used to organize people in the movement. And these reflect the constituents that will eventually make up the movement, be it grassroots organizers or large environmental organizations. It also defines the geographic and demographic limits of the movement, what communities or audiences to reach or include. The networks reach out to various segments of society and help them build appropriate connections with environmental causes. In this sense, networks can be viewed as recruitment channels for the movement.

Secondly, network ties may be used to organize solutions in the movement. It influences the issues that are of interest of the movement what may be done about

the identified issues of concern. As Rosenblatt (2004:4) puts it, "some may solve problems with hands-on field research or some by playing watchdog to a particular government agency". And in practice there is a range of issue and solutions that a movement can undertake, adding to the complexity and diversity of the environmental movement. The use of networks allow for the development of a broad range of approaches in solving identified problems. In this sense, networks can be viewed as strategy channels for the movement.

Finally, network ties may be used to organize resources for the movement. Networks provide channels for developing unique resources and expertise, which are deployed throughout the movement, or for collective benefit. These resources include funds, technological, legal and marketing expertise (Rosenblatt, 2004).

As mentioned, the three frames are neither exhaustive nor mutually exhaustive. But they do provide a picture of how the network ties are identifiable within movements. In practice, the frames appear to be intertwined but all point out to the fundamental points that networks are essential for collective identity and action, by facilitating participation and resource mobilization.

8.4 Networking "within" the Ghanaian Environmental Movement

I will now summarize the nature of networking within the four thematic classes identified in the environmental movement in Ghana, with idea of throwing more light the capacities and goals of the movement actors, and showing that network ties facilitate the participation of the various actors.

Firstly, networking across the environmental movement in Ghana was primarily done along issue lines. The movement actors galvanized around common issues of concern and the shared belief in the urgency, importance and relevance of these environmental issues provided common ground for the actors to relate to each other. The relationships and interactions of the actors were initiated through the

common identity that was built around the environmental issues. Therefore, it was this networking of actors around issues that contributed to the defining character and goals of the movements identified, and my subsequent nomenclature. From this study on the environmental movement in Ghana, the networking of actors along the lines of environmental issues revealed the presence of an 'anti-mining' movement, 'fisheries and costal management' movement, 'environmental justice' movement and the 'climate change' movement, which have been discussed in the previous chapter.

A scrutiny of the network ties forged around the environmental issues that were of common concern, also revealed the scope and limit of the environmental movement in Ghana. As touched on earlier in this study, besides that four thematic areas identified, there was no evidence of networking on other environmental issues, such as wildlife conservation, that may have been equally regarded as important or was of individual concern to some movement actors[129]. In other words in the absence of network ties between movement actors around the specific issue of wildlife conservation, it could not be classified as being part of the goals environmental movement in Ghana, neither did the movements that were identified have the capacity to address the presumably important issue of wildlife conservation. Hence, making the network ties formed around environmental issues delimit the scope and breadth of the environmental movement in Ghana.

Secondly, the scrutiny of the network ties showed that the obvious environmental themes were not affected by the heterogeneous nature of the movements. This was the case across all four identified movements. The most heterogeneous of them being the anti-mining movement which had various actors cutting across those that were institutionalized and those that were non-institutionalized. In the formalized coalition NCOM which represented the movement, the 'anti-mining' theme was consistent, and not affected by the diversity of actors which ranged from journalists, to legal experts and community residents. The coalition offered a co-existence of

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[129] Interview with respondent Number 10 (Appendix 2)

multiple views and beliefs, which allowed for the dominant environmental theme to stand out. In this case the diversity of actors was not a limitation as they interacted to advance the common goal of finding solutions within the target environmental theme. Similar observations can be made about the other movements, such as the environmental justice movement and coastal and fisheries management movement, where even though there was some distinct diversity in the actors, it did not hinder the formation of collective identity through networking in formalized coalitions.

Thirdly, and following on from the above, because of the dominance and preference of coalitions as the process of movement building in Ghana, the network ties between the actors showed no insistence of a single actor's point of view or tactic being imposed on other actors within the coalition. This was a result of all the coalitions encountered in my study, describing the fact that they operated decentralized and democratic systems of decision making, which promoted inclusivity. This can be seen for instance within the structure of the NCOM and the CAFA where grassroots community residents were allowed equal voting and participatory rights, as the other established formalized EMOs, even though they did not contribute financially to the running of the coalition. The formalized and better resourced actors such as Wacam, TWN and FON even took on the responsibility of facilitating the accommodation and transportation costs of rural community representatives to just to make it possible for them to attend coalition meetings held in the cities of Accra and Takoradi respectively. This premium put on inclusivity, shows that equal participation was a goal for the networked actors and they had evolved mechanisms to overcome the varying capacities of the actors, for example through the provision of transport funds[130], to encourage inclusivity. As noted by Lee (1992), emphasis on inclusivity in a movement is by far a positive step as it promotes openness, transparency and leads to more co-operation and harmony between the movement actors.

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[130] A more detailed account on resource mobilization is included in subsequent sections.

With respect to the environmental justice movement in Ghana, the relationship between the actors resulted in the legal advocacy firm CEPIL entering in the law suit against the Tema Oil refinery, and naming a community resident as a co-plaintiff. This step brought the marginalized community into the centre of the now legal and technical fight, and symbolically afforded the community a conduit of ownership of the struggle. This is yet another evolved strategy of inclusivity within that movement through the specific partnership of a grassroots mobilization group, CSRM and a specialist legal NGO, without which the community may have felt excluded from the struggle when it took on a legal dimension.

Fourthly, an examination of the network ties between the actors of the environmental movement reveals that, just as the network had in a way defined the limits and scope of the movement, it had also defined what I refer to as the 'spread' of the movement. As seen in the previous chapter, the dominance of urban-based actors within the movements led to an 'intra-national missionary' posture of movements where these actors largely networked to deal with environmental problems in other rural parts of the country. The effective use of networking between these urban-based actors and rural community residents has allowed the geographical spread of the reach of the various movements. This spread can be seen for instance in the anti-mining movement having a majority of urban-based actors, yet being able to champion environmental struggles in the rural areas, through the effective long-term partnerships and involvement of community representatives in its coalition. As well as the climate change movement, mobilizing temporary local support of community residents living in rural arid regions of the country, and who were already suffering from the dire effects of climate change to sensitize awareness as part of their "Road to Durban" campaigns. Scholsberg (1999:129) refers to this phenomenon as the "rhizomatic effect" where movements are able to organize connections across both distance and difference, similar to the rhizome root system of plants that spread underground and sprout at different locations away from the parent plant.

Finally, Di Gregorio (2012:4) introduces the idea of "network densities" in examining the network ties in movements. The term density is used to refer to how within and between movements, the actors are not connected equally and how that results in the formation of either 'strong' or 'weak' ties. Even in the same movement, some actors may appear to be more connected than others, forming strong ties where they connect, collaborate and integrate much better. Strong ties lead to the formation of denser networks and weak ties less dense networks. The strong ties create close networks with more substantive, instrumental and frequent alliances. Whereas weaker ties may be seen when the movement is extending its reach and help connect "distant or otherwise disconnected" actors (Di Gregorio, 2012:4). This idea of network densities, falls in line with Doherty and Doyle's (2006) description of networks revealing which actors in a movement may be seen as core members, and those that are considered periphery. Actors with stronger ties and stronger densities in the movement may be regarded as the core.

In this manner the environmental movements in Ghana have clearly defined core members, whose interactions were instrumental in the inception of the coalitions that describe the movements. These core members, and quite often in this study, 'founding' members of the coalitions demonstrate stronger ties and closer long-term collaboration, and reach out through new partnerships to extend the reach of the movement. Through the snowballing method, I was able to identify and interview movement actors that turned out to be the core, and founding members of the various coalitions.

I illustrate with the anti-mining coalition below.
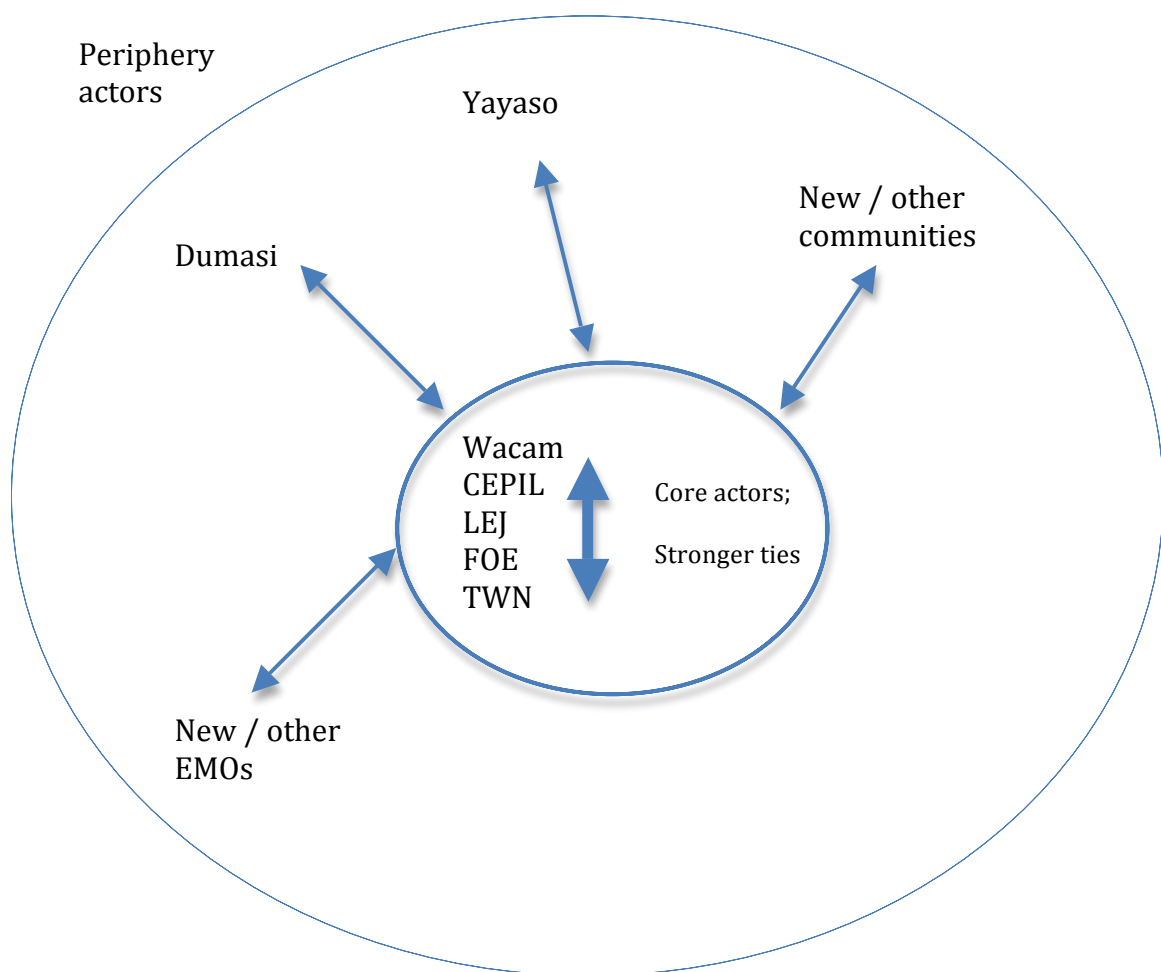
An illustration of the network density of actors in the anti-mining movement NCOM, in Ghana (drawn from author's analysis).

The brief discussion above shows that networking within the environmental movements in Ghana is done purposefully to amongst other goals, extend the reach

of the movement, mobilize actors to promote inclusivity and also to develop stronger ties between core actors in the movement. Ultimately, the networking goal that is apparent is the formation of collective identity and promoting inclusivity for collective action.

8.5 Networking "between" the environmental movement in Ghana.

There appears to be very little evidence of networking between the four classes of the environmental movement identified in Ghana. A scrutiny of possible network ties shows that there was no deliberate or conscious efforts being made by movements to interact, partner or share resources between themselves although there was evidence that the coalitions were aware of each other's work[131]. The presence of formalized coalitions, seem to demarcate the boundary lines of the work of the movements working around their selected environmental themes and issues of concern. This represented a specialization of the environments in Ghana, with each specialized movement charting an independent path to those identified by the other movements. This when illustrated pictorially (below) shows the movements distinctly exclusive of each other. I emphasize that this description, is from the scrutiny of the deliberate network ties that the movement actors would have acknowledged.

However, in the absence of deliberate network ties, there is some form of weak 'unintentional' networking existing between three of the movement through the multiple roles and membership of the actors. I reiterate that what I call "weak network tie" is from the observed multiple participation of three actors across movements that invariably contributed and distributed resource and expertise across the movements. Although this was not a deliberate and goal-oriented approach by the movements aimed at creating partnerships. Neither was there any evidence or express acknowledgement of the formation of collective identity across

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[131] Interaction with Interview respondents 13 , 15, and 18 (Appendix 2).

movements through the multiple membership and participation of those three actors.

Specifically, between the environmental movement actors encountered in Ghana, It can be seen that three of the actors each have multiple members in two of the movements identified. Namely, The legal advocacy NGO CEPIL is seen to play a core role in both the anti-mining movement and the environmental justice movement. Secondly the Tema based CSRM is also seen in the core membership of the environmental justice movement and the coastal and fisheries management coalition CAFA. And finally, the FOE is also seen as a core member of both the anti-mining movement coalition NCOM and the coastal and fisheries management coalition CAFA. In these three examples the actors having multiple memberships across movements did not appear to result in purposeful partnerships between the various movements. However, as stressed earlier there was invariably the unintended distribution of resources and expertise across the movements. For instance, CEPIL's legal expertise was crucial to both the anti-mining and environmental justice movements.

The participation of the CSRM in both the coastal and fisheries management movement and the environmental justice movement were related to its general interest in the marine environment and ecosystem, however this did not lead to any meaningful collective identity building or collective action efforts between these two movements, although on hindsight could be seen as ideologically similar because they both dealt to some extent with the protection of the marine environment.

Fisheries and
Coastal mgt

Anti-mining

Climate
Change

Environmental
Justice
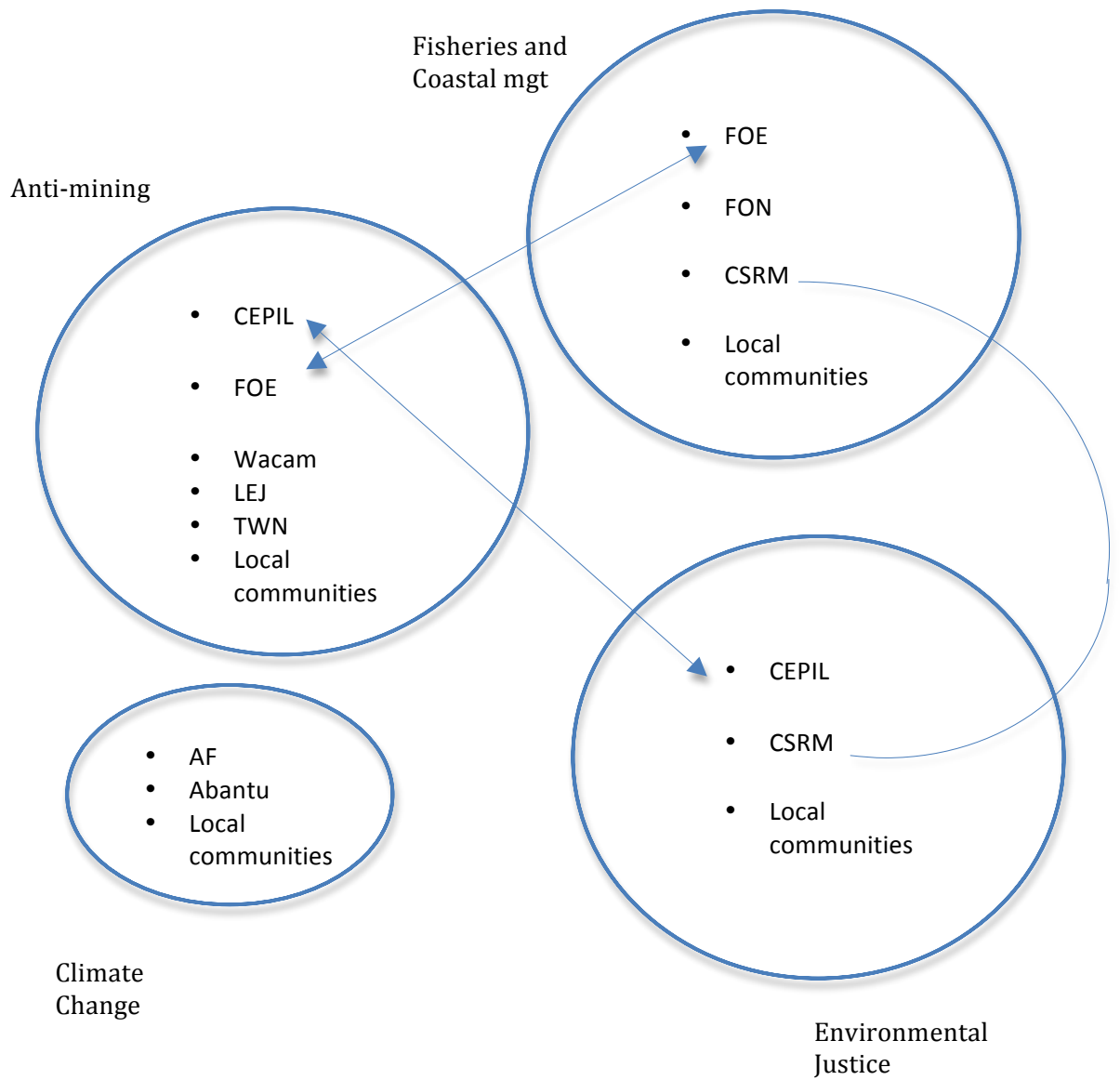
An illustration of the "weak networking ties" between the environmental movements in Ghana (drawn from author's analysis).

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8.6 Networking for resource mobilisation: Examining Resource Mobilization

Moving on with the discussion on networking in the environmental movement in Ghana is the discussion on central issue of resource mobilization within the Ghanaian environmental movement in the sub-classifications identified earlier. Referring back to Scholsberg (1999) , the "sharing of resources is one of the basic reasons for organizing networks. This discussion will examine the nature and types of resources that are mobilized within the movements in Ghana, that enable the networked actors through the formalized coalitions, forge collective identities an collective action.

The availability of resources enhances the likelihood of collective action (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007) and it is the provision of the necessary resources that qualifies the constituents of a movement (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The mobilization of resources is also important because of the naturally uneven distributions of and challenges to access to resources within society that need to be overcome in the building up of collective action and identity.

This discussion of resource mobilization within the networked actors of the environmental movements in Ghana will follow the format of an examination of the fivefold typology of resources as proposed by Edwards and McCarthy (2007): moral, cultural, socio-organisational, human and material. In discussing these types as they apply in the Ghanaian cases, I also touch other interesting dimensions such as how the movements access and distribute these resources and the outcomes of their resource mobilization efforts. I annotate these briefly below.

8.6.1 Human resources

Human resources are the easiest to relate to within the networked actors of the environmental movements and encompass the labour, experiences, skills and expertise of the various constituents of the movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007). The most important element of human resources identifiable in the Ghanaian

movements is that of leadership particularly because of the dominance of small institutionalized EMOs which in most cases would have an identifiable founder who personally is involved in the recruitment and training of other leaders, endearing them closer to the cause and offering them a collective sense of ownership irrespective of formal or hierarchical designation in the institutionalization process. The shared ownership of the movement ideals within the leadership appears to be a galvanizing factor that bound them to their cause, and promotes the longevity of the movements. In that they appeared to share the idea that the ideal and struggles of the movement that was almost personally "their own", and even in the instances where they were paid, they were not merely workers of an employer or the organization.

For instance, a discussion with a member of staff of Wacam who was a university graduate[132] revealed that the personal sacrifices of the founder, quitting a relatively better paid civil service job, was a great motivation for him to remain fighting for the rights of marginalized mining community residents, and discounting the prospects of leaving to find a better paid job. This example clearly demonstrates what I refer to as the "leadership-pull" that exists in the environmental movement and emphasizing the invaluable resource of leadership.

The pooling together of experiences, skill and expertise within the environmental movement is yet again seen in the purposive manner in which the movement (as sub-classified) is formed. The anti-mining movement forms around the networked expertise of researchers, community based activists, journalists and legal experts to strategically execute their laid down goals. The expansion and growth of the anti-mining movement beyond its initial founding partners is also along this purposive line of identified expertise and skills that would augment movement ideals.

The situation is similar in all the other identified sub-classes of the environmental movement in Ghana. The critical use of the legal expertise of the CEPIL the

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[132] Respondent 17 (appendix 2)

environmental justice sub-classification of the movement is lifeblood of the current struggles of the indigenous people and the Chemu Lagoon. This form of resource aggregation also encourages maximum patronage and participation within the coalitions and networks that have come to be the formalized approach of movement building in Ghana.

8.6.2 Moral Resources

Edwards and McCarthy (2007) describe moral resources within a movement as including legitimacy, solidarity support and sympathetic support. As far as the networked actors of the environmental movements are concerned, the greatest source of legitimacy within the Ghanaian environmental movement appears to be the very widely spread general notion of the African environment being at the point of rapid degradation and the need to raise awareness and sensitize action. Amongst all the EMOs considered, there was a strong sense of the need to raise awareness of the causes that they all stood for and that it was almost right to say that there was a legitimate need for the EMO campaigns in that regard. This claim to the legitimacy of their work, seems to make them endear themselves as playing a critical role that is often not appreciated or under-recognized in the wider society, even to the extent of making personal sacrifices in the process. They saw themselves as "eco-servants" who were networking to play this important function.

My observation was that this conceptualization enabled the EMO actors relate to each other in a manner that carried a sense of pride, being members of a select group of the wider Ghanaian society that saw, heard and spoke 'green' and got fulfillment from the roles they played. This was particularly evident after attending the general meeting of the NCOM, which resembled a mini parliament of representatives of various stakeholders showing honorable courtesies and sharing a sense of solidarity.

The very nature of movement building in Ghana, through the formation of institutionalized coalitions to some extent demonstrates two important things: firstly the pooling together of a collective strength borne out of a collective awareness: and secondly the appreciation of the fact that the problems and issues identified are, as it were, bigger or far too vast for one EMO to go it alone.

8.6 .3 Cultural Resources

Cultural resources refer to artifacts and cultural products, as well as conceptualized tools and specialized knowledge that are specifically harnessed for a movement. These may not necessarily be universal and are accessible for the movement independent of favorable judgments outside the movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007). In this regard, cultural resources are most evident in the networked actors of the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement. For example in the Dumasi case, women identified the afflictions of the environmental stress from mining operations as a shared one, not just within the wider community, but more so within the gender sub-set as women. This shared collective identity was spontaneously and naturally propagated because of the very structure and fabric of the Ghanaian rural family system that meant that women were solely responsible for domestic chores, and as such the lack of potable water was felt more strongly by them. In this case the cultural set-up had paved the way for the smooth and easy mobilization of women to protest, cleverly harnessing what used to be a disadvantage so that it came to be a conceptual tool for building collective identity.

Again, this mobilization of cultural resources can be seen at work in the Yayaso case where the display of strong family-ties became the galvanizing force in mobilizing support of the movement beyond the rural community. This use of family-ties as a means to generate support comes on top of other deeper Ghanaian cultural sentiments such as the need to protect and preserve one's family heritage. Additionally it is interesting to note that the mobilization of cultural resources in this case also leads the movement to the bridge across the rural-urban divide, making it

possible for non-resident natives to share in the identity and the collective effort of a localized grievance.

On a larger scale, the environmental movement actors appear to share and mobilize themselves around the notion that Ghana's environmental degradation, which needs urgent attention, has come about partly because of rapid urbanization and an abandonment of traditional Ghanaian values that were intrinsically more pro-environmental.

8.6.4 Social-Organizational Resources

Social-organizational resources refer to those that are created to further the social movement goals, such as the processes of recruitment of movement constituents, information dissemination and the appropriation of roles (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007). It is further explained that the intentional presence of social-organizational resources increases the likelihood of movement mobilization and action. The Ghanaian environmental movement across all four sub-classes considered typifies this statement above showing that the deliberate engagement of EMOs into formalized coalitions generates movement mobilization and action. This is also true in examining how the formalized movement moves in to robe in the elements of the non-institutionalized dimension of the environmental movement. This can be seen in how the NCOM established by the anti-mining movement, expanded to accommodate and mobilize community residents and representatives of the informal grassroots collective efforts.

Again the CAFA which represents the coastal and fisheries management movement also makes room for the participation of local fishers and fishmongers within its formalized structure, in an attempt to make it both as inclusive and representative as possible. In that case the local fisher folk appreciate the work being done as being closer to home, and not as the FON put it, some "work being done by some foreigners".

Other interesting tactics such as the specific co-option of community residents to play unique functions within the campaigns and work of EMOs such as those adopted by Wacam are also a good example of how socio-organizational resources are mobilized on the ground in unique ways. Wacam's evolution of novel techniques such as training rural community residents who are unskilled and largely illiterate to assume evidence gathering and reporting functions in the case of identifying water pollution incidents are a laudable. The benefits of this partnership and networking are immense as its faster, larger, more reliable samples are kept in sterile containers provided, and this saves the EMOs the trouble of emergency 600-mile round trips just to observe and collect ephemeral evidence. This creates a cost effective partnership that enhances the community-EMO shared identify in struggle and provides an avenue for their participation in an ongoing process, as well as inevitably brings about much needed consciousness and improved understanding of the complex environmental issues at hand. This appropriate harnessing of the socio-organizational resources inadvertently acknowledges the often-untapped potential of local and rural community residents even if illiterate.

8.6.5 Material Resources

Material resources include the physical and financial capital that that the movement must mobilize to meet its demands and needs (Edwards and McCarthy, 2007). The availability of funds is critical to every activity and campaign of the movement and it is clear that the EMOs have put a necessary premium on the access to financial capital.

The commonest source of EMO funding is from international donor bodies and other NGOs, both those located and operating from within Ghana such as UNDP, WorldBank and USAID, and as well those entirely overseas. Externally sourced funding makes up the majority share of EMOs' access to financial capital and are in the form of one-off small scale grants, however some have over the years evolved to

have regular donations from some external sources. This is more clearly seen in the cases of FOE, which receives support from the wider FOEI network, and FON that has long-term relationship with the University of Rhode Island in the USA.

Although the internal generation of funds, through membership fees and subscriptions, which are more common amongst large EMOs in the western world, appears to be absent, it is rather replaced by the commitment of personal funds of the movement leadership. Every single EMO considered in all the Ghanaian cases confirmed the often unquantified financial resources committed to the cause of the EMO. This sacrificial element of financial resource mobilization turns out to be an essential gap-filler and sustainability tactic in periods of low external cash flows.

Despite the dominance of externally sourced funds, It is also interesting to point out again the two main exception encountered. First the FON's clever mechanism of internally generating funds through fees charged for business services rendered to clients other than the communities that they were working with, and secondly the fact that the lawyers of the pro-bono legal NGO CEPIL occasionally took on other 'non-public interest' cases to raise monies and pay their salaries.

Naturally, bigger and more established EMOs appeared to attract more funds than others and as such through their networking with other actors contributed varied amounts to the cause of the coalitions they formed, with some even bearing no financial burdens at all. This was a way of meeting the collective financial needs of the wider group, yet taking into account the respective capabilities of the networked actors. In the case of the NCOM, the founding 5 EMOs bore the majority of the financial costs, including the travel, food and board of community residents when they travelled to attend the meetings.

The mobilization of physical capital in the form of shared vehicles, the use of an EMO's premises to host meetings, and shared audio-visual equipment for instance were more evident at the coalition level where members that had these resources made them available for the collective use and benefit of the wider group.

8.7 Conclusion

The aim of this brief chapter has been to throw light on the nature of networking in the environmental movement in Ghana. The discussion has pointed out to the importance of network ties that exists between movement actors as both a defining feature of movement activity and the impetus for the formation of collective identity and action. Ultimately networking facilitated the participation and resource mobilization channels within the movement, standing out as two of the most important reasons for the formation of networks. Participation and resource mobilization potential was higher within each of the four identified movements, and was illustrated through selected examples of the network ties that existed within the movements and the type of resources that were consequently mobilized through the networks.

On the other hand, networking between the various movements was not deliberately forged. There appeared to a preference for the specialized posture of the movements based on different environmental issues, with the movements working exclusive of each other. The exceptions to this generalized statement is seen in a few of the actors having multiple memberships across movements, and although it did not amount to deliberate networking strategies, there was invariably a very weak link between the movements from the shared resource and expertise (albeit not acknowledged).

The limited network potential between the environmental movement may be as a result of some of the challenges of the environmental movement in Ghana, discussed in the previous chapter. Besides this speculation, the lack of inter-movement networking raised some interesting questions on the capacity of movements in Ghana to grow, spread, diversify and synergize resources amongst themselves, after they had become established. These were not interrogated as part

of this study. But I can be concluded that it was one possible area that the environmental movement in Ghana could see some growth and development.

CHAPTER NINE – CONCLUSION

9.0 Introduction

This final chapter serves to highlight and emphasize the main findings and their relevance, as well as detailing a few personal reflections, including avenues identified for future research and further contemplation.

9.1 Summary of main findings

I summarize the main findings by returning to the original research questions posed at the beginning of this work, using each as a point of reference for a brief annotated commentary.

1. How widespread is environmental concern?
2. What are the issues of concern/who is concerned about what?
3. How have environmental groups/NGOs developed (domestic pressure/ foreign 'missionary' work)
4. Is there an environmental movement in Ghana?
5. What are the chief obstacles to environmental groups' development and operation in Ghana?

9.1.1 How widespread is environmental concern?

From the point of view of the EMOs and environmental activists on the ground, environmental concern appears to be generally low among the Ghanaian population, especially within the urbanized areas.

Although the EMOs predominantly work in rural and sub-urban communities, they identify environmental degradation as being common to both urbanized and the rural communities, albeit from different sources. However the rural communities were found to have higher levels of environmental concern, not merely because of their proximity and dependence on the environment but also because of stronger cultural values that may be described as ecocentric at heart.

9.1.2 What are the issues of concern/who is concerned about what?

Moving on, it was found out however, that there was a growing environmental consciousness due in part to "intra-national" outreach work by the local EMOs and also seen in the gradual growth in the media's coverage of environmental news, which is widely disseminated in the Ghanaian general public. The EMOs represented aggregated groups of highly enlightened individuals that saw the need to spread environmental consciousness and fill in the gaps in public awareness of environmental issues. Environmental concern amongst the rural communities was found to be high especially for those that hosted environment-altering activities such as industrial mining.

The environmental issues of concern to the EMOs ranged from issues of public health and sanitation, environmental justice and enforcement, to issues of conservation and natural resource management. These themes appeared to be the commonest amongst the EMOs sampled. The issues of concern amongst the environmentally conscious rural communities were predominantly to do with the disturbance of the natural environment that supported their traditional livelihoods. This covered both aspects of environmental degradation that often was the result of the disturbances, as well as other affiliated concerns beyond the natural environment to include those of human rights, the preservation of family heritage, and cultural identity.

9.1.3 How have environmental groups/NGOs developed (domestic pressure/ foreign 'missionary' work)?

There has been a growth in the number of local EMOs and environmental NGOs operating in Ghana. It appears that these local EMOs dominate the scene, with far fewer groups that may be adequately described as the result of the 'foreign missionary' work of international EMOs or NGOs. Consequently it is the dominance of these local groups that has rather led to the occurrence of what was previously described as an 'intra-national missionary' operations that saw these largely urban-based EMOs doing working in rural and sub-urban communities

The developmental pressure of these groups has been largely domestic, arising firstly from an awareness of the need for urgent action to combat dire environmental challenges, that is often attributable to a specific individual or a few persons, and secondly, from the general perception that formalized operations are better suited for negotiations with the government and the long-term advocacy work that may be necessary for the changes desired. The formalization of operations is regarded as an important step that prescribes some form of legitimacy of the work being done.

Consequently there is a dominance of small-formalized EMOs that overshadow the fewer informal grassroots groups, who are on occasion drawn into the networking processes of these formalized EMOs.

Despite the domestic nature of the driving force behind the formation of Ghanaian EMOs, external interactions play an important role in their survival and growth through the provision of critical funds. This dependency is cautiously maintained at the potential risk of any pressures to alter or change agendas of the EMOs, when external funding is secured. The dependency on foreign funds also explains in part, why there is a preference for the formalization of EMO activities, as it is much easier for formal groups to apply for and competitively bid for funding awards.

9.1.4 Is there an environmental movement in Ghana?

At the core of this work was an exploratory enquiry into whether there was an environmental movement in Ghana. From the results and analysis, it was found out that there was indeed a viable environmental movement in Ghana.

The movement is most visible through the partnering and collective networking activities of small, institutionalized local EMOs that came together to form coalitions, share resources and work together on broad thematic issues that were of common concern. The involvement of non-institutionalized grassroots elements is also visible but marginal. The formalized coalitions reach out to these grassroots groups, often co-opting them into their formalized structures and providing them with a means of keeping their movement ideals alive.

As far as this Ghanaian case is concerned, the environmental movement can be further appreciated as taking shape in four sub-divisions, namely the anti-mining movement, the environmental justice movement, the fisheries and coastal management movement and the climate change movement. The anti-mining movement was found to be the most established of these.

The features of the environmental movement have been discussed earlier, however I would recall the observed gendered dimension for special mention. It was interesting to note the involvement of women both in the cases of the non-institutionalized grassroots elements and within the formalized coalitions, particularly within the climate change movement. In the case of the non-institutionalized movement the involvement, and even leadership roles, of women played out to challenge the traditional views of gender that were commonly held in rural community life in Ghana.

9.1.5 What are the chief obstacles to environmental groups' development and operation in Ghana?

Quite a number of challenges were identified as stifling the work, growth and even movement building potential of the Ghanaian EMOs. The notable ones include the presence of a weak legislative framework that was not capable of supporting the levels of environmental protection that the EMOs desired. This was also underpinned by an identified weakness in political will on the part of the government, which was consequently seen as putting more effort into industrialization and its developmental agenda, and not doing enough to protect the environment. This often created the situation where the victims of environmental degradation were marginalized and cut off from effective participation on critical decisions. On the basis of the latter, the growth of Ghanaian EMOs can be seen as what Desombre (2007:83) describes to be a "political response to a lack of previous individual participation" and that, it is essentially the inability of states to provide for their citizens that creates a civil society that demands what the government is not providing. The resulting environmental movements can be regarded as an effort to "politicize activity to help national political systems to adapt, evolve and learn" (Desombre, 2007:83).

Other challenges identified include the limited finances that the EMOs have to work with, as well as the human resource challenge that came with their difficulty in attracting and retaining competent staff where needed. Limited finances had indeed shaped the operations of some EMOs, making them focus on fewer issues and in the process even appear more specialist. The added challenge for an environmental movement that relied heavily on foreign funding was the need to seriously consider and explore more domestic, reliable sources of funding.

9.2 Relevance of findings

As I mentioned at the commencement of this work, I chose to conduct an *empirical enquiry* into a subject area that was largely understudied within the African context. On that note I summarize two main reasons why this enquiry remains relevant. Firstly, the foremost relevance of this work has been to shed more light on the subject of environmental movements in Ghana, and contribute to a sustained interest in the phenomenon through academic writing. The work has identified and catalogued the key players in the environmental movement in Ghana, and provided a snapshot of their emergence and development. As well as the activity and diversity of the various movements as they play out. This outcome is useful in filling the identified knowledge gaps in academic literature and provides cases worth considering for future attempts of works that aim to give a globalized perspective to the phenomena of environmental movements, as was the case with Doyle (2005). Such globalized outlooks can now be even more inclusive by considering more case studies and features from Africa. Furthermore, the findings of this study of the Ghanaian case provide an impetus for more in-depth comparative studies of movements within the West African region or the continent at large, especially against the backdrop of some common features such as gender, as picked out through the brief comparison with cases in Kenya and Nigeria. The avenues for comparative studies would further and broaden the academic debates and understanding concerning the environmental movements in Africa.

Secondly, although this work was largely empirical, it does show the theoretical relevance of the resource mobilization theory within a localized African context, and its pivotal role, especially in the case of formalized and institutionalized groups, moving on from individual entities to the formation of viable networks and partnership in the environmental movement. Furthermore, the relevance of the resource mobilization theory, as broken down by Edwards and McCarty (2007), goes beyond the surface and its role in contributing to our understanding of movement formation. More importantly, through an application of their 'typology template', I have been able to tease out and characterize unique features that are distinct to the

Ghanaian environmental movement. This is particularly so for the intangible 'moral' and 'cultural' resources that could have been easily missed.

Additionally, this work has shown the irrelevance of the postmaterialism theory in explaining the nature of environmental concern in the Ghanaian context. The evidence gathered appeared to greatly differ from the expected claims of the hypotheses of the theory. This works shows that the materialism/ postmaterialism dichotomy is a poor predicator of environmental concern and points to the presence of non-materialistic environmental concerns amongst the poor. More importantly, the test of the postmaterialism theory was to serve as the point of departure in an enquiry on the basis of environmental concern in the Ghanaian context. This yielded an alternative hypothesis, which I called the 'culture shift', making the claim that the breakdown in the traditional Ghanaian culture was the most probable cause of the lack of environmental concern in society, especially in urbanized areas. The central significance of the alternative 'culture shift' hypothesis is the added insight into the nature of environmental concern within rural traditional communities, beyond the conventional knowledge of environmental concern that arises from a people's direct dependency on the environment for their livelihood. The added insight offers some depth into ecocentric cultural values that appear to account for environmental concern, more than the mere fact that they are living in close proximity to or are dependent on nature.

9.4 Final Reflections

I finally conclude this work by making brief references to some critical lingering thoughts, and, with the benefit of hindsight, advance some recommendations that may be useful for the environmental movement as a personal critique in the light of this research. I also consider some avenues for possible future research that this work has helped to identify and for which it has prepared the way.

9.4.1 Critical thoughts

First of all, I reemphasize my findings that there is an environmental movement in Ghana. The relatively small-scale nature of the movement may lead one to question its effectiveness as a social movement in bringing changes that are lasting and visible. On that note it is still early days for a full evaluation, however what is clear is that this study of the environmental movement in Ghana shows what can be described as an evolutionary movement and not a revolutionary one. This has been an account of the emergence of small, professionalized, de-radicalized movements whose influence and potential impact on wider social transformation is on a gradually rising trajectory, and might be better appreciated in the course of time. It is for this reason that I call it 'evolutionary'. There have been some aspects that are revolutionary in some sense, for instance the critical role of pro-bono legal aid for EMOs and the leadership role of women in rural areas, but the overall posture and growth of the environmental movement since its emergence has not been revolutionary in terms of social transformation.

Secondly, It is clear from the timeline of the emergence of the movement, that it has grown and thrived during the moments of peace and stability that Ghana has enjoyed, specifically from 1992 to date. Charnovitz (1997:270) describes this as a globalised trend where NGO activity in general appears to thrive during periods of peace. Decreased security concerns and tensions meant that there were increased opportunities for coordinated action by people on a range of issues such as human rights and the environment, both on the domestic and international fronts.

This period of peace in Ghana's recent political history (1992 – date) is significantly different from its checkered past of military coups and instability. Considering the political volatility within the West African region, I cannot help but question what would become of the environmental movement should the peace be unfortunately broken. Political instability may very well be the reason (or one of the fundamental

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reasons) why viable, long lasting movements in neighbouring countries have not yet been identified. What it appears to mean is that Ghana's political stability may have served as a foundation for the building of the environmental movement, although it may not be explicitly detailed that its preservation is one of the goals that any of the EMOs is campaigning for.

Thirdly, It appears to be clear from this study that there needs to be a strengthening of the legal framework for environmental protection and the adequate resourcing of the regulator – the Ghanaian EPA – to perform its mandate. It appears to be a combination of these two factors that have resulted in the poor remedy of environmental damage to the communities, and the unfortunate reputation of the EPA, especially amongst the EMOs, as being a body that lacks a strong record of regulatory enforcement. Most of the claims of the movement can be viewed through this lens, and it would be most helpful if the environmental regulation in Ghana was able to result in substantive remedy in the event of breaches of the law. Yet again from hindsight, I can see from this study that the environmental legal reforms that have been identified by the various movements promise to be a game changer should the movements be successful in pushing them through. The proper use of the law and the law courts as a tool by the environmental movement would enable it to be firmer, less compromised and potentially to achieve more results. It appears to me, from the evidence gathered, that environmental law does have a place to play in the future of the environmental movement. If laws remain weak, and the future pattern of environmental legislation resembles the shape of the Minerals and Mining Act, then it could allow for the continuation of what was earlier described as 'legally sanctioned pollution'.

Fourthly, I conclude that inasmuch as the environmental movement is making considerable efforts at public education, a more systematic approach to its public engagement would improve its public appeal and levels of support, and pave a way to push for some attitude changes that are needed in society. At present, the movement appears to have made the government its foremost target for campaigns, and this target overshadows its attempts at public engagement. Just as the

government has its share of the burden, albeit greater, the 'general public' also has the potential to help to address a number of the environmental challenges outlined, if that public is properly engaged and their environmentally damaging attitudes are confronted. The likelihood of gaining sympathetic 'supporters' from the general public, as mentioned earlier, remains slim in Ghana, but this is surely an avenue that could be looked into. The situation is the same for the private sector, especially as their support could also come with the added possibility of identifying local funding partners. This development would even prove to be helpful to much smaller, less-institutionalized EMOs and grassroots groups that find it problematic securing funding from abroad. For instance, I have since my field trips, learnt of the emergence of a youth led group calling itself the 'Ghana Youth Environmental Movement" (GYEM) which has not been formally registered or institutionalized, and mobilizes young Ghanaian mainly through activity on social media, taking advantage of the exponential growth in mobile phone penetration in recent years. But more related to my point is the fact that it has managed to mobilize funds locally, mainly through sponsorship packages for its campaigns. It is currently the only group that is vehemently and publicly opposing the government's recent plans to build a coal-fired plant in Ghana[133] to augment electricity supplies. The GYEM's public engagement via social media is interesting, as it has over 700 members in its Facebook group as at the time of writing, as is its success at local fundraising.

9.4.2 Contemplating future research

As an empirical enquiry, the research conducted has prepared the way and opened up quite a number of avenues for further research. I will only touch on a few significant ones that are also of personal interest.

Firstly, as mentioned earlier, this Ghanaian study has provided yet another basis of comparative studies within the African context. I would be interested to see how

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[133] See news article on the Government of Ghana's plans, headlined "Shenzen China to build 700 MW coal plant in Ghana" at http://www.citifmonline.com/2014/04/24/shenzen-china-to-build-700-mw-coal-plant-in-ghana/ (last accessed 01/08/2014).

emerging examples from other African countries compare with that of Ghana. It would also be interesting to gather examples to be able to representatively describe and characterize the environmental movement in Africa, or furthermore, combine efforts with other researchers towards an academic volume dedicated to the subject in Africa.

Secondly, the gendered dimension of the Ghanaian environmental movement stands out to me as of one the features that could be studied much further. It would be interesting to examine how much influence of Dumasi has had on women's participation in other communities. It would also be interesting to study the cases of gender empowerment further, and to see how much and how far social change can be traced to the gendered dimension of the environmental movement. It was particularly interesting to see how, admittedly through the facilitation of an EMO such as Wacam, the leadership potential of rural women was brought to the fore, in a locality that was not normally receptive to such a dynamic. The theme of "gender and the environment" is a growing one, and this work has opened up that nexus within the Ghanaian context for further development.

Thirdly, the 'culture shift hypothesis', which I identified in an attempt to explain the nature of environmental concern, surely needs further development and study. At this stage it was interesting to discover what alternative the EMOs would give in contrast to the tenets of postmaterialism, however beyond this it would be more interesting to redesign a more thorough study with and a more representative sample outside the 'EMO bracket'. For instance, it would be interesting to conduct various focus groups and interviews that might bring out responses that show the dynamics and demographics within the wider Ghanaian society.

Finally, there is also interest in examining the role and outcome of environmental movement activity in shaping Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). For instance Osuteye and Okoye (2014) have examined the potential of environmental movement activity to shape CSR from a bottom up perspective. There is the evidence of a CSR push through movement activity, which is asking for action

'beyond' the law and also has the potential to give dynamism to the law. This can be seen as a push in the direction of alternative legal dispute resolution through negotiation. Although CSR policies of the corporations encountered in the course of this study were not reviewed as part of the analysis, there was mention of them implicitly, for instance in the measure to provide community water tanks in the Dumasi case, and how the apparent failure of this CSR played a role in stirring up the movement. On the other hand, the results and negotiations in the light of the public protest also show how movement activity was influencing CSR and pushing for corporate action.

In all, this empirical enquiry in the environmental movement in Ghana has been an interesting process and marks the beginning of more related work for the future.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : Semi-Structured Interview questions

<u>SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDY OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS (EMOs)</u>

a. History and organizational structure.

- Give a brief overview of when and how you started operations in Ghana.
- What is the leadership structure like? Staff strength?
- How many offices or branches do you have?
- What is the scope of your operations? In how many regions throughout Ghana?
- Do you have recognized members or followers and how are they recruited?

b. Identity and issues of concern

- What do you regard as the biggest environmental challenge(s) in Ghana? / What environmental issues are you most concerned about?
- What would you say accounts for this (these)?
- Is there an aspect of the natural world/ elements of nature that you most committed to protecting or champion the cause of its protection?

c. Methods of mobilization

- Have you been involved in any/organized any campaigns on any environmental issue? How have these been organized?
- How many of such campaigns have you run in the last year? (5 years? Or since establishment).
- What means or mechanisms have your employed in the dissemination of your ideas and values?
- Have you worked alongside any other EMOs? (in Ghana/ abroad?)
- In what ways or areas have you collaborated? How would you describe the outcome of your collaborative efforts as compared to working alone?
- In what ways has the government facilitated your work?

d. Budget and Finance

- What is your annual income?
- What is/are your sources of income?
- What strategies do you employ to raise funds?

e. Challenges and potential

- Describe any major challenges you have faced or currently face in achieving your aims.
- How much better could the organization/group be if these challenges are dealt with?

- What (more) could the government do in relation to your work to enable greater success for nature protection in Ghana?

f. Environmental concern in society
- How widespread is environmental concern in Ghanaian society?
- What accounts for the state of environmental concern?
- What do you make of the *scarcity hypothesis* ?[134]

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[134] The question comes after a prior explanation of the meaning and tenets of the hypothesis.

APPENDIX 2: Anonymised list of interviewees

Number	Sex	Age Range	Affiliation
1	Male	30-40	League of Environmental Journalists
2	Male	30-40	Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology
3	Male	40-50	Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology
4	Male	50-60	Environmental Protection Agency
5	Male	30-40	Abibiman Foundation
6	Male	30-40	Abibiman Foundation
7	Male	30-40	Corporate Social Responsibility Movement
8	Male	30-40	CEPIL
9	Male	30 -40	CEPIL
10	Male	50-60	Friend of the Earth Ghana
11	Female	30-40	Friends of the Earth Ghana
12	Male	30-40	Zeal Environmental Technologies Limited
13	Male	30-40	Friends of the Nation
14	Male	40-50	Friends of the nation
15	Male	60-70	Wacam
16	Female	50-60	Wacam
17	Male	20-30	Wacam
18	Male	50-60	Third World Network
19	Male	20-30	Third World Network
20	Female	50-60	Abantu
21	Female	30-40	Abantu
22	Male	60-70	Dumasi Resident
23	Male	50-60	Dumasi Resident
24	Male	10-20	Dumasi Resident
25	Female	40-50	Dumasi Resident
26	Female	50-60	Dumasi Resident
27	Male	60-70	Yayaso Resident
28	Female	50-60	Yayaso Resident
29	Male	40-50	Yayaso resident
30	Male	30-40	Chemu/ Manhean Resident
31	Male	40-50	Bogoso Resident

APPENDIX 3: Sample field pictures

Main road leading to the Dumasi very poorly constructed (half surface tar eaten away) and dusty. Note the Palm fronds and vegetation looking very brown from settled red dusty.

Researcher's arrival at Dumasi (left) is greeted by 'blasting notices' warning of scheduled explosions during the day (right).

Massive heavy-duty 'Dumper trucks' carrying mineral ore or waste rock are a very common sight. Such huge trucks driving through narrow streets in the communities and the dust created pose serious health and safety risks. (NB: man standing on left hand side to appreciate scale of truck size)

School children transported on the roof of a commercial vehicle (Town adjacent to Dumasi) after bridge linking community to school was destroyed in the creation of a mine making the commute longer. Transportation on the roof is free.

Researcher at the bank of one of the six polluted and heavily silted, streams that had served as a water source for the community residents in Dumasi.

Researcher interacting with local oil palm farmers (left) complaining about failing crops, and in an interview with Madam Joanna Manu (right) one of the lead women campaigners in the protest against the mining company to supply adequate potable water foe the Dumasi.

Researcher (first from the right in picture on the right) attending the meeting of the National Coalition on Mining (NCOM) 27th March, 2012, Accra.

APPENDIX 4: Dumasi petition letters

Post Office Box 93
Dumasi
19th December, 2011

Dear Sir,

PROVISION OF PORTABLE AND EVERLASTING WATER

The women caucus of Dumasi wishes to alert your outfit to consider the above heading

Instead of being supplied with in water in tankers (which some days, no supply is made), we wish to stress the need that GSBPL rather provides water that would be permanent in nature. We do not want GSBPL to resort to the tanker a service which gives us disappointments and brings untold hardship onto the people of Dumasi.

The request has been necessitated due to the pollution of water bodies surrounding the Dumasi community as a result of GSBPL'S mining operations.

It very disheartening and sympathetic to see school children queuing to get just a bucket of water to bath for school. We reiterate that, whether resettlement or no resettlement we demand a permanent water supply.

We hope GSBPL would respond to this letter by 20th February, 2012 before we discard the grossly – inadequate poly tanks they provided after the cynide spillage.

Mary Kissi
(Women Leader)

The General Manager
GSBPL
P.O.BOX 11
BOGOSO

Post Office Box 93,

Bogoso.

28th February, 2012

The General Manager,

GSBPL,

Bogoso.

Dear Sir,

PROVISION OF PORTABLE AND EVERLASTING WATER – REMINDER

We again write to remind you of the above worrisome problem which still persists and hangs like an albatross around the necks of the Dumasi inhabitants. Apart from this letter, an earlier one was addressed to the community affairs manager on june 11, 2011 but all efforts to get a response proved abortive. We attach a copy of that letter to this current one.

On our meeting with CASD as a result of the demonstration by the Dumasi Women Caucus, we demanded that:

(1)An interim measure of two (2) additional poly tanks be provided to lessen the pressure on the existing ones.

(2) Pipe extension should be made from the GSBPL site to Dumasi as a permanent measure.

It has been two months now and nothing has been heard from GSBPL.

We are waiting with bated breath to hear from you soon before we once again advice ourselves.

Yours Faithfully,

....

(The Women's Leader- Mary Kissi)

Cc:

1. The Community Affairs Manager,

    GSBPL

APPENDIX 5: 'Occupy Yayaso' petition letters

THE CONCERNED CITIZENS
AKYEM YAYASO COMMUNITY
Cell Phone Number: 0246 860 280 / 0547 220 012

DATE: 16th JANUARY, 2012

THE COMMISIONER
CHRAJ
ACCRA.

Dear Madam,

VIOLATION OF COMMUNITY RIGHTS ON THE RESETTLEMENT BY NEWMONT AKYEM MINE

We the undersigned persons of the Yayaso community who have been affected by the operations of Newmont Akyem Mine wish to petition your office against the violations of our rights by the company.

Throughout our lives we do not know of any other means that provide us with our sustenance than our farming activities at Yayaso. Our farming activities also provide us with source of earnings to support our children's education, medical bills of our family and help us to live in dignity.

Equally important, we contribute towards the Foreign Exchange Earnings of the Republic annually, through the sale of our cocoa, oil palm and citrus.

By permitting Newmont Golden Ridge Mining Company to mine in the "Ajenua Bepo" protected Forest Reserve, means that our Royal Mausoleum, Public Cemetery, Sacred Groves are bound to be desecrated and the Ajenua Mountain which is going to be the area of active mining is the water head for rivers such as Adenkyensu, Alotosu, Aprapon, Ada Ntem, Afosu, Yaayaa and they would be buried under waste rock dump. The Yayaso village is designated as the area for the establishment of the mine's rock waste dump. For that matter it has become compelling for the Newmont Golden Ridge Mining Company to resettle the entire Yayaso community.

It is constitutionally mandatory for the mining company to provide the community with a suitable alternative farming land for the community to continue with their farming activities to enable them live their normal lives, socially, economically and culturally, as human beings and citizens of the Republic.

We make reference to the Article 20 clause 3 of the 1992 National Constitution, Section 2 subsection 4 of the States Lands Amendment Act 2000, Act 586 and Section 73 subsection 4 of the Minerals and Mining Act 2006, Act 703, which states as follows:

"The minister shall ensure that, inhabitants who prefer to be compensated by way of resettlement because of being displaced by a proposed mineral operation are settled on suitable alternative lands with due regard to their economic well-being and social, cultural values and the resettlement is carried out in accordance with the relevant town planning laws."

"The cost of the resettlement under the Article 20 clause 3 and the Sections and sub-sections 4 of the Constitution and the Acts respectively shall be borne by the holder of the mineral right."

The laws of Ghana requires that Newmont Akyem Mine should provide the people of Yayaso with alternative land as part of the resettlement of the Yayaso community at Adausina Nkwanta which is on Hweakwae community land, to enable us continue with our economic activity. We are concerned that Newmont Akyem mine would evict us forcibly without meeting its constitutional and legal requirements. The resettlement of the Yayaso community without the meeting the legal requirements would deprive us and generations after us their right to dignity and sustenance.

We herein resolve that if Newmont Akyem mine cannot provide us with alternative land to our satisfaction in terms of proximity to our ancestral land and size, we would want to remain on our ancestral land at Yayaso.

We hope to count on your assistance in the protection of our rights.

Yours faithfully,

Cc:

1. The Chairman
   National Peace Council
   Accra.

2. The Honourable Minister
   Lands and Natural Resources
   Accra.

3. The Honourable Minister,
   Environment, Science and Technology
   Accra.

4. The C.E.O,
   Center for Public Interest Law
   Accra.

5. The Executive Director
   Wacam, Accra

6. The I.G.P,
   Police Headquarters, Accra.

7. The Chief of Defence Staff
   Cantonment, Accra.

8. The Honourable Attorney General
   Ministries, Accra.

KWABENA FRIMPONG K 84 ars.

KWABENA FRIMPONG DENKYIRA

AKYEM HWEAKWAE
TEL: 0246860280

2ND APRIL, 2012.

THE COMMISSIONER,
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHT &
ADMISTRATIVE JUSTICE
ACCRA.

Dear Sir,

PETITION OF FRAUD AND CONSPIRACY TO DEFRAUD FARMERS BY NEWMONT AKYEM MINE & THOMPSON ERIC TANO OF AKYEM ADAUSINA

I am a member of the communities of Akyem, Yayaso, (where I own large interest in farms with my siblings, gifted by my late father Nana Ntimoah Kofi III, the immediate past chief of Akyem Adausina); Akyem Hweakwae and Akyem Adausina are my maternal and paternal home towns respectively. It is an incontrovertible fact that, the government of the Republic has permitted Newmont Akyem Project to mine gold in the Adjenua Bepo Protected forest Reserve. Hweakwae, Adausina, and Yayaso fall in the catchment area of the mining lease of Newmont, and affected farmers thereof, are liable to receive payments of compensation from Newmont based upon the Mining Law of 2006 Act 703section 74 subsection 1paragraph (a) in respect of their crops and deprivation of the use of the natural surface of their lands. Newmont and Thompson Eric Tano conspired to defraud the affected farmers by subjecting them to various sums of taxations at their discretion to impoverish the persons to suffer poverty.

The principle which was designed by Newmont and Thompson Tano to defraud the community was to make Tano responsible for the payment of the land compensation in the guise of styling Tano as the chief of Adausina. Newmont and Tano taxed the affected farmers 30% of the total amount of compensation liable to the farmer per acre of land imposed by Newmont on the farmers of which same unwillingly received under economic duress, no matter the protest put up by the affected farmers, of which Tano emphatically told them to take it or forever lose the amount. Such taxation was imposed on farmers at Yayaso, Adausina and Hweakwae vicinity, save farmers at the resettlement area.

In respect of the resettlement area, each acre of farm was divided into four (4) plots of which Tano and the company appropriated 3 (three parts) of the plot, and paid the value of one (1) part to the farmers in an amount of GH¢ 600 (Six hundred Cedis) which was imposed by Newmont and Thompson on the famer, to the neglect of the law which says that, compensation has to be based upon negotiation between the parties.

As required by law, compensation has to be paid in accordance with the Minerals and Mining Law number 703 of 2006 section 74 subsections 1 paragraph (a) as well as the article 20 of the 1992 Republican Constitution. We believe that, negotiation for compensation and payment of same has to be contracted between the company and the owner(s) of the land(s) and farm(s) exclusively. Newmont unilaterally set up a Crop Compensation Committee and invited community members to elect persons to represent the various communities to negotiate on behalf of the affected farmers whether the elected people had the mandate of the affected farmers or otherwise was immaterial; and established that, the decision of the committee was ruling and binding on all affected farmers. Newmont imposed the decision of the committee on the communities even though a few community members rejected same.

My family members, who represented our family in various farms, were paid such compensation under economic duress .The conspirators took into account, the unassuming and unsuspecting

personalities of the affected farmers and defrauded same of various sums of money to impoverish, without any legal basis, defied the Mining Law under reference Act 703 of 2006, and the 1992 constitution, as well as the general principle of compensation, which emphasizes that, compensation has to be paid to improve upon the quality of life of the affected person or remain same, but not to make him worse off.

The said Thompson styles himself as the chief of Akyem Adausina and purport to be called Nana Boni Abankro V. He alleges to be the allodial tittle holder of such farmers lands. Meanwhile all the affected farmers had no feudal and serf relationship with him, but purely occupied their family lands as indigenes, whom custom, tradition, usages, practice and Law, do not impose any form of taxation on them for the use of the natural surface of the land according to the tradition of Akyem Kotoku. Meanwhile the payment of the compensation is all about the deprivation of the use of the natural surface of the land and nothing else. Be that it may, it had never ever been open to Tano to receive any form of tax in pecuniary or otherwise from any of the occupants of their respective farms or lands for use of its natural surface. Neither can he ever, in whatever capacity, deprive or deny any of the land users of their occupation for their sustenance. He has never had any interest, and will never ever have any interest in any of the proceeds or earnings of the farmer's lands. So how come that this time round with the connivance of Newmont subject the affected farmers to such various degrees of taxations.

The legitimate and sitting chief of Adausina, is, Nana Ntiamoah Bediako IV. He has his name enrolled in the National Register of Chiefs and gazetted as required by law in the chieftaincy setting to forestall any state of ambiguity. In other words Thompson Tano claim as a chief is disputed. Refer the Annexure marked ID A, B, and C

I in cooperate in this petition this list of persons and their particulars of their lands, who have taken a cue from me and have authorized me to petition on their behalf for an investigation in their respective cases.

1) Name: ABENA ANANE

Boundaries	:	Kwame Boakye, Kwame Adawa, Kwaku Apau Afia Nkonya. Ante Manku,
Size of Land	:	3 acres. (GH¢ 5,400.00 appropriated)
Crops growing on the land:		Pear, teak, oil palm, cola tree, Orange, Cassava plantain, Cocoyam, banana, corn, pepper (nursery oil palm) . 4 rooms building not paid for.

2) AKOI MINICA

Boundaries	:	Afia Nkonma, Kwame Boakye, Kwaku, Apau.
Size of land	:	0. 92 acres. (GH¢ 1,656.00 appropriated)
Crop growing on the land:		Cidrella, orange, oil palm, plantain, cola, pepper.
a) Boundaries	:	Afia Nkonwa Abena Afriyie, Kofi Ampadu Kwame Paul
Size of land	:	(2 acre) (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crop growing on the land:		orange, plantain, cidrella, cassava, pineapple, cocoyam, pepper.
b) Boundaries	:	Kwabena Apau, Kofi Ampadu, Ama Fosuaa (Gyeretu)
Crop growing on the land:		Cidrella, oil palm, pineapple pawpaw plantain teak tree Pear cassava, cocoyam pepper,
Size of the land	:	(1 acre) cocoa oil palm nursery. (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)

3) KATE APPIA

Crop growing on the land:		Cassava, cocoa, teaktrees, cidrella plantain, oil palm, cocoyam, Nursery oil palm,
Size of the land	:	1/2 acre. (GH¢ 900.00 appropriated)

4) ANTE SEFA (WEIGHING CERTER)
   Boundaries   :   Kofi Ampadu, Kate, Akua Fokuo, road
   Size of the land   :   1 acre. (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
   Crop growing on the land: Nursery, cassava, cidrella, oil palm.

5) AMOA NYAME KWASI
   Boundaries   :   Ante Alaba,, Adjoa Moatimaa, Nana Akua, Dede,
   Size of the land   :   (1 acre) (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
   Crop growing on the land: oil palm teak tree, cidrella, cocoa pineapple plantain cassava, nursery
                                 teak tree, oil palm, pear 5 rooms

   Boundaries   :   Abena Alba, Adjoa Boatenmaa, Nana Akua
   Size of the land   :   1/2acre (GH¢ 900.00 appropriated)
   Crop growing on the land: oil palm, teak, cidrella, pear, cocoa, nursery teak tree,
                                 oil palm

6) AKUA FREMA
   Acreage   :   0:19 (GH¢ 342.00 appropriated)
   Boundaries   :   Kofi Tano, Koo Sekyere, Kwame Korakye Ama
                                 Nsu, Daniel Frimpong.

   Crop growing of the land: Oil palm, plantain, cassava, corn, cocyam teak tree, cidrella,
                                 pineapple, pepper, pawpaw.

   b) Crop growing on the land: Cocoa, oil palm, plantain, cocoyam, cassava, ab1dru
                                 pepper, yam, pineapple
       Size of the land   :   (acreage 1:20) boundary same (GH¢ 2,160.00 appropriated)

   c) Size of the land   :   1 acre, (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
       Crop growing on the land: bamboo, cassava, pineapple cidrella.

7) AMA FORIWAA
   Boundaries   :   Kofi Tano, Ama Gyretu, Abena Tenewaa Koo Sekyer1
   Size of the land   :   (acreage 1:32) (GH¢ 3,168.00 appropriated)
   Crop growing on the land: oil palm, orange, plantain 2 rooms, banana, cocoyam, cassava, corn,
                                 teak tree, cidrella, pear, abeduu, pepper pawpaw

8) KWASI AMOA (MIENSA)
   Boundaries   :   Akua Manu, Amensu, Cemetary,
   Size of the land   :   (1 acre) (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
   Crop growing of the land: orange, cassava, pineapple teak tree oil palm plantain, pear, pepper
                                 Bonawa cassava, cocoa, Akua Manu Ama Nsu.
   Size of land   :   ½ acre (GH¢ 900.00 appropriated)

9) ADAUSINA KWAEM
   DIANA BOAKYE
   Boundaries   :   Fuseni/Lukia, Juliana Akyeapong Morokpo-Mamamso,
                                 Osofo Esaah Bukari, Kojo, Achea, Koo, Kisi, Kwame
   Size of the land   :   25 acres.
   Crop growing on the land: Oil palm, cocoa, teak tree cola trees

10) MARY AMOAKO
   Boundaries   :   Odei William, Kojo,

Size of the land	:	2 acres (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crops growing on the land:		cocoa, cidrella, plantain, cassava, cocoyam, pawpaw.

11) MAAME ADWOA MANU

Boundaries	:	Yaw Thomas, Ankama,
Size of the land	:	3 acres (GH¢ 5,400.00 appropriated)
Crop growing on the land:		Banana, cocoa, Plantain cocoyam cassava.

12) YAW ASARE

Boundaries	:	Kwame Daniel, Ante Ama Nsu, Adwoa Adjeiwaa, Akua Wawaa, AfiaManu
Size of the land	:	1 acre (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
Crop growing on the land:		oil palm pineapple, cassava plantain, cocoyam 4 rooms nursery 15:500, oil palm

13) YAYASO

i. Agnes Mensa	ii. Isaac Opon	iii. Ntow Daniel (Akua Badu, wife)
iv. Marfo Emmanuel	v. Dora Dede	vi. Kojo Amo
vii. Kojo Adjido	viii.Kofi Adipa	ix. Abena Adjido
x. Amu Ahiaveh	xi.AmaKpeli	xii Naomi Sarpomaa
xiii. Yaa Foriwaa	ixx. Akosua Apendua	xx. Kojo Boahen
xxi. Mensa Ziga	xxii. Daniel Sasu	xxiii. Juliana Vorsah
xxiv.Adjoa Rose	xxv.Akosua Donkor	xxvi. Kwame Martey
xxvii. Addo Kwesi	xxviii. Comfort Darkoaa	xxix. Comfort Ntriwaa
xxx.Susana Yeboah	xxxi.Kporvorh Family	xxxii. Kofi Denkyirah

Name	:	SOLOMON OFORI /CECILIA AGYEIWAA (Akua Baby) 10 years ago Newmont agreed to commute compensation to employment but to no avail to date
Boundaries	:	Kwame Segbefia, Dan Agyei, Denkyira Senior, main road.
Size of land	:	about 3 acre
Crops	:	Citrus.

14)
Name	:	ABENA ANTWIWAA/YAA BENEWAA (AWURA AMA CHILDREN)
Boundaries:		Yaa Nyako, Ama Ntriwaa, Adwoa Manu.
Size	:	about 3 acres. (GH¢ 5,400.00 appropriated)
Crops	:	oil palm.

15) (KWAEM-ADAUSINA)

Name	:	CYTHIA BANAHENE
Boundaries:		Yaw firang, Kwasi Dua, Darko, Agya Badu.
Size	:	4 acres
Crops	:	cocoa.

16) HWEAKWAE

Name	:	COMFORT DANSOWAA
a) Boundary :		Y1boa, Aworo river Nana, Assiama Akwa.

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Size      :    0.39 ACRES.
CROPS     :    Banana, Cassava, yam, teak
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b) AT THE RESETTLEMENT
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Crops     :    Orange, pineapple.
Size      :    0.6 of an acres. (GH¢ 1,080.00 appropriated)
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17) GEORGE BOATENG
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Boundaries:    Tawia Anthony, Alaba number1 Maame Smaler, Opanyin Nkansa.
Size      :    3.38 acres. (GH¢ 6,084.00 appropriated)
Crops     :    oil palm, kolanut trees, plantain, sudii, cassava, maize, teak, pawpaw, pear,.
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18) MARY AMA (ZONGO)
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Crops     :    cocoa, oil palm, cola, trees, plantain, cocoyam, cassava, maize, cidreal, pepper
               okro
Size      :    ½ acre (GH¢ 900.00 appropriated)
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19) OPANYIN NIMO AHENEKORA
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Farm ID   :    020341
Farm ID   :    020371
Farm ID   :    020321
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MARGARET ASSIAMA (FARMER)
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Farm ID   :    020321
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20) KWAME BOAKYE
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Boundaries:    Ama Gyiretu, Peter, Twumaa Akua
Crop      :    orange plantain, pineapple, oil palm, Apata(hamlet), Cidrela.
Size      :    1½ acres. (GH¢ 2,700.00 appropriated)
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21) AKUA TWUMWAA
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Boundaries:    Esi Minta, Ama Gyirtu, Afia, Nkonwa, Kwame Boakye.
Size      :    1 acre. (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
Crops     :    oranges, oil palm.
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22) AMA OWUSUA
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Boundaries:    Afia Afrakoma Akua Manu
Size      :    2 acres (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crops     :    oranges, oil palm tree, cassava.
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23) STEPHEN NYANTAKYI
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Boundaries:    Ama Safiatu, Daniel Frimpong. Kwaku OTI, Kofi, Ampeh
Size      :    4 acres (GH¢ 7,200.00 appropriated)
Crops     :    oil palm, plantain, pineapple, cassava, cocayam, tree, pawpaw.
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24) KOFI DWAMENA
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Boundaries:    Afua, Anima, Ama Bronya, Kwame Dwira
Land size :    2 acres (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crops     :    oil palm, coca, teak, cassava, paltain, cocoyam.
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25) ABENA SIKAYENA
Bonudaries: Ante Alaba, Amoa Nyame, Appau
Size   :   1 acre (GH¢ 1,800.00 appropriated)
Crops   :   plantain, teak, palm, oil, cassava, pineapple, cocoyam

26) AFIA KONADU
Boundaries: Peter Ofori, Yaa Nyankomango, Maame, Maame Smaller.
Size   :   1¹/₂ acre (GH¢ 2,700.00 appropriated)
Crop   :   cocoa, cidrella, plantain, cassava, pineapple, oil palm, teak.

27) KWAME KORANKYE
Boundaries: Bafo, Teacher Pinamong, Akua Manu.
Size   :   1acre
Crops   :   orange, pineapple, teak, cassava, plantain. Compulsorily acquired by
                 Newmont for dumping waste on part of the land

28) ROSE OHEMENG
Boundaries: Kofi Amp1, Akosua, Adade,AdwaAdam.
Size   :   2 acres. (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crops   :   Pawpaw, pineapple.

29) MAAME ADWOA MANU
Boundaries: Ante Ankoma, Yaw Thomas
Size   :   3 acrés (GH¢ 12,600.00 appropriated)
Crops   :   banana, cocoa, plantain, cocoyam, cassava, garden eggs
b) Crop   :   citrus
Size   :   4 acres.

30) KOFI TAWIA
Boundaries: Mary Ama, Opayin Atta, and Opoku.
Crop   :   Cassava, banana, cocoyam, pepper, okro.
Size   :   2 acres. (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)

31) MARY AMOAKO
Boundaries: Kojo and Oddei William.
Size   :   2 acres. (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crops   :   cocoa cidrella, plantain, cassava, cocoyam, pawpaw.

32) ODEI WILLIAM
Boundaries: Mary Amoako, Akosua Ankama
Size   :   1 ½ acres (GH¢ 2,700.00 appropriated)
Crops   :   cassava, cocoyam, plantain, pineapple.

33)GEORGE AHENKORA
Boundaries: Nana Yaa (Adowaa) Frimponmaa, Taylor Owusu, Kwame Daniel, Maame Akua
                 Manu
Land size :   2 acres (GH¢ 3,600.00 appropriated)
Crop   :   cocoa and oil palm

34) AFIA AYIS
Land size :   ¾ of an acre (GH¢ 1,350.00 appropriated)

Available Total   =   Gh¢ 108,211.00

On that account, I am humbly craving your indulgence to conduct thorough investigation into the petition, and request to have the farmers relieved of the losses incurred because of the machinations and conspiracy of the company with Tano to defraud the unsuspecting and unassuming affected farmers of their compensation.

In the case of Solomon Ofori of Akyem Yayaso, it was agreed between the company and the affected farmer that, pecuniary compensation should be commuted into permanent employment by the company on account of which no compensation was paid at all. But, in the lapse of all this ten (10) years to date, he has not been employed and Ofori insists on specific performance on the part of the company, or in the alternative be paid of his crop and land deprivation compensations.

In the case of Kwame Korankye, Newmont have dumped waste materials on part of our family land designated to construct a house, and obstructed our accessibility to the land, and thereby compulsorily acquiring same. We had tripped building materials on the land for a building project, but this time round we can't access the plot.

In certain situations, some farmers building (s), on their farms, Nurseries of teak or oil palm seedlings, were not paid for, under the excuse that the Traditional Authority of Hweakwae had instructed the company to deny the farmers such payments.

It is against National Policy for any government to make its citizens impoverished in any situation. It has always been a constitutional requirement that parties don't take undue advantage over the other and so the law had always stipulated that compensation has to be negotiated between the affected persons directly. Compensation payment, as provided by the law has to be negotiated, to be fair and adequate as well as payment made promptly so that the affected person does not suffer pecuniary. More so the farmer has to be paid the negotiated compensation in full before any activity could be done on the land. But this was not the case with the farmers listed above among others.

Meanwhile the surfaces of the whole areas in contention have been thoroughly cleared by Newmont for its mining activities and houses for resettlements erected in place.

I am hopefully counting on you cooperation and the celerity of your reply.

Thanks

Yours Faithfully

……………………………………
Kwabena Frimpong Denkyira ·

cc.
(i)   The Chairman
        National peace Council
        Accra
(ii)   The Executive Director
        Center for public interest law
        Accra
(iii)   The Executive Director
        Wacam
        Tarkwa

20-9-2007
IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE, THE HIGH COURT OF
JUSTICE HELD AT TEMA ON THURSDAY, THE 20TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,
2007 BEFORE HIS LORDSHIP F.G KORBIEH, J.

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SUIT No. E12/91/07

CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEREST LAW AND ANOR
VS.
TEMA OIL REFINERY

_____

R U L I N G

_____

The 1st plaintiff/respondent herein, according to their own statement of claim, is "a not-for-profit non-governmental organization duly incorporated and limited by guarantee and is primarily engaged in the promotion of human rights and public interest litigation". The 2nd plaintiff/respondent is "an indigene of Tema and a resident of Tema Manhean in the Tema Municipality". The defendant/applicant is a limited liability company set up and owned solely by the government of Ghana to refine crude oil into petroleum products for national consumption. On the 13/6/2007, the plaintiffs issued a writ against the defendant claiming the following reliefs:

(a) A declaration that the defendant was negligent in spilling oil into the Chemu lagoon;

(b) A declaration that the oil spillage into the Chemu lagoon is a violation of the rights of the inhabitants of Chemu particularly the rights of those who are settled along the banks of the lagoon to a clean and healthy environment under the constitution and under international law;

(c) An order enjoining the defendant to clean up the Chemu lagoon under the supervision of the EPA;

(d) An order of perpetual injunction to restrain the defendant from further pollution of the aforesaid lagoon through oil spillage or other means.

The defendant responded to the plaintiffs' claim by filing an entry of conditional appearance and the present application asking the Court to dismiss the suit for the following three reasons: (i) want of capacity, (ii) want of reasonable cause of action and

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(iii) procedural irregularities. The motion paper is headed "Notice of Application to Dismiss Suit Under Order 11 Rule 18(1)(a) of the High Court (Civil Procedure) Rules 2004 (C.I.47)." The afore-mentioned rule reads as follows:

"(1) The Court may at any stage of the proceedings order any pleading or anything in any pleadings to be struck out on the grounds that

    (a) it discloses no reasonable cause of action or defence; or

    (b) it is scandalous, frivolous or vexatious; or

    (c) it may prejudice, embarrass, or delay the fair trial of the action; or

    (d) it is otherwise an abuse of the process of the Court

and may order the action to be stayed or dismissed or judgment to be entered accordingly.

 (2) No evidence whatsoever shall be admissible on an application under sub-rule (1)(a)".

Even before the motion could be moved, counsel for the respondent raised the preliminary point that since the application was brought under Order 11 rule 18 specifically, counsel for the applicant had to restrict himself to just the provisions of that rule and so could not include grounds in his motion not covered by those provisions. The response of counsel for the applicant was that he intended to invoke the inherent jurisdiction of the Court in the case of the other grounds. I over-ruled the preliminary objection because the inherent jurisdiction of the Court can be invoked at any time and so counsel could base the arguments for the other grounds on the authority of the inherent jurisdiction of the Court. In the case of the **Republic v. High Court, Accra; ex parte Aryeetey [2003/04] SCGLR 398,** the Supreme Court held (in holding 3) that a conditional appearance was to enable the defendant who intended to object to the issue or service of the writ or notice of the writ on him, or to object to the jurisdiction of the court, to apply to the court to set aside the writ, or notice of the writ or the service thereof on him. But the Supreme Court went on to say that the court had the inherent jurisdiction to stay an action it considered to be frivolous, vexatious and an abuse of the court process and in exercising that jurisdiction, the court could consider all the facts including affidavit evidence.

Counsel for the applicant then proceeded to move his application. His argument may be summarized as follows: (i) the plaintiffs have mounted a representative action which

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they have no capacity to do as neither of them has demonstrated any injury suffered by them; (ii) were the defendant to raise a counter –claim and obtain judgment, there would be no one to enforce the judgment against; (iii) if the action is a class action, then the plaintiff ought to have stated clearly on the writ as demanded by the rules and case law; (i) the plaintiffs do not have the mandate of Ghanaians as a whole or the inhabitants of Tema Manhean to bring this action; (v) once a party lacks capacity, he can have no reasonable cause of action.

I have to observe that nowhere in his arguments or submissions did counsel for the defendant question the individual capacity of the plaintiffs to bring this action except to say that they are busybodies seeking cheap popularity.

The response of counsel for the plaintiffs/respondents may be summarized as follows; (i) the plaintiffs have not brought a representative action, they have sued in their individual capacities; (ii) the damage to the flora and fauna of the Chemu lagoon is a matter of public interest; (iii) public interest, as can be seen in article 296 of the constitution, consists of rights and privileges that inure to the people of Ghana as a whole; (iv) the 1st plaintiff is made up of citizens of this country who are entitled to bring an action to protect the public interest and was incorporated specifically to initiate actions on behalf of the general public in Ghana; (v) in any case one member of a class may bring an action which is what the plaintiffs have done; (vi) since the constitution guarantees a right to life, its should be interpreted expansively to include right to a clean environment; (ii) Ghana is a signatory to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, article 24 of which guarantees the people' right to clean and healthy environment.

Quite a number of points have been raised in this application and I propose to take them one by one. The first and probably the most fundamental point is the issue whether the plaintiffs have the capacity to institute this action. It is provided in Order 4 rule 1(1) that

"Subject to these Rules, any person may begin and carry on proceedings in person or by a lawyer".

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What this means is that except of the limitations stated in Rules, any person can institute an action. The limitation or restriction to bring an action is therefore the exception and not the rule. I believe it was for that reason that counsel for the defendant resorted to the rule that says that you can only bring a class or representative action under certain conditions which he alleged the plaintiffs had failed to meet. I really do not see anything in either the writ of summons or the statement of claim that says or even suggests that the action is either a representative action or class action. The plaintiffs have clearly stated the capacity in which they bring this action and it does not include either representing anyone or being a member of any class. If counsel for the defendant had wanted to bring the suit under the ambit of a class or representative action, he ought to have convinced the court why the action is necessarily a class or representative action. His reason for dubbing the action a representative action is that paragraphs 10, 11 and 13 of the statement of claim suggests so. The said paragraphs read as follows:

> "10. The pollution of the Chemu II lagoon by the defendant company is hazardous to the health of the citizens of Ghana especially those who have settled along the banks of the said lagoon.
>
> 11. The plaintiffs contend that the persistent pollution of the Chemu II lagoon by the defendant company has made the inhabitants of Tema Manhean who are predominately fishermen destitute as they can no longer carry out fishing activities in the lagoon due to the annihilation of all life forms in the aforesaid lagoon.
>
> 13. The plaintiffs also contend that the pollution of the Chemu II lagoon by the defendant company infringes on the rights of the inhabitants of Tema Manhean particularly those who have settled along the banks of the Chemu II lagoon to clean environment as guaranteed under the constitution and international law."

I do not see how those pleadings make this action a representative action. And nowhere are the plaintiffs claiming to represent anyone. The plaintiffs have clearly shown in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the statement of claim the capacity in which they have sued. What counsel for

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the defendants tried to do was rather disingenuous. He foisted the tag of "representative action" or "class action" on the plaintiffs' suit and then proceeded to say that it had not met the conditions of a representative action or class action. What one has to look at is whether the plaintiffs, in their own capacities, have a cause of action against the defendant and not whether they have fulfilled the requirements of a representative action. The fact that a positive outcome of this case may inure to the benefit of all Ghanaians or at least people other than the plaintiffs does not make it a class or representative action. I therefore hold that this is neither a class action nor a representative action and that the rules and authorities referred to by counsel for the defendant do not apply to this suit.

The next issue to determine is whether the plaintiffs have a cause of action against the defendants. It is the defendant's argument that the plaintiffs are mere busybodies only out to court cheap popularity. The plaintiffs insist that as Ghanaians they have the right to protect the environment and are enjoined by the constitution to do so. So the question is: when does a cause of action arise? I will begin by finding out what a cause of action is in the first place. In the case of **Leteng v. Cooper [1960] 2 All ER 929**, a cause of action was described as "A factual situation, the existence of which entitles one person to obtain from the court a remedy against another person." Counsel for the defendant has argued that once a party lacks the capacity to bring an action, then he cannot have a cause of action. He further argued that no factual situation had arisen to entitle the plaintiffs to seek a remedy from the court. Counsel seemed to be oblivious to the allegations made by the plaintiffs against the defendant. If the defendant has spilled oil into the Chemu II lagoon as alleged by the plaintiffs, it has indeed created an environmental problem which gives rise to a factual situation that needs a remedy. What is pertinent is whether the plaintiffs can be said to have suffered an injury or a damage from that factual situation that is actionable. This is a matter of fact that only the evidence can establish. The plaintiffs' contention that they are citizens of Ghana and even more so are resident in Ghana have not been challenged. Their argument is that the constitution of Ghana guarantees Ghanaians the right to life and by implication the right to a clean and healthy environment; such that the defendant's act in spilling oil into the Chemu lagoon will deprive Ghanaians of the constitutional right to a clean and healthy environment. They also argue that the same constitution stipulates in

article 33(1) that where a person alleges that any provision relating to his right or freedom has been contravened or is likely to be contravened, he may seek redress in the High Court. This is the reason why they are in court. The plaintiffs counsel have urged on me the argument advanced by G.A Sarpong, Esq. who contends (in his article entitled "Environmental Justice in Ghana" published in the (1996-2000) 20 RGL 91 at page 94 that the 1992 Constitution does not accord Ghanaians a right to a healthy environment but, instead, it imposes an obligation on every citizen to protect and safeguard the environment. The learned author quotes article 41(k) of the constitution to support his position. He further contends that there are "procedural rights" within the constitution that allow people "to freely associated with others to protect the environment; to protect the rights of others affected by environmental harm; to take collective action in support of environmental cases."

(See page 99). He goes on to say at the same page 99 that:

> "Thus from the purely constitutional perspective, and in the light of the relevant rules of public international law, the Constitution, 1992 provides some substantive and procedural basis for dealing with environmental problems. The recognition of the right to a wholesome environment as a fundamental right offers the plaintiff the advantage of a remedy which is cheap and expeditious for the redress of environmental grievance."

These arguments, in my view, are a progressive way to look at the constitutional provisions relating to environmental issues. As I will demonstrate later, they accord with quite widely-held views that the courts must become proactive when handling cases involving environmental issues.

But those arguments aside, the 2nd plaintiff is an inhabitant of Tema Manhean. His action could very well be founded on the common law tort of public nuisance. It is not until evidence is led that one can say whether he has a case or not. I do not see any rule of procedure that says he cannot mount an action on his own or together with the 1st plaintiff. The 2nd plaintiff and his counsel have argued that the plaintiffs could have chosen to commence the action under Order 4 rule 11 of C.1.47 as a representative of all the

inhabitants of Tema Manhean but that they chose to come on his own steam together with the 1st plaintiff. I see nothing procedurally wrong with that. The defendant's argument that were it to bring a counter-claim and won, there would be no one to enforce the judgment against has no legal legs to stand on. Both plaintiffs are legal persons against whom a judgment can be enforced. In any case, the fact of what the defendant may choose to do or not do cannot ipso facto deprive the plaintiffs of their locus standi.

I also want to look at the issue vis-à-vis the definition of cause of action as given in **Leteng v Cooper (supra).** If the allegations made by the plaintiffs in their statement of claim are anything to go by, then a factual situation has arisen which entitles some one to seek a remedy from the court a remedy against the defendant. The question then is whether the plaintiffs are the right people to demand this remedy from the court. The plaintiffs have resorted to the constitution of Ghana to say that they qualify to take this action. They argue that various provisions in the constitution of Ghana to say that they qualify to take this action. They argue that various provisions in the constitution give them the right to initiate this action by virtue of the fact that they are protecting public interest. I will proceed to look at these constitutional provisions that they rely on. It is provided in article 295 of the constitution as follows: "public interest" includes any right or advantage which inures to the benefit or is intended to inure to the benefit generally of the whole of the people of Ghana." So is an environmentally clean Chemu lagoon a right or advantage that inures to the benefit of Ghana generally? I would answer this question in the affirmative. Part of the plaintiffs' claim is that due to the oil spillage in the lagoon the flora and fauna are dying and the consequence is that the fisher-folk living around the lagoon have become destitute. Issues of environmental degradation or pollution cannot be the concern on only the people directly affected by the hazard. An example is the topical issue of the Akosombo Dam. The water-level in the dam went down drastically because of the inadequate rainfall in places far removed from the dam itself. (This is a notorious fact that I can take judicial notice of). Yet the effect was felt by people throughout Ghana and further afield. So how can anyone say that the effect of environmental degradation or pollution is the concern of only specific people close to the location of the degradation or pollution? The environment is unlike any other thing; it cannot be put into compartments because an occurrence in one

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place can have far-reaching effects on another place quite distant from the location. The effects of environmental pollution or degradation have a knack for rearing their ugly heads at the most unlikely of places. They should therefore be everybody's concern. So it cannot be said that unless you live near the Chemu lagoon you have no right to be concerned about polluting it.

In any case, the 1st plaintiff says it is in the business of protecting human rights and litigating on public interest issues. Public interest litigation seems to be a new concept in our jurisprudence and it ought, in my considered opinion, to be encouraged. I believe it is an antidote to the problem of direct victims of acts of environmental degradation or pollution being unable to take such cases to court. In view of the dearth of authorities within our jurisdiction in cases such as this one and in line with current practice, I have had recourse to other common law jurisdictions to see what pertains there. In the English case of **R. v Inspectorate of Pollution and Anor, ex parte Greenpeace Ltd [1994] All ER 329, Otten J** held that in deciding whether an applicant for judicial review had sufficient interest in the matter to which the application related, the court should take into account the nature of the applicant, the extent of his interest in the issues raised, the remedy which he sought to achieve and nature of the relief sought. As I have already intimated, the 1st is therefore by its functional nature the right person to take up an issue such as the the pollution of the Chemu lagoon, especially in view of the fact that the people inhabiting the immediate environs of the lagoon may be either too ignorant or too poor to initiate action on the issue. Were the plaintiffs to be denied *locus standi* in this case, the inhabitants of the lagoon area may not have an effective means of bringing their concerns before the court. In India and the United States, both common law countries, the concept of public interest litigation is relatively well developed. According to Dr. Iwona Rummel-Bulska, Principle Legal Officer and Chief Environmental Law Branch, UNEP, in a paper entitled "Environmental Jurisprudence" presented at the Sub-regional Sensitization Training Programme on Environmental Law for Judges held on the 16-17 March, 2006 in Accra, "the development of public interest litigation in India particularly in regard to the right to life and social and economic rights has been due to the wide provision contained in Article 32 of the Constitution of that country". The learned author then went on to cite the cases of

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S.P Gupta & Ors. v. President of India (1982) A.I..R (S.C) 149 and People's Union for
Democratic Rights v. Union of India (1982) A.I.R (S.C) 1473 and continued as follows:

> "These two judgments expanded the concept of *locus standi* in the judicial process and
> gave a permanent place to public interest litigation in Indian administrative and
> constitutional jurisprudence. Petitions on public interest matters affecting particularly
> the poorer sections of the society who have no means of litigating their grievances have
> been filed mainly by Bar Associations, social workers and bodies interested in
> fundamental and human rights as well as statutory and constitutional rights of citizens.
> These petitions seek to check the abuse of power by state agencies detrimental to the
> ordinary citizen and to compel them to carry out their duties and obligations under the
> constitution and other statutes."

I am sufficiently persuaded by those arguments and the practices in other common law
jurisdictions to want to follow suit. The idea of looking to other common law jurisdictions
in times of uncertainty is not new. In the case of **Archibold v C.F.A.O [1966] GLR 79,
Hayfon-Benjamin J** (as he then was) held that the categories of tortious actions were not
closed and courts would recognize a new cause of action if justice so required; mere
novelty was no longer a bar in view of section 17(4) of the Interpretation Act, 1960, which
empowers the courts in case of doubt on a point of common law and equity to seek
assistance from the decisions of the courts in any country. At the just-ended
Commonwealth Law Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, several speakers advocated the
need for public interest litigation for several reasons, one being the fact that quite often the
people directly affected by environmental pollution or degradation are either too ignorant
or too poor to initiate litigation themselves. They also emphasized the need for lawyers to
do more pro bono cases so as to make the law and justice generally more accessible to the
people, including people who can ill-afford paid legal services. I see in what the 1st
plaintiff is trying to do both of these laudable objectives advocated by the Commonwealth
Law Conference.

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I therefore also hold that the plaintiffs have a cause of action against the defendant. For the foregoing reasons I do not see my way clear to granting the defendant's application. It is accordingly hereby refused.

I award costs of GH¢300 against the defendant/applicant.

(SGD) **(F.G. Korbieh)**
Justice of the High Court

COUNSEL:
Agyabeng Akrasi for the defendant/applicant
Dr. Dominic Ayine (with him James Agalga) for the plaintiffs/respondents.

APPENDIX 6: FON press release on whale deaths

PRESS RELEASE

THE 19th MARINE MAMMAL WASHED ASHORE IN GHANA SINCE 2009

Takoradi, October 23, 2013. The washing ashore of marine mammals in Ghana is still not stopping. On October 20 and 21, 2013, two more mammals were found dead at the coast of Asanta in the Ellembelle District in the Western Region. **These carcasses present the 18th and 19th incidents respectively within the last four years. Citizens in the coastal areas are trying to correlate these unfortunate events to the offshore oil and gas, since the production started around the same period (2009). Two dead mammals after each other within just two days** caused a shock amongst locals. People in the coastal community are asking for answers.

Just recently a number of whales had been washed ashore at the beaches around Accra and in the Western Region of Ghana. The last one was a juvenile whale found in the same area in Ellembelle District on October 8th. **The last two mammals raise the number to eight (8) dead marine mammals washed ashore within just two (2) months.** The marine mammals were already decomposing when found which made it very difficult to recognize specific features of the mammals without experts on the ground.

Mr. Joseph Ebambey, the Chief Fisherman of Asanta, says that they always call the Environment Protection Agency (EPA) officials in Takoradi and the local District Assembly in Ellembelle District. In case of any reaction, **officials come and bury the whale – without explaining or even searching for cause of death.**

Even though officials from EPA have denied any link between the deaths of the mammals and the petroleum production, they still haven't told the public the actual reason for the dying of the whales. This has raised even more fears and uncertainties among fishermen and local communities.

Citizens in the coastal districts in the Western Region are very concerned about the deaths of the marine mammals. Some of the questions they have raised include the following:

- Are the deaths of the whales caused by a possible pollution of the water? Or is the water polluted to the extent that small fishes that represent nutrition in the food chain for marine mammals are dying?
- Are the whales being hit by vessels deep in the sea and die because of the collision?

- Are the whales disoriented due to noises caused by oil and gas exploitation activities and therefore swim to shallow waters where they die?

Friends of the Nation, a socio-environmental NGO in the Western Region, is documenting and keeping track of the number and locations of the dead mammals.

"The bio-diversity conversation is at utmost importance to ensure balance in the eco-system's functions and services. The washing ashore of dead mammals should be a major concern not only for coastal communities, but for all of us. When whales die, we have to take it serious and investigate to unravel the mystery of their deaths," says Kyei Kwadwo Yamoah, Program Coordinator, Natural Resource Management at Friends of the Nation.

FOR QUESTIONS, INTERVIEWS AND DONATIONS CONTACT US AT:
info@fonghana.org or nrm@fonghana.org
Please visit us at: www.fonghana.org

Friends of the Nation (FoN) is a socio-environmental, research and advocacy NGO, based in the Sekondi-Takoradi in the Western Region of Ghana. FoN serves as a catalyst for increased action on good governance of natural resources including minerals, coastal resources, fisheries, oil and gas, etc.