Gendering the REDD+ Policy Process in Ghana

Yaw Yeboah

Gendering the REDD+ Policy Process in Ghana

Yaw Yeboah

Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development

Abstract

There is a growing discourse on 'climate change' resulting in consciousness of a world seen through the lens of climate. This has led to the development of new structures, actors as well as policies and programs at international, national and local levels with the aim of managing the implications that global warming and climate change might pose to the environment and humankind. REDD+ has emerged as a global policy instrument directed by policy makers at financing forest restoration and emission reduction activities undertaken by different players. Some actors have identified a need to include gender concerns in REDD+. In this thesis, I explore the process of designing a Gender Road Map as part of REDD+ policy formulation and its effects on forest policy in Ghana. How is gender being conceptualized and configured into national-local discussions as part of REDD+ policy build-up in Ghana? What strategies are used by different actors in the quest to mainstream gender? The thesis combines literature review, key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussion and is based on explorative field studies which was carried out in Western Ghana in February and March, 2012.

Keywords: gender, forest policy, climate change, REDD+, policy process, environment.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations and Acronyms

C-BAG	Community Biodiversity Advisory Group
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CREMAs	Community Resource Management Areas
CRMSP	Community REDD+ Multi-Stakeholder Platform
DFF	District Forests Fora
ENRAC	Natural Resource Advisory Council
ENRC	Natural Resource Council
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ETS	European Union Emissions Trading Scheme
FC	Forestry Commission, Ghana
FCPC	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FIP	Forest Investment Programme
FLEGT/VPA	Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade/Voluntary Partnership Agreement
GAD	Gender and Development
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GGCA	Global Gender and Climate Alliance
GRM	Gender Road Map
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LLS	Livelihoods and Landscapes Study
MDA	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, Ghana
NAPAs	National Adaptation Programmes of Actions
NCRC	Nature Conservation Research Centre
NREG	Natural Resources and Environmental Governance Programme
PDA	Participatory Development Associates
PES	Payment for Ecosystem Services
RED	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
REDD+	Includes the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in reducing emissions.
RPP	Readiness Plan Proposal
SECO	State Secretariat for Economic Affairs
TCC	Technical Coordinating Committee
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFF	United Nations Forum on Forests
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-REDD	United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries
WED	Women, Environment and Development

WEDO   Women's Environment and Development Organization

1 Introduction

The forestry sector in Ghana is currently undertaking a broad array of policy reforms with the overarching aim of improving existing forest governance structures and sustainable management of forest resources (Forestry Commission, 2012). This reform is part of a broad national strategy initiated by the government to prepare for climate change related effects and for REDD+ policy formulation. 'Climate Change' broadly refers to "variations in climate as a result of direct or indirect human activities in combination with natural climate variations which alters global atmospheric composition over an observable and comparable period of time" (IPCC, 1995). There are several actors[1] with 'diverse interests' involved in climate change policy making (Newell, 2000:13). The different interest groups (state and non-state), and the interaction between, them also affects what is finally defined as a policy problem. In the words of Keeley (2001:5), the policy making process[2] is 'inherently political and can include or exclude' different interests and actors. Policy in a discursive sense, as used in this thesis, is not about the 'problem' in itself but rather the way(s) through which the representation of an issue creates it as a 'problem' for attention (Bacchi, 2000:48).

REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Land Degradation) is an international policy initiative which seeks to finance forest based activities in developing countries with the goal to minimize emission levels from deforestation and forest degradation and to enhance forest stocks for an emerging carbon market (Angelsen et al. 2009). REDD+ as policy option has engaged the attention of policy makers and organizations presenting opportunities and challenges for forest management. The reason for this attention is that it is perceived as a 'cost effective' option in terms of financing climate change mitigation programmes (Phelps et al., 2010:322). The tropical forests have also been identified as an important resource for sequestration

---

[1] "An actor (actant) is an agent, collective or individual, that can associate or disassociate with other agents in a network" (Sage, 2004, page 1).

[2] The term 'policy process' implies "processes of making policy, of decision making, ways of framing issues, agenda setting, sustaining it as a policy problem and prescribing solutions for implementation" (Keeley, 2001:5).

of carbon dioxide, hence its consideration in the international REDD+ policy debate (Boyd, 2002:71).

Through the agency of several non-state actors at different levels, gender equity[3] concerns have come up as one of the critical issues for REDD+ policy. This focus on gender indicates that some actors are exerting influence over others. Policy issues like 'gender' are not obvious but produced by policy makers, lobby groups and funding agencies at a particular time (Peach Brown, 2011).

This thesis situates itself within the context of REDD+ policy processes in Ghana and explores the role of International Union for Conservation of Nature, Ghana (IUCN, Ghana)[4] in influencing the policy makers on gender and environmental concerns. It examines how gender became a policy issue within REDD+. In addition, the roles and strategies used by non-state agencies in influencing policy makers and its likely policy effects are studied. The study is part of a broader collaborative research work on the implications of REDD+ policy formulation and implementation in Tanzania, Burkina Faso and Ghana which is being undertaken under the auspices of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Swedish Government.

1.1   Structure of Thesis

The theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis is discussed in part two after background. The third part focuses on methodology, country status and study area. Part four reviews REDD+ as a policy in general, and with special reference to Ghana, gender policy and forest policy. Part five and six presents the discourse analysis of the empirical material (both interviews and policy documents) in consonance with the conceptual framework. Conclusions are drawn from the analysis and presented in part seven.

1.2   Background

The Millennium Development Summit in the year 2000 and the adoption of eight development goals by the various participating countries was a milestone which set a global agenda for confronting challenges including poverty, climate change, environment, education, women and health issues in the 21st Century. One of the goals of the MDGs is the need for countries to collectively work towards sustainable[5] man-

---

[3] In terms of equal opportunities, treatment of issues and participation of different categories of men and women in climate change policy making and decision making.

[4] IUCN Ghana is a subsidiary of International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) – an international environmental organization with its gender policy which focuses on mainstreaming equality and equity concerns in natural resource management policies and programmes at different scales (cf. http://www.iucn.org)

[5] 'Sustainable management' connotes the idea that current development efforts must meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their development aspirations as well (WCED, 1987).

agement of natural resources (Millennium Project, 2006). This was a follow-up to earlier international actions like the adoption of the Agenda 21 Plan of Action, especially the guidelines for sustainable forest management, elaborated by participants at United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 (UN, 2009). Such developments have left some important concerns for governments, policymakers and civil society on the threat of climatic variations and its implications on populations, development, security and biodiversity across the globe (Angelsen et al., 2009:1). Subsequently, there has been an international effort to address the challenges posed by climate change leading to several initiatives, including the adoption of Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)[6], the signing of Kyoto Protocol in 1997, the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Bali, Indonesia in 2007, the Bali Action Plan, the Cancun Agreements and more recently the Copenhagen and Durban Climate Change Conference in 2011 (Angelsen et al., 2009, Olsen, 2007).

The RED (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation) proposal was approved at the Bali Conference of Parties in 2007 with a wider strategy to include Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and also Forest Degradation (REDD) (UNFCCC, 2007). The proposal evolved in 2008 with wider strategy aiming at reducing deforestation *and* forest degradation with an added focus on the "role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries" (REDD+) (UNFCCC, 2011:2-3). The REDD+ programme is being run at the international level by the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPC), Forest Investment Programme (FIP)[7] and the United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD) in collaboration with the Secretariat of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (UN-REDD, 2009).

REDD+ could produce challenges as well as opportunities for forest management. The intervention of REDD+ could be an avenue for reversing the threat posed by deforestation and forest degradation, as well as improving tropical forest management (Lederer, 2011). The implementation of REDD+ might also affect the different forest users as well as structures that defines forest access[8] and rights at a location. It becomes more visible when one considers the growing pressures on land and tropical forest resources for production of food and energy needs. There is also a possibility that REDD+ activities might unleash fresh competition over forest resources among different interest groups. According to Cotula and Mayers (2009:3), such a

---

[6] CDM is a policy product of the Kyoto Protocol which allows industrialized countries with commitments to reducing emissions under the protocol to implement projects aimed at reducing emissions in developing countries (www.unfccc.int).

[7] FIP is a targeted programme of the Strategic Climate Fund located within the Climate Investment Fund which supports developing countries efforts under REDD+.

[8] Access to resource refers to the institutional mechanism (private and public) through which people can acquire the right to own, use and transfer resource (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007b:23).

situation could have an impact on people with insecure resource tenure[9] especially if REDD+ results in increased land value and external interest. Policy discussions on REDD+ are already informing 'decision making' on forest management at different levels (Corbera and Schroeder, 2011:91) – international, regional, national and local. The possible effects of changing climate and policies like REDD+ could reinforce inequalities among people on different scales (Denton, 2002:11). According to a UNDP report (2005:61), gender disparities are among the deepest and prevalent forms of inequality. In relative sense, these inequalities exist and persist among different categories of people. Women are commonly a disadvantaged category in terms of forest access, decision making and benefit sharing in some developing countries (Aguilar 2010:180).

The argument for gender considerations in policies like REDD+ is made partly on the basis that specific actions are needed in order to prevent the risk of deepening the existing inequalities. Climate change policy making without gender considerations may become susceptible to increasing inequities for women (Hemmati and Röhr, 2007:5). The rationale for gender issues could also be inferred from the point that the impacts of climate change will not be the same for different groups of men and women (Aguilar, 2010). Gender relations interact with other factors like race, ethnicity, class and religion to define different roles for men and women in terms of resource access, ownership and participation in decision making (Dankelman, 2010:11). In addition, the differences in gender roles could also influence how people respond to the effects of policy interventions like REDD+. The advocates for gender concerns in climate change policy argue that these factors have not been considered at different levels of decision making (Skutsch, 2002).

1.2.1 REDD+ in Ghana

Ghana initiated the process of REDD+ policy adoption in 2007 by submitting a preparatory document called the Readiness Plan Proposal (RPP)[10] to the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF)[11]. The plan was approved in 2008 for development of a national strategy which is currently ongoing (www.fc.ghana.com). The REDD+ instrument is expected to be implemented as part of the existing forest governance policy interventions such as the Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade/Voluntary Partnership Agreement (FLEGT/VPA)[12], and the Natural Resources and Environmental Governance Programme (NREG) (R-RPP, 2010).

---

[9] Resource Tenure – system of rights, rules, institutions and processes regulating resource access and use (Cotula and Mayers, 2009:3)

[10] The Readiness Plan Proposal (RPP) is a policy document which stipulates the various preparatory stages needed for the implementation of the REDD+ policy. (R-RPP, 2010).

[11] The Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) is a global institution which provides technical and regulatory support for countries in anticipation of REDD+ financial scheme (www.forestcarbonpartnership.org)

[12] FLEGT/VPA is a bilateral agreement between European Union and wood exporting countries which aims at improving forest governance and ensuring compliance of legal procedure for timber exports (www.fcghana.org).

The low focus on gender in the initial stages of international climate change negotiations affected the development of national climate change policy frameworks. The RPP for REDD+ policy intervention submitted by Ghana mirrored the modest attention to gender issues in climate change policy discussions on the international level. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Ghana, Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) and Participatory Development Associates (PDA), Ghana, therefore started a policy discussion on gender. This led to the design and adoption of a national Gender Road Map (GRM), a policy document designed to guide specific policy processes to incorporate gender issues in REDD+ policy in Ghana (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011).

1.3   Gender and REDD+ Policy making

The omission of reproductive rights in RIO+ 20 declarations is a step backwards from previous agreements.

Gro Harlem Brundtland

As pointed out earlier, several actors involved in the climate discussions have their own interests (Newell, 2000) with specific plans to influence others in the process. The need for mainstreaming13 gender in climate change policy and REDD+ in specific is therefore based on different interests. The interest driven posture leads one to question how some proposals gain political influence while others do not. Relating to the writing of Cornwall and Brock (2005:1043), the field of development policy is an arena marked by expertise framing of concepts, or "buzzwords", that work as a leverage tool, not only to justify a certain program, but also to determine the actual implementation. The actors working to ensure that gender issues are taken care of in REDD+ also have their own interests and strategies through which they influence the policy process. Certain words and concepts are developed to project certain interests. The use in the development field of different words around gender like 'equality' and 'mainstreaming' often seem vague (Peach Brown, 2011:165), and could deploy several possibilities for policy making and practice (Smyth, 2007). From the perspective of 'governmentality' by Foucault, 'gender mainstreaming' takes the shape of a strategy defined by actors to influence policy makers on gender issues. Relating to Dean (1999:11), 'governing' is a 'planned activity undertaken by different actors with diverse techniques and forms of knowledge that seek to shape conduct by working through desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs towards certain aims'. The idea of gender mainstreaming, according to Smyth (2007:585), came out in response to the realization that the concerns of women and gender issues should be at the heart of development activities and not remain side lined. The pro-

---

[13] 'Gender mainstreaming' is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels with the overarching aim of achieving gender equality" (ECOSOC, 1997).

cess of ensuring that such gender concerns are considered in policy making is a way of 'governing' gender relations through the policy process.

Some of the reasons put forward for gender considerations in REDD+ are as follows: diverse perspectives and experiences among men and women in relation to resource access and control demands that their roles and relations are recognized in climate change policies (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:6), the involvement and contribution of different forest users in policies that concerns them and their livelihoods becomes paramount. In 2004, Denton wrote that women, in relation to men, had limited opportunities to participate in the climate policy discussions at both national and international scales (2004:47). Villagrasa (2002), writing on participation of women in international climate change negotiations, indicated that women were under-represented in the various decision making processes at the different levels. In addition, participation of different categories of people in development programmes could mean several things and be used for achieving different political goals in different contexts (Mosse, 2004).

The relative lack of policy focus on gender issues at the onset of climate change discussions was partly attributed to diverse and competing priorities among stakeholders, and greater focus on natural causes of climate variations rather than its social effects (Denton, 2004:42). After initial absence in the policy process, gender issues were later taken up alongside policy discussions on environmental and social safeguards[14] within REDD (GEF, 2011). There are three different policy instruments designed at the international level to assist pilot countries in the development of the safeguards as part of R-PP and they include: 1) the Environmental and Social Safeguards and Gender Mainstreaming Policy by GEF, [15] 2) the REDD+ Social and Environmental Standards (REDD+ SES)[16] by Care International and 3) UN-REDD Safeguards (Nhantumbo and Rolington, 2011). The discussion on safeguards became necessary partly due to the lack of focus on gender issues in the policy guidelines adapted for the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPAs)[17] by the UNFCCC and participating countries in 2001 (IUCN, 2011). The gender roadmap is a strategy of IUCN to "deliver roadmap for mainstreaming gender concerns in national REDD+ strategies in Uganda, Cameroon and Ghana" (WEDO, 2012b). The national gender project is a policy product of IUCN and WEDO with funding from Danish International Development Associates (DANIDA) (WEDO, 2012b).

---

[14] The Environmental and Social Safeguards are "policies or set of policy instruments which are designed to prevent and mitigate undue harm to people and their environment and strive to develop benefits in the development process" (www.forestcarbonpartnership.org).

[15] Global Environmental Facility

[16] REDD+ SES initiative is "providing support for national REDD+ programmes that make significant contribution to human rights, poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation"(REDD+SES,2012).

[17] NAPAs refers to policy actions aimed at "identifying, prioritizing and funding immediate climate change adaptation needs through the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change" (UNFPA and WEDO, 2009).

1.4   Rationale for the Study

The extent to which climate change policy at the international level will influence national gender policy in Ghana is not yet established empirically. The studies that have focused on policy processes of REDD+ within the context of Ghana like Hansen et.al (2011) are few. Therefore, this thesis seeks to contribute to the evolving discussion on gender in REDD+ and specifically on policy making consideration providing opportunities for reflections between policy and practice.

1.5   Research Objectives and Questions

The first objective of the study is to analyse the gender discourse in the REDD+ policy process. The questions that I seek to answer are:

1. How are gender concerns in relation to land rights and policy making framed by different actors in the development of the Gender Road Map?
2. How is REDD+ policy being perceived by different actors at national and local levels?

The other objective of the study is: to examine the roles and strategies of state and non-state actors in the development of the GRM for REDD+ policy process.

3. What is the role of MOWAC, FC and IUCN in the policy formulation?
4. How is the GRM used as a strategy by IUCN to influence policy makers on gender concerns in the policy process?

1.6   Scope and Limitations of Study

The study largely focused on the preparatory stages of REDD+ policy formulation in Ghana. The study is also limited since emphasis was placed on some key organizations namely FC, IUCN Ghana, MOWAC and ABANTU.

2 Theories, Concepts and Context of Study

The thesis aligns itself with theories on gender and natural resource management to explain the gender narratives in the REDD+ policy process in Ghana. It also relies on WPR (What is the problem represented to be) by Bacchi (2007) as a tool for analysing gender discourse in REDD. Furthermore, the concept of governance and governmentality is used to explain the role of actors and strategies used to influence policy makers on gender and forest conservation.

2.1 Analysing Policy as Discourse

In this thesis, the development of a roadmap for incorporating gender in REDD+ processes in Ghana reveals how gender has been presented as a policy problem. What is labelled as a 'problem' by policy makers influences the kind of proposal put forward to tackle the problem (Bacchi, 2009). The process of producing policy documents is influenced by diverse interests, ideas and individuals that are also being influenced by the dynamics of the same process. The focus on gender and subsequent drafting of its roadmap for REDD+ by policy makers is therefore a political exercise which has chosen to address gender as a problem out of many others, like land tenure and centralized natural resource management. My analysis of the gender document is an attempt to unpack its intentions, interest and proposed solutions. Hajer and Versteg (2005:175) define discourse as 'an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices'. When policy is treated as discourse, the normative assumption of the analyst is that there is need for 'change' and that is viewed in different ways through which certain concepts are defined and discussed by policy makers in documents and their effects on the proposed 'change'(Bacchi, 2000:46). Policy discourses can also be viewed as different facets of social interactions that drive and guide 'practices through certain metaphors within a particular policy process' (Sharp and Richardson, 2001:195). The discourses tend to give preference to certain concepts which further create 'possibilities of thinking' about an issue and devising strategies for action (Ball, 1993:14). The politics of policy making becomes clearer when the different players

within the policy field try to influence others with certain discourse. The process of trying to get others to support such discourses is embedded in the exercise of power among different actors (Dryzek, 2005). The focus of analysing policy as discourse goes beyond textual analysis and also includes the different processes that had led to development of the policy document or text (Bacchi, 2000:46). The analysis of the GRM and interview transcripts is done with the aid of the 'What is the Problem Represented to be' approach (WPR) developed by Bacchi (2007). This approach is used to analyse how 'gender' was problematized for policy attention in the REDD+ policy process in Ghana.

2.2 Women and Environment Perspective

The thesis used a 'women and environment perspective' to examine the reasons suggested for gender considerations and participation of women in REDD+ policy making. According to Jackson (1993:1947), the central discourses in this perspective (ecofeminism and Women, Development and Environment) emphasize women's special relationship with their environments. It originated mainly in the West and became influential in international sense in the 1980s (Leach, 2007). The study adapts the strand of ecofeminism that "relates domination of women to exploitation of nature as a result of social cultural systems and ideas which tends to subjugate women and nature (non-human world) below men" (Agarwal, 1992c:120).

According to Leach (2007:70), ecofeminists argue that women and nature had been subjected to oppression at the hands of male-controlled institutions and dominant western culture. Relating to Shiva (1988:3), the expansion of development projects in developing countries dispossessed women from their livelihood activities while at the same time destroying the environment. Therefore the exploitation of nature through development activities was linked to the domination of women (Jackson, 1993). In addition, the basis for women-environment relations was linked to their roles in society. Ecofeminists argued that the role of women in reproductive and livelihood activities gave them the needed impetus, care and knowledge of their environment (Leach, 2007). In other words, women in relation to their environment were perceived as a category which 'produce and reproduce life through their biological and social responsibilities' in developing countries (Shiva, 1988:41). The above mentioned views had its implications for development policy and practice. Leach (2007:72) suggested that such representations of women and the environment resulted in one (or both) of the following; recognition of their roles for participation in forest conservation projects, and a basis for forest policy interventions focusing mainly on women (Leach, 2007).

Ecofeminists have been criticized in environmental conservation discussion for their representation of women as homogeneous group with regards to their relationship with the environment (Agarwal, 1992c). This generalization downplays other important factors which influence access and use of resources, such as livelihood strategies, gender relations and existing institutional arrangements (Jackson, 1993). Moreover, the argument of the ecofeminists does not consider the actual lived rela-

tionship of women with their environment (Agarwal, 1992c:123). The women-environment connections were based on depictions and constructs of women and nature and not their lived experience (Agarwal, 1992c:120). Finally, the impact of environmental degradation will be different for different categories of women depending on their livelihood strategies and their capacity to respond to its challenges (Jackson 1993:1949).

The choice of using the women and environment perspective could be connected to the point that although GRM project for REDD+ in Ghana was discussing gender issues, specific actions mainly focuses on women. Gender as a concept is used by several actors within the academia, policy and the larger development arena to mean different things (Ferguson, 2010). It is used often to refer to 'women' (Smyth, 2007:585) as a category especially in policy and programmes.

2.3   The Governance Perspective

The concept of 'governance' is used in different ways in different contexts and often with several nuances in meaning (Finkelstein, 1995:367). Stoker defines governance in a broader perspective as "the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred" (1998:1). This creates an interactive arena for sub-national, national and international institutions and actors to influence the course of a development process or project. Governance could also be seen as the process of mobilizing support among different actors with diverse 'interests' in pursuit of a development program or project (Hewitt de Alcantara, 1998:105). The differing 'interests' among representatives of countries and civil society organizations in the climate change negotiations provide several challenges as well opportunities for the process of developing climate change policies (Newell, 2000:13).

Closely linked to the contested concept of governance is the concept of 'good governance'. The idea of 'good governance' has been described as a western coercive policy tool built into development support (Cooper and Packard, 1997) to which beneficiary developing countries must subscribe. Good governance is in other words seen as prescriptive policy dosage designed by the Bretton Woods institutions for the developing states in the Global South (Jayal, 2003). Accordingly, the World Bank (2011) affiliates good governance with "different processes and activities that seek to promote democracy, civil rights, transparency, rule of law and effective public service". The concept of good governance, in practice, is intended to ensure "that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources" (UNDP, 1997). The use of the good governance concept within the international development business and policy studies emphasizes the "interrelationships between state and market and more especially the institutional arrangements established by the state in ensuring accountability, legal procedures and related safeguards" (Doornbos, 2001:96). The push for a good governance agenda therefore does not only influence the natural role of the

state but also transfers power from the government structures to the private sector (Hewitt de Alcantara, 1998:111). With the background of the globalized nature of the REDD+ programme and the way specific roles have been taken up by countries and civil society organizations, it stands to reason that the implementation of such an environmental project (REDD+) will have some effects on role of the state in policy formulation. This relates to the discussion on 'global governance', what Finkelstein (1995:369) describes as "doing internationally what governments do at home". The concept of governance therefore aid in explaining the role of the state in the management of forest resources under the evolving REDD+ regime. In a more specific context forest governance is about 'who gets to decide what about forests and how' (Cotula and Mayers, 2009:2). It is this vein that the REDD+ project is seen not only to be about the enhancement of carbon stocks, but also about how the forests as a resource is being governed by different actors (Lederer, 2012).

According to Jayal (2003:101), "governance as a concept is gender neutral and therefore its definition should be engendered before any practical actions could be taken in terms of policies and projects aimed at engendering governance itself". The gender neutral nature of governance is connected to the fact that the interaction of state, market and civil society does not automatically promote gender responsive policies and projects (Jayal, 2003:99). I will use the above mentioned concepts of governance and good governance to explain the role of some state and non-state institutions, namely MOWAC, FC and IUCN, Ghana, in the REDD+ policy processes in Ghana especially in relation to the development of the Gender Road Map.

2.4   Governmentality

'Governmentality' in the perspective of Foucault means the "form of governing which transcends beyond formal state arrangements to include different spheres of social interaction (Bevir, 2011:461). Foucault did not subscribe to the idea of the state as a central point for exercising of power over society and other non-state actors rather through "techniques and processes that enforces individuals to govern themselves through certain rationalities…" (Häkli, 2009:629). The state cannot be said to administer the absolute power, as the neoliberal stance would propose, if one considers the increasingly important role of non-state actors like non-governmental organizations in management of developing economies (Ferguson, 2004). According to Ferguson and Gupta (2002:989), the developing state within the context of 'transnational governmentality' must compete with other non-state actors for the exercise of its 'vertical sovereignty'. In this context 'verticality' of the state means the assumption of dominant and central role of the state above non-state actors in formulation of policies (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002:982).

The idea of governmentality manifests itself through "different avenues that people think about or come to think about the technologies, rules and practices by which they govern and are governed" (Bevir, 2011:461). In addition, governmentality explores the reason for specific governing techniques and its intended or unintended policy or practical outcomes (Prugl, 2011). The proposed technique is more often

implemented through specific strategy which is aimed at meeting certain political aspirations. The analysis of a government therefore essentially involves examining practices of the government as well as of the governed, and how certain thoughts taken as the 'truth' influence what people really do (Dean, 1999:12, 18). The thesis examines the Gender Road Map as a particular strategy, or 'technique'[18], used by IUCN Ghana and their affiliated organizations to influence policy makers and institutions, in the REDD+ policy process in Ghana. The above mentioned technique is, in other words, deployed directly or indirectly by the non-state actors with the objective of influencing gender relations within the policy process and in the management of natural resources in Ghana. The development of the GRM was informed by a certain kind of knowledge on gender prescribed by experts on both national and international scale. The formulation of such knowledge to drive governing strategy could be related to what Dean (1999:31) calls analysis of governmentality as an activity of government and a certain mentality.

---

[18] Following particular regimes of practices and techniques (cf Dean,1999:28).

3 Methodology and Methods

This process based REDD+ policy study undertook the study on two levels: the national and local (district). The study in Accra concentrated on the lead agencies in the REDD+ policy discussion and Community REDD+ Multi-Stakeholder Platform (CRMSP). The study used the method of interviewing (structured and semi-structured), focus group discussion and review of relevant literature. In line with different organizational regulations, I assured my interviewees that their views will be treated anonymously. The process of selecting specific institutions and interviewees to participate in the research process in accordance with the research objectives itself is a political exercise (Smith, 2001) which is connected to the need and the interest for that study. An ethical issue regarding the study involves the disclosure of intent of study with respondents at all levels of engagement and proper handling of information on land and forest use which is sensitive in Ghana especially under REDD+ discussions. The analysis of the gender discourse and justification of REDD+ in the REDD+ policy process in Ghana will be interpreted on two levels ; what the various actors had been saying and what they meant by what they said in both interviews and in document (interview transcript and GRM). This is done by comparing interview transcripts with the gender document

3.1 Interviews at the IUCN Pro-Poor REDD+ Project Site and National level

The project is currently at the preparatory stage with a lot of REDD+ education and community sensitization[19] being organized by IUCN and the District Forest Commission at Asankrangwa. The communities which I visited included No Good, Simpah, Amuni and Achechere. I conducted twenty interviews and organized one focus group discussion with eight members of the Community Biodiversity Advisory Group (C-BAG). The interviewees selected at the district level had already participated in the REDD+ education program being carried out by the IUCN and the District Forest Commission. The interviewees at the national level were mainly experts

---

[19] REDD+ Sensitization program is a strategy used by IUCN Ghana and Forestry Commission to inform and influence actors at national and local levels towards certain course of actions in the management of forest resources.

and participants in the national REDD+ forum and had been involved in the REDD+ policy issues in Ghana. The interviewees were representatives from the IUCN, Ghana, FC, ABANTU and MOWAC. This was undertaken in line with my objective of exploring the processes that led to the designing of the gender document for REDD+ in Ghana.

3.2   Tool for Discourse Analysis: What is the Problem Represented to be Approach

The thesis adapted the "What is the Problem Represented to be' (WPR) framework as advanced by Carol Lee Bacchi in order to analyse how 'gender' was represented as a policy problem in REDD+. The approach focuses on the ways through which "different and competing constructions of issues are addressed within the context of specific policy process and how these constructions leave other issues untouched" (Bacchi, 2007:4). The framework adapted is modified in line with my research objective by looking at how gender was problematized, assumptions behind the representations and its effects on policy actions. The analysis focused on both interviews transcripts of some policy makers and the GRM. The various constructs or narratives on a particular issue created by different actors to represent a certain problem lead to a discourse formation. The problem representation tool analyses how certain discourse creates problems for policy attention and its implications on specific policy responses developed to tackle the problem (Bacchi, 2007:36). An example is the represented problem of under-representation of women in natural resource management and policy making in Ghana and its effects on suggested policy actions for REDD+ policy implementation. The analysis of the gender discourse is undertaken on the interview transcript and the gender document. This was done on one hand by purposely selecting interviewees who participated in the gender policy workshop and then analysis of the document. The problem representation approach of analysing policies assumes context-specific nature of policy issues and involvement of all actors in problematizing issues for policy consideration (Bacchi, 2007:4). The approach will be used to analyse how gender issues were conceptualized and configured by different actors as part of the REDD+ policy process and its implications on proposed solutions. Specifically gender relations in terms of participation in the REDD+ processes and land management are represented for particular attention in the REDD+ policy process in Ghana and the effects on proposed policy actions.

3.3   The National Context: Ghana

Ghana is located in the western part of Africa on 8.00N and 2.00W with a total area of 238,533 km^2 and an estimated population of 25,241,998 (CIA, 2012). The tropical country of Ghana is politically divided into ten administrative regions and its capital city is Accra. With an annual deforestation rate of 220 km^2 per annum, the country had, at least on paper, reserved about 16 percent of its land area for the conservation of biodiversity (MEST, 2002). The vegetative cover is broadly classified into two main types: the tropical high forest zone and the savannah, with overlapping and

other different types between them (MEST, 2002). The tropical high zone is predominantly located in the southern part of the country and savannah in the northern part of the country. The field work activity was carried out in the Wassa Amenfi West District of the Western Region of Ghana.

3.4   Study Site Selection

The Wassa Amenfi West District is made up of 250 communities with six forest reserves. It covers a total area of 64,242.81 hectares (MOFA, 2011). Recent statistics indicate that the district has a population of about 186,000 with the majority residing in rural communities and depending largely on forest resources (IUCN, 2011). The area is predominantly cocoa growing with annual population growth rate of 3.2% between 1994 and 2000. There are both timber companies and illegal loggers (also known as chain saw operators) carrying out several activities in the area. These activities make Wassa Amenfi prone to intense deforestation and land degradation (Förster, 2009).

IUCN pro-poor agroforestry began in 2009 as an exploratory project with financial support from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). The project area has been selected by the forest commission as one of the seven national REDD+ pilot sites. The area had been a pilot ground for several forest governance workshops/projects, forest education and conservation based research activities. They include Livelihoods and Landscapes Study (LLS), REDD+ sensitization programme and structures like the Community Resource Management Areas (CREMAs), Community Forest Committees (CFCs), District Forests Fora (DFF), Community REDD+ Multi- Stakeholder Platform (CRMSP) (IUCN Ghana, 2011). Additionally about 22 communities within the district and the project area specifically had been taken through the REDD+ awareness training to 'inform and also involved them in the policy discussions which is designed to feed back into the national discussions' (IUCN Ghana, 2011). The IUCN awareness programs on REDD+ focuses on issues related to deforestation and land degradation at national and district workshops (IUCN Ghana, 2011). The map below is the diagrammatic representation of the country, region and the district where the project is been currently taking place.
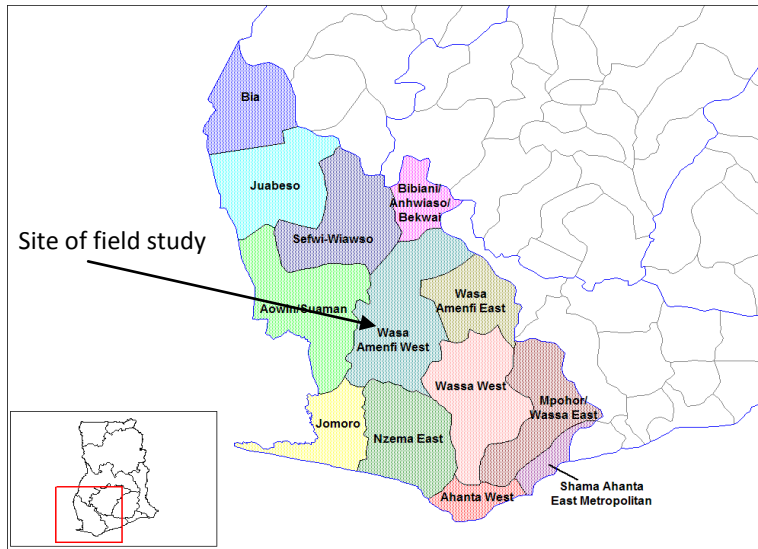
Figure 1. Map adapted from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Western_Ghana_districts.png

4 Review of Literature

4.1 Gender Relations and Land Tenure in Ghana

Recounting the personal teenage experience in southern Ghana bring reflections of finding myself away from home more often than my sister who had to support in household chores like cooking, fetching water and sweeping. My role of carrying food from the farm necessitated that I spend time with my father in his farm. The roles undertaken by my sister and I were not obvious but assigned through parenting, mentoring from other relatives and self-observation. Though not static, gender relations in the words of Arora-Jonsson are not a 'product of natural conditions but a dynamic construct of socio-historical and cultural interactions within specific context' (2013:31). There are several factors that influence, define and maintain such relations and roles in a society. Relatively, the intersection between different factors like class, age, sex, ethnicity, race and social connections produce and enforces gender roles and power relations among different groups of men and women (Arora-Jonsson, 2013:5). It could be possible that other factors like religion, norms and location (rural and urban) might also influence gender relations. The gender roles and relations potentially present opportunities and challenges for different social groups.

Within the context of 'traditional' societies of Ghana, the leadership role at the household level which is often given to men grants them control over shared resources and responsibility of providing for the household livelihoods (Awumbila, 2001:39). The common task of women within the household includes nurturing of children, chores and assisting economic roles of men (Awumbila, 2001). The gender roles as well as relations at the household level is not static rather changing through time and space. According to Boateng (1996), factors like migration and urbanization had led to changes in gender roles in Ghana especially that of the woman at both family and national level with new responsibilities of providing support for livelihoods. The changing gender roles will be managed differently by different categories of men and women. A study has presented that structural changes in the Ghanaian society has accentuated the responsibilities of women at the household without improving their access, ownership and decision making roles over productive shared resources like land (Awumbila, 2001). An important component for

understanding different roles and spaces of engagement available to men and women in recent times in terms of access, rights and ownership of land is the socio-cultural context within which such have evolved over time (Tvedten et al., 2008).

In Ghana, the ownership and control of land is embedded in mixed traditional and modern legal systems with characteristics of state, customary and private holdings (Kasanga, 2002). The state institutions (sector ministry and Lands Commission) working under the president regulates access and use of public lands in national and regional levels (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). In addition, the right to control forest and tree resources is also bestowed in the state by constitution (Marfo et.al, 2012:165). The 1992 constitution also recognizes the customary law, creation of the house of chiefs[20] and restriction of state interference in chieftaincy matters. Generally, the different customary laws in Ghana do not define specific land rights for different categories of people (Ardayfio Schandorf, 2007b:23). In practice, the tenure arrangements only give right of access to communal lands without right to control and ownership which could produce gender inequalities (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2002). The avenues for accessing land in Ghana includes but are not limited to social networks, acquisition, kinship networks, and rents with different gender tenure agreements for men and women (Awumbila, 2001:42). Under the customary tenure, women's land rights are largely determined by factors like "marital status, laws of inheritance and divorce and norms which are embedded in the society" (Ardayfio Schandorf, 2007b:24). In other words, the stability of the women's marriage becomes central factor which determines her access to land while in the case of divorce, such rights could be lost (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2002:90) Though the chieftaincy institution was recognized by the 1992 constitution, customary tenure has been in existence since colonial period (Ubink, 2008). The former British colonial administration in their effort to rule the former Gold Coast introduced indirect rule which legitimized the authority of chiefs over the management of land and forest resources (Kotey et.al, 1998). With that role, the traditional authorities received the mandate from the colonial officers to undertake land transactions as part of their duties (Amanor, 2010). The chieftaincy institution has been active in both land and forest management till today. Kasanga (2002) states that about 78% of all lands in the country are vested in customary arrangements, 20% in the hands of the state with 2% under private ownership. But a common feature which is predominant among the various tenure systems in Ghana is an unequal rights and access to land between men and women with access rate for women ranging between less than 10% in Northern and 50% in Southern Ghana respectively (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007a). The house of chiefs as the name implies largely recognizes male traditional leaders without involvement of female leaders[21].

---

[20] The house of chiefs is the highest decision making body of the customary sector established by the constitution of Ghana at national and regional levels. There are hierarchies of chiefs e.g. paramount (state), sub-chiefs and village chiefs etc. (Marfo et.al, 2012).

[21] Queen mothers or traditional female leaders act as representatives of women in communities. They play advisory role within the chieftaincy institution.

The female traditional institutions (including 'queen mothers') are more prevalent in southern Ghana than in the north. With reference to Steegstra (2009:106) the "position of queen mothers enables women to play an important role in socio-economic development of their communities". If the above statement is true within the context of southern Ghana, then their absence in decision making and natural resource management is disincentive to socio-economic development of their communities and Ghana at large. The greater male presence in decision making within the customary sector might have some effects on gender relations in resources access and control. This is possible when one consider that men at different levels have been at the forefront of land acquisition processes in the traditional system of governance either as family heads or chiefs while women are mostly underprivileged in terms of equality of access to land and forest resources (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007a). An important dimension for consideration is the evolving nature of the existing forest and land tenure arrangements as a result of agricultural expansion and infrastructural development from a family or largely communal based to individualized rights (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001) with inherent implications for different gender categories at different societal levels. It is in the light of growing pressure on land as a resource that REDD+ policy might consider land tenure. There might be possible effects of REDD+ on livelihoods and rights of forest users especially categories with insecure resource tenure. The impact of such developments in the land and forest sectors could mean a lot to the marginalized groups like the landless women whose right of access to land depends largely on family arrangement (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007a). The National Land Policy of 1999 recognizes the customary arrangements in land management and made general statements about security of tenure and protection of land rights (MLF, 1999) but very silent on gender relations in terms of access and ownership of land. The state through the constitutional provisions could acquire land compulsorily from customary sector for development projects but a lot of such acquisitions had also taken place without appropriate compensation for communities (Kasanga, 2002). Some of the gender implications of uneven land tenure had been inequalities in benefit sharing accrued from exploitation of forest resources which is centralized and gender neutral coupled with unequal "access to land rights which tends to favour men" (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). In other words, benefits from sources like royalties and rents are captured by chiefs and elites within both traditional and state system and do not get to community members (Marfo et.al, 2012:167).

4.2 Gender Policy Terrain in Ghana

"Ghana is quick at endorsing policy instruments but it takes much longer time for their implementation" (Miss Amoateng, Gender expert, Accra, 2012)."

Ghana signed on to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1945, International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966 and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 (Women's Manifesto for Ghana, 2004). Article 17 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana also emphasizes equality of all before the law and among others encourages gender equality (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). The need for gender concerns in all

policy related issues was further strengthened with the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace in 1995 and United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) push for gender mainstreaming in development policies and programmes in1997. Gender Sensitivity is the ability to recognize gender issues, and especially the ability to recognize women's perspectives and interests arising from their different social position and gender roles (MOWAC, 2011). At the national level, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) was established in 2001 with the mandate of ensuring gender policy making across ministries, departments and agencies of government (MOWAC, 2011). The existing gender policy (2001) is broad in its outlook and lacks action plans designed to manage sector-specific issues. There are plans currently underway to review and develop a new gender policy which is sector based to address the gaps in the old one (Azumah-Mensah, 2012).

There are challenges in terms of adequate budget allocation, inter-sector coordination and infrastructural development.[22] The above factors limit the ability of MOWAC to function properly.

4.3 The Process Report of the GRM

The process of drafting the GRM began with the identification of inadequate policy focus on gender issues by some stakeholders as part of the safeguards which was been developed to manage the effects of REDD+ implementation in Ghana. The process started with IUCN engaging their local and national partners which includes the Forestry Commission (FC), Tropenbos International, Ghana, Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), Ghana, Civic Response and IUCN gender team from Washington DC to discuss the possible entry point for mainstreaming gender issues into the REDD+ policy formulation in Ghana. The lead agency (IUCN, Ghana) collaborated with Women, Environment, and Development Organization (WEDO) and also engaged Participatory Development Associates (PDA), Ghana during the process. A three (3) day training workshop (5-7 September, 2011) was organized for representatives of women organizations, ministries and women working on gender and forestry issues across the country. It was within this period that the organizers (IUCN/WEDO/PDA) collected information on gender roles in forest uses and identified factors that could hinder gender issues in REDD+. In addition, a two-day policy workshop (8-9 September, 2011) was organized for policy making organizations like ministries, institutions etc. The information collated from the two sessions was fused for analysis and discussion by the organizers. The implementing team i.e. IUCN and PDA prepared the first draft before convening a meeting with their partners. The organizers are currently working on modalities to provide budget lines for the implementation of the road map and also designate what each key stakeholder is expected to do. The document which was an initiative of IUCN, Ghana had been adapted by the Forestry Commission as a national document for incorporating gen-

---

[22] Interview with Mrs. Aryee, gender policy expert at MOWAC

der concerns in REDD+ policy Processes in Ghana[23]. The development of the GRM was funded with a grant facility of USD 40,000 from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ghana. The lead implementing agency of REDD+ policy in Ghana, the Forestry Commission (FC) in conjunction with IUCN, Ghana had also initiated a follow-up process of securing funding for actual implementation of specific plans and strategies enshrined in the roadmap.[24]
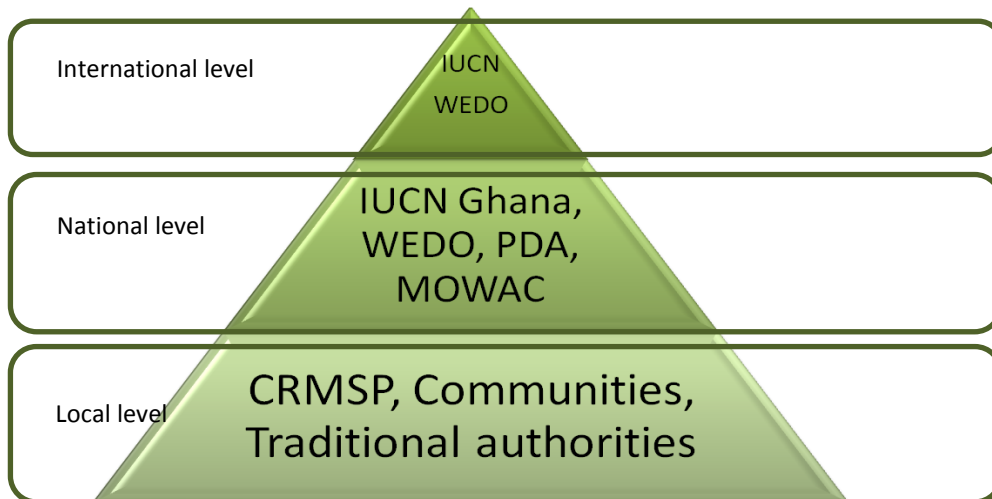
Figure 2. Diagram showing the involvement of different stakeholders in the development of the gender roadmap.

4.4   REDD+; RED OR GREEN?

Since its inception, the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Land Degradation (REDD+) project has attracted the attention of actors at various levels – international, national and sub-national. The views on REDD+ policy option centres partly on its motivations, goals and likely effects on different forest users'. Some of the opinions around the REDD+ programme of the action in the forest sector includes the following; The REDD+ project and broadly Payment for Ecosystem Services (PES) is described by some actors as an extension of "neoliberal conservation tactics" (Buscher, 2011). The Coalition for Rainforest Nations (2012) envisaged REDD+ as an opportunity to improve economic conditions/growth while taking actions towards climate change management. This above expectations will be possible when rich countries pay for conservation activities/projects in rainforest areas. In contrast, the proposed marketing of carbon in the climate change policy discussion might create opportunity for companies as well as governments in advanced industrial countries to defer policy actions needed to tackle the emission levels (Gilbert-

---

[23] The process report was based on interview with some experts who participated in the gender road policy workshop.

[24] Electronic conversation with officers at IUCN, Ghana

son and Reyes, 2009). The REDD+ policy implementation at the national level with its funding mechanism is capable of centralizing the policy process and resources at the national level from project communities (Phelps et.al, 2010:312). In relation to Palmer (2010:1105), the policy implementation of REDD+ at the national level could improve the decentralized structures and processes of forest management. REDD+ is also viewed as the opportunity for different interest groups especially the private environmental organizations to acquire or 'grab' communal lands for tree plantations in tropical countries (Nhantumbo, 2011). There are concerns that REDD+ could be a 'green grabbing' project due to its potential effect of taking land and other resources for environmental ends" (Fairhead et al., 2012:237).

REDD+ project is also been described as an environmental governance project which involves multiple collective actors at different levels with varying interests (Thompson et al, 2011).

4.5   REDD+ in Ghana

4.5.1   The Policy Process in Ghana

The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) is revising the 1994 Wildlife and Forest and the 1996 Forest Development Master plan. This is done as part of its preparation for REDD+ implementation (Revised RPP, 2010).

REDD+ policy discussions in Ghana became earnest with the country's selection for pilot activities by World Bank's Forest Investment Program (FIP) (Wurtenberger et.al, 2011). Ghana is also one of the partner countries which enjoy observer status[25] at the UN-REDD Programme and also a pilot country for Forest Investment Programme (FIP). The REDD+ policy in Ghana is being implemented by multiple actors including ministries, departments and agencies (MDA) of government, Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and communities. The final document which was presented to Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPC) by Ghana in December, 2010 had little to say on the gender ramifications of the policy implementation in Ghana and only had it mention briefly (page 72 of the document). It states that "In accordance with FCPC, special consideration should be given to livelihoods, rights, cultural heritage, gender …" (R-PP, 2010). The Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP) document which sets the framework for REDD+ policy processes in Ghana is the product of different actors. The policy adoption of REDD+ and its proposed preparatory activities in Ghana had been designed to take off in three (3) stages: 1) The consultative and policy formulation stage; 2) project piloting; and 3) actual implementation (R-PP, 2010). This is represented in figure 3 below.

---

[25] Ghana is currently not receiving funds from the UN-REDD program but has access to knowledge sharing, attends policy board meeting and may receive targeted supported from UN-REDD Global program (UN-REDD, 2011).
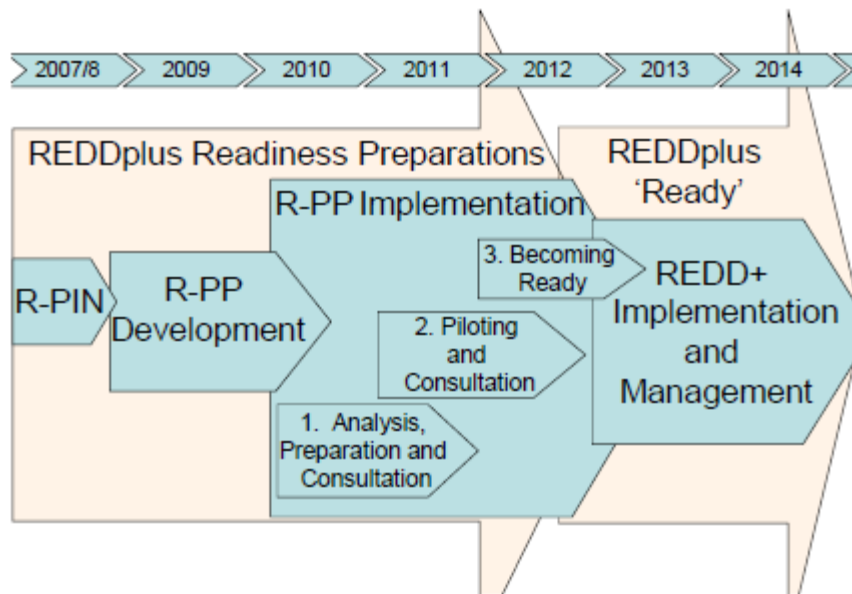
Figure 3. "Phasing of Ghana's Progress towards being 'Ready for REDDplus". Source: Readiness Preparation Proposal, Ghana (2010).

4.5.2 Institutional Architecture of REDD+ in Ghana.

Some of the key stakeholders which the REDD+ Secretariat is collaborating with at the international level includes: the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF), The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Royal Embassy of Nether-lands, The Swiss Embassy through the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) Programme[26], International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, The Katoomba Group, Rainforest Alliance, the Forest Dialogue and Forest Trends. At the national level the REDD+ Secretariat under the Climate Change Unit of the Forestry Commission also work with the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Ghana, the Nature Conservation Re-search Centre (NCRC), Ministries of Environment, Science and Technology (MEST), Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD), Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) and Food and Agriculture (MOFA). Others include the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Tropenbos International-Ghana, Care International and the National House of Chiefs with activities ranging from provision of financial support, advocacy and advisory roles, policy formulation, capacity building and technical assistance. The REDD+ Secretariat which works as a centralized implementing body streamlining and moni-toring REDD+ activities also work in partnership with stakeholders at the local level including the district assemblies, traditional authorities, forest communities, local non-governmental organizations, timber firms and farmer associations The REDD+ Secretariat reports directly to the National REDD+ Steering Committee at the minis-terial level for onward submission to the Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC).

---

[26] Gathered information from an interview with REDD+ officer in Accra

The TCC also reports to the Natural Resource Advisory Council (ENRAC) or the Environment and Natural Resource Council (ENRC) at the cabinet level which is the highest body within the cabinet under the chair of the Vice President of Ghana with the mandate of providing policy direction on issues related to national climate change adaptation strategy (World Bank, 2011). There are different financial arrangement for various programmes and projects under the forest sector reforms. The table 1 below gives a summary of funding arrangements for the different projects/programmes.

TITLE OF PROJECTS / PROGRAMME	OBJECTIVE	DATE OF COMMEN CEMENT	EXPECTED DATE OF COMPLETION	AMOUNT (MILLIONS)	DONOR	LOCATION
NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE PROGRAMME (NREG)	To address governance issues as regards to natural resources and environment to ensure sustainable economic growth, poverty alleviation, increasing revenues and improving environmental protection	2008	2012	Annual Pledges paid by Donors	EU, WB, DFID, The Netherlands, Agence Français Development	MLNR, FCHQ
Non Legally Binding Instrument on all Types of Forests (NLBI)	To pilot a project to support Ghana to move in the implementation of the NLBI	2009	2011	USD0.5 Million	GIZ, FAO, BMZ	FCHQ
Forest Preservation Project (FPP)	To support measures towards forest conservation in Ghana by providing equipment, materials and services	2011	2012	USD 7.8 Million	JICA	FCHQ
Reducing Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD⁺) Project	To assist Ghana to prepare itself for REDD+ and become ready for the implementation of the REDD+ mechanism	2010	2013	USD 3.6 Million	World Bank FCPF	FCHQ
Land Administrative Project (LAP)	Dealing with land tenure and legislative reforms in aspects of land use	2011	2014	USD 70 Million	World Bank	MLNR
Global Environment Facility (GEF)	Small grants administered through UNDP on Environment for improving local resource use	2011	2014	Pledges	UNDP	Various Communities
Other REDD Related Projects	Aims to establish CDM mechanism and Piloting REDD and Biodiversity Conservation with communities	2009	2013	$1.200,000	ITTO/UNEP	MEST
Community Forestry Management Project	Poverty Reduction and restoration of degraded forest reserves through plantations	2004	2010	$10 million	AfDB	MEST

Table 1. Types of Reform Programmes and their financial arrangements. Source: Adapted from the document Ghana - Forest Investment Programme (FIP), MLNR, 2012.

As part of REDD+ project, the Forestry Commission on behalf of the Government of Ghana received an initial amount of 0.20million USD in 2009 by the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) with additional funding of 3.40million approved by the same facility in 2012, but yet to be released (Climate Fund Update, 2012). An interview with an officer at the National REDD+ Secretariat indicates further pledge of 4.5 million USD in support of REDD+ activities by the Swiss Embassy under its State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) programme. The different policy reforms being undertaken by the government of Ghana in response to possible effects of climate change are been hampered with difficulties in accessing climate funds and the predictability of real disbursement after pledges are made by funders (Cameron, 2011). There are other joint public-private forestry projects currently underway which are not specifically part of the REDD+ initiatives but broadly under the existing national forest sector programmes. An instance is the more recent 'Foresting the Northern Savannah Project'[27] which is a five-year joint project between

---

[27] The project is expected to plant 5million trees within 5 years in the 50 districts of the SADA zone in Ghana (Myjoyonline.com, 2012).

ACI Construction Company, a subsidiary of AGAMS Group of companies and the Savanna Accelerated Development Authority (SADA).

4.6   Forest Policy in Ghana

The forestry sector in Ghana had witnessed two major government policy frameworks namely: The 1948 Forest Policy and the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy (Agyenim-Boateng et al., 2002). The 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana focused on "conservation and sustainable development of the nation's forest and wildlife resources for maintenance of environmental quality and perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society" (Forestry Commission, 1994). Moreover, the 1994 policy focused on participatory forest management (Forestry Commission, 1994). Some of the identified drivers of deforestation in Ghana include illegal logging, ineffective policy, expansion of cocoa plantations, unfavourable tree tenure regime, slash and burn agricultural practices and weak governance (R-PP, 2010). The farmers who protects and keep timbers trees on their farms as a case do not enjoy any legal right to harvest or partake in its revenue (Marfo et al., 2012:165). Since the colonial era, the forest policy making arena in Ghana is mostly "influenced directly or indirectly by the conjunction and dynamics of international forests debates, perspectives and national interest" (Kotey et al., 1998:14). The national forest policy is making is influenced by actors at different levels. The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) is the responsible ministry for sector wide "policy formulation, monitoring, evaluation and validation of programmes and projects" (GOG, 2012). The Forestry Commission (FC) has the mandate of overseeing the "management, conservation and regulation of the utilization of forest and wildlife resources" in Ghana (Forestry Commission, 2012). In line with preparations for the REDD+ implementation, the sector ministry is revising the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy with an envisaged shift from exploitation of timber resources towards conservation based practices which will support biodiversity (Kodum-Agyemang, 2012). However, as observed by Ardayfio-Schandorf (2007a:95), the various reforms that have been carried out at the forestry sector did not consider gender issues and therefore turns out with varying impacts on forest users.

5 Empirical Evidence and Findings

5.1 Discourses on Gender and REDD+ policy

This section briefly looks at how some of the key stakeholders frame gender and problematized it as part of the REDD+ policy discourse in Ghana. Emphasis is placed on IUCN-Ghana, Forest Commission (FC), MOWAC, and ABANTU for Development and CRMSP at the district level. I have identified three main gender discourses from the interview with policy makers and the gender document (GRM). These are presented below.

(a) Equity Discourse
The discourse argues that existing relations among different actors within social space had created inequalities. This difference is largely working against 'women' as a group in restricting them access to both management of resources and to both policy making. It based its arguments on the exclusion of women's 'rights', issues and roles within the policy making (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011). Comparatively, the equity discourse could be traced back to WID in the 1970s which called for equality between men and women in development (Bhavani et.al, 2003:5). The approach had policy influence like sprung up of national institutions for promoting women's interests in development which in practice was resisted as it affected the reorganization of power among men and women in different social arena (Razavi and Millier, 1995:7).

(b) The Policy Efficiency
The policy efficiency discourse argues for the recognition of the role and involvement of women in the REDD+ policy and as well as natural resource management. The argument is grounded on the assumption that REDD+ policy (viewed as a development program) will only be 'effective' intervention if it recognize roles of men and women in implementation (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011:13). Though it talks on gender, it pays significant attention to 'women'. This discourse assumes a view of women as a lower category within existing social relations which defines resource access, use and ownership. It relates with one of the notions found under the Women in Development (WID) in the 1980s which argues that efficiency of development programmes was largely dependent on the involvement of women and their produc-

tive activities (Bhavani et.al, 2003:5). A major goal for WID was to ensure that policies focused on reallocating economic resources in favour of women (Razavi and Millier, 1995).

(b) Women and Environment Relations
The document argues that important role and involvement of women in forest management in Ghana has been ignored (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011:13). It assumes the forest sector including its institutions and structures are controlled by male with less female presence though their role seems given. The case for involvement of women in REDD+ policy making because of their special relations with the environment could be related to one of the views in ecofeminism. The view posits the idea of closeness of women to nature and men to culture (Agarwal, 1992).

5.2 Interviews at National Level

5.2.1 IUCN, Ghana

According to Mrs.Abaka, a project manager with IUCN-Ghana, the REDD+ project is not about carbon and trees but people who are made up of men and women. It is therefore important that such a project recognize that and takes into consideration different roles, interest and uses with which different people use the forest. She opined that the existing roles and relations in terms of access to land and ownership rights is informed by the social cultural structures which defines these roles and relations. Her position was also supported by Miss Gyamfuaa who noted that:

> … I think gender in REDD+ is important because of the access, the use and the value that each of these groups [men and women] places on the forests (Miss Gyamfuaa, field officer, IUCN-Ghana).

The need for incorporating gender was also presented in terms of biological relationship between men and women. Women were portrayed as not being as physically strong as men and therefore could not go deep into the forest to engage in activities like logging and mining. This according to IUCN-Ghana makes the drivers of deforestation and degradation gendered and therefore any policy intervention should work towards addressing the challenges.

5.2.2 MOWAC

The MOWAC policy document (2001) states that there are gender inequalities within the society of Ghana and suggests policies and programs should incorporate gender issues to correct the situation. Its main strategy is to use advocacy, persuasion and collaboration with responsible institutions in ensuring gender responsiveness in resource allocation and land tenure issues (MOWAC, 2001:11). Mrs. Adubofuor, a middle level staff at the ministry argues that policy making institutions in Ghana are not gender responsive as it should. To buttress her point, she argued that key institutions of the state such as Parliament have more men than women which make it difficult to push gender responsive policies through it. She pointed out that:

Having 230 Members of Parliament (MPs) with only 19 women is a difficult point for pushing gender responsive policies through…

According to Mrs. Djokoto, a Gender Expert at MOWAC, focusing on women is important because gender issues have not yet been prioritized in national policies and the case of REDD+ is therefore no exception.

A lot of policy documents give little pre-eminence to issues on gender and particularly on women. It is the same with the budget allocation for MOWAC and that hinders the process and progress of implementing gender policies in Ghana.

She called for climate change issues to be seen in its broader context and not treated like a single issue without considering its different dimensions and connections to human development.

5.2.3 Forest Commission (FC)

The framing of gender issues by the representatives of the FC in REDD+ policy issues is grounded on management of land and forest resources in Ghana which is controlled by men and therefore the need for women to participate in terms of policy making and project. Mrs. Gyapong, a forester and Gender Advocate at the commission noted that existing forest policies apportion roles, benefits and responsibilities to favour men and that the level of participation of both men and women influences the decision making process. She stated that:

We [FC] know that when it comes to decision making about the forest or governance in broad sense, it is mostly the men who are invited to participate because most of the women are not in that capacity. Even in the forestry sector, how many women are in decision making roles?

She further argued that REDD+ policy issues should consider female interests because of the different uses with which people depend on the forest for their livelihood. She noted that:

Men go to the forest for timber and the women for non-forest timber products. Therefore if REDD+ is going to be implemented, are we considering women? What are we going to give to them in case their access is restricted?

For Mr. Nantwi, a senior forester at the Commission, the need for gender considerations in REDD+ emerged because national development policies had previously not considered it. He observed that:

Gender has not yet received a lot of attention in development issues in Ghana and it is therefore important that attention is given to gender.

5.2.4 ABANTU

According to Miss Tsotovor, a gender policy adviser with ABANTU,

climate change will have varied impacts on different men and women and that is why we are advocating for policies to be engendered from the onset and not wait until it is too late. Gender issues are not different but crosscutting and should be treated as part of every policy.

The need to emphasize gender concerns in the REDD+ policy process according to Mensah-Kutin (2011) is also based on potential 'exclusion of women in development programs which is characteristic of neoliberal projects like Structural Adjustments Programs and only recognize women when its negative effects began to surface'. Miss Tsotovor, further argues that gender should be considered because of under representation of women in policy processes in Ghana. She stated that;

> This is because representation of women in politics in Ghana and elsewhere is abysmal. For instance we have 230 Members of Parliament but only 19 are women representing 9% of the total membership. According to international charters and understanding, we need about 30% threshold of women for effective decision making. We (ABANTU) felt this is an indictment and also linking it to the attainment of the MDG it becomes difficult since men and women are supposed to come out with solutions to problems which are peculiar to them.

In addition, Tsotovor indicated that gender issues are left out in the REDD+ policy Process and deliberative efforts are needed to put it back. She said:

> If they [policy makers] are looking at projects they consider financial, social and economic dimensions. But, why not on men and women? We should consider the excesses and spill over effects of projects on people.

She noted that currently the REDD+ policy is focused only on the project without considering its effects on forest users especially women.

5.3 REDD+ and Gender: Local Level perspective Community REDD+ Multi stakeholder Platform (CRMSP)

The section briefly looks at how gender issues were presented at the district level. Ms. Archer, a women's advocate and member of CRMSP at Asankrangwa opined that for REDD+ to be successful, there must be more women representation at both the national and local levels. She also believes that when few women are present at the forum, it gives the men the opportunity to intimidate and cajole them. She said:

> I will advocate for the inclusion of more women since they have a special ability and passion to manage things committed to their care for a longer time than men. At the national REDD+ forum you see only few women and if you are not bold, you will be intimidated by the presence of these men.

Mr. Attakora, an agriculturalist with MOFA observes that gender issues are usually considered by his outfit but also argued the lack of land ownership on the part of women is a strong disincentive for their integration in many issues.

> Gender issues have been raised and at every meeting we keep discussing it. But in most parts of Ghana it is widely accepted that women do not hold land due to socio-cultural factors and that has been the case from time in memorial. I think the only thing that can happen is some level of consideration for women in the REDD+ project since most of them do not own land.

Mr. Dosso, a forester with the FC, Asankrangwa, said that the needed environment should be created for women to participate in forest programs.

> Most often what happens is that when you go into the communities for meetings, the women are normally busy with household activities. But we [FC] still try and make sure that we create the needed opportunity for them to attend so that they can be sensitized or educated.

According to Mrs. Archer, REDD+ policy discussions should take care of gender issues because of the low involvement of women in decision making process of land and forest management in Ghana.

> I am the only woman and sometimes I have been pushing for more women at our meetings. Even when they invite the traditional council which includes chiefs and queen mothers, you only see chiefs attending without the queen mothers and meetings have been male dominated.

According to Mr. Addai, a staff of NADMO, Asangrankwa, the number of men and women represented at the decision making process of REDD+ policy formulation should not be main attention but rather the ability of policy makers to understand gender issues. He said;

> Some of the men are gender oriented and at times we looked at issues well before deciding irrespective of being men. Therefore that makes the gender situation balanced (Member, CRMSP).

One respondent also argues that competence and literacy is important factors that influence decision making process and not only presence. Mrs.Osei, a forest conservationist at Asankrangwa observes that one of the women included in her organization's activities has not been able to perform as expected from her due to the fact that she appears to lack practical knowledge when it comes to REDD+ discussions. She said:

> Gender has been a challenge since currently we have only two women in the group and only one is active but the other is inactive because of the problem of illiteracy. The issues of REDD+ are very technical and most women in the rural communities are not comfortable with it.

Mr Addai further stated that there is the need for gender considerations in REDD+ because of low representation of women in decision making.

> I think broadly the CRMSP is good now in terms of representation of all stakeholders. But gender issues are still on the quiet side because of the social-cultural factors. For instance having a lot of District Assembly members and only one female is problem for effective decision making.

6 Analysis

This chapter seeks to answer the research questions stated earlier, namely: 1) how are gender concerns in relation to land rights and policy making framed by different actors in the development of the GRM? 2) How is REDD+ policy being perceived by different actors at national and local levels? 3) What is the role of MOWAC, FC and IUCN in the gender policy formulation? 4) How is the GRM used as a strategy by IUCN to influence policy makers on gender concerns in the policy process?

6.1 The WPR about Gender in REDD+ policy in Ghana

The study reveals certain pattern with regards to the use of "gender" in the process of incorporating it as part of REDD+ policy processes in Ghana. 'What is the Problem Represented Approach'? is used to analyse how gender was represented as an important issue for policy consideration (Bacchi, 2007). The emphasis is on ways in which gender relations in resource ownership and participation in policy is problematized for policy attention in the REDD+ policy process. The main thematic representation which can be drawn from the discourses on gender presented (Section 5:1) is under representation of women in land management and REDD+ policy process. As pointed out by Bacchi (2007) the proposed policy creates in its formulation the shape of the problem. The effect of the discourses on under representation of women is reflected on the way the 'problem' been represented as well as the proposed response

6.1.1 Assumptions behind the gender discourse

The under representation of women in the forest management in Ghana is premised on unequal gender relations. The argument presented women as less powerful group and men as more powerful in the society. It generalizes both men and women as a homogeneous entity irrespective of class, ethnic group, lineage and social contacts. With that basis, inequalities in the forest management are connected to exercise of power which promotes men over women. The inequalities therefore become the basis for the low presence of women in both land management and policy making in Ghana. The kind of 'gender' view underpinning the problem representation presents women as the under privileged group in both policy making and natural resource management in Ghana. Gender relations presented in the document focuses only on

roles between men and women. Relatively, Connell (2009:73) writing on gender relations states that analysis of such relations also includes relationships and hierarchies among men and women. The notion of 'gender' which focused mainly on women in the document resonate the perspective commonly related to Women in Development (WID). The WID perspective connects women's subordination to difficulties in resource access with less focus on social relations that defines access and ownership (Razavi and Miller, 1995:12). The document did not present different ways through which people used to mediate for their involvement in forest management The above statement is not in any way evaluating the existence of gender inequalities or otherwise but as to how is it taken as a fact to support the representation of a policy problem. The document presents the following assumptions; that climate change will pose differential impact on both men and women at different locations (p.4). The differing effects of climate change on different social groups are not only the consequence of climatic variability but unequal power relations which define resource access, social status and participation in policy making. A taken for granted view is that women are underprivileged by and through many ways [like norms which promote male leadership] within the existing and evolving social relations. The document also assumes that forest activities in Ghana is controlled and managed mainly by men [page.9]. This, it explained is due to neglect of women's concern in forest management programmes. Another point is that climate change policy making at different levels (international and national) has not consider gender concerns. It assumed that the knowledge, experience and rights of women are not being considered. It further suggests that the incorporation of gender concerns in REDD+ policy will produce positive outcomes. The above statement does not consider other factors like existing policy influence, inadequate funds and lack of political will that could also impact on the policy outcomes. It simplifies the policy process with the argument that policy makers will act on the gender proposals once they discuss it.

6.1.2 Key words used in the document (GRM)

The word 'gender' is used mainly in the document several times (more than 100). It is used commonly with words like 'sensitive' and 'equality'. The meaning of the words has some connections with the assumptions presented above. With the assumption of male leadership in forest management and decision making in Ghana, the document virtually present the case for women's involvement. It refers to the 'women' almost more than it does for 'gender' with certain words used to qualify like; women's rights' and 'women's roles' and women's access. This is informed by the group represented around the 'problem' for which policy attention is needed. It portrays women on one hand as been disadvantaged with existing management arrangements in the land sector and on the other 'powerful group' with special ability to manage resources when given opportunity [p.13]. The document also draws on the both international and national agreements like Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1992 Constitution of Ghana and Ghana Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy document (1&2) to directly or indirectly validate the claims or assumptions of the problem represented. Relating to the writing of Dryzek (2005:19) on discourses, words as well common conventions are used deliberately by actors to

influence others on a certain matter or policy direction. The use of these words carries an embedded meaning and effect on what had been labelled 'problem' as well the specific actions proposed by policy makers to mitigate it.

6.1.3 Gender discourse and the policy actions

The section briefly looks at the potential policy effects of the problem of 'under representation of women' in land management. The WPR framework categorized the effects of problem representation into three; discursive, subject positioning and lived effects respectively (Bacchi, 2009:69). The analysis of GRM focused mainly on discursive and policy effects. It looks at how the problem of under representation of women in policy process meant for other issues as well as proposals presented for action. The gender discourse which problematized 'women' and their presence in forest management narrowed the discussion with particular focus on them. Therefore the policy proposal and actions of the GRM to be implemented are targeted at addressing the problem of women. This is indicated by specific actions designed to be implemented throughout the REDD+ processes. They include;

- Establishment of women and forest task force,
- Mainstreaming gender issues in REDD+ at all levels of policy making.
- Training programs for women and women's organizations
- Involvement of women at all levels in REDD+ policy making
- Promotion of women's rights in policy and project levels.

(IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011:21-35)

The proposals presented mainly placed emphasis on solving what it represented as a 'problem'; under representation of women in land management and policy making. It becomes more interesting when the policy objective seeks to incorporate 'gender' concerns and proposal focusing mainly on women. The above description relates to the effect of discourse to constrain some issues while at the same emphasizing another through its representation of a problem (Bacchi, 2009:17) The under representation of women therefore limited the scope of proposals from considering other factors which could negatively impact on gender equality in the management of natural resources in Ghana especially land. Following Bacchi (2007), one has to ask what is left unproblematized after under representation of women. Though some mentioning is made in the document on the role of customary practices on gender equality (p.9), it does not problematize the role of chieftaincy institutions in the management of natural resources and its effects on gender equality. In addition, the capacity of state institutions like MOWAC and the FC under MLNR in formulating and maintaining gender responsive policies was not problematized. The above mentioned steps are all directed at improving the presence of women in the management of natural resources as well policy making. The problem represented could result in the increasing number of women in the management of natural resources. The increased presence of women may produce diverse consequence. It could serve as an opportunity for women in Ghana to influence both forest policy and natural resource management. Comparatively, Agarwal (2010:13) writing on governance suggests

that having women in management position could give them leverage in decision making, and may not necessarily advanced their interests. The problem definition did not consider power relations among different women and therefore could reproduce another form of inequalities by favouring some and disfavouring others. The increasing number of women in both policy making and natural resource management is important. The critical point is the level at which women would be involved since that could point to the amount of influence they can exercise in decision making. This is not any way assuming gender relations as static rather dynamic relations being negotiated through time and space. Relating to Connell (2009), gender relation is a process which occurs within and through daily interaction. Therefore in practice, I think increasing the representation of women without considering embedded power relations in land management simply becomes a political exercise. With the recent demands for greater involvement in national governance by chiefs in Ghana (Joy, 2012) as an instance, the implementation of any policy proposal which seeks to reduce their influence in land management could meet possible resistance because of important role of land to their legitimacy. The problem representation focused on women and therefore policy actions like training programs, reforms in land laws and financial resource allocation are mainly being planned to meet the needs of women and their organizations. 'Women' are not homogeneous group and therefore policy options directed in their interest cannot be generalized in terms of its implications. This could be related to suggestions that women and likewise men in diverse settings will respond differently or be affected differently by policies (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:749). If the proposal is carried in practice, it could impact negatively on some groups like migrants, women and especially men who do not have land ownership right. This is because male as category were assumed in the policy to be part of the cause of the 'problem' and not solution. If the proposal seeks to achieve gender equity in the land management and policy making, then the problem representation could consider differences in gender relations at different levels of society.

6.2 Discourse on REDD+

Most of the interviewees have positive views about REDD+. This is because they do not only expect to benefit from the environmental improvement and ecosystem benefits that will be associated with REDD+ but also the financial benefits of having to plant trees. From environmental perspective some respondents consider REDD+ as better way to sustainably manage and conserve forest. Others are of the opinion that REDD+ could change the status quo in terms of the management of the forest and environment. Mrs. Abaka of IUCN, Ghana perceives REDD+ as an opportunity to promote sustainable forest management and to enhance carbon stock. For her REDD+ is opportunity to have incentives to boost the morale for sustainable forest management, conservation and enhancement of carbon stocks. Mr. Sarfo of Forestry Commission in Accra also sees REDD+ as a way to challenge the old way of conserving forest. For him REDD+ is a very good initiative because it draws the forest actors away from business as usual where tree will be planted and evaluators will come down and see that so many hectares of trees have been planted.

Other people including Akwasi, a cocoa farmer at 'No Good' and Dosso, forester, FC, Asankrangwa support the implementation of REDD+ because they believe it could help improve the vegetation of the district. They also believe it could help to preserve the forest and to sustainably manage the forest. Some respondents see REDD+ especially the tree planting as strategy that could help protect farms from the harmful effect of the sun.

Some of the respondents perceive REDD+ as one of the mechanism that can be used not only to improve forest stock but also to bring financial and economic benefits. For some of them the REDD+ discussions had resulted in the registration of trees and that is the first benefit to them especially the farmers. They are also of the view that their economic situation will improve starting from 2013 because they have been promised incentive packages that will bring them economic benefit in exchange for prudent forest management practices.

Apart from the expected improvement in well-being and livelihoods that the people expect to enjoy from the REDD+, many people including Mr. Bonsu, Cocoa farmer at No Good, also hope that REDD+ could contribute to offsetting the negative impact that climate change and global warming is likely to have on them and their farms.

6.3   How is REDD+ perceived by different actors

The second question the thesis sought to answer is how REDD+ is being perceived by different actors. As discussed in chapter four, several actors are involved in the REDD+ including the Forestry Commission, IUCN, MOWAC, EPA, CREMA, C-BAG, District Assembly (DA), Traditional Council and communities. The perception expressed by the stakeholders indicates that there is no single perspective on REDD+. These differences in perception could be accounted for by varying degrees of interests, knowledge on the subject, access to information on REDD+, participation in workshops and management of natural resource in question. In other words REDD+ is driven by different actors with different interests. Forestry Commission perceives REDD+ as a way to improve Ghana's forest resources, enhance carbon stock, promote sustainable forest management and draw Ghana away from business as usual of forest conservation. Additionally the Forestry Commission argues that REDD+ is a strategy to inculcate environmental consciousness among the population, to encourage tree planting and to promoting ecosystem services. Angelsen et al., (2009) notes that REDD+ is a "performance based financial mechanism" which seeks to incentivize people and corporate bodies who are and will be engaged in forest regeneration and conservation activities in a bid to reduce global emission levels. IUCN-Ghana which is one of the key non-state actors in REDD+ policy deliberations envisions the program as an opportunity for Ghana to enhance forest governance issues such as community involvement in decision making, development of local forest governance institutions, revenue sharing and improvement of community livelihoods. IUCN also believes that REDD+ could boost the morale of sustainable forest management in the communities, promote conservation, enhance

carbon stock, reduce deforestation, and to save government from losing revenue from the forestry sector. For cocoa farmers like (Basoah, Bonsu, Nana Yaw and Auntie Esi), REDD+ implementation will improve their economic well-being. I argued that the views presented are influenced largely by the REDD+ sensitization programs. The program is jointly organized by IUCN Ghana and FC as a strategy to influence other actors on environmental conservation practices and REDD+. ABANTU for Development, one of the actors interviewed for this study, also perceived REDD+ as one of the neoliberal projects (structural adjustment program) being pushed on the countries in the global south. ABANTU considers REDD+ to be the commoditization of land and environmental resources such as forest. Such international environmental governance projects could not be enforced but only thrives on the legitimacy and support of national and local actors (Mosse, 2004:645) and what they make out of the project. The REDD+ project is therefore creating spaces for public-private partnership and individual engagement in environmental management. An example is the role of Zoil Services, a subsidiary of Zoomlion Ghana, a service provider in sanitation industry partnering MLNR and FC in the implementation of National Forest Plantation Development Program (Zoomlion, 2010) and the Foresting the Northern Savanna Project between ACI Construction Company and Government of Ghana.

6.4   Governance of the GRM

The third question I wanted to address in this thesis is how the GRM is being governed. By governance I am referring to the role that the state and non-state actors play in the development (drafting, discussion, and implementation) of the GRM. In this regard and per my studies it was discovered that the development of document was the collaborative product of both state (Forestry Commission, MOWAC) and non-state actors (IUCN, Ghana, PDA-Ghana, and Tropenbos International-Ghana etc.) in the REDD+ policy Process in Ghana. At the onset IUCN, Ghana had also collaborated with their international partners (WEDO, IUCN, Gender team from USA) for the GRM project. The REDD+ activities are being coordinated by the REDD+ Secretariat which is housed by the Climate Change Unit (CCU) at the premises of Forestry Commission (FC). An important characteristic exhibited in the process of development of the roadmap is how the state institutions like the Forestry Commission (FC) and Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) interacted with the non-state actors like IUCN – both in Ghana and USA, WEDO, and other national and local civil society organizations and what these interactions set for the sustenance of the project. Other actors identified for funding in this governance of the roadmap includes the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Norwegian Agency for Development Corporation (NORAD), Government of Ghana (GOG) and etc. (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011). I found out that the traditional role of the state (Ghana) in formulating national policies is being restructured by the global governance arrangement and likewise the role of state institutions like MOWAC and Forestry Commission (FC). As in the case of 'good governance ' project (Cooper and Packard, 1997) there are specific criterion which countries submitting their proposals should follow. The regulations are penned down in

the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPC) Information Memorandum[28] which countries preparing for REDD+ policy implementation should abide by in the bid to meet the selection criterion (FCPC, 2008). One of the important criteria for review of proposal submitted by intending REDD+ countries is based on its 'ownership' by both state and non- state actors in the policy process (FCPC, 2008:15). This silently strips the state from being the centre of national policy formulation in this case REDD+ to a stakeholders which have to work with non-stake actors within the policy process. The current role of the state does not suggest their demise but rather an assumption of a new role with minimal control (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002). The donor driven nature of funding for various forest programs and projects in Ghana to some extent reflect the potential forces which could influence policy making in the forestry sector. Relating to Mosse (2004:645), development programs cannot be imposed rather it requires co-operation from other actors. Similarly, the IUCN Ghana will need the support of the state institutions to implement the roadmap. The capacity of state institutions like FC, MOWAC and non-state actors like IUCN, Ghana, and ABANTU to influence the policy process is dependent on their resource base (financial, technical, information, networks, lobbying etc.). Based on the this process based study, I conclude that a conscious and consistent effort will be needed from non-state actors in sustaining the gender discourse in REDD+ policy and also leveraging state actors to ensure the implementation of the action plans enshrined in the GRM. Moreover, the non-state actors will need the support of the state to implement the proposal of the roadmap.

6.5 The GRM as a strategy devised by IUCN and their partners?

Answering the question of how GRM is being used as a strategy by IUCN to influence gender concerns in the policy process? The response is provided through the technology of government as discussed under govern mentality. The central objective for the development of the GRM is to influence policy makers' as well as responsible institutions towards incorporating gender concerns in REDD+ policy making in Ghana (IUCN/WEDO/PDA, 2011:20). The lead agent (IUCN, Ghana) devised its strategy for the achievement of its goals. This was undertaken through different programs directed at the policy makers and institutions (like FC, MEST, Ghana, MOWAC, ABANTU) through their involvement at both international, national and district levels in the implementation. The techniques are roll out through programs like REDD+ 'sensitization meetings', 'capacity building', 'workshops and 'community forum'. The intent and expectations from the workshop is self-evident from the statement below by Miss Abaka, project manager with IUCN, Ghana;

> The 3-day training workshop brought the participants' up on issues with climate change, REDD+ and the need for gender.

---

[28] FCPC Information Memorandum is a policy document which provides information on the mission and mandate of FCPC as well as specific policy guidelines for developing countries preparing for the implementation of REDD+ policy.

Though the workshop had several objectives, the development of the document to guide policy makers on gender concerns in the policy process cannot be taken obvious. The participants became gender conscious in their approach to policy discussions through the different programs organized at national and district levels. The statement below by Mr. Attakorah and Mr.Addai, members of the CRMSP attests to the above claims;

> Some of the men are gender oriented [sensitive] and at times we looked at issues well before deciding irrespective of being men.

> Gender issues have been raised and at every meeting we keep discussing it.

The statement explains that the policy makers came to understand gender issues in REDD+ through the training and consistently discuss gender issues in the process. The process of creating gender awareness by IUCN, Ghana was carried out through the events like workshops and training organized for the policy makers. IUCN had also developed CRMSP at the district level, organized national events in collaboration with its partners to influence the REDD+ processes in Ghana. They host conferences and symposia in which current issues on forestry like REDD+ are presented. IUCN also publish materials in local languages and English to educate communities and project officers and policy makers at both national and local levels. The effects of those programs on participants could also be found on the way gender knowledge was used during community workshops. The statement below by Mr. Sarfo, a forester and member of CRMSP describes that;

> We (FC/IUCN, Ghana) make sure that in any workshop, community activity or educational program, we have equal representation of men and women.

The participants were not only influenced by the training programmes to promote gender equality aspirations within policy discussions but it left some level of responsibility on them to practice or replicate in other programs. The organization of above mentioned events therefore affected gender views and actions of those crafting the policy. Dean(1999:32) writing on analysis of governing as strategic activity suggest that programs of such nature are intently designed to regulate the 'conduct' of people as well as institutions towards an objective.

The policy makers and institutions [FC, MOWAC, and IUCN Ghana] became part of reorganizing gender relations within the policy process and in natural resource management. This interaction could be liken to what Prugl (2011:76) calls ' government of gender relations' by different actors in the implementation of gender mainstreaming and diversity management as technologies of government. Though other participants from different institutions made submissions in the development of the gender document, the views of the gender experts was dominant in the writing and agenda setting. The expert role therefore legitimizes the form of gender notions presented in the document within the context of policy making and natural resource management in Ghana as the 'truth'. The gender experts were invited from both Ghana and the IUCN gender team from the United States of America. The lead role of IUCN, Ghana and their partners like Women Environment and Development Organization, Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Participatory Development Associates (PDA, Ghana) within and beyond Ghana in the develop-

ment of GRM opens up another mode of governing gender relations in Ghana. The sole institution mandated by the 1992 constitution of Ghana to develop gender policies is MOWAC but the process of incorporating gender in REDD+ policy process shows a different story. A non- state actor (IUCN,Ghana) rather took a lead role and involved MOWAC as a partner organization. This show how non-governmental organization can also govern national policy making through different technologies like GRM. This becomes clearer when the assumption of ' vertical' posture of the state above other actors in development policies and programs is being challenged. Relatively, Ferguson (2004:394) writing on transnational relations within the African context suggests that assumptions on state verticality over non-state actors should be reconsidered in the light of different mode of governing outside the state-centred approach. Through the process of developing the document, the state being represented by its institutions [FC, MOWAC] cooperate with the IUCN led project and finally accepted the document for mainstreaming gender concerns in REDD+ processes in Ghana. The statements below by Mrs. Abaka and Mrs. Gyapong, Policy Adviser, FC illustrate the argument:

> The government [FC, MOWAC] coming on board with this gender road map is a good step. Since by that government had understood it and appreciates the linkages between gender and REDD.

> With IUCN leading, we [all participating institutions] put up a gender road map which was produced after series of discussions and one week workshop which brought together several people especially women.

The state institutions involved in the process especially MOWAC tasked with gender policy making became a 'participant' in the IUCN project. The lead agent is working with a network of several organizations at the international, national and local levels through event management, and established structures like CRMSP to influence policy makers and responsible institutions towards certain direction in line with their objectives

7 Conclusion

The study undertook an analysis of the development of the GRM as part of the REDD+ policy in Ghana. The research questions were answered in relation to how gender issues were represented in terms of land rights, policy making and strategies for influencing policy makers. The study realized that "gender" was used to mean different things by different actors. The development of the gender roadmap was used by IUCN as a specific strategy to influence policy makers and state institutions on gender equality. The discourse on REDD+ indicates that different actors have relatively different but related expectations from REDD+ including financial and economic benefits, environmental benefits, conservation, carbon storage, and improving environmental quality. The non-state actors might need the support of the state institutions to implement the proposals of the gender roadmap. State led institutions like MOWAC as well might also need some amount of resources in order to enhance its capacity to formulate and implement gender responsive policies. Different strategies were used by IUCN and its partners to influence state actors like FC and the MOWAC on gender and environmental issues.

References

Agarwal, B., 2010a.Does Women's Proportional Strength Affect their Participation? Governing Local Forests in South Asia. World Development, Volume 38, Number 1, Pages 98-112.

Agarwal, B, 2010 b. Gender and Green Governance: The Political Economy of Women's Presence Within and Beyond Community Forestry. Oxford University Press

Agarwal, B., 1992c. The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India. Feministic Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1(Spring), pp. 119-158.

Aguilar, L., 2010. Establishing the Linkages between Gender and Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation. In Dankelman, I. ed, 2010. Gender and Climate Change: An Introduction. Earth scan Publishers. London. Sterling, VA.

Agyenim-Boateng, J., Koomsoon, F., Tenkorang, Y.E., Ntiri-Oppong, R., 2002. Effective Stakeholder Collaboration in Forest Policy and Management in Southern Ghana.

Amanor, S.K., 2010. Family Values, Land Sales and Agricultural Commodification in South-Eastern Ghana. Africa 80 (1).

Angelsen, A., Brockhaus, M., Kanninen, M., Sills, E., Sunderlin, W. D. and Wertz-Kanounnikoff, S. (eds), 2009. Realising REDD+: National strategy and policy options. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.

Ardayfio-Schandorf, E., 2007a. Gender and Off-Reserve forest management in the high forest in Ghana. In: Dube, Y.C. and Schmithusen, F.,(eds). 2007. Cross-Sectoral Policy Development in Forestry. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),United Nations, Rome.

Ardayfio-Schandorf, E., 2007b. Gender Mainstreaming in Forestry in Africa, Ghana. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of United Nations, Rome.

Arora-Jonsson, S., 2013. Gender, Development and Environmental Governance. Theorizing Connections. Routledge Research in Gender and Society.

Arora-Jonsson, 2011. Virtue and Vulnerability: Discourses on women, gender and climate change. Global Environmental Change. 21: 744-751.

Awumbila, M., 2001. Women and Gender Equality in Ghana: a Situational Analysis.In Tsikata, D.,(ed) 2001. Gender Training in Ghana. Politics, Issues and Tools. Woeli Publishers.

Azumah-Mensah, J., 2012. Meet-The-Press 2012. Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC). (Online) Available at: http://www.mowacghana.net/. [Accessed: 07-08-12]

Ball, S.J., 1993. What is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education,13:2,10 -17.

Bacchi, L. C. 2007. Policy as Discourse: What does it mean? Where does it get us?, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 21:1,45-57.

Bacchi, L. C. 2007. Women, Policy and Politics. The Construction of Policy Problems. SAGE Publications. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Western_Ghana_districts.png 31/05/2012

Bacchi, L. C. 2009. Analysing Policy: What is the problem represented to be? Pearson Publications. Australia.

Bevir, M., 2011. Governance and Governmentality after Neoliberalism. Policy and Politics, Volume 39, No.4, 457- 471. The Policy Press.

Bhavani,K, Foran, J and Kurian, P.A.eds. 2003. Reimagining Women, Cultures and Development. London /New York. Zed Books.

Boateng, D.S., 1996. The Changing Family and National Development in Ghana. In Ardayfio-Schandorf, E., 1996 (ed). The Changing Family in Ghana. Family and Development Programme, Ghana Universities Press.

Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2002. Behind the norms: Women's Access to Land in Ghana. In Toulmin et.al, ed. 2002. The Dynamics of Resource Tenure in West Africa. London:IIED. pp 86-97.

Boyd, E., 2002. The Noel Kempff project in Bolivia: Gender, power, and decision-making in climate mitigation. Gender and Development, 10: 2, 70 -77.

Cameron, C., 2011. Climate Change Financing and Aid Effectiveness. Ghana Case Study. Revised Edition. OECD/DAC/AfDB.

Central Intelligence Agency, 2012. The World Factbook. Ghana. (Online) Available at www.cia.gov

Coalition for Rainforest Nations, 2012. (Online) Available at; http://www.rainforestcoalition.org/

Connell, R., 2009. Short Introductions: Gender in World Perspectives.2nd Edition. Polity Publishers.

Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992.

Cooper, F. and Packard, R., 1997 (Eds.). International Development and the Social Sciences. Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge. (Introduction). University of California Press.

Cornwall, A and Brock, K., 2005. What do buzzwords do for Development Policy? A critical look at "Participation", "Empowerment" and "Poverty Reduction". Third World Quarterly, 26:7, 1043-1060.

Corbera, E and Schroeder. H., 2011. Governing and Implementing REDD+. Environmental Science and Policy 14, pp.89-99.

Cotula, L. and Mayers, J. 2009. Tenure in REDD – Start-point or afterthought? Natural Resource Issues Number 15. International Institute for Environment and Development. London

Dankelman, I. ed, 2010. Gender and Climate Change: An Introduction. Earth scan Publishers. London. Sterling, VA.

Dean, M.,1999. Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society.Sage Publications.

Denton, F. 2004. Gender and Climate Change: Giving the "Latecomer" a head start. IDS Bullentin, Volume 35, No 3, pp. 42-49.

Denton, F., 2002. Climate Change Vulnerability, Impacts and Adaptation: why does gender matters? Gender and Development, 10: 2, pp. 10-20.

Doornbos, M., 2001. 'Good Governance': The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor?, Journal of Development Studies, 37: 6, 93–108.

Dryzek, S.J., 2005. The Politics of the Earth. Environmental Discourses. 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press.

ECOSOC, 1997. Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations system. (Online) Available at www.un.org [Accessed on 2 June 20

Eveline, J. and Bacchi, C., 2005. What are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender ? International Feminist Journal of Politics, 7:4,496 -512.

Fairhead, J, Melissa, L. and Scoones, I., 2012. Green Grabbing: A new appropriation of nature?. Journal of Peasant Studies, 39:2, 237-261.

Ferguson, L., 2010. Interrogating Gender in Development Policy and Practice. The World Bank, Tourism and Micro Enterprise in Hondurus. International Feminist Journal of Politics ; 12:1, pp. 3-24.

Ferguson, J. and Gupta, A. 2002. Spatializing States: Toward ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. American Ethnologist, 29:981-1002.

Ferguson, J., 2004. "Power Topographies" In Nugent,D and Vincent,J(Eds) ; A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics. Blackwell Publishing

Finkelstein, L. S., 1995. What is Global Governance? pp. 367-372

Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPC), 2008. FCPC Information Memorandum.. (Online) Available on: http://www.forestcarbonpartnership.org/fcp/node/23

Forestry Commission, 1994. Forest Laws and Regulations. Forest Laws and Wildlife Policy. (Online) Available at www.fcghana.org.

Forestry Commission,2012. Forestry Commission of Ghana (Online) Available at: www.fcghana.org.

Gilbertson, T. and Reyes, O., 2009. Carbon Trading: How it works and why it fails. Critical Currents, No.7, Occasional Paper Series, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.

Global Environment Facility (GEF), 2011. GEF Policies on Environmental and Social Safeguards and Gender Policies on Environmental and Social Safeguards and Gender Mainstreaming. In GEF Council Meeting, May 24-26, 2011. GEF/C.40/10, Agenda Item 15, Washington D.C.

Government of Ghana, 2012. Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR). (Online) Available on: http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/governance/ministries/328-ministry-of-lands-and-natural-resources

Hajer, M. and Versteeg, W., 2005. A Decade of Discourse Analysis of Environmental Politics: Achievements, Challenges, Perspectives. Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning.

Häkli, J., 2009. "Governmentality" In Kitchin, R and Thrift, N (eds.) International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography London: Elsevier. pp.628-633.

Hemmati, M. and Röhr, U., 2009. Engendering the Climate – Change Negotiations: experiences, challenges and steps forward. Gender and Development, 17: 1, 19 -32.

Hemmati, M. and Röhr, U., 2007. A Huge Challenge and a Narrow Discourse. Aint no Space for Gender in Climate Policy? Features; Women and Environments. Spring /Summer.

Hewitt de Alcantara, C., 1998. Uses and Abuses of the Concept of Governance.International Social Science Journal, Volume 50, Issue 155, pp. 105-113.

IPCC, 1995. Climate Change: a glossary by Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. [Online] Available at: www.ipcc.ch/pdf/glossary/ipcc-glossary.pdf. Accessed on 17th May,2012.

IUCN, 2011. Draft Guidelines to Mainstreaming Gender in the Development of National Adaptation Plans (NAPs). A document submitted by the Gender Office of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) to the Secretariat of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).(Online) Available at www.unfccc.org

IUCN Ghana. 2011. The Main Activities of Ghana Pro-Poor REDD Project (Inception-March, 2009 to June, 2009). Progress Report. (Unpublished).

IUCN Ghana. 2010. Participatory Discussion on the drivers of Deforestation and Forest Degradation and linkages with Climate Change. (Unpublished).

IUCN's Gender Policy Statement, 1998. (Online) Available at:
http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/gender_policy.pdf [Accessed: 06-08-12].

IUCN/WEDO/ PDA, 2011. Road Map. Mainstreaming Gender Considerations into REDD+ Processes in Ghana. Final Draft.

Jackson, C., 1993. Doing What Comes Naturally? Women and Environment in Development. World Development, Volume 21, Number 12, pp.1947-1963.

Jayal, G.N., 2003. Locating Gender in Governance Discourse. (Chap.) In Nussman et.al, 2003: Essays on Gender and Governance. Human Development Resource Centre, UNDP, 2003.

Joy News, 2012. Gender Advocate kicks against second Chamber of Parliament for Chiefs.(Online) Available at;
http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201208/92133.php [Accessed: 15/8/12].

Keeley, J.E., 2001. Influencing Policy Process for Sustainable Livelihoods: strategies for change.

Kodum-Agyemang, A., 2012. Ghana: Forestry Sector Policy Review Underway (Online) Available at: www.allafrica.com. Public Agenda, Accra [Accessed: 3 June,2012].12].

Kotey, N. A., Francois, J., Owusu, J.G.K., Yeboah, R., Amanor, S.K. and Antwi, L., 1998 Falling into Place. Policies that works for forests and people. IIED, no.4.

Lederer, M., 2012. REDD+ Governance. WIREs Climate Change, 3:107-113. Focus Article.

Lederer, M. 2011. From CDM to REDD+ — What do we know for setting up effective and legitimate carbon governance? Ecological Economics 70 (2011) 1900–190..

Marfo , E, Acheampong., E and Opuni-Frimpong, E., 2012. Fractured Tenure, Unacceptable Authority, and Benefit Capture: Constraints to Improving Community Benefits under Climate Change Mitigation Schemes in Ghana. Conservation and Society 10(2): 161 -172.

Mensah-Kutin, R., 2011. Ghana's Readiness Preparedness Proposal. A Gender and Policy Analysis Undertaken as Part of the UN Women Sponsored Gender and Climate Change Project 2009 -2011.

Ministry of Lands and Forestry (MLF), 1999. National Land Policy, 1999. Government of Ghana.

Mosse, D., 2004. Is Good Policy Unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice. Development and Change 35 (4):639–671.

MOWAC, 2011. MEET-THE-PRESS. Presentation by Hon. Mrs. Juliana Azumah-Mensah. Minister for Women and Children's Affairs.

MOWAC, 2001. National Gender and Children Policy. (Online).Available on www.mowacghana.net

Myjoyonline, 2012. '5 million trees; more jobs for people under new SADA project'. (Online). Available at;
http://business.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201207/89861.php [Accessed: 2012-07-31].

Newell, P., 2000. Climate for Change: Non - State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse. Cambridge University Press.

Nhantumbo, I., 2011. Climate Conversations – REDD+ in Mozambique: A new opportunity for land grabbers?. (Online). Available at:

http://www.trust.org/alertnet/blogs/climate-conversations/redd-in-mozambique-a-new-opportunity-for-land-grabbers/

Nhantumbo, I. and Rolington, L., 2011. Talking REDD+. Beyond Forestry – joining up and moving forward. International Institute for Environment and Development.

Palmer, C., 2010. REDD+: property rights and liability. Source: Science [0036-8075] vol: 328, iss: 5982, pg: 1105.

Peach Brown, H. C. 2011. Gender, Climate Change and REDD+ in the Congo Basin Forests of Central Africa. International Forestry Review, Volume 13 (2).

Phelps, J., Guerrero, M.C., Dalabajan, D.A., Young, B. and Webb, E.L., 2010. What makes a 'REDD' country? Global Environmental Change, 20: 322-332.

Phelps, J., Webb, L.E. and Agrawal, A., 2010. Does REDD+ threaten to recentralize forest governance? Science [0036-8075] vol: 328, iss: 5976 pg: 312.

Prugl, E., 2011. Diversity Management and Gender Mainstreaming as Technologies of Government. Politics and Gender, 7: 71 – 89.

Razavi, S and Miller, C., 1995. From WID to GAD. Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

REDD+ SES, 2012. REDD+ SES Initiative (Online) Available at: http://www.redd-standards.org/redd-ses/the-initiative

Sage, 2004. Actor Network Theory (ANT). (Online) Available as: *www.sagepub.com/.../5222_Ritzer__Entries_beginning_ A [Accessed on 12 June 2012].*

Sharp, L. and Richardson, T., 2001. Reflection on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis in Planning and Environmental Policy Research. Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning 3:193 -209.

Shiva, V., 1988. Staying Alive. Women, Ecology and Survival in India. Zed Books. Ltd.

Skutsch, M. M., 2002. Protocols, treaties, and action: The 'climate change process ' viewed through gender spectacles. Gender and Development, 10:2, 30-39.

Smith. S., 2001. Doing Qualitative Research: from interpretation to action. (Chap.2) In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C (Eds)., 2001. Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers. Issues and Debates. Arnold Publications. London

Steegstra, M., 2009. Krobo Queen Mothers: Gender, Power, and Contemporary Female Traditional Authority in Ghana. Africa Today, 55(3)..

Stoker, G. 1998. Governance as Theory: Five Prepositions". International Social Science Journal, Volume 50 (155): pp. 17 -28.

Thompson, M. C., Baruah, M. and Carr, R. E. 2011. Seeing REDD+ as a project of environmental governance. Environmental Science and Policy 14. pp. 100-110.

Ubink, J.M., 2008. In the land of the Chiefs. Customary Law, Land Conflicts, and the Role of the State in Peri - Urban Ghana. Leiden University Press.

UN, 2009, AGENDA 21. (Online) Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/agenda21/. [Accessed on 26 May 2012].

UNDP, 1997. Governance for Sustainable human development. A UNDP Policy Document. (Online) Available at: http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/policy/chapter1.htm

UNDP, 2005. Human Development Report 2005. International Cooperation at a Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World. UNDP, New York.

UNFCCC, 2001. Decision 36/CP.7. FCC /CP/2001/13/Add.4. page 26 (Online) Available at; http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/cop7/13a04.pdf [Accessed: 3 September,2012].

UNFCCC, 2005. Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries: Approaches to stimulate action. Submission by the Government of Papua New Guinea and

Costa Rica. COP 11, Agenda Item, Number 6. (Online) Accessed on: http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2005/cop11/eng/misc01.pdf [Accessed: 21 June, 2012]

UNFCCC, 2007. Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries: approaches to simulate actions. Decision 2/CP.13 (Online) Available on: http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2007/cop13/eng/06a01.pdf#page=8 [Accessed: 21 June, 2012]

UNFCCC, 2011. Factsheet: Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries: approaches to simulate action. (Online) Available at: http://unfccc.int/files/press/backgrounders/application/pdf/fact_sheet_reducing_emissions_from_deforestation.pdf [Accessed on 21 June, 2012]

UNFPA and WEDO. 2009. Making NAPAs work for women, climate change connections. Available at: http://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2009/climateconnections_4_napas.pdf [Accessed on 26 May 2012].

UN-REDD, 2011. News; 7 New Countries Join the UN-REDD Programme. Newsletter Issue #25, Dec 2011/Jan.2012. (Online) Available on: http://www.un-redd.org/Newsletter25/7_New_Countries/tabid/78563/Default.aspx

UN-REDD, 2009. FCPC, FIP and UN-REDD joint pamphlet. (Online) Available at: http://www.un-redd.org/Publications/tabid/587/Default.aspx

Villagrasa, D., 2002. Kyoto Protocol Negotiations: Reflections on the Role of Women. Gender and Development, Volume 10, Number 2, Climate Change, page 40 -44.

WCED, 1987. Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future. (Online) Available at: www.un-documents.net [Accessed on: 23/06/12]

WEDO, 2012b. A paper submitted by the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) to the Secretariat of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).(Online) Available at www.unfccc.org

WEDO, 2012b. Gender and REDD+ Roadmaps. (Online) Available at; http://gender-climate.org/Content/Docs/Publications/IUCN_Gender_REDD_Roadmaps.pdf [Accessed 11/02/2013]

World Bank, 2011. What is Governance? (Online) Available at: http//web.worldbank.org/. [Accessed on 24/05/2012].

Zoomlion, 2010., The National Forest Plantation Development Programme. (Online). Available on: http://www.zoomlionghana.com/subsi_select.php?si=33