

# **1. INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 BACKGROUND**

In attempting to identify issues that are of highest priority to sustainable rain forest management in Ghana, the research programme development initiative of the Tropenbos-Ghana Programme<sup>1</sup> concluded to pursue a research agenda that will contribute to sustainable integrated forest management. This was based on the popularly acclaimed notion that sustainable forest management planning should be holistic considering the full social, economic and environmental services of the forest. The programme conceptualised that, for an integrated forest management there is the need to look at ways of integrating the multiple functions and roles of the forest, recognising the multiple stakeholders and how to foster collaboration amongst them and the need to make planning, policy formulation and implementation effective. A fundamental conviction here is that, whatever options are developed for promoting integrated forest management, they can only be realised if there is an effective planning of the policy process.

However, many studies (see Luttrell, 1997; Amegatse, 2001, Kotey *et al* 1998, Birikorang, 2001) including TGP's survey on stakeholder consultation on sustainable forest management, have shown that there is fundamentally a problem with planning, formulation and implementation of the forest and wildlife policies in Ghana. Therefore, perhaps unprecedented, the 'effectiveness' of the procedural dimension of the policy process in Ghana was questioned. An attempt to identify specific issues to address from these previous studies failed, in the sense that there was insufficient literature and insight to help develop well-focussed research topics to deal with the issue. The emerged consensus was to employ research techniques to investigate the 'system' against a sound theoretical background with the view to evolving 'new' options for improving the process of policy formulation and implementation.

Consequently, the Tropenbos-Ghana Programme launched an explorative study into the three main research programme areas under the broad theme of sustainable integrated forest management. The overall aim was to conduct in-depth desk study into the three areas to identify specific areas for research interventions in order to focus its overall research agenda and to help make significant impact on sustainable forest management in Ghana.

## **1.2 TERMS OF REFERENCE**

Against this background, the TGP commissioned a Consultant, Mr. Emmanuel Marfo, to conduct an explorative study on the theme 'effective planning, forest policy formulation and implementation' with the following terms of reference.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Tropenbos-Ghana Programme, initiated in 1999, is a five-year cooperative programme between Ghana Government and Tropenbos International to contribute to sustainable forest management in Ghana principally through scientific research and training.

1. Review the process of forest policy formation and formulation in Ghana, giving particular attention to the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy.
2. Review relevant national forest policy documents.
3. Review the process of policy implementation highlighting the strategic and operational planning for policy implementation, the implementation 'structure', institutions, resource allocation, constraints at the various 'clearing' stages and influencing factors.
4. Review the process of forest policy evaluation and its synergetic linkages with other components of the policy cycle
5. Highlight the strengths, weaknesses, constraints and opportunities in the forest policy environment
6. Indicate the research implications from the above with the view to providing critical scientific input for improving planning, policy formulation and implementation in Ghana
7. Present a report to cover the above

### **1.3 ORGANISATION OF REPORT**

In order to fulfil the requirements of the above ToR, this report is organised as follows;

1. A description of a theoretical framework for the study theme and elaboration of key concepts arising from the description that are relevant for the study objectives.
2. The results of the reviews of relevant policy documents and the processes highlighting policy formulation, implementation and evaluation in the forest policy landscape of Ghana. A discussion of the results from theoretical perspective to highlight the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and constraints of forest policy in Ghana.
3. A highlight of the major conclusions of the study and recommendations for scientific research

### **1.4 METHODOLOGY**

The main data collection technique was a desk study including literature collection from the Internet. Principal forest policy-related documents were identified through informal consultation with some staff of the Forestry Commission, Resource Management Support Centre and library search.

The data analysis has been made essentially using content analysis technique. The review process has involved a constant interaction between the main Consultant and the assisting Consultant through detailed reading and discussion of issues from both theoretical and practical perspectives. The study and analysis were particularly guided by relevant publications (details in reference sections) that were found to be quite exhaustive in highlighting the critical issues of concern to the study theme. The strategy has been to focus on detailed analysis of selected documents known to have sufficiently captured the forest policy process in Ghana. The analysis was further enriched through client participation (i.e. joint review of draft reports) in order to clarify both theoretical and practical issues and to clearly project critical research issues.

## 2. THE POLICY PROCESS: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, what people/observers refer to when they talk about policy is examined. An attempt is made to explain the term 'policy' and highlight the important elements that are involved in policy. Therefore this section gives theoretical or conceptual explanations of policy upon which further analysis of the evaluation and analysis of the Ghana forest policy will be based. Later, it will be highlighted what is then that we call forest policy and what elements are needed to be in place to make for an effective planning, formulation and implementation of policy.

The literature review for this section has strategically located leading literature in related fields of policy science. The four chapters of Colebatch expounding the several dimensions of the concept of policy based on a comprehensive review in the book 'Concepts in Social Science' is elaborately reviewed to provide the theoretical thrust for this work. The well acclaimed works of Murray Edelman on symbolic aspects of policy processes as well as the practical guides in Queensland's policy handbook have been very useful in shaping the theoretical perspective presented here.

Aside giving theoretical insights to guide the discussion of the policy processes in Ghana, the section is also considered a useful introductory piece for forest policy students and researchers.

### 2.2 POLICY: WHAT IS IT?

In current political practice, policy means a prior statement of the action and commitments of a future government in respect of some area of activity (Colebatch, 1998). Definitions of public policy indicate its multi-faceted nature.

#### **Box 2.1 some definitions of policy** (cited in [www.premiers.qld.gov](http://www.premiers.qld.gov))

[Policy is] ... a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation.

Jenkins:1978

Public policy is ... a choice made by government to undertake some course of action.

Howlett and Ramesh:1995

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do.

Dye:1998

The term policy however has several applications in everyday life. It can be used, aside a government's position on a problem area, in small-scale levels as the official routine practice; 'I can't allow you to pass, the Commission's policy is that you must possess a conveyance certificate'. The term policy thus may not only mean a set of objectives or

guiding principles but also the standardisation or articulation of practice. Policy statements have different implications for action and can be concluded that policy is a statement about practice as well as about goals. Therefore, the term policy does not have the same meaning in all contexts and so the idea of trying to impose a universal definition is increasingly being criticised by policy scientists. Rather, the emerging scholarly thinking proposes that policy, according to Colebatch (1998), is a concept which rests on three assumed characteristics of organised action; *coherence, hierarchy and instrumentality*.

Coherence is the assumption that all the bits of the action fit together that they form part of an organised whole, a single system and policy has to do with how the system is (or should be) steered. This is seen as one of the central problems of policy: how to get all the different elements to focus on the same question in the same way. In practice however, policy-making looks more like in the words of Colebatch, a pattern of interaction between different participants, a process of ‘pulling and hauling’ in which different players try to shape activity in ways which reflect their particular perspectives than a single-minded exercise of choice.

Secondly, policy is based on the assumption of hierarchy: the authoritative determination of what will be done in some particular area. Thus, the policy process is concerned with the processes through which a cause of action is officially endorsed.

The third assumption is instrumentality: that policy is to be grasped as the pursuit of particular purposes (‘policy objectives’). Therefore it is an instrument to deal with the problems for solutions.

What then are people referring to when they use the term policy? According to Colebatch, to speak of something as policy implies that it has the endorsement of some authorised decision-maker. This implies that, even if it is standard or routine practice, it has received the endorsement (formally or informally) of a certain authority. In this study, therefore, statements or practices in the forestry sector that have received authoritative endorsement (in whatever form) may be regarded as a policy.

Secondly, to speak of policy implies expertise, since policy is seen as the process of bringing the power of an organisation to bear on some particular problem area. The baseline therefore is that, policy requires specialised knowledge, both of the problem area and of the things that might be done about it. Here, the emphasis is on the functional areas (e.g. forest policy, environmental policy) rather than policy. This perspective sees policy as the exercise of skilled-problem-solving and this has always invited the question of ‘does the policy work?’ which generates a special field of policy evaluation.

Thirdly, to speak of policy implies order. This perspective is based on the fact that policy implies system and consistency and that policy decisions are not arbitrary. Here, policy sets a limit on the behaviour of officials and at the same time frees them from the need to make choices. This draws a range of activities into a common framework; we don’t just issue permits to harvest timber based on market demand, we have a forest policy’.

It is increasingly being advocated that policy should not only be understood in terms of intentions but also commitments. Dearlove summarises this position as follows:

‘I shall not use the term ‘public policy’ to refer to the substance of what government does; (but rather) to the pattern of resources which they actually commit as a response to what they see as public problems or challenges warranting public action for their solution or attainment... I do not pretend that all students of public policy would agree with the meaning which I attach to this term, but then I do not consider that goals, intentions, principles, decisions, wishes, objectives or anything else that has been seen as constituting a public policy represents an appropriate usage of the term’.

(Dearlove 1973:2 cited in Colebatch 1998)

In support of this emerging understanding about policy, Schaffer (quoted by Colebatch) defines the term as ‘**a structured commitment of important resources**’. In this perspective, it is not only the official proclamations endorsed in Government white papers, gazettes etc that indicates that there is a policy but what commitments of resources is structured to realise the statements. This includes the broad objectives, and programmes that support the strategies to attain the objectives.

It is clear that policy is involved with making choices about what a problem is and how it should be solved as well as putting in place structures to identify and deal with the problem. The two dimensions of choice and structures operate against each other: making choices may challenge the existing structure, and having the structures limits the opportunity for choice. It is this structural tension between the two in the policy process that makes it ambiguous. In this study, the analysis of the policy process is stretched to embrace this new thinking.

In conclusion, policy-making is more than the production of clearly stated statement of intent on behalf of a government or an organisation, it is a process and as such it shapes practice.

However, it is important to mention that there are two significant types of policy. Anderson (1984) importantly distinguishes policies as being **substantive** or **procedural**. Substantive government policies outline what the government intends to do through stated plans of action. Alternatively, procedural policies consider how something will be done and by whom, often within government agencies. They concern internal operations, often in the form of departmental manuals, operating standards and technical operations. In studying how to improve effective planning, policy formulation and implementation through research, the main focus will be on procedural policies.

### **2.3 POLICY AS A CYCLICAL PROCESS**

The development of public policy is a dynamic and ongoing **process** consisting of several key components. It is fragmented and is not a discrete, single act or event. It can, however, be described within a policy cycle. This implies a thorough analysis is needed in the policy process; the concept of **policy analysis** (see Box 2.3). The policy cycle therefore has several implications for planning and implementation. Table 2.1 (Bridgman

and Davis, 2000) gives a highlight of the phases and the requirements for their implementation planning.

**Box 2.2 the policy process**

In applying the policy cycle, it is important to undertake sound policy process. Stewart (1999:73) suggests the following elements as part of reaching a good policy process.

An effective policy development process:

- fits the circumstances and issues;
- provides the opportunity for analysis from all important perspectives;
- involves appropriate consultation and transparency;
- is publicly defensible in terms of how the process proceeded and who was involved;
- leads to informed decision making; and
- builds in the best opportunities in the circumstances to ensure commitment and implementation

**Table 2.1 Policy cycle and implementation actions**

<i>Policy cycle steps</i>	<i>Implementation planning requirements</i>
Issue identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How will the world be different if this issue is addressed?</li> <li>• How will people behave?</li> </ul>
Stakeholder identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who will be affected by implementation?</li> <li>• How will various strategies affect different stakeholders?</li> </ul>
Option development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How will desired outcomes be achieved in practical terms?</li> </ul>
Option analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How will each option be implemented?</li> <li>• What are the relative merits of each option in terms of implementation costs and benefits and implementation efficacy?</li> </ul>
Recommendation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How will the recommended course of action be implemented?</li> <li>• Implementation strategies for other courses of action should also be explained to the decision-maker.</li> </ul>
Instrument development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy instruments are the ways and means, the outputs that are designed to achieve the outcome.</li> </ul>

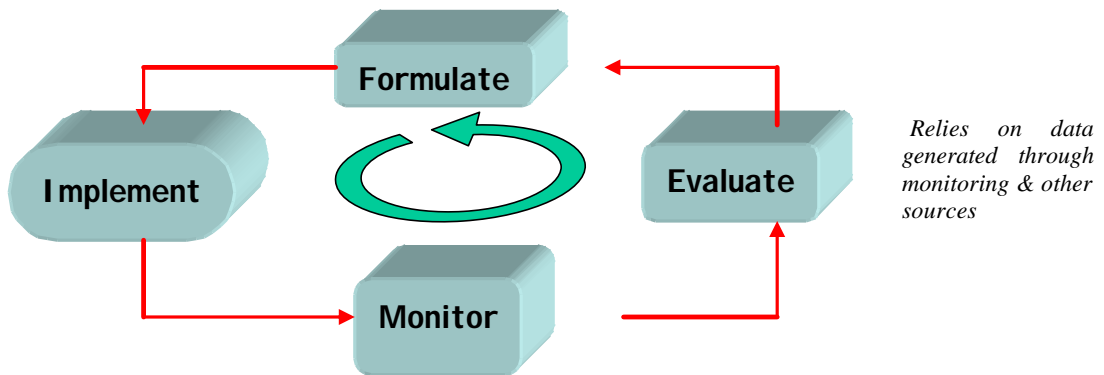
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This step is the immediate precursor to implementation.</li> </ul>
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The implementation plan is realised.</li> </ul>
Review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The implementation plan should have detailed review processes, and include a means of testing the efficacy of the policy implementation against the desired policy outcome.</li> </ul>

**Box 2.3 Policy analysis**

Policy analysis involves designing, determining and considering choices and alternatives and the consequences (both intended and unintended), implications or impacts of taking policy actions. In reaching potential policy solutions, policy practitioners need to:

- research information and literature on the policy issues (e.g. through books, publications, research data, the press);
- develop feasible options and solutions to the policy issue;
- consider and assess the consequences and the advantages and disadvantages of potential policy solutions;
- provide sound and thorough advice based on detailed analysis of the issues; and
- put forward a well-reasoned recommendation to address the issue.

In current literature, the policy process is constructed as a cycle from formulation through implementation to evaluation with useful feedback going back into formulation phase. However, from the discussion below, it will be clear that the process does not follow such a linear pattern in practice. Nevertheless, Bridgman and Davis suggest that a policy cycle can be used to understand and structure policy development, bringing a system and a rhythm to a world that might otherwise appear chaotic and unordered. A standard model of the policy cycle can be summarised broadly by a four-phase process cycle given below. However, other variations like the Australian one (figure 2.2) subdivides these phases



**Figure 2.1 A standard model of the policy cycle**

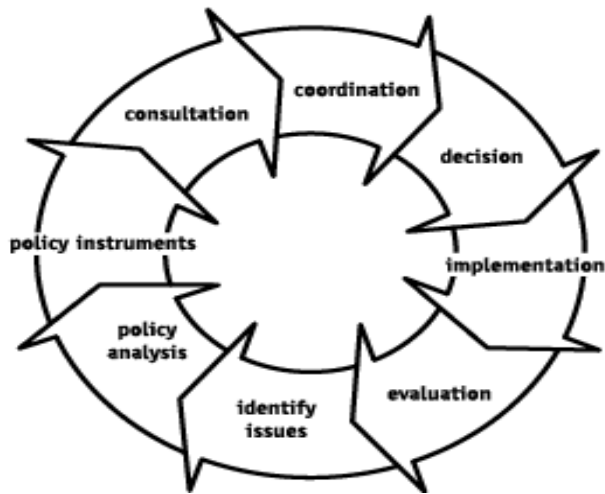


Figure 2.2 an Australian policy cycle model

In the policy process, several instruments (the so-called policy instruments) are used to pursue process objectives (see Box. 2.4, after Bridgman and Davis, 2000)

**Box 2.4 Policy instruments**

Policy instruments are the ways and means of (driving) the policy process. They may be laws, such as Acts of parliament or regulations, programmes administered by public servants or others, informative materials like brochures, or infrastructure, like hospitals, schools, roads, dams or buildings. Usually there will be a combination of policy instruments. The policy instrument choice may have major implications for the timing of policy implementation.

The main types of policy instruments are:

**Advocacy**

- educating or persuading, using information available to government, e.g. public education campaign;

**Money**

- using government spending and taxing powers to shape activity beyond government, e.g. taxes and concessions, research and development grants;

**Direct government activity**

- delivering services through public agencies, e.g. establishing a new programme, funding a new service delivery agency;

**Law**

- legislation, regulations and administrative decisions based on administrative law or delegated authority.

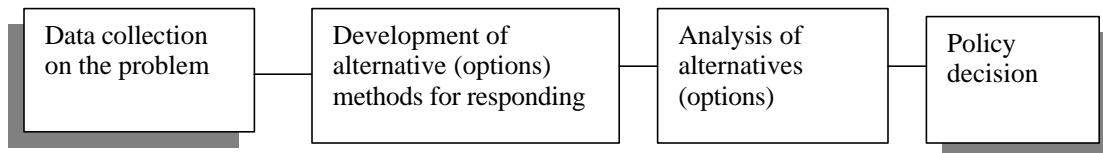
*(Hood:1983)*

Prudent choice of policy instruments is integral to policy analysis and implementation. Instrument choice is sometimes a mixture of politics and law. Again, like 'good' policy, there are criteria for assessing 'good' policy instruments such as efficiency, effectiveness, equity, workability and appropriateness in terms of current political and social values and objectives.



### 2.3.1 Policy formulation

The term ‘policy formulation’ will be used in this study as a generic term for the processes by which policy decisions are made (policy formation) and are formally stated (policy formulation) (Owusu, pers.comm). De-montalembert (1995) describes the formation component as a political process involving not only professionals but the masses of the people who will be affected by the policies; the formulation component is however a specialised process demanding the skills of diverse professionals. A standard model for policy formulation is given below.



A theoretical discussion is presented here to highlight currently emerging issues that are critical to understanding the policy formulation process.

#### ***Policy-making and Stakeholder participation***

Davies provides the thrust for the discussion by positing that:

‘It is as though there were a political gateway through which all issues pass. Disputed from the moment they are in sight of it – and more hotly as they approach- they pass (if they pass) through, and drop out of controversy for a time. Managing the procession are certain ‘gatekeepers’- not just the Cabinet of the day, but bureaucrats, journalists, association heads and independent specialists camped permanently around each source of problems’

*(Davies 1964:2 in Colebatch 1998)*

The term ‘policy-maker’ as used in conventional sense to refer to officials in an organisation or Government such as Ministries, Board of Directors etc has been contested to be more symbolic than substantive and can be quite deceptive. Rather, Colebatch and other policy scholars have argued that the elements of policy (authority, expertise and order) act as gatekeepers for the process, each giving different people a basis for participation, which is fundamentally important in the policy process. To get a complete picture, one must focus on ‘who participates’ more than ‘who makes’.

Policy because it has been described as authorised decision-making and as such the work of the ‘authorities’, authority is the common way to participate in the policy process. In Ghana, policy-making is always assigned or attached to specialised Ministries; the Ministry of Lands and Forestry dealing with forest policy for example. This implies that actors within such a Ministry with the authority to formulate policy would have opportunity to participate in the policy process. Although this conventional notion is dominant, authorities in the words of Marx do not act as free agents, in times and circumstances of their own choosing. Authority therefore is a construct, which frames the world in particular ways, giving particular sorts of standing to people to participate in the process.

Again, since policy-making is also about problem-solving, expertise is one of the platforms for participation and some functionally defined group of expertise will always claim responsibility for a given policy area. Forest policy formulation is therefore

expected to set into motion a significant grouping of diverse experts forming what Colebatch calls 'issue network' or 'policy community'. However because positions are not independent of interests (Leeuwis and van Meeregen, 1999) different bodies of expertise do not only generate responses to the problem; they frame the problem in the first place. Therefore, the way that a problem is framed in the policy process is closely linked to **who** might have policy responsibility for it, and what resource claims might be made as a consequence. In the process, new expertise may be developed to challenge the existing pattern of policy knowledge. This is evident in the evolution of forest policy in Ghana where dominating paradigms such as stakeholder participation, social justice and equity shaped and re-oriented the 1994 Forest and Wildlife policy objectives from previous policies.

Moreover, because policy is concerned with making organised activity stable and more predictable, order is a basis for participation in the policy process. The emerging question that is gradually replacing the old fashioned question of 'who needs to be included' is 'who must not be excluded?' i.e. whose exclusion would frustrate the policy or simply make it pointless? With the emergence of stakeholder participation, conflict management, democratisation of society etc which are central to current development thinking, it is argued that effective policy processes must regard a wider participation of diverse actors. Therefore, many actors should participate in the policy process not based on authority or expertise but for the sake of order. Colebatch has thus contended that a great deal of policy activity should be concerned with creating and maintaining order among the diversity of participants in the policy process. It should therefore not so much be about deciding, but more about negotiating. This negotiation should focus less on alternatives between which we must choose, and more on common ground on which we can converge; what Kotey *et al* (1998) calls 'giving ground to gain ground'.

Notwithstanding these platforms for participation, Colebatch further highlights two points. First, in reality, the policy process is not a free game where all those who have the interest can play; those concerned may have to establish their right to participate. There are, in the words of Colebatch, 'insiders' (who will be involved) and 'outsiders' (who would like to be) or a 'sub-government' of 'insiders' and an 'attentive public' outside. Given the aforementioned importance of order as a basis for participation, the question of how players are selected for the policy process and how the issues of equity democracy, accountable representation etc are addressed is of research importance. This is perhaps more important because of the second point. The second point is that participation is not a neutral question: who participates in a policy issue helps to shape what the issue is. In this sense, policy problem and participants are 'mutually constitutive': the one reinforces the other. Therefore, who participates in the policy formulation is as important as the final policy decision.

### ***Information***

Closely linked to participation is data (information) upon which alternative methods of addressing the policy problem is based. The 'amount' of data available for effective diagnosis is of fundamental importance to policy formulation. The implication is that the reliability, representation and sufficiency of data (information) are important and of

research interest. It is important to question the data upon which a policy decision has been reached. The problem has been ‘what is the relevant data?’ What constitutes ‘relevance’ is a subjective concept, which is shaped by the participants of the policy process. Therefore, it is argued that a good representation of those who are needed and those who must not be excluded is needed for effective data collection and analysis of the problems.

### ***Policy negotiation and stakeholder representation***

Mosse (1994) presents an interesting scenario that legitimises the question of ‘how are these actors in the policy process participating? He contends that in many situations critical public debate is not an established convention and we should avoid unwarranted assumptions about the accountability of publicly processed information. How have the concerns of participants (who in many cases are only representatives of certain organised or recognised groups) being presented and taken-up?

#### **Box 2.5 what makes a good policy**

The ultimate aim of a good policy process is:

- to ensure that the full range of options is canvassed;
- to develop some consensus about the most viable options;
- to ensure that decisions are made by the appropriate person or body; and
- to assist cabinet in making strategically appropriate choices in relation to government goals.

This is achieved through:

- clear communication to interested parties about the steps to be followed;
- openness and transparency of process;
- inclusiveness to ensure that relevant groups are involved;
- appropriate selection of means of discussions (informal meetings, workshops, round tables, forums);
- proper facilitation of meetings to allow full debate;
- reasonable timeframes so that participants can properly enter into debates rather than just 'appear' at meetings;
- informal discussions by preparation of background briefs, basic data presentations, availability of resources, timeframes;
- use of marketing analysis and surveys to assess 'customer' views and satisfaction levels where appropriate;
- feedback mechanisms so participants are both kept informed of thinking and have opportunities for input;
- careful stakeholder selection;
- whole of government involvement; and
- rigorous adherence to procedural requirements.

Most fundamental to this question is ‘whose interest in the policy problem is being projected by participants (representatives)? Schanz (pers.comm) argues that in order to achieve the objective of participation, the term ‘participation’ should be seen as the representation of stakeholder ‘emotions’ rather than merely the physical involvement of their representatives.

It is clear from the foregoing that, in order to arrive at a good policy (see Box 2.5); a rigorous analysis of alternative policy options is needed through a wider participation of relevant actors. Table 2.2 (source: Bridgman and Davis, 2000) highlight the factors that impact policy options.

**Table 2.2 Factors impacting on policy options**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Issues to consider</b>
<b>Economic</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are there funds available to implement the option?</li> <li>• Is the proposal consistent with budget outcomes?</li> <li>• Is it consistent with corporate and strategic plans?</li> <li>• Is the level of business regulation reasonable?</li> <li>• How will the proposal impact on the State's economic development and employment?</li> <li>• How are the costs distributed in terms of start-up and on-going expenses?</li> </ul>
<b>Administrative</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can it feasibly be done by an existing agency?</li> <li>• Will it require new staff, skills and administrative systems?</li> </ul>
<b>Legal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the option constitutional?</li> <li>• What is the head of power?</li> <li>• Are individuals' rights and liberties respected?</li> <li>• Is Parliament's role respected?</li> <li>• Is the option consistent with Acts of general application and the general law?</li> </ul>
<b>Social</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the option socially acceptable?</li> <li>• Does it conform to social justice principles?</li> <li>• Are social service and infrastructure development opportunities grasped?</li> <li>• Does the proposal improve service delivery?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How does the proposal develop inclusiveness of government?</li> <li>• What are the community impacts and how are they addressed?</li> </ul>
<b>Inclusive government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have clients and other stakeholders been consulted?</li> <li>• How have groups not usually involved in policy-making been included? (For example people with English as a second language, people with disabilities, Indigenous people, women, or people from remote and rural communities.)</li> </ul>
<b>Environmental</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the proposal consistent with ESD (economic and social development) principles?</li> <li>• Is biodiversity promoted?</li> </ul>
<b>Political expectations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why is the Government involved?</li> <li>• Does the proposal conform to the Government's directions?</li> <li>• What are the relevant Ministers' views?</li> <li>• Should cabinet's views be sought before proceeding further?</li> </ul>
<b>Community expectations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who is affected by the proposal?</li> <li>• How will negative effects be addressed?</li> <li>• What are the stakeholders' views?</li> </ul>
<b>Implementation issues</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What resources are needed for successful implementation?</li> <li>• How is 'success' measured?</li> <li>• How will things be different if the policy works?</li> <li>• What publicity is required?</li> </ul>
<b>Effectiveness</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Will it make any difference to the problem?</li> <li>• How will we know</li> </ul>

### 2.3.2 Policy Implementation

In particular, it has become recognised that in developing a distinct 'policy' to implement, policy can rarely be so complete as to be simply passed on for administrative action. This is because:

- not all conflicts are resolved during policy development;
- further negotiation/consultation is required with stakeholders to actually get the policy and its components to be actioned;
- other issues not apparent during policy design emerge;
- there is limited knowledge about the actual impact of the policy; and
- Policies need adjustment during their implementation as practitioners find out what works and what does not.

The perception of policy as a logical succession of stages (the ‘policy cycle’) which was first put forward by May and Wildavsky (1978) seems to dominate the conceptual understanding of the term today. In a common sense view, it seems wise because it enables us to frame the action in particular ways: first, the making of a decision, then its implementation and ideally, evaluation to ascertain that the intentions of the decision-maker have been accomplished. However, current literature contest that the boundaries between formulation and implementation is very fluid (see Barrett and Fudge, 1981 cited in Colebatch 1998).

The fundamental question that has generated most policy discussion has been why goals articulated by policy-makers bear little relation to what could be seen on the ground? Interestingly, the sub-title of the work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) on implementation provides a thoughtful note:

*Implementation*  
*How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland: or*  
*Why it's amazing that federal programmes work at all,*  
*This being a saga of the economic development administration as told by two sympathetic observers*  
*Who seek to build morals on a foundation of ruined hopes.*

Colebatch has noted that in all policy fields, there is a ‘problem of implementation’ in that the outcome is likely to be quite different from the originally stated intentions. So policy is not a simple matter of determining goals: they have to be put into effect. Pressman and Wildavsky explained that most of the things to be done to put policy goals into effect need to be ‘cleared’ at a number of points, because they involve a range of participants with distinct perspectives of their own and different levels of commitments to the policy objectives. The more policy depends on such ‘clearances’, the more likely it is that the original objectives would not be accomplished.

Two schools of thought have dominated the literature on policy implementation, with well-developed critiques of the other approach. The first school of thought, which assumes a top-down approach, responds to the problem of implementation failure in a compliance mode. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979 quoted in Colebatch 1998:57) confronted the question as ‘what are the conditions under which policy will be implemented?’ and made the following arguments which may help in the analysis of the Ghanaian forest policy implementation problems:

- A sound theory of means and ends: if it is not true that doing *a* will bring about *b*, then the policy objective *b* will not be achieved
- Unambiguous policy directives: if the policy is unclear, or there are multiple policy goals, then implementation becomes problematic
- Leaders who are skilled and committed to policy goals: policy will not implement itself, but needs the efforts of leaders
- The support of organised groups and key legislators: opposition from such groups can easily block the implementation of policy measures
- No change in priorities over time: otherwise support for the policy may wane before it can be implemented.

The specific prescriptions from the diagnosis of the implementation problem, as stated in Colebatch (1998:57) are as follows:

- Be clear about objectives, and about the contribution of policy to achieving them; make authoritative declarations of policy which are backed by thorough research and evaluation
- Be specific: establish clear indicators of performance, and call for evidence of progress towards their accomplishment
- Develop an orientation to outcomes, and reward people on the basis of the achievement of these outcomes; where possible, have quasi-contractual relationships with the implementers, such as ‘purchaser-provider split’.
- Structure the organisational arrangements to maximise the commitment to the policy of all relevant actors: try to vest responsibility for the implementation of policy in a single body and secure the commitment of those outside the structure of government whose co-operation is necessary
- Review policy commitments regularly and make clear what the priorities are.

However, several scholars (Palumbo and Calista, 1980, cited in Colebatch 1998) have challenged this top-down approach to the implementation problem. Barrett and Fudge (1981) for instance, argue that while it is possible in conceptual terms to draw a clear distinction between policy and its implementation, in practice there is a constant interaction between the managers at the top and the operatives at the workplace, and that it is quite inaccurate to see the relationship between the two as ‘making’ and ‘implementing’ finished policy. Rather, they argue that ‘we have to recognise that those who are giving effect to policy are also shaping what it is. So we should think in terms of ‘action’ and ‘response’ recognising that it is a continuing process and that the initiatives do not necessarily come from the top (Colebatch 1989:59).

For this reason, some analysts such as Hjern and Porter (1981 quoted in Colebatch) have argued that the focus should not be on the policy-makers and their objectives, but on the whole pattern of relationships through which policy is implemented; the so called ‘**implementation structure** (the grouping of participants who share a commitment to a particular programme).

The highly developed critiques of both models make it quite logical to relate the model to practice in order to grasp a deep understanding of policy implementation problem. The

problem is that there appears to be ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ elements in the policy process: there is a mobilisation of authority and there is a process of negotiation between those responsible for the policy and the ‘relevant others’ outside. How then can we frame the situation? Colebatch projects three things of central importance to understanding policy

- There are both horizontal and vertical dimensions
- There are empirical and normative components; and
- The language is part of the action

The vertical dimension of policy is concerned with authority and hierarchy and from this perspective organisation is coherent, instrumental and hierarchical to carry out activities to achieve goals determined at the top. Here, attention to understanding policy implementation should focus on the efficiency with which these authoritative choices are transmitted down the hierarchy; how effectively is the policy being ‘implemented’.

The horizontal dimension is concerned with the fact that policy process flows outside any given organisation. It usually involves not the transmission of instructions but negotiation with people outside the organisation who share an interest in the policy question, but have a distinct perspective on it and whose co-operation cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, policy implementation, in the words of Colebatch ‘is a label for the process through which the differing understandings of the various participants encounter one another (1998:62). It follows that while the vertical dimension gives legitimacy, the horizontal dimension gives efficacy to the policy process.

Secondly, policy statements are highly characterised by normative (‘ought’) and empirical (‘is’) tones. The vertical dimension is highly normative talking about the rational pursuit of legitimately chosen objectives (the policy objective is...) while the horizontal is normally empirical talking about contest between agencies, about process and ambiguity (Colebatch and Degeling, 1986 quoted in Colebatch 1998). Colebatch calls it the ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ presentations of the policy episode.

Lastly, implementation must be understood in the sense that the language itself is part of the action. What it does is to provide a framework for negotiation and participants try to mobilise language in a way that supports their own perspective. The language of ‘The Government has decided or ‘the new policy measures of the Government’ is important because of the signal it gives to the participants inside and outside government, and the resources (financial and others) which it commits.

Therefore, in the vertical perspective of the policy process, implementation means that authorised decisions at the top coincide exactly with outcomes at the bottom: it is a question of securing compliance. This is based on the assumption that the policy process is best understood as the formulation of goals by ‘policy-makers’, the selection of instruments to achieve them, and the assessment of the outcomes. In a horizontal dimension, implementation is an on-going process in exercise in collective negotiation by different realities, as the various participants become involved. Thus, the question of implementation shifts from the execution of clear objectives to the achievement of



collective action, which is compatible with the perspectives of all the relevant stakeholders. Fundamentally, there is a variety of values (not necessarily shared but not inherently inconsistent with one another) that can be mobilised to support a particular programme. Therefore, implementation from this perspective of horizontal interactions is not simply about achieving shared goals, but also about defining the meaning of the policy and the criteria of success. This perspective is also consistent with the opinion expressed by Wiersum (2000) that the transfer of policy decisions to local levels is not a linear process but that interface<sup>2</sup> situation occurs. Such interfaces are often of a conflicting nature with policies being reshaped into new meaning by the local actors. He suggested that in order to understand the nature and outcome of such interface situations, forest policy researchers should focus on empirical reality rather than define normative principles as well as develop new theories for better understanding of the processes involved.

One question that becomes important from both perspectives is the roles that participants are playing in the implementation process. Owusu (1997, pers. comm) indicates that the nature of the problem, factors within the society and the needs of society influence this. The position of Wiersum and Lekanne dit Diprez (1995) is that a new view of the role of the forestry agent should shift from his capacity as 'implementor' of policies to a new role of negotiating conflicts which arise out of the different values and interests between the State officials and local communities. The building of capacity to play this role should be understood to be part of the structural allocation of resources, hence part of the pursuit of policy.

It is clear that with the implementation structure, though actors may have defined roles for the implementation of the policy, their capacities to perform and the interactions and influences from others ultimately defines the reality of what will be implemented.

### **2.3.3 Evaluation in the policy process**

The common sense meaning of evaluation is clear: if policy is concerned with achieving goals then it is only sensible to check whether or not these have been attained.

*Evaluation is the systematic acquisition and assessment of information to provide useful feedback about some object (www.policy-evaluation.com)*

There is broad consensus that the major goal of evaluation should be to influence decision-making or policy formulation through the provision of empirically driven feedback.

Increasingly, evaluation has come to be built into the policy process particularly as part of the relationship between institutions. Colebatch has extensively discussed how evaluation reflects the perception of policy. He concluded that evaluation is not simply

---

<sup>2</sup> Interfaces are critical points of intersection or linkage between different social system, fields of social order where structural discontinuities, based upon differences of normative value and social interests occur (Long 1989)

concerned with whether the policy is achieving its objective (vertical dimension) but also with what the policy means to people and what criteria might be applied to it (horizontal dimension). This perspective potentially weakens any evaluation methodology that fails to capture the horizontal dimension of the implementation process.

Colebatch further explains that the analysis is part of the action and this raises the question about the relationship between the analysis and the participants: should it seek to be detached or should it be engaged in the process being evaluated. There are strongly developed critiques for both opinions in the areas of scientific objectivity, practical feasibility and the indispensability of power relationships. This conflict between detachment and engagement is reflected in the distinction between 'summative' evaluation, where the object is basically to give a score to the activity being evaluated, and 'formative' evaluation, where the object is to improve it. Guba and Lincoln (1989 cited in Colebatch) have concluded that it might be more accurate to see the conflict as a structural tension and that all evaluation will be to some extent detached (since evaluation is distinct from the activity) and to some extent engaged (since it aims to establish the worth of the activity).

Colebatch concludes by positing that the question is how much engagement and how much detachment there is in any particular exercise in evaluation, what scope there is for the various participants to shape the activity and what use the participants make of it.

For whatever purpose evaluation is carried out, it is expected to provide outcomes that are needed to assist in solving the original problems that initiated the policy process. Therefore the circulation of the feedback into the process completes the cycle. The question is how is this taken-up (communicated), by whom (participation) and how does it shape the process again (response). However, there is also a thin line between implementation and evaluation. The understanding is that evaluation goes hand-in-hand with implementation in the form popularly known as monitoring.

It is concluded that given the multiple perspectives and agendas associated with policy implementation (Rew and Brustinow quoted in Mosse 1998) the task of monitoring is no longer simply to manage impacts or outcomes. Rather, it must play a major role in creating a framework for negotiating common meanings and resolving differences and validation of approaches. The role of process monitors is then more of advocacy, facilitation or nurturing than analysis.

For the reasons of the arguments aforementioned, it is preferred in this study to interpret the term evaluation to embody both monitoring and evaluation as the last phase of the policy cycle. This will provide a basis for process research that, in the words of Korten, will provide a clear window into the rich detail of uncensored field experience of the policy cycle (1989:15).

*In formative research the major questions and methodologies are:*

**What is the definition and scope of the problem or issue, or what's the question?**

Formulating and conceptualizing methods might be used including brainstorming, focus groups, nominal group techniques, Delphi methods, brainwriting, stakeholder analysis, synectics, lateral thinking, input-output analysis, and concept mapping.

**Where is the problem and how big or serious is it?**

The most common method used here is "needs assessment" which can include: analysis of existing data sources, and the use of sample surveys, interviews of constituent populations, qualitative research, expert testimony, and focus groups.

**How should the programme or technology be delivered to address the problem?**

Some of the methods already listed apply here, as do detailing methodologies like simulation techniques, or multivariate methods like multi-attribute utility theory or exploratory causal modelling; decision-making methods; and project planning and implementation methods like flow charting, PERT/CPM, and project scheduling.

**How well is the program or technology delivered?**

Qualitative and quantitative monitoring techniques, the use of management information systems, and implementation assessment would be appropriate methodologies here.

*The questions and methods addressed under summative evaluation include:*

**What type of evaluation is feasible?**

Evaluability assessment can be used here, as well as standard approaches for selecting an appropriate evaluation design.

**What was the effectiveness of the programme or technology?**

One would choose from observational and correlational methods for demonstrating whether desired effects occurred, and quasi-experimental and experimental designs for determining whether observed effects can reasonably be attributed to the intervention and not to other sources.

**What is the net impact of the programme?**

Econometric methods for assessing cost effectiveness and cost/benefits would apply here, along with qualitative methods that enable us to summarise the full range of intended and unintended impacts.

Each of these methods and the many not mentioned, is supported by an extensive methodological research literature. This is a formidable set of tools. But the need to

improve, update and adapt these methods to changing circumstances means that methodological research and development needs to have a major place in evaluation work (www.policy-evaluation.org, 2002).

The main approach to policy evaluation is summarised in Table 2.3

**Table 2.3 Approach, criteria and technique for policy evaluation**

Type	Criteria	Technique
Policy Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Output measurement</li> <li>• Effectiveness</li> <li>• Measuring impact (short/long term)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Budgeting</li> <li>• Cost benefit analysis</li> <li>• External reviews</li> <li>• Establishing performance indicators in policy design</li> </ul>

Finally, it is important to note that Government policy evaluation or review, according to the Bridgman and Davis, often involves answering one or more of the following questions:

***Access***

Are clients able to take advantage of the policy?

***Administrative efficacy***

Is the policy administratively simple, efficient and effective?

***Complexity***

Is the policy overly complex? Do clients understand the policy?

Do administrative and enforcement officers understand the policy?

***Cost***

What are the costs of the policy? Who pays them?

***Distribution of benefits***

Is there a net benefit (economic, social and legal)? Who receives it?

***Effectiveness***

Does the policy achieve the desired outcomes?

***Efficiency***

Are the results achieved for the least possible costs in financial and other resources?

### ***Equity***

Are there differences from one client group to another? Are target groups properly addressed? Does the policy distribute benefits or burdens differently among groups? If so, why?

### ***Legality***

Does an adequate head of power support the policy? Have legal changes taken place since the policy was developed?

### ***Policy consistency***

Is the policy consistent with other policies? Does it meet legislative and government commitments?

### ***Community acceptability***

Is the policy acceptable in the communities affected, with particular reference to stakeholders identified in its development? Are clients needs met? Are other stakeholders satisfied?

### ***Political acceptability***

Is the policy acceptable to the Government (Ministers and cabinet)?

## **2.4 ORIGIN OF POLICY**

The discussion so far has indicated that the origin of policy depends on social reality in a given policy field. For instance, when the need to use and manage a resource to achieve certain specific goals are brought to light, through the gate-keepers of authority, expertise or order (according to Colebatch), the process of defining the problem and assembling resource are initiated to quick-start the policy process. It may be initiated from authority; for example when a new Government sees the problem in a given area differently from existing perspectives, a policy process may be initiated to define 'new' goals and basis for action. This may not be a new policy but perhaps an evaluation or review of existing 'policy' to reflect the new direction. This is what makes the question of policy origin ambiguous.

What actually influence for example authority to seek for new policy direction? Many studies (Gluck, 1995, Wiersum 2000, Corkery *et al.*, 1997) have explained that the source of influence or initiative for policy change may come from internal social pressure (from experts or public perspectives) or from external pressure (due to international commitments). In Ghana, indications are that forest policies have evolved through a combination of both local and international influences (see Tuffour 1996 and Kotey *et al.*, 1998).

## **2.5 POLICY AS A POLITICAL SYMBOLISM**

***'We learn nothing rightly until we learn the symbolical character of life'***

(By: Ralph Waldo Emerson cited on April 8, 2002 from [www.cddc.vt.edu](http://www.cddc.vt.edu))

In order to have a deep grasp of the policy process, especially for analysis and research, it is increasingly becoming important to emphasise the political symbolism that is intimately associated with and almost inseparable from the concept. Edelman's work on symbolic aspects of the political process is a useful one for understanding the roles of symbols in the policy processes. He provokes discussion by stating the following:

'Public policy making tends to be a highly stylised and ritualised process. It's replete with symbolism that conveys and serves to rationalise the product, whatever it may be. ...That policy as a symbolic gesture is sufficient to assuage anxieties and to reassure the public that a problem has been resolved is seen in the old bromide that commonly greets almost any problematic situation: 'there ought to be a law' (1998:22).

He explained the various ways in which symbols are mobilised in the policy process. First, he explained Bell's position that policy making is necessarily a communicative encounter and that, symbols are the currency of this communication process. It is explained that when the symbols of politics are evoked, what is communicated is not strictly a function of the intent neither of the communicator nor of the manifest content of the message. The meanings of the message are heavily coloured by the significance to the receiver of the symbol involved and his or her own interpretation of their meaning. This heterogeneity of interpretation is likely to go unrecognised, however, because all are reacting to the same objective stimuli and tend to assume that the meaning they find there is intrinsic to the symbols involved and thus common to all.

Secondly, he explained that the formulation of policy may only be a symbolic gesture and that there may not be any 'genuine' political commitment to solving the problem; what is common to all of us is that, there is a policy but the political will to enforce it is lacking. This gesture both affects the content of the problem and the commitment to solution. Edelman puts it like this:

'The situations that provoke public anxiety and heighten expectations of official action are generally ill understood that they afford policymakers great latitude in defining the substance of the problem. While there may be public clamour that something should be done, precisely what is being demanded is largely determined by how 'policymakers' choose to interpret the situation that occasion those demands. ...Because of their position in the symbolic order of things, public policymakers can often create the 'problems' they wish to address and 'solve' problems by simply declaring them solved' (1998:24).

A current demand on the policy process discourse is stakeholder participation, which is a discontinuity from the past state-centred approach to policy formulation and implementation. Edelman makes an observation, which gives, an important analytical lesson as to how such concepts being demanded in present day political systems are symbolically presented in the policy process. He observes that, discontinuities do occur as events and changing circumstances give rise to new demands on the political system. These demands are frequently couched in terms of familiar symbols in order to legitimise the demands and to solidify support (1998:119). A conclusion from this literature is that while there is widespread positive identification with such symbols as 'participation' and 'equity', there is at best limited agreement on the substantive meanings attributed to them. Whereas there seems to be a consensus that the policy process should be participative (as also endorsed in Ghana), research has however repeatedly shown that such abstract statements of democratic principles as participation breaks down when

those principles are framed in specific terms (Mann, 1970, McClosky 1964 in Edelman 1998:119).

Edelman further explains how the social functions of political symbols can be manifested in the policy process. He argues that the process normally operates to convey tangible benefits to organised interests while providing only symbolic reassurances to the mass public. He notes that many political acts which command widespread attention are highly significant symbolically but have little or no effect on the distribution of material resources. Such symbol-laden acts buoy public confidence and promote popular acquiescence to the conditions that sustain the current political order. These conditions, Edelman concludes, enable the organised elite to pursue their material interest and to partake disproportionately of the tangible benefits allocated by the political system. Since communication is central to the policy process, the language used by participants is important to guarantee effective participation. Again, Edelman, explains how language serves as a symbol of isolation during the process. He reiterated that 'by defining social issues in the often arcane language of their professions, they effectively limit the terms of the debate and thereby the prospects of popular involvement' (1998:130).

Finally, it is important to note that symbols are used not only by public officials or politicians in the policy process to rationalise and justify their decisions, but also by other actors to challenge those decisions and mobilise support for new demands.

From the foregoing, it is noted that in analysing policy, the content of the policy document may not be sufficient to conclude the existence of commitments to solve the policy problems. They may only be symbols mobilised by the body politic to legitimise its commitment to international obligations as well as public outcry. Secondly, since anything is potentially a political symbol, there is the need for empirical analysis to ascertain the use of critical concepts such as stakeholder participation, delving into the methodologies and real commitments of resources in policy analysis.

## **2.6 PLANNING IN THE POLICY PROCESS.**

Following the discussions about the policy cycle, it is clear that careful planning is needed to achieve specific results at almost all stages of the process. This result could be to answer questions such as 'how do we identify critical issues in the forestry sector that need policy intervention', or how do we deal with over capacity in the timber industry' or how do we get a national forest policy'? It is not the intention of this study to provide a theoretical overview of the planning process but to highlight the significance of planning in the policy process and what constitutes a good plan at any point in the policy process.

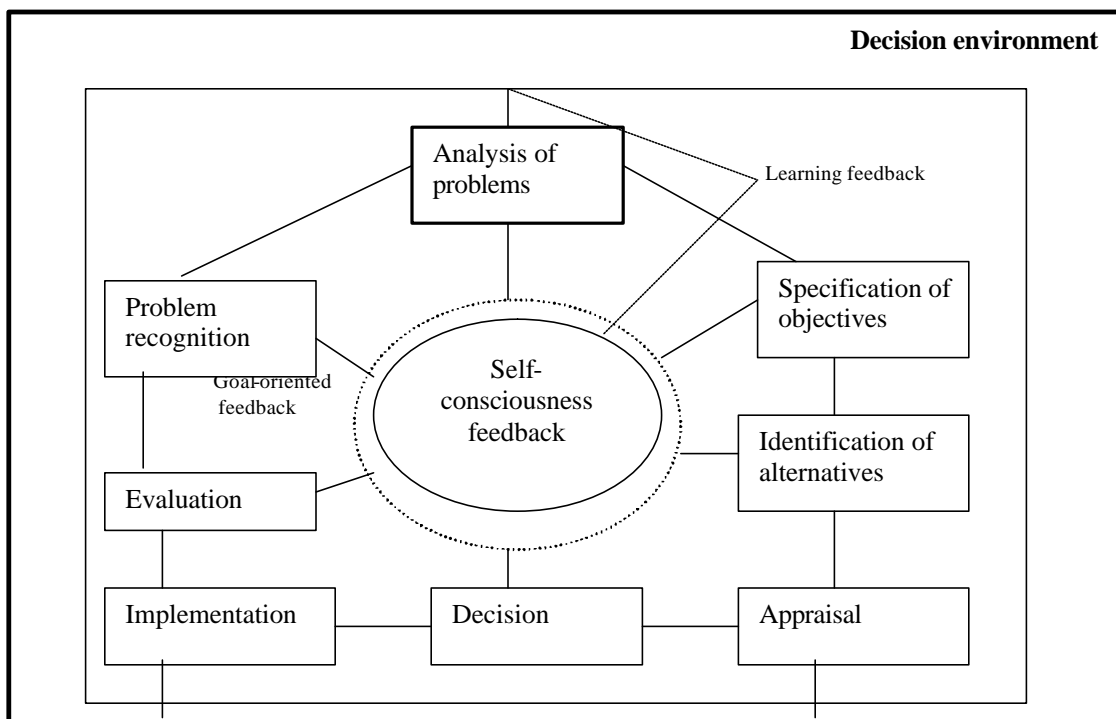
To begin with, the study will follow Mintzberg (1994) that 'planning is a formalised procedure to produce an articulated result, in the form of an integrated system of decisions'. In the context of policy studies, Faludi's definition of planning as 'the application of scientific methods- however crude- to policy making' is of particular interest (1973). It is important to state that there are two types of planning theories, which dominate literature namely the procedural and the substantive types (Filius, 1998). The

first type is on theories of the general characteristics of the planning process and organisational forms of planning, the latter is concerned with the subject matter of planning (Faludi, 1987). In the forestry sector, both types of planning are needed: how do we implement the 1994 forest and wildlife policy? What procedures should be followed to ensure effective implementation? This will involve the application of both theories.

Planning, in the procedural mode, suggests that the process is cyclical with many phases. In each phase, information enters and can lead to feedback. What is important to the policy process is how such feedback is taken-up and how they shape the process for the various benefits explained earlier. Figure 2.3 summarises the planning process and its associated feedback.

The goal-oriented feedback is a reaction on information, which comes in, in the evaluation phase about the extent to and the way in which the goals/objectives have been reached.

The learning feedback arises from information on developments in the environment of the system or the system itself. Lastly, the feedback based on self-awareness arises because of information within the system about changes in perceptions, attitudes and preferences of those involved in planning. The learning feedback may ascertain that the original objectives will not be achieved by the proposed activities, with the self-consciousness feedback we may become aware that e.g. the original objectives are not right (Filius, 1998).



**Fig. 2.3 Phases in the planning process with goal-oriented, self-awareness and learning feedback (Source: Filius, 1998)**



It has however been established that the policy process is concerned with solving problems and therefore the notion that planning is cyclical cannot mean that planning is a never-ending story. At a given moment, it may be too costly to go back and thus at a certain point one should be able to conclude that this will be a good plan.

But what is a good plan? A good plan as mentioned by Barber *et al.* (1996) satisfies five key management principles that must be kept in mind at every phase of the planning process. This is explained below.

- **Commitment** to the goal, within and outside the organisation should be secured. Filius argues that this commitment can be reached by participation.
- **Flexibility**: are the targets measurable and are there margins for risk and uncertainties?
- **Simplicity**: Applying Occam’s Razor rule<sup>3</sup>, are we using the minimum variables to get the most from the data we have?
- **Consistency-continuity**: Is the analysis using similar techniques, units, terminology, and theories which guarantee level field of play for participants today and tomorrow?
- **Maintaining options**: Are we maintaining options so as to minimise irreversible or irretrievable commitment of resources?

## 2.7 LINKING THE THEORY TO THE STUDY

In analysing the results of the reviews of the Ghanaian forest policy process in order to highlight critical issues for research attention, the confrontation matrix for strategy formation below will be used.

		External analysis	
		Opportunities	constraints
Internal analysis	strength	take these opportunities	do not waste energy
	Weaknesses	do not use these opportunities, they cannot be achieved	take measures in the short term

**Strength:** An internal factor in the forestry sector that is favourable to the pursuit of effective planning and execution of the policy process and needs to be harnessed.

**Weakness:** An internal factor in the forestry sector that is not favourable to the pursuit of effective planning and execution of the policy process and needs to be addressed.

**Opportunity:** An external factor outside the forestry sector that favours the pursuit of effective planning and execution of the policy process and needs to be grasped.

<sup>3</sup> Occam’s razor rule is a scientific and philosophical rule devised by W. Occam, which means that no entities should be included beyond what is necessary. If several competing procedures, theories, analyses etc are available with the same results, the simplest should be chosen.

**Constraint:** An external factor outside the forestry sector that does not favour the pursuit of effective planning and execution of the policy process and needs to be addressed.

Therefore research intervention should be focussed on constraints imposed on the policy environment which are difficult to be overcome as a result of internal weaknesses of the forestry sector and vice-versa.

The following are explored in the study to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and constraints in the forest policy environment of Ghana in order to make recommendations for scientific research interventions.

**A good governance<sup>4</sup> environment:** Good governance- the art of finding a compromise among key governance objectives and principles that is most acceptable to most people. Broadly, Osborne (1997) suggests a compromise between security and freedom, impartiality and co-operation, diversity and unity, leadership and tolerance and the need for information and privacy. Of particular importance to policy formulation and implementation, according to Corkery *et al.*, is the presence of:

- Accountability and transparency
- Management efficiency and effectiveness
- Decentralisation, devolution and pluralism
- Participation, partnership, empowerment and ownership
- Human rights, free speech and free association and democracy

In the context of this report, good governance entails strengthening the democratic values and processes, ensuring freedom of expression and the rule of law, developing capacity of public sector institutions to enhance accountability, transparency and competence (GOG, 1994). Therefore, the governance environment surrounding the formulation and implementation of the forest policy is explored to ascertain the presence/absence of such indicators for good governance needed for an effective policy process.

**Information:** The discussion so far has also revealed the need for information upon which policy decisions can be based. The leading questions are ‘are there reliable source of information for policy decisions’, ‘are they accessible to the various participants of the policy process’ and what commitments exist for the effective generation and management of information? Is there a free communication media? How are feedback information integrated into the policy process and what factors constraining their effective ‘take-up’?

**Stakeholder participation:** The third emerging principle for effective policy process is stakeholder participation in decision-making. The leading questions are ‘are stakeholder roles clarified and ‘is there appropriate institutional capacity to enhance this’, how effective are stakeholders represented in policy negotiations and ‘are the mechanisms for interaction (consultation) and communication accessible, equitable and effective in harnessing collective decision-making and commitment to policy decisions? What institutional commitments are available for this?’

---

<sup>4</sup> Following Corkery *et al* (1997), Governance is the process by which diverse elements in a society wield power and authority and, thereby, influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life and economic and social development

**Commitment of stakeholders:** A fourth principle is securing the commitment of stakeholders including the political will to formulate and implement emerging policy issues. The questions are 'is there sufficient commitment of stakeholders to policy decisions? What factors constrain stakeholder commitment in the forest policy environment?

**Planning and commitment of resources:** The fifth principle is the effective planning and commitment of resources for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation, particularly for the allocation of resources and institutional capacity building. Here, the presence of programmes, strategic, tactical and operational plans and the commitment of resources to achieving target objectives are important.

### **3. REVIEW OF THE FORMULATION, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF FOREST POLICY IN GHANA**

In this section, a review of forest policy formulation, implementation and evaluation is given using the case of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy. The review, from relevant policy-related documents, is only detailed to the extent that it helps in understanding the major conclusions and recommendations of this study and that reference to sources for detail description of the policy processes are given where necessary.

#### **3.1 REVIEWS OF POLICY FORMULATION, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION: THE CASE OF THE 1994 FOREST AND WILDLIFE POLICY**

##### **3.1.1 Forest policy formulation**

Tuffour (1996) and Kotey *et al.* (1998)<sup>5</sup> have extensively elaborated the evolution of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy with major highlights on motivating factors, actors and their roles, consultation processes and analysis of implementation. Until 1948, there was no policy to guide forestry development. The forest Ordinance (Cap. 157 of 1927) governed the constitution and protection of permanent forest reserves.

The main objectives of the 1948 policy were:

- Conservation and protection of the forest environment i.e. protection of major water catchment areas, maintenance of a microclimate for production of major agricultural crops.
- Management of the permanent forest estate on a sustained yield basis
- Promotion of research in all aspects of scientific forestry (Kotey *et al.*, 1998:50).

Many issues constituted pressures in the policy environment after 1948, which ultimately led to the formulation of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy. The major defects of the previous policy has been explained by Tuffour (1996) as:

- Excessive centralisation vesting timber rights in the President for the traditional land owners which is known today as a disincentive for sustainable forest management
- The lack of integration of local economy with forestry practices which culminated in a lot confrontation and mistrust among major forest stakeholders
- Wildlife conservation and management was not seen as an integral part of forest resources management
- The scope of forestry research was narrow focussing mainly on silviculture and regeneration which gradually failed to meet the challenges of forest management
- The lack of provisions for peoples' participation, especially in commercial plantation development.

---

<sup>5</sup> The study titled 'falling into place: policy that works for forests and people' financed by DFID and NEDA and published by IIED is a brilliant examination of forest policy and policy processes in Ghana. Its conclusions and recommendations are said to indicate plausible future directions for improved policy and will be extremely useful for those interested in understanding and explaining forest policy.

These major defects provoked internal discussion among few forestry scholars until developments in the 1980s brought the need for policy revision into the daylight. The World Bank preparatory mission for the Forest Resource Management Project (FRMP)<sup>6</sup> indicated that the 1948 Policy was inadequate for dealing with the problems of **dwindling forest resource, inadequate revenue and weak institutions** in the closing decades of the century (Kotey *et al*, 1998). Consequently, the Forestry Commission initiated, in April 1989, the process of policy formulation through a consultative symposium at GIMPA. In addition, the developments from UNCED in 1992 particularly the Forest Principles, the paradigm of sustainable development and the global call for the recognition of peoples' rights, the promotion of social justice and participation formed an important influencing pressure. The process of formulation of this policy is summarised in figure 3.1.

**Box 3.1. Summary of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy Statement (MLF, 1994)**

The aim of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy is *'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'*.

The objectives are to:

- Manage and enhance Ghana's permanent estate of forest and wildlife resources for preservation of vital soil and water resources, conservation of biological diversity and the environment and sustainable production of domestic and commercial produce;
- Promote the development of viable and efficient forest-based industries, particularly in secondary and tertiary processing, so as to fully utilise timber and other products from forests and wildlife resources and satisfy domestic and international demand for competitively priced quality products.
- Promote public awareness and involvement of rural people in forestry and wildlife conservation so as to maintain life sustaining systems, preserve scenic areas and enhance the potential of opportunities;
- Promote research-based and technology-led forestry and wildlife management, utilisation and development to ensure resource sustainability, socio-economic growth and environmental stability.
- Develop effective capability at national, regional and district levels for sustainable management of forest and wildlife resources.

---

<sup>6</sup> The FRMP was jointly funded by IDA/DANIDA/ODA and Ghana Government and had the following key components: *Sector Policy Reforms, Forest Management, Rural Forestry, Strengthening of forestry sector institutions, Education and training and Research.*

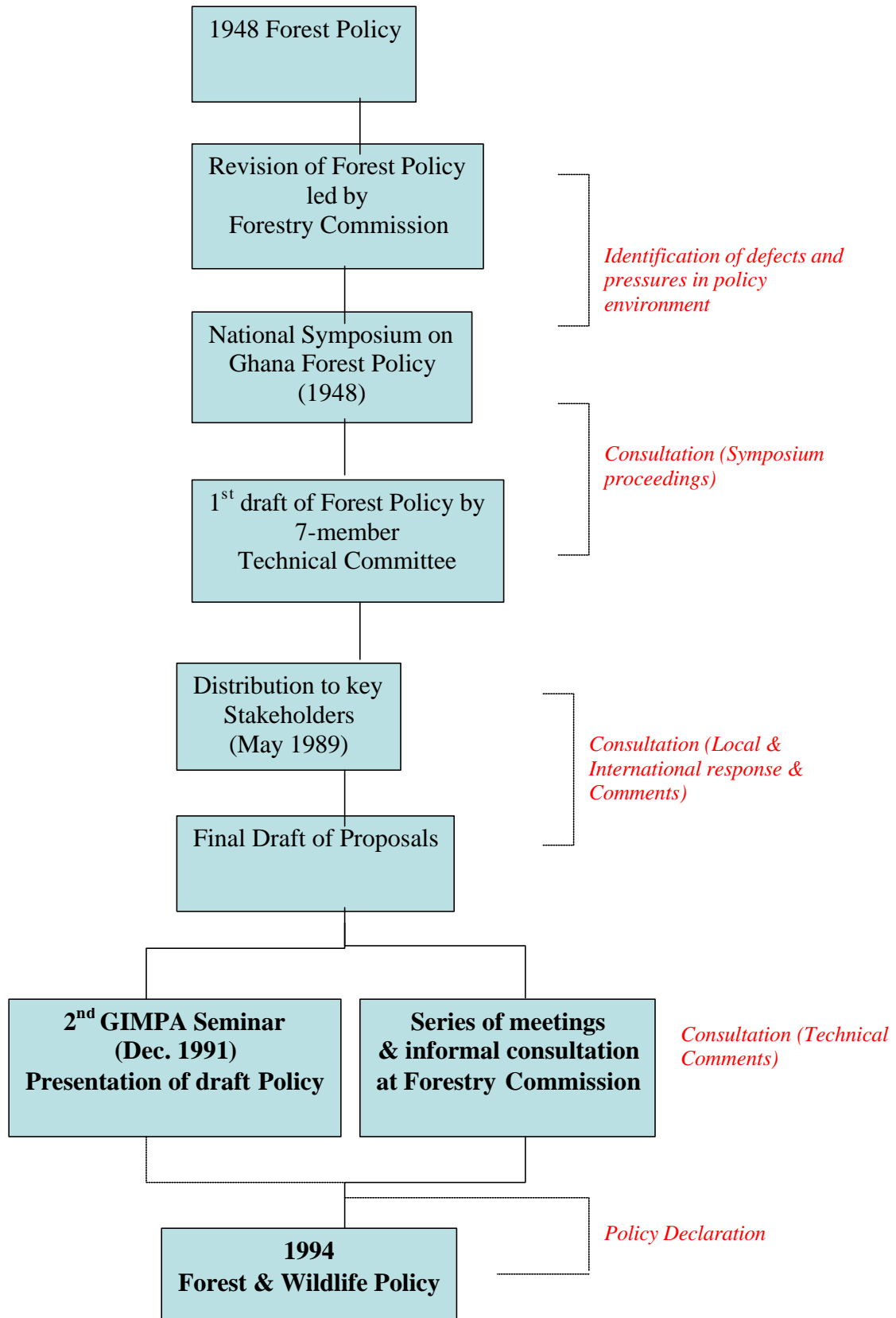


Figure 3.1 summary of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy formulation process

### **3.1.2 Policy Implementation**

*The formulation of a policy is a complex and very important task, but its **implementation** is in the end the only mechanism, which can validate its principles, strategies and actions as well as show how the sector is considered in a country.*

*FAO's Forestry Department, 1989*

The main policy document guiding the development of Ghana's forest sector is outlined in the Forest & Wildlife Policy of 1994. This document is a sequel to the previously outdated 1948-forest policy, the objective of which was primarily to secure the supply of industrial timber on a sustained basis. The 1948 forest policy has been noted to be a generalised statement of intent, of bones without meat. The policy lacked measures required to implement it vis-à-vis the resources and the commitment of the state to implement it. The assumption of the state's commitment was predicated on the membership of the then Chief Conservator of Forests on the Executive Council.

The main bottleneck of forestry development is not so much with the content of the policies as with the implementation of the policies. Many countries falter here. Ghana's history of implementation is not a significant departure from this observed phenomenon. Ghana's current policy (1994) however, attempts some explicit arrangements at implementation.

The objectives of the policy have been already stated in Box 3.1. The strategic highlight of the policy expounds the 'use of market mechanisms to determine realistic product prices and to stimulate specialisation and efficiency in resource utilisation.' This is indeed a laudable conception. The policy as a document remains a commendable material. The implementation of the principles and strategies however exposes the gaps between intentions and reality.

Government demonstrated the political will in following the policy - a collection of intents, principles, strategies, and tactical initiatives – with a master plan for the development of the Sector. This document – The Forestry Master Development Plan - was finally accepted in 1996. The landscape still consisted of good intentions and plans without the necessary backing of the drive and resources to implement these plans. To back the implementation of the National Forest & Wildlife Policy and its successor Master Development Plan, a sector-wide multi-donor programme (the Natural Resource Management Programme, NRMP) was conceptualised and finally launched in 1998. In addition to backing the well-anticipated policy reforms, the purpose of the NRMP was to undertake an institutional overhaul in the forest sector.

For the purpose of the review, the report will examine the policy implementation under three main headings: implementation planning, institutional issues, and policy reform.

#### ***Implementation Planning***

Following the formulation of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy, a comprehensive plan of action to guide the implementation of the policy objectives and key strategies up to the year 2020 was drawn by three working committees formed from the MLF. This resulted in the design of the Forestry Development Master Plan, 1996-2020. The strategy was to

design a national sector development plan that appreciates and falls within the scope of national medium-term plan of Ghana- the vision 2020. Thus, this was a basic framework plan to guide further strategic and operational planning of the forestry sector institutions.

#### **Ghana Vision 2020 Statement**

*Creation of an enabling environment in which all sections of society can contribute to an accelerated rate of social and economic development in order to achieve the national goal of reducing poverty, increasing income and opportunities...by the end year 2020*

The Master Plan is therefore the basis for the strategic and operational planning of sector institutions for the implementation of the policy. The language is highly normative and set broad strategies for the implementation of the Policy. This is consistent with current thinking about hierarchical planning where planning in the upper part of the hierarchy is normative against the functional planning<sup>7</sup> in the lower part of the hierarchy. A careful study of the contents and style of the hierarchical planning mode of the Forest Service for example from the Master Plan down to the operational plan indicate a well consistent fashion. The forestry sector of Ghana can be described as a complex system<sup>8</sup> and for such as system, an adequate planning approach is needed and it is widely accepted that hierarchical planning is such an approach (see Filius, 1998). The study therefore perceives the mode of hierarchical planning adopted for the implementation of the Policy as a good approach.

The Master Plan highlights the policy objectives, sets broad programmes and strategies, indicates leading agencies for implementing them, defines the phasing (timing) of the strategies and lists related projects to help implement the said strategies. The logical framework matrix was adopted as a planning tool for the Master Plan and this is seen as suitable for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the process. However, the criticisms against logical frameworks including that it is biased towards the physical and quantitative aspects of programmes, that it tends to confirm 'blueprint' planning and that planners treat the assumptions casually are worth noting here (see Waggins and Shields, 1995). This is to provoke rethinking how to improve the Master Plan to make it more process and qualitatively oriented. They have suggested that, additional argument and commentary within the programme document, reflecting thought and discussion during the preparation phase may rescue the overall context. The justification for improving the

---

<sup>7</sup> Normative planning is mode of planning whereby the goals and objectives defining, *inter alia*, the limits of the action space of a planning agency, are themselves the objects of rational choice, and whereby the choice is reviewed as and when the need arises.

Functional planning, on the other hand, is a mode of planning whereby the goals and objectives defining, *inter alia*, the limits of the action space are not questioned (Faludi, 1973)

<sup>8</sup> According to Haimes (1982), a complex system is characterised by large number of decision variable and state variables, large number of subsystems, complex relationship between system components, risk and uncertainties, multiple and conflicting goals and objectives, multiple decision makers, hierarchical organisations and dynamic changes in goals , objectives, constraints and decision maker's preferences.



Master Plan in this context can be demonstrated by the provision on relevant research and technology development:

Narrative Summary	Measurable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>OUTPUTS:</p> <p>4. Relevant research and technology development improved</p>	4.1 Studies geared to resource and industry problems	4.1 FORIG Reports	4.1 Private sector co-operation obtained

This blueprint provision is not totally consistent with new developments in forestry research, which place high priority research areas in different domains.

‘...Surprisingly, perhaps, the issues, which dominate reflection, are not **technical**. Many, of course, are influenced by technology but my personal catalogue of the great issues of the past 50 years (and the challenges for the next 50 years) is concerned more with the changing perceptions of the purpose of forestry, and its socio-economic and political dimensions...’

*Dennis Richardson (cited by de-Montalambert, 1995)*

This reflection note by Dennis Richardson supports the emerging notion that cross-sectoral, social and political studies for example are of significant importance to sustainable forest management.

Moreover, even if the provision is argued to embrace all-types of relevant research studies related to the forest and wildlife resources, the assumption that FORIG reports are sufficient means of verification may be wrong. This is because there is currently no effective information network and management system that ‘consciously’ pulls relevant research results from other sources (under graduate and post graduate thesis and University research results for example) to FORIG. Therefore, other means, such as IRNR student research reports are needed in the framework. On the other hand, the researches being conducted by FORIG may not be sufficient in addressing forest and wildlife resource and industry problems.

The main point being emphasised here is that, the Master Plan needs to be improved from its blueprint fashion to a process oriented one where new developments and experiences can be incorporated so that it can guide the design of strategic planning by the various implementing agencies. The research implication is therefore how the design of master plans can be improved by assessing and incorporating feedback from the policy process.

The implementation of forest and wildlife policy strategies from the Master Plan is guided by a series of manuals designed for use by various officers and staff of the implementation agencies. These guidelines called the Manual of Operations (MoP) are series of instructions prepared for the fulfilment of the mandates of the agencies. This standardisation of planning specific series of instructions to fulfil defined objectives is a good approach satisfying the continuity-consistency criteria of a good plan.

The management of forest resources in the HFZ of Ghana is guided by a set of MoPs as follows:

Section A	Strategic Planning
Section B	Operational Planning
Section C	Sustainable Timber Production On-Reserve
Section D	Stock Survey and Yield Allocation
Section E	Preparation of Timber Harvesting Schedules for Forest Reserves
Section F	Controlled Timber Production Off-Reserve
The Logging Manual	

For Plantations, the following MoPs have been developed:

MoP A	Plantations Planning
MoP B	Nurseries
MoP C	Field operations
MoP D	Thinning operations

The following strategic guidelines have also been formulated for effective planning

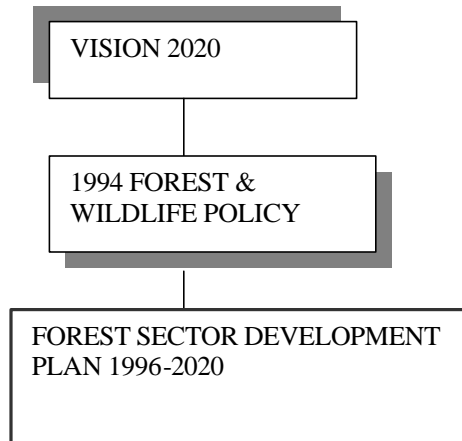
- ❖ Forest Protection in Ghana (Protection Strategy)
- ❖ Fire Control Guidelines
- ❖ Guidelines for Plantation Development
- ❖ Collaborative Forest Management Guidelines

In Ghana, the standard basic operational plan is a three-year rolling plan, which consist of a detailed Annual Programme of Works (APW) with a more flexible programme for the remaining two years. The content of this plan is defined by the contents of the strategic plans (forest reserve management plan and the summary table for District Forestry Development Plan), fire plan, On and off-reserve operational plans and commercial plantation programmes.

Whereas the content of these manuals of operations seem quite concrete and elaborate for the effective implementation of strategic objectives for sustainable forest management, their adequacy and performance have not been empirically (scientifically) tested. It is important to test the adequacy of the manuals in addressing the specific implementation problem with the view to identifying the weaknesses and constraints to make recommendations for improving their content. The Resource Management Support Centre is recommended to lead or collaborate with this research concern since it is the technical wing of the Forestry Commission and is directly involved in planning.

Moreover, the presence of a Performance Appraisal Manual (January 2000) which is to guide target-based performance appraisal consisting of beginning of year, periodic performance and end of year performance is seen as a remarkable effort to harness the performance of staff. This is a positive development in the sector since staff commitment is a necessary incentive for effective policy implementation and a continuous appraisal is important to ensuring this. Again, the performance of this staff performance appraisal needs to be empirically evaluated to inform improvement of the system and research can play a role here. The RMSC may again play a leading role in this research area.

## National Planning



## Strategic Planning<sup>9</sup>

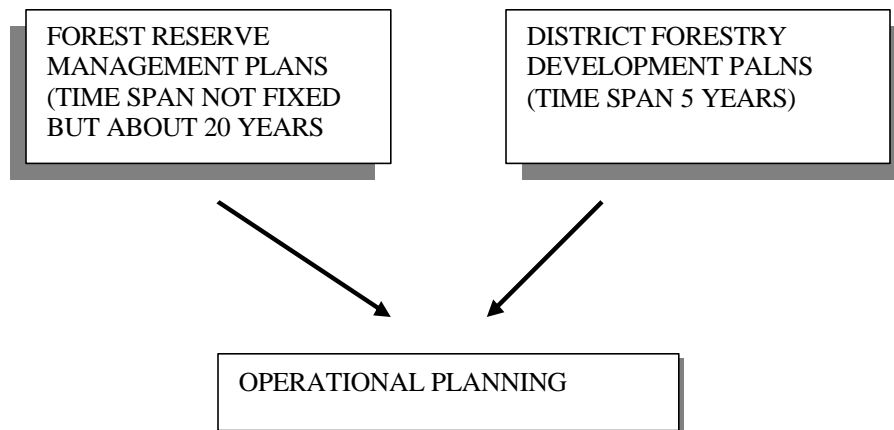


Figure 3.2 The planning process of operational plans for operations for forest reserves and TUC operations off reserves by the Forest Service in Ghana. (Source: Ghana Forest Service MOP, Forest Resource Management Planning in the HFZ, Section B: Operational Planning, 1998)

### *Institutional Issues*

The procedures and mechanisms involved in ensuring proper sectoral definitions and the clarity of concept of what is involved in forest resources and their relationship with other resources and sectors of national development is another trip wire in the implementation of forest policy. In Ghana, the sector appears, for the last two decades, to have experimented with the institutional arrangement at what could be the best option for achieving the stated objectives contained in policies operated so far.

<sup>9</sup> The strategic planning are made by respective sector institutions to achieve the roles they are expected to play to implement the policy objectives. A strategy gives the way and means with which the objectives will be achieved (Filius, 1998:18).

Until the early 1960's, one implementing agency had oversight of the administration of the renewable natural resource – forest and wildlife. The emerging significance of wildlife at the time necessitated the separation of wildlife management from forest management. This has remained so until recently when, in pursuit of constitutional harmony among others, the sector underwent a major institutional re-arrangement – Act 571, 1999.

In addition to ensuring a constitutional harmony, it was argued that the sector had become replete with a number of agencies implementing aspects of the National Forest & Wildlife Policy. The multiplicity of agencies promoted gaps in the implementation process. Subsequently there was the issue of overlap of responsibility, institutional jealousy and tension and the subsequent waste of national resources. Information for the monitoring of the implementation of policy was also delivered in a fragmented manner from the different implementers thus making the detection and removal of bottlenecks in the implementation process an untidy one. Act 571 was therefore promulgated “in order to bring under the Forestry Commission the main public bodies and agencies implementing the functions of protection, development, management and regulation of forests and wildlife resources and to provide for related matters<sup>10</sup>.”

This effectively ended an era of inter-agency rivalry. A new dawn, however, had been ushered in – one of breaking down traditionally entrenched institutional interests and replacing it with harnessed institutional capabilities developed over years of resource management. The sector is still contending with this new challenge. The DFID funded Forest Sector Development Project 2 (FSDP 2), a component of the NRMP is lending a hand here.

The current form of the Forestry Commission, the implementing body of the National Policy, is a hybrid of a public and private body. The Commission is therefore designated as a corporate body operating outside the normal civil service bureaucratic limitations but with sufficient checks and balances of a public body. A Board therefore governs the Commission.

Listed among the constraints facing corporate governance in Ghana include ‘Government interference in the operations of state-owned enterprises, inadequate management information systems, ignorance on the part of shareholders, and lack of enforcement of relevant laws’<sup>11</sup>. The Forestry Commission is not an exception in this observation. Perhaps also pertinent for the Forestry Commission’s Board has been the unclear mandate/role as it operates as an interface between the Ministry and the Corporate Body. A recent Project Implementation Assistance Mission of the World Bank has also called for the right mix of professional expertise on the Board with a view to ensuring ‘representation of perspectives other than traditional forestry, and fostering dynamic multi-disciplinary performance’<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>10</sup> Act 571, Preamble.

<sup>11</sup> CIPE/IEA West Africa (2001), Conference on Corporate Governance. Jan. 29-30, 2001. Accra

<sup>12</sup> Implementation Assistance Mission, Jan. 2002. Ghana Natural Resources Management Programme

The role of the Ministry of Lands & Forestry over the years and its positioning in the implementation of the NRMP ‘seems to have drawn the Ministry’s focus from policy analysis and formulation towards the implementation of programme activities<sup>13</sup>’. This is yet another disorientation in the sector – a clear definition of roles of policy maker and implementer. The vacillating focus of the supervising Ministry from analysis and formulation of policy to implementation of policy has often provided grounds of contention of roles with the Forestry Commission. This is another bottleneck that the sector has had to contend with in its quest to prepare the institutional landscape for a smooth implementation of policy.

A number of ideas have been effused in arriving at an effective modus operandi for the various players in the sector. The debate is still on going with the facilitation from Forest Sector Development Project 2.

Towards institutionalising a cross sectoral collaboration in dealing with the multi-faceted issues of forest management, an initiative under the NRMP called the Savanna Resource Management Project is harnessing the efforts of the energy, forest & wildlife, agriculture and the education sectors in tackling the issue of community participation in the management of the resource. All the sectoral interests have been harnessed under one centre, the Savanna Resource Management Centre. Lessons learned here stand the chance of being usefully replicated in other parts of the country.

### ***Policy Reforms***

The disorientation in the institutional landscape that characterised the sector contributed to the failures in forestry policy. By the late 1980’s it was evident that initiatives were needed to reverse adverse trends that were beginning to stifle the realisation of existing policy and of the sustained growth of the resource. Amanor (2000), lists the major symptoms of policy failures or concerns as ‘the huge expansion of milling and chainsaw processing capacity, the overexploitation of timber resources, the unregulated nature and free-for-all in off-farm timber exploitation, and the alienation of rural dwellers from forestry policy and the forestry industry<sup>14</sup>’.

Approaching the issue from a fiscal point, Awudi and Davies summed up the problem in a four pointed statement. These are, a widening imbalance between forest industry capacity and forest resources, a loss in substantial revenues by the Forestry Commission and forest communities, penalising of domestic consumers of timber products by protectionist measures and undermining of efforts to gain support for forest communities at sustainable forest management<sup>15</sup>. Another addition to the list of concerns worthy of note has been documented in the World Bank Forest Sector Review as a general impression of forest policy implementation in most developing countries. The list consist of poor governance, corruption, and political alliances between parts of the private sector

---

<sup>13</sup> FSDP 2 Annual Report, 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Amanor, K. S. (2000). Strengthening Civil Society Participation of Forest Policy Dialogue. Pg. 45.

<sup>15</sup> Awudi, C & Davies, J. (2001). Review of Reform of Fiscal Policies Affecting Forest Management in African ACP Countries. Country Report on Forest Revenue Systems and Financial Support for Sustainable Forest Management in Ghana.

and ruling elite combined with minimal enforcement capacity at local and regional levels  
...<sup>16</sup>

The World Bank review further contends that the allocation of timber concessions has been often used as a mechanism of mobilising wealth to reward allies and engenders patronage.

Initiatives since the 1994 forest policy have therefore been targeted at removing these trends that had militated against the realisation of policy objectives. Commitment to the Rio de Janeiro Conference and its derivative of Forest Certification is one trend that has demanded a redirection in thinking in forest policy. Some salient policy initiatives are listed below.

#### **Measures to Control Illegal Timber Harvesting Outside Forest Reserves (1995)**

Perhaps the most significant control measure ever developed in the forest policy landscape is the interim measures to control illegal harvesting outside forest reserves. The measure can be summarised by a four-point statement as consisting of pre-felling inspection, issuance of felling permit, post-felling inspection and issuance of conveyance certificate (FD, 1994). The formulation and implementation of the Interim Measures has many implications for research and how to improve the policy process. First, it is difficult to discuss the quality of participation of stakeholders in the formulation process due to lack of documented reports of the proceedings (also observed by Kotey *et al*, 1998 footnote 16) although the list of membership of the Working Group is available. The absence of this proceeding weakens the information base for process analysis to improve the methodology of stakeholder dialogue. However, the use of multiple channels to communicate the content of the measures and to educate FD staff for its effective implementation has been applauded by Kotey *et al*. Secondly, there is indication that the planning for logistics was not adequately made and this constrained the implementation at the initial stage.

The Measure has been applauded owing to its positive impacts in the areas of recognition of farmers' rights, relations with the FD, reduction in crop damage and payment of compensation, improvement in confidence to act and reduction in illegal felling (Kotey *et al*: 84).

#### **Log Export Ban**

One major policy intervention in the sector has been the ban on the export of logs. Among the arguments put forward to this policy was the expected increase in revenue from sale of processed wood as against the unprocessed log. Employment by the sector was also expected to increase as more people were absorbed by the sector for the expected increased processes for exporting the wood. On hindsight this was a simplistic approach to a complex issue. The ban on export of logs precipitated the following effects:

---

<sup>16</sup> World Bank, Forest Sector Review (New York: World Bank, 1999), p. xii, Financial Times, 11 February 2000, 'World Bank sees flaws in forest Policy'.

- Domestic prices of logs sank (in comparison to international prices) due to limited domestic competition for logs
- Resulting high profitability of the processing firms encouraged investment in capacities which increased raw material hunger and further put pressure on the resource
- Marginal signs of efficiency of processing mills as raw material are obtained cheaply.

#### **Chainsaw Lumber Ban**

Another policy intervention was the ban on chainsaw lumber. The success of this policy directive has been elusive for the following reasons:

- Not supported by the local communities as it provides employment
- Chainsaw operators who operate on farms and cause damage immediately compensate farmers in cash.
- Chainsaw lumber continues to be a source of cheap raw material for tertiary processors. Domestic prices of lumber are thus depressed and sawmills are unwilling to sell at such low prices.

A major policy review study, the **Ghana Wood Industry & Log Export Ban Study**<sup>17</sup> summarised the effects of the two policy interventions (the log export and chainsaw lumber ban) as having ‘failed to create the right incentives for improved efficiency and forest conservation at all levels of the Ghanaian forest sector. It continues that the two policy interventions ‘sent the wrong economic signals and provided substantial protection to the wood processing industry’. Now, it remains a challenge to recognise and address these policy failings.

#### **Legal Reform of the Concession System**

The 1994 Forest & Wildlife Policy set out the guidelines for the management and utilisation of the resource.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>5.3.4 <i>Enforcement of specifications prescribed in resource management plans, utilization and contracts and logging manuals to ensure compliance of authorised users with approved harvesting practices and controls;</i></p> <p>5.3.5 <i>Award of timber rights on the basis of competitive bidding and periodic audit of forest utilization operations to ensure compliance with forest management specifications and environmental protection standards;</i></p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The major responses to the guidelines have been the introduction of the 1997 Timber Resources Management Act, (TRMA) and accompanying 1998 regulations. The TRMA and the 1999 Forestry Commission Act (Act 571) provide, at present, the legal framework fulfilling the requirements of the utilisation and management of the resource as set out in the 1994 policy for the sector. Timber concessions or rights are allocated on both forest reserve and off-reserve areas.

<sup>17</sup> Ghana Wood Industry & Log Export Ban Study, (2001). Final Report.

The significant departure of this system (also currently undergoing a review) introduced by the legislation is a legal contract between the state, holder of timber rights and landowner, the Timber Utilisation Contract (TUC). A system of ‘taking on board’ some of the social needs of the communities who by reason of proximity have interest in the applicant’s proposed area of operations is under this system, defined in a Social Responsibility Agreement. Social Responsibility Agreement (SRA) defines the terms of engagement between the contractor and land-owning community, and includes a code of conduct and the specific social obligations to be provided by the contractor. It has however been documented that ‘the preparation of initial SRAs has revealed that they tend to reflect landowners’ representatives’ interests rather than those of the wider community (Marfo, 2001, Forestry Commission, 2001)’<sup>18</sup>.

The missing element in the well-intended policy guideline is the “award of timber rights on the basis of competitive bidding and periodic audit of forest utilisation operations to ensure compliance with forest management specifications and environmental protection standards”. A new bill is still going through the process in Parliament to address this missing element among others. It is worthy of note that to date no timber utilisation contract exists two years after the promulgation of the legislation.

It will be interesting to evaluate the bidding and allocation process against the standards of transparency, accountability and equity in order to make recommendations necessary for improving the system at its earliest stage.

### **3.2 DISCUSSION OF THE REVIEWED POLICY PROCESSES**

In this sub-section, key issues in the policy processes reviewed under sub-section 3.1 of this report is analysed and discussed in the context of the theoretical perspectives outlined in section 2. It is intended to highlight the strength, weakness, opportunity and constraints to the formulation and implementation of forest policy so as to provide a basis for focussed conclusions and recommendations for research in the next section.

#### **3.2.1 Policy formulation**

The thrust for the discussion of the policy process lies in conclusions that the process employed a consultative mechanism ‘involving’ key stakeholders. A careful analysis of the process of formulation of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy (as documented by Tuffour, 1996 and Kotey *et al*, 1998) reveals several lessons that are quite important for understanding policy processes and their implications for implementation and research.

#### ***Participation***

An analysis of the accounts reveals the misunderstanding or ambiguity inherent in some dominating concepts in the policy process such as participation. The controversy with regard to the participation of local people and landowners during the policy formulation process is a good example to clarify this point. Tuffour (1996:287) and Kotey *et al*.

---

<sup>18</sup> Forestry Commission, 2001. Service Charter. Forestry Commission, Accra.



(1998:57) respectively made the following statement trying to describe a similar event (the GIMPA seminar):

'...Various interest groups at the grassroots, including traditional chiefs and District Assemblies participated fully'

'An under-represented group in this symposium was the traditional rulers/landowners, only one of whom attended (although it is understood that more than one was invited. No one attended as a farmer or as a member of the communities living near, using and/or dependent on the forests'.

Three lessons are relevant here for enlightening our understanding and to provoke research into the policy process. First, the construction of the concept of 'participation' in the policy processes is ambiguous attesting to what Edelman argues that 'though there may be positive attestation to such symbols, there is limited agreement in the substantive meaning attributed to them. What happened for Tuffour to conclude that the group in question participated fully? Was it because they were invited and perhaps he saw a list of invited participants without actually verifying the attendance list? Or is it because the only participant (according to Kotey *et al.*) made a significant contribution in representing well the opinions of the group that made him equate the impact to full participation? On the other hand, what really is Kotey *et al.* referring to as under-representation? Is it because of the involvement of only one group representative or is it because the representative was unable to effectively present the opinions of the group in question. These questions provoke rethinking of the term participation in the policy process.

Another observation is that most participants (assuming participation is the physical involvement of actors) gained access to the process through the powers of authority and expertise and not order making the formulation process technically centred. The Ghanaian case reflects the notion that policy-making is the work of authorities and experts. Given the arguments presented by the horizontal dimension of policy implementation, this is problematic and perhaps we should analyse the policy failures from this angle of under-participation of the relevant others. The formulation of further policy instrument, the Interim Measures for example, further gives an indication of attempts to implement participation; nevertheless raises similar questions that provokes scrutiny. District Assemblies and stool land representatives were involved in the formation of the measures to ensure that those who benefit from the resource take part in monitoring it. Although participation in developing the Interim Measures is acclaimed to be wider than any previous forest-specific policy instrument, it was still limited. Kotey *et al* observed that poor farmers, unemployed rural youth who form the local 'strong men' were marginalised by the state forestry system. There is enough evidence today that policy implementation has not been very successful due to lack of wider participation of and commitment from rural communities at the formulation stage (Asare, 2000, Kotey *et al*, 1998)

Secondly, closely related to the question of participation is representation and perhaps we should use the term representation instead of participation; after all, the essence of participation is to elicit the representation of diversity of interests and values. To approach the issue from another point, the question is why would we say that forestry-

related institutions participated well in the policy process? Is it because they were highly represented in numerical sense or because their opinions about the policy problems were well 'pushed through' in the discussions? While it is not the purpose here to give direct answers to these questions, it is nevertheless important to give legitimacy to the 1994 forest and Wildlife policy itself. The case of the constitution of the Working Group to control illegal felling outside forest reserves which resulted in the Interim Measures also shows a big gap in stakeholder representation in the policy process in Ghana<sup>19</sup>. The relevant question is whose opinions dominated and really shaped the policy itself that justifies multi-stakeholder commitment to its implementation?

Thirdly, language, and in a high abstract sense symbols, is indeed mobilised in the policy process making it quite inaccurate to assume that what is usually presented in official documents reflect what really takes place in practice. Whatever the reality was, it is possible that the group in question's interest was not properly represented and that Kotey *et al.* (most of them being academics/researchers) were not satisfied with this. It is also possible that Tuffour (writing in a political/administrative capacity), although may be aware of the under-representation (in numerical terms), he could not have projected that view because of the destination of his paper (an FAO publication). This is especially possible since participation had become a development jargon and was expected to give thrust to the process. Not surprisingly, the National Environmental Action Plan and the Tropical Forest Action Programme were both under way the same time; both of which required high and visible level of public participation (Kotey *et al.*, 1998) and were likely to influence the process or at least its publicity.

### ***Stakeholder representation***

'Once forestry laws indicate which resources and decisions are in the local public domain, the structure of accountability of public or community representatives shapes whether those decisions are indeed being placed in 'community' hands'

***Ribot 1999:26***

Associated with the policy process is also stakeholder representation in the various interactive processes where it is expected that the concerns and interests of stakeholders will be tabled and discussed in order to shape an outcome that is socially acceptable. A critical look at the policy formulation process further raises questions about *representation* that needs scientific scrutiny. The case of the distribution of policy proposals for example will be used to make a point. Recent studies on group representation has shown that the fact that a person(s) represent a group does not mean that they represent their interest but that the representation of group interest should be ascertained on empirical evidence (see Ribot 1999, Marfo 2001<sup>20</sup>). Hence, the receipt of

---

<sup>19</sup> The 27-member group consisted of representatives from Industry (11%), Landowners and chiefs (7%), Local Government (7%), MLF and FD (56%), farmers and communities (11%) and others (8%).

<sup>20</sup> The work by Marfo titled 'community interest representation in negotiation – a case of the social responsibility agreement of TUC in Ghana' is a useful research report for understanding the complexity of the issue of stakeholder representation in forest policy and rural development initiatives that is usually over simplified by practitioners. The study reveals several weaknesses in the SRA of TUC policy strategy in the areas of ambiguity of terms in practice, legal duality and its potential for conflict and lack of provisions for ensuring representative democracy.

policy proposals by the National House of Chiefs does not necessarily preclude the participation of landowners at that phase of the process. Was the proposal discussed within the House and was there a consensus or was it just the opinion of leadership that was projected? In other words, how does the response of the House reflect the concerns of the members to justify commitment to the pursuit of the policy objectives on the ground? The complexity of the concept of group representation in the policy process especially in building consensus, projecting and defending group interest in the process is what makes the following statement by Tuffour contestable.

'It is abundantly clear that great efforts were made to reach out to diverse interest groups for their reactions to the initial policy paper' and '...wide discussion of draft policy among traditional chiefs...' (1996).

The key question is what methodology of discussions had been used and how effective has it allowed the presentation and debate of groups such as traditional rulers and farmers. Was social space created for substantial comment and changes on the proposal drafted by technocrats or were it only a symbolic gesture for the sake of wider participation? These fundamental questions should interest scientific research to find out whether there was real discussion or an 'imposition' of the ideas of the experts and that the consent of these groups was only needed to legitimise the process as participatory.

Not surprisingly therefore, when the policy had confronted reality on the ground, there is evidence that implementation has been problematic. Kotey *et al* see the problem as that 'ownership of the policy is lacking among local people (those who Colebatch will describe in this context as 'those who must not be excluded')'.

'While it is unlikely that the owners would move strongly against government's pre-eminent position in future, it may also be remembered that government has never been able to act effectively where the local people have decided to vote with their cutlasses'

### ***Political influences***

Another observation is the use of authority in speeding up the process in the case of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife policy formulation. Kotey *et al* (1998:57) has observed that the discussion of drafts of the policy was not comprehensive because of the political pressure to get the process completed. This is a clear example of what Colebatch says that 'authority frames the action in ways that make it easier for some people, and more difficult for others, to take part in the process (1998:18). It is therefore not surprising that the latter part of the policy formulation process was dominated by technocrats doing their 'own thing' at the premises of the Forestry Commission.

### **3.2.2 Implementation**

Considering the problems that gave birth to the 1994 Policy and the socio-political environment prior to formulation of the Policy, one can say that the sector has been strengthened and is enjoying several opportunities that are healthy for sustainable forest management. The review of forest policy implementation in Ghana shows that there are currently several efforts such as institutional restructuring under the NRMP to bridge constraining gaps such as weak and disintegration of institutions, institutional capacity-building, and policy reforms. From the level of planning, the existence of the Forestry Sector Development Master Plan set a broad national strategic programme for the pursuit

of the Policy. The efforts to implement forest policy is also being supported by several research programmes such as the TGP and projects such as the various ITTO funded projects on fire management and piloting stakeholder collaboration. The choice for democratic governance and the rule of law since 1992 which continues to be strengthened is a very healthy development that can be harnessed to improve the performance of the forestry sector towards sustainable forest management. This is because good governance, free media, transparency, accountability, justice and the rule of law have all been mentioned as factors in the political environment favourable to sustainable resource management and development. The proclaimed NPP Government policy on zero tolerance for corruption, the growing emancipation of the press with the elimination of the criminal libel law and the incentive package under the HIPC initiative are all expected to create a conducive social, economic and political environment. Particularly, the plantation development efforts are envisaged to progress in terms of gaining foreign investment support.

The indication that, efforts are being made to harness stakeholder collaboration to pursue forest policies is a positive development in the sector in the context of modern development thinking and consistent with the spirit of global forest policy dialogue initiatives. Institutionally, the formation of the Collaborative Forest Management Unit of the Resource Management Support Centre is a structural commitment to promote stakeholder collaboration. Kotey *et al* also report of emerging tripartite partnerships,<sup>21</sup> which is a welcoming story. These initiatives provide excellent opportunities in the policy environment to enhance stakeholder participation in policy processes.

Nevertheless, critical observation of the implementation process reveals significant weaknesses and constraints in the forestry sector that need to be addressed in order to make ongoing efforts fruitful. In many cases, both fundamental and applied research will have a role to play and these areas are highlighted here.

---

<sup>21</sup> The Gwira Bansa Project involving Ghana Primewoods, Dalhoff Larsen & Homeman A/S (DLH) of Denmark and the chiefs and people of Gwira Bansa seeks to encourage participation of the farming communities in sustainable forest management in a 16,000ha off-reserve concession area is cited as an example.

### *Governance*

The correction of policy and market failures, which constraints sustainable forest management, is argued to depend upon the transparency and accountability that comes from a genuine policy dialogue between the Forest Services Division (FSD), forest industries and civil society (Birikorang 2001:37). The review however shows that this is not well developed in the sector. I refer to open multi-stakeholder dialogue, which is needed both in the formulation and implementation of policies and legislation. There is the need to study the process of decision-making among stakeholders, particularly structures, representation, power relations and networks with the view to designing mechanisms built on efficient, transparent and accountable multi-stakeholder dialogue platforms for policy decisions. Birikorang makes a statement in his analysis of policy and market failures that adds to the need for process-oriented research in the areas of stakeholder participation in policy and legislation formulation:

‘The allocation of timber rights based on competitive bidding for the concession is a fundamental feature of the forest and wildlife policy, yet this measure was thwarted in the final stages approving the Timber Resource Management Act (1997) and accompanying regulations (1998). Past records show that FSD has tended to protect industry to the detriment of the disadvantaged local communities’ (2001:37).

The question that excites scientific research is why and how was the process thwarted? Who were the actors in the process, their roles and power relations? How are policy intentions thwarted in the design of policy instruments and what factors influence this? The overall aim should be to identify mechanisms to eliminate influences and to smoothen the process.

Moreover, Birikorang (: 29) observes that the policy of chain saw ban is unenforceable encouraging rent-seeking behaviour (corruption<sup>22</sup>) among FC staff, local government representatives and government task forces’. Studies to ensuring good governance in the sector may target areas such as corruption at specific levels such as the resource-base level. Admittedly, corruption is a national economic problem evidenced by the presence of Governments policy of zero tolerance for corruption. However, specific to the sector, a more fundamental research is needed in the areas of studying the dynamics (nature, causes, actors, networks etc) of corruption to inform the development of administrative and institutional arrangement to deal with it.

The presence of, in the words of Birikorang, a de facto authority involving a triangular relationship and the lines of influences among the local stool, DFO and the community hinders forest policy through chain saw activities (: 32). A study into this relationship and how limits of influence can be broken without affecting collaborative linkages will be useful. This will involve a careful analysis of the relationship including power structures and the development of appropriate administrative and institutional arrangements to give balanced and independent power controls.

---

<sup>22</sup> Informal payment of approximately 12 billion Cedis made by chain saw operators in 1999 were largely distributed to these beneficiaries (Birikorang: 29)

### *Stakeholder commitment*

Literature from policy studies has revealed that the commitment of people involved or affected by a particular policy is perhaps the most important factor to its implementation. However, the analysis of policy implementation vis-à-vis stakeholder commitment indicates some lapses that need to be mentioned and addressed. The observation is that there seems to be lack of sufficient commitment, in diverse forms, from almost all key forestry stakeholders.

Birikorang, for example observed that ‘presently both the FC’s capability and level of staff commitment place control of Ghana’s forest remote from measures to check poor harvesting practices (2001:24). It has also been observed that policy failures have occurred due to lack of commitment from government to take what Birikorang has called ‘corrective market measures’ (2001: 37). While the substantive issue of what constitutes a corrective measure and who is defining this is important to question; the procedural question is why government is failing in terms of commitment? What factors influence government to be committed to policy implementation? What governance environment and institutional mechanisms are needed for this? These and their related questions need research attention.

Amanor (2000) and several others have also remarked the lack of commitment from local communities as constraining policy implementation. An analysis of the problem reveals that since stakeholders are in the game to pursue their interest, their commitment rests on certain incentives. Therefore, fundamental to this problem is the issue of stakeholder incentives. Incentive is defined as anything that will increase the ‘private’ value of the resource to a particular stakeholder.

One incentive for stakeholder commitment has been identified as equitable distribution of forest benefits to stakeholders including rural communities. This observation has been made by several key forestry actors in Ghana and requires urgent policy attention:

‘it is only when the forests have a real value to the people will we be able to gain their co-operation and energy for forest protection and management. With that co-operation the future of the forest cannot be guaranteed except at the cost of the vast army of forest guards’

**(Francois, former CCF, cited in Foliet al, 1997)**

‘Without spreading the benefits, I’m telling all of you loggers and millers now, there will be no timber in the future as one will nurse and plant trees for you on your land’

**(Kwabena Agyei cited in Foliet al, 1997)**

Government (and for that matter ‘control’) is decentralised to household levels under the current structure of central government. Incidentally, the institutional mechanism for distributing forest benefits (including SRAs) stops short of addressing the incentives at rural household levels’ (:32). This is consistent with the recommendation by Marfo (2001) that the current institutional arrangement for negotiating and implementing SRA benefits stops at the periphery of the communities and does not clearly address the flow of benefits to the household sub-unit let alone individual community members. A study into the distribution of benefits to stakeholders as an incentive for commitment towards

policy implementation is therefore needed. Specific studies may look at mechanisms for improving distribution of benefits to rural communities.

Another stakeholder commitment-related issue has been to look at the issue of incentives beyond community agreements and TUCs due to the nature of customary law and cultural values. Perhaps a study to identify negotiated incentives for stakeholder collaboration in specific policy implementation is needed. Clearly, while the concept of incentive may be contested, stakeholder negotiation on a common definition is fundamentally needed to achieve practical result.

There is an emerging understanding that efforts to promote effective stakeholder collaboration should be secured to deal with inter-stakeholder issues such as conflict management. Research in areas of stakeholder collaboration will indirectly enhance policy formulation and implementation processes as issues like conflict management and incentives will be addressed.

### *Information*

There are quite some indications that the information base in the forestry sector is not sufficient to guide informed decision-making<sup>23</sup>. How information (data) can be efficiently managed in the forestry sector for ready accessibility to ‘policy-makers’ is an emerging challenge in the application of information technology to the forest policy process. The current systems of information management need to be studied against the backdrop of designing alternative systems for improving the situation. There is a general observation that much information (especially grey literature) is not published hence not easily accessible to participants in the policy process.

### *Forest legislation*

A review of some legislation is needed to give support for the enforcement of some policy measures. Birikorang stated that the interim measures have been rendered ineffective by the institutional weakness and that a review of the Timber Resource Management Act is needed. This implies that there is insufficient legislative support to the policy. What review is needed? How has the legislation been negotiated? There is the need to understand the process highlighting actors in the formulation process and the other influences in the whole process. Is there sufficient legislation to support the implementation of the forest policy?

### ***Cross-sectoral linkages and the influence of external policies***

The challenges involving the intricate relationships between forestry, food security, poverty alleviation, rural development and environmental stability create difficult policy challenges for both forest and the overall national development (de-Montalembert, 1995). In his paper titled cross-sectoral linkages and the influence of external policies on forest development, he highlighted relevant issues such as cross-sectoral policy linkages, gave a matrix of major cross-sectoral linkages and priorities for action. He cited several

---

<sup>23</sup> Birikorang for example observed that the lack of good inventory information makes it uncertain for scenario predictions to be made on policy options to address market distortions, sustainability of harvest and stumpage recovery (:41)

examples from around the world that macroeconomic policies, land use and tenure policies, policies concerning dialogue between specific sectors and interest groups, and policies that determine the role and structure of public administration may all have effect on forest policy. Indeed Tuffuor (1996:290) has observed that ‘most tropical forest degradation is caused directly or indirectly by effects of poor policies outside the forestry sector than by forest policy itself’.

In Ghana, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), agricultural, mining, energy and investment policies are notable for having significant impact on the implementation of forest policies and in general their impact have been negative. The SAP emphasised investments in national production sectors such as agriculture, mining and forestry with the view to boosting economic activity to achieve an annual growth rate of 2-3% in the medium term. This brought ‘conditionalities’ which frustrated Ghana’s attempt to implement its’ strategy for sustainable exploitation of forest and wildlife resources (Tuffuor 1996:291). The proliferation of logging equipment due to the high (54.4%) ERP credit allocation for their purchase promoted logging<sup>24</sup> against Government’s declared policy for further processing. The devaluation of the Cedi resulted in high balance of payments and in order to reduce this balance, an attempt was made to liquidate forest assets which was detrimental to the environment. The cumulative impact of SAP on the economy can be said to have contributed to misdirection of policy focus and therefore its implementation.

Unsustainable agricultural practices which have tended to put pressure on forestland have resulted in the clash between farmers and forestry agencies and the expansion of cocoa farms in forest reserves in the Western Region is a good example of extra-sectoral policy impact on forestry (Kotey *et al*, 1998). Other policies such as the investment policy of Ghana have been demonstrated to have indirectly constrained the implementation of forest policy. Unregulated investments in the forestry sector owing to Section 17 of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 478 of 1994 has resulted in increased installed capacity of the wood-processing sector (currently at 5.2 million cubic metres against the required capacity of 1 million cubic metres). This has boosted domestic demand for timber, which has influenced many practices inimical to sustainable forest management practices.

‘With the exception of mining and petroleum, all other investment projects in any sector of the economy including forestry projects do not require any prior approval from any authority before importing the requisite plant and machinery to carry out investment in the country’.

**(Section 17, Act 478 paraphrased by Kwaku Afriyie, pers. Comm)**

These observations of cross-sectoral policy impacts on forestry indicate that there is a fundamental weakness in the harmonisation of cross-sectoral policies in Ghana and there is the need to improve the situation if sector policy implementation is to be effective. Sound sectoral policies cannot be developed in isolation and that the framework for forest policy development must allow for areas of overlap, interconnections and interactions

---

<sup>24</sup> Production of logs increased from 560,000m<sup>3</sup> in 1983 to 890,000m<sup>3</sup> in 1986. Timber exports in 1986 were worth US\$50 million as against US\$13 million in 1982 (GOG, National Program for Economic Development 1987)



within the sector, beyond the sector and indeed, beyond national boundaries (de-Montalambert, 1995). This raises a basic question about the effectiveness of sector policy formulation process and the capacity of the process to analyse policy decisions from a holistic viewpoint. An important area of action is that of building multidisciplinary teams within the sector to undertake policy impact assessments and to strengthen the sector's capacity for cross-sectoral policy analysis, formulation, implementation and performance.

In suggesting priority action for harmonising cross-sectoral policies, de-Montalambert suggested the following specific actions:

- ✓ **Review of national investment policies.** Fortunately, Government has approved amendments to Act 478 section 17 for parliamentary consideration (Kwaku Afriyie, pers.comm).
- ✓ **Internalisation of sectoral externalities on forestry:** Mechanisms to internalise the costs of the impacts that development and external policies have on forestry. The cost of negative impacts on forestry should be assessed and facilitate the transfer of equivalent resources for carrying out compensatory programmes in the sector. In Ghana, this will require improvement in the capacity of impact assessment and valuation studies in the forestry sector. The research implication is how to develop mechanisms to internalise external policy impacts on forestry.
- ✓ **Externalisation of forestry benefits:** Mechanisms to charge the costs of forestry benefits to those who receive them are needed.
- ✓ **Incorporation of forestry's economic contribution into the national account system:** This has been done quite successfully in Ghana as far as tangible economic benefits are concerned evidenced by the GDP contribution of the sector. However, appropriate accounting for the sectors' economic development requires a thorough analysis and assessment of the value of the resource and of its use and non-use to highlight the true socio-economic importance of the sector. Many economists have argued that national accounts should consider natural resources in the same as human-made capital. This has both capacity building and research implications. There is the need to build institutional capacity in resource accounting and valuation. There is the need to value the forest and wildlife resources and assess their actual socio-economic and other contribution to inform appropriate planning for the harmonisation of cross-sectoral policies.
- ✓ **Land use allocation:** Recognising forestry as a valid land use option, a coherent land use policy should be formulated to integrate forests as a stable element. This requires the implementation of policies for effective land allocation and for the assessment, clarification and recognition of land ownership and tenure rights. The Ghana National Land Policy must be evaluated against these key principles and to identify weaknesses that do not favour cross-sectoral harmonisation and forest policy implementation.
- ✓ **Modernisation of institutions responsible for the forestry sector:** The forestry sector is in an ironic situation where although it has captured a central position in public concern and on the development agenda, the institutions charged with forest conservation and sustainable management are generally among the weakest (:34). Modernisation of forest policy implementation agencies implies its autonomy 'disconnection' from other public services and positions under a single supervising

ministry. Moreover, the institutional provisions should not isolate forestry staff from ‘policy-makers’ and that capacity for consultations with other sectors and civil society should be enhanced. Capacity-building activities must be oriented towards strengthening skills not only of government staff but also of other actors, especially small farmers and organised community groups (: 35).

It is important to assess the structure, capacity and performance of the Forestry Commission in the light of the above to enable specific areas that need attention to be identified to put the Commission in the right place to perform.

### 3.2.3 Monitoring & Evaluation

‘Evaluation is not a panacea for the often difficult steps and decisions that need to be taken in complex problem solving processes, rather it is one more strategy to use to get at the complexity, and to shed light on disputes or issues so the parties may become more informed decision makers’.

Carolyne Ashton<sup>25</sup>, 1998

The forest sector in Ghana has seen a number of policy interventions which policy researchers, with the benefit of hindsight, now refer to as failures. A number of factors can be attributed to the failures in the forest sector policy environment not least the weaknesses and flux in the institutional arrangements which have already been highlighted under 3.2.2 of this document. Monitoring and evaluation (M &E) or the lack of it can also be traced as an underlying factor in the non-achievement of policy objectives. Monitoring has been likened to the importance of a driver’s attentiveness on the road to arriving at the determined destination. To blind-fold a driver or take away his ability to scan the road is to guarantee an accident and eliminate any possibility of arriving at the determined destination. A system without an effective monitoring mechanism is guaranteed to fail.

Schoderbek (1980) has defined organisations as purposive systems, which learn of impending threats by scanning<sup>26</sup> where scanning is the process by which organisation acquires information for decision making.

*Monitoring is a continuous management function that aims primarily to provide managers and main stakeholders with regular feedback and early indications of progress and lack thereof in the achievement of intended results. Monitoring tracks the actual performance or situation against what was planned or expected according to pre-determined standards. Monitoring generally involves collecting and analysing data on programme processes and results and recommending corrective measures.*

UNFPA  
(The Programme Managers Monitoring & Evaluation Toolkit)

<sup>25</sup> Ashton, Carolyne. 1998. *Strategic Considerations in Facilitative Evaluation Approaches*. The Action Evaluation Research Institute.

<sup>26</sup> Schoderbek, 1980.

The ability of a system to succeed is dependant on it ability to scan the environment and its ability to make sense of the information it gathers. Failures or surprises may come but can be minimised with the right M & E systems in place. Monitoring removes the element of surprise. Kerr<sup>27</sup> (1995) put it succinctly, “we will continue to be surprised, but we won't be surprised that we are surprised. We will anticipate the surprise”. When failures/surprises are detected only when they have occurred then the organisation’s ability to scan/monitor the system needs reviewing. Perhaps the examination of the allocation of resources to the M & E aspects of the forest sector operations may inform one of the weight given to the subject and may be a lead to unearthing the underlying reasons to some of the failures in policy. The due attention required perhaps has been lacking. Rhein<sup>28</sup> (2002 pers.comm) has stated that ‘monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation is one of the most important yet the most neglected activities in the policy formulation cycle’.

The presence of an appropriate M & E mechanism means the organisation is a learning organisation constantly enriching its decision making with well-informed and empirical environmental parameters. The process of devising information from monitoring, which subsequently feeds, into decision making provides the interface between monitoring and evaluation. Evaluation relies on data generated primarily through monitoring as well as data generated from other sources.

*Evaluation is a time-bound exercise that attempts to assess systematically and objectively the relevance, performance and success of ongoing and completed programmes and projects. Evaluation is undertaken selectively to answer specific questions to guide decision-makers and/or programme managers, and to provide information on whether underlying theories and assumptions used in programme development were valid, what worked and what did not work and why. Evaluation commonly aims to determine the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability of a programme or project.*

UNFPA  
(The Programme Managers Monitoring & Evaluation Toolkit)

The combination of monitoring – seen basically as a management tool – and evaluation has emerged as a learning process in organisations where the activity has been given the right place. The forest sector of Ghana, until the re-establishment of the Forestry Commission, missed the opportunity to learn from the disparate M & E activities conducted along the regulatory and management process chain. Autonomous agencies attended to aspects of implementation and the monitoring thereof of the national policy. The identification and reporting of bottlenecks in policy implementation was therefore not a cohesive exercise as each reported on pockets of his experience. Experience gained in one segment of the sector could not freely flow to the other. It was therefore nearly impossible to have early warning signals of levels of harvesting (within any particular year), contractor’s compliance, and chain of custody among others. The result of this was the exceeding of harvesting levels by contractors/concessionaires as detected by

<sup>27</sup> Kerr, S. "Creating the Boundaryless Organization: The Radical Reconstruction of Organization Capabilities," Planning Review, Sep-Oct 1995, pp. 41-45.

<sup>28</sup> Matthias Rhein is Team Leader of the currently running Forest Sector Development Project 2.

Davies & Cudjoe<sup>29</sup> (2002) in their studies on export volumes against recovery rates. The wider consequence has been the dwindling of the resource.

### **Box 3. 2 Characteristics of Old Ways of Thinking about Evaluation**

Evaluation is imposed... from outside.

Evaluation is seldom integrated into... ongoing decision-making and planning functions.

There is a fear that unsatisfactory evaluation results will have negative consequences in the future.

Evaluation is complex and technical, must be done by "experts," and is expensive.

Evaluation takes time away from the *real work*...

Evaluation is quantitative; only statistics count.

#### **Key Elements of a New Way of Thinking About Evaluation**

Evaluation guides internal development and provides external accountability.

Evaluation is a valuable tool to help organizations carry out their missions.

Evaluation occurs in an environment where people can examine why something succeeds or fails without fear of negative consequences.

Evaluation is everybody's job. Everyone asks questions and shares information, contributing to a common goal.

Evaluation is an ongoing process that is connected to other organizational tasks. It *is* the "real work."

There is a collaborative relationship in the evaluation process among stakeholders as they seek to solve problems and deal with issues more effectively.

Evaluation uses both quantitative measurements and narrative descriptions that give a holistic picture.

***Additional key concepts that came out of a 1993 Independent Sector publication and that were later expanded are:***

All stakeholders have something to contribute in evaluation;

Evaluation is a continuous process that begins with the first exchange of ideas and ends with findings about outcomes that can be used to inform stakeholders;

Evaluation is forward looking, and is used to learn, plan, and adjust our thinking;

Organizations need to learn; both funders and service providers benefit from evaluation; and

People working together to solve problems and address issues are more effective than those working separately. (Saunders, 1996, 15-16)

---

<sup>29</sup> Davies & Cudjoe. 2002.

In assessing the possibility of monitoring flow of logs (log tracking), a European Union (EU) funded study has recommended a clear, long-term information management strategy in the sector to facilitate data access and information sharing across agencies in the sector<sup>30</sup>.

Another weakness that militated against the contribution of M&E in the sector was the unclear roles of units created in the supervising Ministry, (Ministry of Land & Forestry) and the defunct Forestry Commission (under Act 453 and preceding Acts). It is unclear what kind of information was generated by the PPMED in the supervising ministry and PME unit in the Forestry Commission and whether there was ever a chance to compare experiences and learn from each other. Naturally the Forestry Commission was weakened in her ability to scan/monitor the system as it competed indirectly with its supervising ministry. Establishing clear roles for the players in the sector and approaching M & E as a participative learning experience may hold the prospect of giving the activity its right place in contributing to policy formulation.

Some policy interventions of the sector have lent a hand in pointing to the gap between planning and policy. One policy intervention that has eluded and continuous to elude the authorities since the passing of the 1994 Forest & Wildlife Policy has been the ban of chain-sawn lumber. As already discussed in this document it was a simplistic problem solving approach to a rather complex issue. This policy intervention which was introduced in 1995 is yet to be reviewed (an extensive study has been conducted on the wood industry – Ghana Wood Industry & Log Ban Study, Gene Birikorang – a decision is yet to be taken on the new direction for eliminating illegal logging, among others). Another policy directive, which demonstrates the gap, is the 20% mandatory sale of lumber to the local market. Both interventions have failed to yield the expected results. It is clear that the planning process was not informed with the environmental reality. Planning is blind without monitoring.

In charting a new path for enriching the policy process, it is worth noting that the constantly changing institutional and policy environment require a more adaptive approach to monitoring and evaluation. Compliance monitoring – where standards are pre-set, as goals would have been, and the evaluation process measures outcomes against these goals, with no room for flexing the goals to incorporate learning along the way<sup>31</sup> - may have to give way to what has been termed as the double loop cycle. The double loop cycle allows for and encourages learning, shifting goals, and a continual re-evaluation of the process and outcomes. Additionally, input into the continual cycle of re-evaluation involves the stakeholders; funders are co-learners rather than compliance monitors.

The drive and resources needed to achieve the objectives of the National Forest & Wildlife Policy is being channelled through the multi-donor programme termed the Natural Resource Management Programme (NRMP). It is quite easy for the sector to be

---

<sup>30</sup> SGS Report on Log Tracking System Project. May, 2000. Implementation and Evaluation of Pilot Project Final Report. EU – B7 6201/97-14/FOR & NEDA –GH 008701

<sup>31</sup> Damme, S. *The “Outcomes” Challenge: An Action Research Approach to Evaluation in Community Programme Development*. University of Minnesota Extension Service. The Action Evaluation Project.

caught up in measuring outcomes of project initiatives against fixed goals or pre-set standards as pressure is exerted by donors to see progress towards attainment of fixed project objectives as cast in the project logframes. The challenge remains for the M & E process in the forest sector to be an iterative learning experience where standards are continually examined against ever changing contextual conditions. Text box 3.2 compares old paradigms of evaluation with current thinking on the subject.

### 3.3 SUMMARY

An analysis of policy and policy instrument formulation in Ghana, using the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Interim Measures alone, have shown that there are significant lapses that potentially affect the successful implementation of policy decisions. Today, it seems conclusive that one of the most challenging aspects of policy related work is including stakeholders in the process ([www.premeirs.qld.gov.au](http://www.premeirs.qld.gov.au)). First, whereas efforts seem to be made in ensuring stakeholder ‘participation’, it is not very clear whether the ‘weaker’ ones really participate. Related to this, emerging questions from the analysis has been the selection of stakeholder representatives. Who elects/appoints for example the representative of landowners? How are the structures for representation made transparent and accountable? How are the negotiation processes organised and controlled to ensure level ground for effective dialogue?

Rooted to the problems of forest policy formulation and implementation in Ghana are the influences of social and political relationship among key forestry actors. There is evidence of power imbalance between for example Industry and local communities<sup>32</sup>, and even within the local arena (Marfo, 2001). The way forward to improving the system for effective stakeholder involvement in the policy formulation and implementation seems to hinge on the design of mechanisms to balance power and influence in decision-making. To be able to do this, Wiersum & Persoon (2000) have shown that social science can make an important contribution and that one effective approach is using political ecology<sup>33</sup> studies of the socio-political system within which forest resource policy operates. They further mentioned how other new theoretical perspectives<sup>34</sup> have been found to be relevant to understanding the complexity of resource dynamics and policy.

It is also clear from the analysis that what seems to be important for improving policy formulation and implementation is not necessarily identifying the substantive decisions to

---

<sup>32</sup> ‘It (industry) could influence policies, stall legislation, and modify some working plan prescriptions... The timber industry continues to be a significant lobbying group and a powerful protector of its interests’ (Kotey et al 1998:69).

<sup>33</sup> This analytical approach emphasises the social relations within which different categories of resource users are embedded and its effect on the ways they use the environment. It assumes that larger social structures and political-economic processes affect the actions of local resource users. Dominant forces interact with local institutions and affect policy formation and implementation. Particularly the role of the state, dominated by self-interested policy makers, becomes clear in its alliance with national elite and economic forces. Consequently, government decisions and regulations, made in a politicised environment, often result in development policies that negatively affect the forest and local people (Place, 1998)

<sup>34</sup> Actor-oriented research approaches, common property resource management, legal pluralism, induced innovations and conflict negotiations.

take, but the processes that lead to the decision to make it legitimate and socially acceptable. This is centred on the fact that policies are not self-implementing, it is human beings who will implement them. Therefore, it is what is socially acceptable that should concern the entire policy process. The development of measures to improve the situation should therefore focus on researching into processes and mechanisms that are acceptable to all stakeholders.

There is an observation that meaningful multi-stakeholder participation in forestry, which is sustainable in social terms, is linked to the democratisation of the Ghanaian society (Kotey *et al*, 1998: 128).

In their concluding remark, Kotey *et al* indicated that forest policy has travelled far in Ghana through many phases<sup>35</sup> and we are now in the collaborative phase. This makes certain issues pivotal to effective policy formulation and implementation and in a search for relevant areas for research, efforts must be made to identify such issues that will strengthen stakeholder collaboration and processes. The following lessons can be learnt from the analysis in this study that provides a basis for making recommendations for appropriate research intervention.

---

<sup>35</sup> The four broad phases are the consultative phase (1874-1939), the 'timberisation' phase (1940– 1953), the 'diktat' phase (1954 to the early 1990s) and the collaborative phase (since 1994)

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section, the major conclusions from the study are highlighted and recommendations for scientific research needed to provide insight for the design of appropriate intervention given.

##### ***Conclusion 1: Stakeholder participation and representation***

Stakeholder participation in the policy process though has been attempted especially during the last decade, indications are that the attempts have not been very effective at involving ‘weak’ stakeholders such as farmers and forest-fringe communities. Moreover, where they are involved, their real participation cannot be guaranteed as factors such as language, ‘professionalisation’ of debates, socio-economic status etc may potentially reduce their power to debate and negotiate. There is also evidence that complexity of group representation in ensuring legitimate representatives, collective decision and accountable representation in the forest policy-related processes has not been adequately explored to inform appropriate strategic response. Hence, it is generally taken for granted in the forestry sector that, a stakeholder has participated in a specific event when there was somebody representing it. Recent studies both in Ghana and elsewhere have proven this notion to be wrong.

As one of their concluding remark, Kotey *et al* have recommended the establishment of mechanisms for multi-stakeholder consultation and negotiation at both national and local levels and that the **process** through which stakeholder participation is fostered should require more policy attention than the **substance** of the negotiation. They called for a period of experimenting with and learning from, various approaches and models.

##### ***Recommendations***

Against this background the following areas are recommended for research intervention:

- 1. Exploring the concept of stakeholder participation in policy processes with the view to recommending conditions that ensure real involvement in specific socio-cultural and political context.*
- 2. Exploring the concept of group representation in forest policy processes with the view to making appropriate policy recommendations for ensuring collective, legitimate and accountable representation. Here, it is recommended to conduct case-specific studies for the various stakeholders in order to make case-specific recommendations to improve stakeholders’ representation.*
- 3. Studies to explore or develop new models or approaches to multi-stakeholder consultation or negotiation in policy process at local and national levels to ensure legitimate and accountable stakeholders representation and effective participation are recommended. Further pilot studies to test revised or new models/approaches to give a learning effect for improvement would be necessary.*



*4 Closely related to the above, since resource use and stakeholder conflict are inseparable, mechanisms to manage conflict in policy processes both at local and national levels must be developed. Particularly, the appropriate technology/model, institutional and legal arrangements to effectively manage conflicts should be the focus of the study. Appropriate here means socially acceptable and this implies pilot studies to test the effectiveness of the developed mechanism.*

### ***Conclusion 2: Institutional issues***

The institutional capacity-building initiatives in the forestry sector marked by the restructuring of the Forestry Commission and the FSD is one of the strengths of the sector that gives hope to effective policy formulation and implementation. Nevertheless, there are still serious institutional issues from the Forestry Commission to the local arena that hamper directly or indirectly the effectiveness of the policy process.

### ***Recommendation***

*5. There is the need to test the current institutional structure of the Forestry Commission against an organisational performance model to identify potential lapses that should be corrected for effective capacity for policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Is the current institutional arrangement adequate to implement forest policies?*

This question needs to be answered on empirical grounds to inform appropriate adjustment at this early stage of the forestry sector reform initiatives.

The review has shown that there is currently a number of initiatives to build the capacity of the forestry sector institutions particularly the MLF and Forestry Commission to enhance their capacity to review, formulate and implement policies. Nevertheless, it seems that the human resource capacity of the forestry commission to handle challenging issues in this ‘collaborative phase’ of the evolution of forest policies is skewed towards technical forestry instead of seeking a balance with social forestry. Related to this problem is the nature of professional forestry training in Ghana. The question is whether professional forestry training builds the capacity of the professional forester to participate or appreciate new and emerging challenges such as facilitation, negotiation, research, communication, information management and situation analysis.

### ***Recommendation***

*6. There is therefore the need to test the adequacy of professional training and capacity of human resources given the new role and mandate of the professional forester with the view to recommending improved curriculum and training system.*

### ***Conclusion 3: Legislative issues***

A major conclusion from the review is that there are lapses in the legal framework in the Ghanaian forest policy environment that hamper effective policy formulation and implementation. Currently forestry laws are known to be inadequate and the efforts to consolidate all legislation into a common forestry law must seek to address this problem.

7. *There is the need to conduct research into the adequacy of forest laws in supporting the formulation and implementation of forest policies. Here, the draft of the consolidated forestry law may be used as a case to test the adequacy from multi-stakeholder perspectives with the view to identifying specific legal gaps that need to be filled.*

Moreover, the review concludes that the formulation process of forestry laws is vulnerable to manipulation by strong actors and engulfed in a political game. Whereas it may not be practical to remove lobbying during the formation of law, it is important that a level field be provided for all actors.

8. *The social, economic and political dynamics of the formulation of forest law as a policy instrument need to be investigated in order to help design appropriate measures to smoothen the process and ensure that the content reflects the intents of the policies it seeks to support.*

Another conclusion related to forest laws is that the enforcement of law and regulations is weak in the forestry sector. This has resulted in abuses in the system constraining policy implementation. Whereas applicable laws may themselves be outmoded, the review has demonstrated that some actors including the courts, police, task forces and staff of the Forestry Commission themselves have contributed to the problem<sup>36</sup>. The problem of law and regulation enforcement is complex encompassing strong political and economic linkages of the actors not only at the local arena but also at regional and national levels.

### ***Recommendation***

9. *Although the problem and major causes seem to be obvious, a study is needed to scrutinise the dynamics of the problem including actors, networks, influencing factors with the view to prescribing 'new' institutional and administrative mechanisms to strengthen law enforcement and compliance in the forestry sector.*

The review also concludes that there are scenarios of legal pluralism in the sector, which are potential conflict banks. The use of words like 'forest-fringe communities' and 'community representatives' in policy or policy-related documents have been shown to be ambiguous at the local arena when state law confronts customary law. It is important to clarify such terminology by identifying the intents of the policy or the law.

### ***Conclusion 4: Corruption in the sector***

The review has also shown that the forestry sector, like almost all sectors of the Ghanaian economy is corrupt. Although there is a national Government policy to deal with corruption (the so-called zero tolerance for corruption parlance), it is important to support

---

<sup>36</sup> 'Forestry Department reports indicate that police reluctantly take up complaints on forest offenses, give very scanty attention to their investigation and are quite lukewarm in prosecuting culprits...The courts and the revolutionary tribunals have been ineffective in checking illegal encroachment on forest reserves... The court's mandatory sentences prescribed under the law are never imposed' (Tuffour 1996:298)  
'The problem (controlling illegal operations) has been compounded by the uncooperative attitude of some police and custom officers manning the various checkpoints...(Dr. Kwaku Afriyie 2001. Press statement by the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines on current issues in the sector and measures being adopted to address them).

this policy with sector-specific insights for appropriate action. It will be hypocritical to overlook the issue of corruption since its negative effect on effective policy implementation is quite significant.

***Recommendation***

*10. There is the need to look into the dynamics of corruption in the sector highlighting nature, actors and networks, influencing factors etc with the view to providing appropriate information needed for the design and management of effective anti-corruption mechanisms in the sector.*

***Conclusion 5: Stakeholder commitment***

The review has also shown that stakeholder commitment as an important factor to effective policy formulation and implementation is lacking from Government down to local farmers. Particularly, alternative means to increase ‘political will’ to implement and enforce policy decisions is a highly challenging issue for natural resource politics study. What incentives and social mobilisations are needed to boost governments’ will to do what is ‘right’ for sustainable forest management?

***Recommendation***

*11. This will require an elaborate research into the forestry politics of Ghana and how social and political capital can be mobilised to serve as an incentive for government to act.*

The much-talked about issue- benefit flows- has been identified through the review as an important incentive to secure local communities and landowners’ commitment to the policy process.

***Recommendations***

*12. Two important dimensions to this problem is the employment of appropriate valuation studies to provide equitable rates for benefit distribution to stakeholders and the development of mechanism to ensure benefit flow through the community-system to households or individuals. SRAs and stumpage fee distribution may be the most appropriate cases.*

*13. Some observers still believe that benefit flows even when it reaches the individual will not necessarily boost local commitment to policy implementation. This hypothesis can be tested in order to improve the information-base of strategic policy reviews*

*14. What conditions will ensure stakeholder commitment to the implementation of specific policies? A comprehensive stakeholder analysis is needed here to guide the design of appropriate mechanisms to elicit stakeholder commitment to forest policy process.*

***Conclusion 6: Information***

Although the review has shown that efforts are on the way to build a solid information-base for policy formulation and management, yet there is evidence that many useful

information are scattered and are formally inaccessible in the sector. Many student thesis (post undergraduate and postgraduate), consultancy and research reports are not visibly available to policy actors, which potentially reduces the effectiveness of the policy review and formulation processes. The review further indicates that there are numerous relevant research works outside the FORIG and the mechanisms are needed to provide a platform for these researchers and their work to meet and interact. The objective is to pull experiences and research results together in a manner that informs the policy process.

### ***Recommendation***

*15. Mechanisms to collect centralise or make public all forestry-related information including research reports is needed as a long-term strategy for improving policy formulation and planning. This may require a review of scientific and management information systems with the view to devising effective information networking and management system for the sector.*

### ***Conclusion 7: Communication***

Moreover, the review has shown that policies are usually not communicated well to stakeholders especially those at the local level. This has hampered the implementation of the policies. Whereas part of the reason may be attributed to lack of capacity to communicate policies to all levels, it is evident that the methodology to do so especially in communicating to non-elite has not been well developed. There is evidence that the use of community forums potentially excludes some members of the community depending on time and social situation.

There is the need to develop effective communication networks within the sector that fit specific socio-cultural contexts to ensure that what is being communicated is understood; clarifying roles, responsibilities and benefits.

*16. This will require an explorative study into the existing communication and consultation mechanisms, from multi-stakeholder perspectives, to identify gaps that can be improved.*

### ***Conclusion 8: Planning***

The review has shown that much gain has been made in the areas of strategic and operational planning for sustainable forest management through the formulation of guidelines, manual of operations and staff performance manuals. However, the compliance, effectiveness and performance of these have not been empirically (scientifically) tested.

### ***Recommendation***

*17. The RMSC should take a leading role to facilitate multidisciplinary research into the entire planning processes with the view to identifying gaps and mechanisms for improving planning in the policy process. The existing MoPs may be useful for case studies.*

### **Conclusion 9: Cross-sectoral linkages**

The review points to the fact that the lack of effective cross-sectoral linkage and harmony of cross-sectoral policies is a significant constraint to effective policy implementation. The role of research to inform the design of appropriate intervention to harmonise the situation is summarised in the recommendations below:

#### ***Recommendations***

- 19. A study is needed to explore the effect of external policies, particularly agricultural, mining and investment, on the implementation of forest policies with the view to highlighting critical areas that need national policy and development attention.*
- 20. More fundamentally, the constraints and influencing factors for harmonising cross-sectoral linkages during policy formulation should be investigated to inform appropriate planning for sector policy formulation and implementation.*
- 21. Moreover, mechanisms for appropriate internalisation of sectoral externalities on forestry, externalisation of forestry benefits and the incorporation of forestry's economic contribution into the national account system is needed to inform effective cross-sectoral planning. These require competent resource accounting, valuation and economics training in the sector.*
- 22. The Ghana National Land Policy must be evaluated to identify areas that do not favour cross-sectoral harmonisation and effective forest policy implementation.*

#### ***Other Recommendations***

The review took note of some substantive policy issues that also need research intervention, though they are not directly related to the procedural requirements for effective policy formulation and implementation. It is worth mentioning them for those interested in looking at substantive policy research in Ghana. These are:

- Valuation mechanisms to improve the calculation of royalties
- Mechanisms to improve the capture of economic rent and royalties from the sector
- Detailed analysis of the five scenario policy options<sup>37</sup> proposed by the log ban study to address market distortions, sustainable harvesting and stumpage recovery in Ghana against the social, environmental and economic criteria of sustainable forest management with the view to making appropriate recommendations.
- It will be interesting to evaluate the bidding and allocation process of TUC against the standards of transparency, accountability and equity in order to make recommendations necessary for improving the system at its earliest stage.

---

<sup>37</sup> The Ghana wood industry and log export ban study (August 2001) used financial and economic model of the industry to identify the effects of five possible options. These, study recommended, need detailed assessment. The assessment must be made taking into consideration the dimensions of social acceptability, economic viability and ecological health to recommend the 'best' option that can be negotiated for.

## REFERENCES

*Act 571, Preamble*. Government of Ghana.

Amanor, K.S. '*Civil Society Participation in Forestry Policy Dialogue*'. June 2000. The Perspective of Farmers. Forest Farming Series No. 1. Forestry Department, Accra.

Amegatsi, K.W. 2001. *Survey Report: Stakeholder consultation towards a sustainable forest management in the high forest zone of Ghana*. TROPENBOS-GHANA PROGRAMME

Anderson, J, 1984. *Public Policy Making: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Anonymous. 2001. *Report of CIPE/IEA West Africa Conference on Corporate Governance*. Jan. 29-30, 2001. Accra

Anonymous. 2002. *Report of the Implementation Assistance Mission, Jan. 2002*. Ghana Natural Resources Management Program.

Asare, A. 2000. *Operational guidelines on Community Forest Committee*. Resource Management Support Centre, Forestry Commission, pp3-23.

Awudi, C & J. Davies. 2001.. *Review of Reform of Fiscal Policies Affecting Forest Management in African ACP Countries* Country Report on Forest Revenue Systems and Financial Support for Sustainable Forest Management in Ghana.

Barber, K.H., Butler, R.L., Caird, D.J. and M.W. Kirby. 1996. *Hierarchical approach for national forest planning and implementation*. In: Proc. Workshop on Hierarchical approaches to forest management in public and private organisation, Toronto, May 25-29, 1992. Mortell, D.L., Davis, L. S. and A. Weintraub (eds). Chalk River, Forestry Canada, Petawawa National Forestry Institute, Information Report PI-X-124.36-44.

Birikorang, G. 2001. *Ghana Wood Industry and Log Export Ban Study*. Final Report. FORESTRY COMMISSION.

Bridgman, P. and Davis, G. 2000. *The Australian Policy Handbook*. 2nd ed, Allen and Unwin, Sydney

Colebatch, H. K. 1998. *Policy. In: Concepts in the Social Sciences*. Buckingham: Open University Press. (chapters 1,-5)

Corkery J., A. Land and D. Osborne. 1997. *Governance and Policy Formulation*. Maastricht:ECDPM.

- De-Montalembert, M.R. 1995. *Cross-sectoral linkages and the influence of external policies on forest development*. Unasyuva 82, Vol. 46 pp25-36.
- Dye, T. R. 1998. *Understanding Public Policy*. 9th ed, Prentice Hall
- Edelman M.1998. *Symbolic Basis of Politics*. The University of Illinois (Urbana) Press.
- Faludi, A. 1973. *Planning Theory*. Oxford, Pergamon Press, Urban and Regional planning Series, Volume 7. 306pp.
- ..... 1987. *A decision-centred view of environmental planning*. Oxford Pergamon Press, Urban and Regional planning Series, Volume 38. 240pp.
- FAO's Forestry Department.1989. *Overview of Forest Policy*. Proceedings of a National Conference on Revision of Ghana's Forest Policy.
- Filius A.M. 1998. *Lecture notes on Planning in Forest Management*. Wageningen University, Notes reference: 06035809.
- Forestry Department. 1994. *Recommendations of the Forestry Department (Working Group) on Control of illegal felling outside forest reserves*. Planning Branch Report.
- Francois, J. H.1989. *Overview of Ghana's Forest Policy*. Proceedings of a National Conference on Revision of Ghana's Forest Policy.
- FSDP 2 Annual Report, 2001.
- Foli, E.G., Adade, K. and Agyeman V.K. 1997. *Proceedings*. Piloting Collaborative Forest Management Systems for Off-Reserve areas in Southern Ghana. CFMU/ITTO.
- Gluck, P. 1995. *Evolution of forest policy science in Austria*. In: B. Solberg and P. Pelli (eds), Forest policy analysis – methodological and empirical aspects. European Forest Institute, Joensuu, Finland, EFI Proceedings No. 2 p51-62.
- Government of Ghana (GOG). 1994. *National Institutional Renewal*. A Programme for Capacity building under good governance.
- Korten, D. 1998. *Social science in the service of social transformation*. In: C.C. Veneracion (ed). A decade of Process Documentation Research: Reflections and Synthesis. Queen City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. Pp.5-20.
- Kotey, E.N.A., Francois, J., Owusu, J.G.K., Yeboah, R., Amanor, K.S. and Antwi L. 1998. *Falling into Place. Policy that works for forests and people series no. 4*. International Institute for Environment and Development, London.

Leeuwis, C. and P. van Meegeren. 1999. *Integrated Design: innovation in agricultural and resource management*. Wageningen University, Netherlands.

Long, N. (ed). 1989. *Encounters at the interface: a perspective on social discontinuities in rural development*. Wageningen Studies in Sociology No. 27, Agricultural University, Wageningen, Netherlands.

Luttrell, C. 1997. *A review of Forestry Priority Research for Ghana*.

Marfo, E. 2001. *'Community interest representation in negotiation: a case of the social responsibility agreement in Ghana*. MSc Tropical Forestry Thesis, AV 2001-03. Wageningen University.

Ministry of Lands and Forestry.1996. *Forestry Sector Development Master Plan*.

Mintzberg, H. 1994. *The rise and fall of strategic planning*. Hemel Hempstead. Prentice Hall. 458pp.

Mosse, D. 1994. *Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical Reflections on the Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal*. Development and Change. Vol. 25, pp497-526.

..... 1998. *Process-oriented approaches to development practices and social research*. In: Mosse, D., J. Farrington and A. Rew (ed). Development as Process. Routledge: London and New York.

Osborne, D. 1997. *Corruption as Counter-Culture: attitudes to bribery in local and global society: In 'Corruption – the enemy Within'*. Proceedings of the 14<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Economic Crime. Kluwer International in Press.

Place, S.E. 1998. *Society and Nature: Recent trends in the study of Latin American Environments*. Latin American Research Review. 33 (2): 221-235.

Pressman, L and Wildavsky, A, 1973, *Implementation*, University of California, Berkeley

Ribot J.C. 1999. *Decentralisation, Participation and Accountability in Sahelian Forestry*: Legal instruments of political administrative control. AFRICA. Journal of the International African Institute. Vol. 69, No. 1pp24-57

Stewart, R, 1999, *Public Policy: Strategy and Accountability*, Macmillan, Melbourne

Tuffour K. 1996. *National Report on the Forestry Policy of Ghana*. In: Forestry Policies of selected countries in Africa. FAO Forestry Paper 132, pp 283-302.

Waggins S. and Shields D. 1995. Clarifying the 'logical framework' as a tool for planning and managing development projects. Project Appraisal Volume 10 No. 1. March 1995, pp 2-13



Wiersum K.F. and B. Lekanne dit Deprez. 1995. *The forestry agent at the interface between local-level environmental management and external policies: reflections on forestry interventions in the Sahel*. In: J. P.M. van der Breemer, C.A. Drijver & L.B. Venema (eds), Local resource management in Africa. John Weley & Sons, Chichester, UK, p229-242.

Wiersum K.F. 2000. *Forest Policy Development between Globalisation and Localisation*. A paper presented at the XXI IUFRO World Congress in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Wiersum K.F and G.A. Persoon. 2000. *Research on conservation and management of tropical forests: contributions from social sciences in the Netherlands*. In: Wiersum K.F. (ed). Tropical Forest Resource Dynamics and Conservation: From local to global issues. Tropical Resource Management Papers No. 33