

State, community and environmentalism: a comparative study of
Tanchara and Cherikpong in resisting mining operations in the
Upper West region of Ghana

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

CIKOD	Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
TMCs	Trans/Multinational Corporations
CDHIA	Community Driven Health Impact Assessment
ERP	Economic Recovery Programs
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
BCP	Biocultural Community Protocol

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Abstract

This study focuses on the narratives of resistances to mining, and environment related conflicts in two communities in Ghana-Tanchara and Cherikpong. In Tanchara, mining operations have been halted and the company's stage of operations was limited to prospecting, but in Cherikpong, the company is at an advanced stage of exploration with the next stage being mining. Using a comparative approach, the paper identifies the reasons that led to Tanchara successfully resisting mining but Cherikpong could not.

I argue throughout this paper that the success of a local resistance movement is possible through the advancement of reasons of livelihood, ecological impacts, the sacredness of nature and above all spirituality. These are only possible if there is unity between the elite and the traditional opinion leaders. The paper establishes that the influence of policy entrepreneurs in such a situation is paramount in achieving success. This is demonstrated by the collaboration between the Tanchara community and Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) in the deployment of a biocultural community protocol (BCP) in resisting Azumah Resources in the Tanchara community leading to the absolute rejection of mining.

Relevance to Development Studies

Extractivism is an activity with a promise of development. This development tends to displace local people and place them in a continuous and even worst situation as communities do not get the benefits of these activities. This study shows how local groups are rising against these ideas. I place this work in the ongoing debates over communities and the fight against extractivism in order to defend sources of livelihood.

Political ecologists aim to highlight the politics that exist in such situations in their bid to exonerate both human and non-human sources of life. This study will contribute to the ongoing narratives being advanced in fighting extraction in indigenous communities globally.

Keywords

Environmentalism, environmental conflicts, local communities, resistance, Ghana, Tanchara, Cherikpong, movements, livelihoods, Biocultural community protocol (BCP)

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Background

The world values the mining sector because of its contribution to the global economy (Özkaynak et al. 2012:7, Escobar 2006:6). The extent of the use of minerals has increased in recent years around the globe, leading to the growth in production (Özkaynak et al. 2012:7). Within the period 1970 and 2004, the production of minerals in the world increased to about 75% (2012:7). This is partly attributed to the energy needs of countries like China, the European Union, the United States and India (Özkaynak et al. 2012).

This trend has been attributed to three key issues according to the environmental justice report (2012:7); first, there is a massive drift of capital from developed economies into developing countries, where labour laws are weak, in countries where minerals are not well exploited and government intrusion is limited, firms are relocating their operations to these places. As Bebbington et al. (2008b:899) points out, the availability of mining firms in developing nations after the economic recovery program (ERPs) and structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the 1990s has escalated.

Again, research that takes a closer look at the mining sector, questions the link between development and mining expansion and in several situations where mining is associated with unequal distribution of wealth and unsustainable patterns of growth (Bebbington et al. 2008b, Hilson and Garforth 2013). This idea can be linked to the ‘resource curse’ theses, which asserts that economic development models that rely on natural resources generate counts of political and economic distortions that inversely override the contributions extraction may have on development (Sachs and Warner 1995:2).

Thirdly, it is widely recognized that mining produces massive social and environmental ills for different decision-makers including high water consumption, biodiversity loss, groundwater contamination and deforestation (Urkidi 2010:219, Pegg 2006:376).

Another but related to those discussed above is the expansion of the various frontiers; the soy, gold, aluminium and shrimp (Martínez-Alier 2002:11, Bisht and Gerber 2017). This can be seen in the production of minerals in previously very remote regions of the earth (Özkaynak et al. 2012:10), for example, Mauritania, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and the establishment of mines even in the high waters (2012).

Following these arguments, Ghana is a place where there are significant mining activities taking place (Lawson and Bentil 2014). The rich deposits of gold in Ghana is an internationally acclaimed

fact (Aryee 2001:62). The operations of mining in Ghana declined in 1980s because of the loss of interest for investors and financial, institutional and legal problems for potential investors (2001:62). The commencement of the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) quickly attracted investors and this expanded the growth fortunes of Ghana (Aryee 2001:62, Hilson and Potter 2005). Due to the investments made in the sector, its earnings soared in recent years. Increasing its foreign exchange earnings from 15% to 45% in 2008 (Aryee 2001: 62). This outcome can be attributed to the World Bank led mining policy reforms in some 22 countries across the global south (Hilson and Banchirigah 2009).

With the existence of conducive business climate for mining, Ghana saw the inflow of several mining companies in recent years including the northern part of Ghana where mining had previously been largely absent (Kashi. 2016b). While the benefits of a reformed mining sector boosted the economy of Ghana, it is also accompanied by associated conflicts and contentions (Özkaynak et al. 2012, Hilson and Yakovleva 2007). These conflicts have been advanced through several valuation languages, prominent among them are social and environmental consequences towards the local communities and unequal distribution of the wealth from mining (Makene et al. 2012:4), creating absolute poverty (quality of life, inequality) and its indicators pointing downwards in mining communities (2012:4). This is both blamed on the mining companies and the government. For example, in Tanzania, mining companies were blamed for offshoring the proceeds from gold, while the government redirected the royalties into political campaigns and other matters leaving mining communities completely shattered (Makene et al. 2012:4).

With the passage of the Nagoya protocol and other UN declarations on the right of mother earth and right of indigenous people, local communities have tried to prevent mining in their communities, whether through contentious engagements or peaceful dialogue (Teran 2016).

This phenomenon of local people fighting extractive companies for displacing them, due to environmental impacts, compensations, or because of creating poverty in such communities is what Martinez-Alier (2002) termed as 'environmentalism of the poor'. This peculiarly takes place in the global south but bore a great resemblance to the environmental justice movement in the global north, mostly the United States (2002:12). These movements typically combine demands for environmental protection with social justice, livelihoods, and economic concerns with emphasis on pollution and extraction (Martinez-Alier 2009: 59). The defence of the Niger Delta by Ken Saro Wiwa and his colleagues, the Chipko movement where the women fought to defend deforestation because they depended on the forest for fuel, medicinal products and meat (2009: 59), the defence of territory in Intag by the community of Junin (Avci 2017). And many others are some examples of environmentalism of the poor.

Conflicts around resources extraction in Africa have occurred for diverse reasons. For example, Abuya (2015), study of mine conflicts in Kenya showed six (6) reasons generating conflicts in Kenya. These included inadequate compensations, unfair resource distribution, ownership of land, poverty due to mining, human right abuses and environmental impacts.

Malaquias (2001), argued that post-colonial wars in Angola were pioneered with greed through the exploitation of natural resources by two separate groups. The corrupt government and the guerrillas. Collier and Hoeffer (2004), le Billon (2008) further asserts this argument, as their study showed that countries that exported primary natural resources were highly likely to engage in wars. They argued that these resources were grounds to accumulate wealth by rebels and those sponsoring them and to further use this wealth in starting conflicts. While, these conflicts have been significant and true in most countries like Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, it may not be entirely applicable to the Ghanaian context.

Hilson and Yekovleva (2007), in their study of the conflict in Prestea-Ghana, asserts that government directive of stopping galamsey (artisanal small-scale mining) in Prestea was met with fierce opposition with members claiming that other livelihood strategies were non-existent as their farm-lands were taken by large-scale mining. Their study was aimed at finding out how Artisanal miners and large-scale mining companies could co-exist peacefully. They concluded that to improve these relations, there was the need to formalize policies related to artisanal mining and encourage large-scale mining companies to release their unused lands for the artisanal miners. Okoh (2014) study of conflicts around gold in Ghana centred on disputes in a mining community-Obuasi which was between large-scale mining companies and artisanal miners-particularly Anglo Gold Ashanti. He found out that, due to the proper community-company relations issues of environmental and social impacts which mostly stir up conflicts were absent.

This trend of conflicts has been the reason for the conflicts in mining communities in Ghana. Several other studies have yielded similar results.

I, however, do not agree that the conflicts in Obuasi, Prestea, and other places in Ghana, fought between artisanal miners and large-scale mining companies as consisting of a fight for the environment and therefore not related to my theoretical gaze- 'environmentalism of the poor'. Even though there is a livelihood claim, nonetheless, such struggles (activities) have continually caused a problem to the environment. To this end, this study aims to unpack the narratives of resistance in two communities in the Upper West region of Ghana through a comparative approach and to bridge the research gap that exist in Northern Ghana but significantly-to show that these resistances

have been advanced from the angle of the environmental justice movement with an embedded livelihood defence motive.

1.2 Research Objective

The main objective of this research is to explore how environmentalism is constructed by the people. The study uses the case of the unsuccessful mining project due to Tanchara Community Bi-ocultural Protocol (BCP) to examine power relations between the state and the people. The expected outcome is to generate discussions on the role of the Tanchara BCP in preventing mining in the community and the extent to which the disagreements in Tanchara and Cherikpong can be described as environmentalism of the poor.

The following research question have been designed to achieve the research objective

1.3 Research Questions

- *Why and how did the Tanchara community successfully resist mining but the Cherikpong community could not?*

1.3.1 Sub-questions

- Why did the Tanchara and Cherikpong communities decide to resist mining?
- What mechanisms were employed to resist mining in both Tanchara and Cherikpong?
- What languages were used- environmental, cultural, or developmental?
- What tensions of power relations between the state and the communities and between the latter and the company were encountered in the process of the resistance?
- To what extent is this a case of environmentalism of the poor?

1.4 Theoretical Framework

1.4.1 Political Ecology

The term political ecology emerged and first used in the 1970s as an emphasis on the political nature of the environment by mostly academics and journalists (Neumann 2005). Conflict became the core of political ecology when a leading geography journal published the impasse between the peasants and herders in Ivory Coast (Le Billon 2015). This drew much attention to environmental related conflicts as an aspect of political ecology (Le Billon 2015:598). This conflict was advanced on the grounds of state productivist policies and not scarcity of resources (2015:598).

Issues of greed and scarcity which have been caricatured are the cause of environmental conflicts and this is what political ecologists aim to change and complicate (2015:598).

Political ecologists have paid attention to issues often less regarded, applying a range of conceptual frameworks and methods in interrogating the pertinent issues (2015:598). The emphasis on conflicts as the centre of political ecology is demonstrated by several definitions. For example, Martinez-Alier (2002:71) defines it as “the study of ecological distribution conflicts”. It includes the involvement of political undertones in issues related to the environment and natural resources. It is seen in what Le Billon (2015:598), describes as “conflictual character of political processes around ecological issues”. The politicization of the environment is central to political ecologists. They seek to study contestations around the environment, but this departs from explaining conflicts emanating from the environment in the sense of neo-Malthusians (598).

The aspect of political ecology of great importance to this work is the existing stratified society with different power relational structures (Le Billon 2015:599). The idea that conflicts are always present and take place to bring about environmental justice is well acknowledged by political ecologists (599). The stratification of society sometimes does not always breed contentious or violent conflicts. For example, conflicts can be showed in different ways like Scott’s (1985) “weapons of the weak”. Political ecologists’ ability to capture the varied sense of conflicts puts them in a better position to better capture the conflict-ridden social relations and other processes of resistance and legitimization (Le Billon 2015:599).

Political ecology perspective, therefore, do no categorize conflicts as a process of negative consequences but rather a path of freedom in rescuing both human and non-human source of life from a cultural and structural form of abuse (Le Billon 2015:599). Robbins (2012:14), categorized environmental conflicts as one of the pillars of political ecology “that actors and causes of environmental conflicts are part of a gendered, classed, and raced struggles”. This is significant in how concessions are awarded to multinational firms with no recourse to the initial inhabitants of such spaces (Robbins 2012). Robbins argues that planners and donors consider decision makers and resource users as monolithic which leads to conflicts in the end (2012: 203).

Escobar asserts that these conflicts are premised on ecological, cultural and economic variables and further defines alternatives which are in tandem with their needs and in opposition to capitalism (2006: 7). Perreault sees that most of these environmental conflicts are in request of procedural and distributive justice in terms of resources distribution and allocation (2006: 154). Significantly so is Watts definition which aims

“to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call the forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods” cited in (Robbins 2012:16).

This follows a race over power, knowledge, governance and justice between competing actors (Robbins 2012). This leads to Horowitz describing communities as being complex, often with conflicting interest in terms of managing or reaping the benefits of natural resources (2011). While they are advanced in the name of the environment, they are woven into ecological, economic and cultural diversities (Escobar 2006:8)

1.4.2 Extractivism

The term extractivism emanates from the Latin word ‘extrahere’ which means ‘to pull out’ (Gudynas 2013b:165). It is, therefore, an activity which removes large quantities of natural resources that are not processed from periphery countries especially for export into core countries (Acosta 2013:62, Gudynas 2013b:165). This includes but not limited to oil, minerals, fishery, farming and forestry (Acosta 2013:62). The renewable ones such as fish, water bodies or timber are either overexploited beyond their limit or the non-renewable resources like oil, coal or minerals are depleted, leading to the search for alternative sources of different or the same commodity (Bisht and Gerber 2017:2). For example, the frontiers of soy, oil, gold and shrimp, are the new areas for extractivism (Martínez-Alier 2002, Bisht and Gerber 2017). The exploitation of the raw materials is essential for the prosperity and industrial development of the north (Acosta 2013:63, Gudynas 2013b). This happens with no regard to the depletion of the resources or sustainability of it and perpetuates distortions and confusions among community members and families to achieve their goal (Bisht and Gerber 2017:2).

The extractivists process leads to economic crises, poverty, rent-seeking and clientelism (Acosta 2013, Gudynas 2013b). This deteriorates democratic institutions, breaks up societies, enhances corruption and devastates the environment (Acosta 2013: 263). According to Gudynas, (2013a) these activities have led to massive conflicts in subaltern communities.

Protest in the extractive circles historically has hinged on reasons for bad salaries, poor working atmosphere, leading to the unionization of groups (Bebbington et al. 2008b). This was usually an attempt to persuade states or companies to act in a positive manner towards workers, as described by Bebbington et al. (2008b:901) in Bolivia in the 1950s. While in Harvey’s (2005) experience, workers agitations were premised on the grounds of reduction in working hours, increases in pay and the complains of exploitation, the current reasons advanced in protest of mining and other extractive activities have been totally articulated through different narratives (Bebbington et al. 2008b:901, Martínez-Alier 2002:12, Urkidi 2010:219). These include nationalism, human rights, environmental impacts, territory and identity (Sacredness).

As noted by Bebbington et al. (2008b:901), these issues focus on the redefinition of the dominant model of economic growth instead of fighting for the distribution of benefits. Actors in these struggles assume contentious positions in airing their positions, even though, peaceful encounters do exist (Bebbington et al. 2008b).

The relationship between the various actors and their roles in the conflicts defines the level of change likely to occur (Bebbington et al. 2008b). For Bebbington et al. (2008b:893), these conflicts have been significant in addressing developmental issues and changing the narrative of economic growth. The involvement of social movements, civil society organizations or NGOs in resistances can be likened to Harvey's (2005) accumulation by dispossession which seeks to explain the financialization and privatization of nature (in the form of water and land) at the expense of livelihoods. In protest of these issues, groups are formed, NGOs participate, civil society and media groups take it up and researchers through publications broadcast it to the intellectual community (Kashi. 2016a, Bebbington et al. 2008b).

The state as a major actor in the protection of the environment is even paramount. Like in Ecuador, the state through the presidency of Rafael Correa reinstated the power of the state in deciding its developmental agenda (Arsel and Angel 2012:205). This was demonstrated in the establishment of the rights of nature in the Ecuadorian constitution (205). However, this turn was not away from extractivism but a sort of neo-developmentalism orchestrated through the neoliberal ideas of extractivism with the state spearheading it (Lopez and Verriz 2015).

The discussion of the findings of this study would be dealt with through the lenses of extractivism and movements narratives in environmental conflicts embodied in the extensive field of political ecology.

1.5 Structure of the paper

The study proceeds as follows. Chapter one introduces the background and the problem, this is followed by the objectives, research questions and sub-questions. The theoretical framework is also found in this chapter. Chapter two is a demonstration of the research methodology. Chapter three follows a small literature review on mining conflicts and a review of the varieties/currents of environmentalism which the study's analysis is focused on. The next chapter, four, provides a historical description of the two communities to dig deep into their structures whilst chapter five presents the analyses of the field data as informed by the theoretical frameworks and relevant literature. Chapter six, discusses a community can be successful against mining. Chapter seven which is the concluding section provides a recap of the findings and offer suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2 : Methodology

2.1 Comparative study

This study made use of comparative analysis in collecting and discussing the results. The study presented good grounds for comparative study bearing in mind the nature and topography of the two cases- the same region, one ethnic group, encountered the same mining company. As noted by Bergene, theorising causal mechanisms are possible through comparisons (2007: 8). Most prominent thinkers in the social sciences such as Emile Durkheim used comparative analysis but was quick to differentiate comparative study from comparative sociology cited in (Smelser 2003: 643). He thought that comparative sociology was not a branch of sociology but sociology itself, in so far as it accounts for facts and not being descriptive (2003: 643).

Smelser (2003), however, thought that even descriptive works could be compared. To this end, Smelser concluded that comparative study is the “description and explanation of similarities and differences (with emphasis on differences) of conditions or outcomes among large-scale social units, usually regions, societies, and cultures” (2003: 643). Bergene asserted that comparative case study prompts the testing of patterns of differences and similarities for a number of cases (2007: 7). Following Bergene’s and Smelser’s arguments, this study adopted a comparative approach to finding out the patterns of differences and similarities of the two communities- Tanchara and Cherikpong but with emphasis on the differences within them that made one community successfully resist mining whilst the other could not.

To achieve this goal, the cases have been juxtaposed as suggested by Skocpol and Samers (1980) but, paying attention to the specific context of the cases and their historical overview, knowing that the history of artisanal mining in Cherikpong dates back to 1998 whilst Tanchara witnessed it when Azumah Resources started their operations. I draw the cases through similar themes to unravel the causal mechanism that led to the existing outcomes.

2.2 Qualitative Methods

This study is based on qualitative research method. This method was chosen because of its ability to provide a solid position in collecting data on people for a deeper comprehension of the phenomenon from diverse perspectives (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2017). Due to its extensive ways of accessing data, it is often complex to define. However, qualitative research as defined by Hennink et al. (2011:8-9), “is an approach that allows you to examine people’s experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions,

observation, content analysis, visual methods, and life histories or biography". An important trademark of qualitative research is its efforts in involving the perspective of research subjects in knowledge production. This involves their events, behaviour, objects and how they offer meaning to their interactions (Hennink et al. 2011:9).

The emphasis of qualitative research is much dependent on the daily interactions, meaning making of the social world of research subjects. This is usually not statistical but text, words and images (Hennink et al. 2011:9). While this research focuses on the daily community interactions and the political interpretation of their actions, it was imperative to adopt a qualitative research method where information will be collected from participants in diverse ways to make meaning of why they behave the way they do.

2.3 Research Strategy

This study requires an in-depth inquiry of two communities-Tanchara and Cherikpong through several data sets or evidence sources in the form of interviews, documents, archival analysis, participant observation and focus group discussions. This informed why case study methodology was appropriate for the study. Much of the focus of this strategy will be based on Yin (2014).

Case study according to Yin (2014:16), is defined as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in-depth within its real-world context, especially when the boundary between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident". In other words, the emphasis here is a case in the context of reality and not in a laboratory as it is for experiments (Yin 2014:16). That is why the cases in this research involved two communities (the cases), where the researcher visited and conducted interviews with the people. The propositions made in the beginning did not reflect the findings particularly in Cherikpong where the design assumed that the community did not resist but to realise that it was not the case.

The research design adopted for this study is a multiple-holistic design as seen in Yin (2014), this is because the unit of analysis would be focused on the two communities, finding out how they both fought Azumah Resources Limited. This sort of case can be clustered among resistance against mining in the global south.

By situating qualitative research methods in a case study, my goal is to understand through the unveiling of the subjectivities of people assigned to their behaviour and outside of it (Della Porta and Keating 2008:27). This view endorses causality theory in case study and agrees with the comprehension of human behaviour through different cultures and societies (Della Porta and Keating 2008:27-28). For example, what motivated these two communities to behave the way they did? The

analysis of the study can be viewed as ground up, where theory was built on the data collected from the field, but, very well focused on explanation building through causality. The study revealed patterns that showed why Tanchara's resistance was successful and Cherikpong's was not. For example, success and failure of the two cases were caused by varied factors.

Generalisation of this case is possible through the clustering of this case into the ideal types based on theory which was informed by the data. The study showed that the case is among resistance cases in the global south where communities fight against mining companies to defend their livelihood through several discourses and narratives. The study has been able to confirm a hypothesis, which was to find out whether the resistance in the two communities could be termed as 'environmentalism of the poor'. This study, in addition to confirming the hypothesis, has also offered different ways of framing resistance discourses. These include, spirituality, the unity of modern (Elite) and traditional institutions (opinion leaders) and the timing of a resistance is instrumental in totally driving a company away vis-à-vis asking for participation, recognition and distribution which may not be achieved in the long run.

2.4 Primary Data

The research made use of primary data collection strategies as form gathering data from the field. Primary data is data that is streamlined towards the focus of the particular research under study. It happens during the entire journey of the research and it is owned by the researcher, making it new and original. The author(s) collect primary data that is tailored to their research needs (O'Leary 2014:201). As noted by O'Leary (2014:201), interviews, focus group discussions and observations were primarily what this research utilized.

2.4.1 Interviews- in-depth and semi-structured

To better understand research subjects in terms of body language, tone and to be able to probe further based on responses given by respondents, in-depth interviews are best suited (O'Leary 2014). Through these interviews with various stakeholders, the researcher was able to unearth why and how the people of Tanchara opposed mining successfully but the Cherikpong community could not.

In-depth Interviews are "one-to-one method of data that involves an interviewer and an interviewee discussing topics in in-depth" (Hennink et al. 2011:109). This is usually accomplished with semi-structured interview guide (109). The study adopted this strategy of data collection extensively in both Tanchara and Cherikpong. This strategy allowed an in-depth and an unconscious revelation of pertinent issues related to the research.

In Cherikpong, the researcher had anticipated using observations because they had embraced mining and will not willingly speak to the issues concern. This was however proved false. There were no problems in conducting interviews because even though mining operations were ongoing, the community resisted the mining project but was not successful and again members of the community also engaged in small-scale illegal mining and considered it as their source of livelihood. They would prefer the company mine alongside themselves. The interviews helped the researcher to gain detail information about the process that led to the successful resistance of mining in Tanchara and why the people of Cherikpong could not successfully resist.

2.4.2 Focus group discussions

For a better understanding of the role of women in the development of the BCP and in fact the overall development of the Tanchara community and to know how mining activities affected or would have affected their source of livelihood, focus group discussions were conducted. Focus groups discussions have been identified as distinctively advantageous in offering researchers an understanding of the area under study inductively (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2017:149). This is particularly very instrumental when the researcher knows little about the issue (149). It involves the participation of a group of people say about 6-8 in the process, allowing for broader and diverse perspective of the area under study to be discussed by the various participants (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2017:149, Hennink et al. 2011:137).

This study found focus group discussions as very useful in unearthing the depth of the members of the community's involvement in the resistance process. Two focus groups of women were held in different sections of the Tanchara community. The two groups were identified to verify the livelihoods strategies they engaged in. These groups were found in very distant areas of the community. One group lived close to where the mining illegal mining took place and the other stayed far away from it.

2.4.3 Ethnographic orientation

For an environment that looked contentious like Cherikpong, an ethnographic orientation was chosen to include observation of happenings and why the community allowed mining while other communities within the same geographic region resisted against it. While ethnographers live in the same setting with their subjects, they are able to understand the existing structures, in terms of political, religious, economic and others that push them to behave the way they do (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2017:183). This study did not use ethnography but an element of it in the form of

observations of mining sites, sacred groves, and the attitude of respondents. Even though, interviews were allowed in Cherikpong, observation of the people, the small-scale mining site, the location of the mining company, and small-scale mining site was enriching to the data. For example, the massive promotion of mining in Cherikpong could be seen in their participation as small-scale miners in the concession of the mining company. The unity of women in Tanchara could be observed in their co-operative groups in farming and in the contribution of money in a common pool known as '*Susu*' which they used towards family support.

2.5 Secondary Data

Secondary data is data that does not obey the questioning schema (O'Leary 2014). It exists regardless of the research or researcher, it is located in databases, documents, and online (243). The study made use of several secondary data sources including literature, audio and video and other documents and legal instruments. This has indeed offered rich insight into the processes that led to the defeat of the mining company in Tanchara and otherwise in Cherikpong.

2.6 Sampling strategy

This involves the choice of variables to participate in the study (O'Leary 2014:183). There is usually the consciousness of making things representative and so many participants are selected with this in mind (O'Leary 2014).

The research agenda prompted the use of non-random or purposive sampling and snowball sampling strategy because of its need of utilizing community stakeholders in Tanchara and in Cherikpong-stakeholders including supporters and opposers of mining. The district assembly identified the various groups and individuals the researcher could speak to who were the main stakeholders in the Tanchara community. Two administrators of the district assembly were equally snowballed.

While the chief, assemblyman, women council leader, spiritual leader, youth leader were identified by the District Assembly as the stakeholders of the Tanchara community, the CIKOD also assisted the researcher in identifying stakeholders in Cherikpong (this was because CIKOD had initially worked with the Cherikpong community in stopping mining operations as well), this was compared with the stakeholders also identified by the mining company in Cherikpong for the researcher to interview in order to do a proper comparative study of the responses of two opposing groups in the Cherikpong case. In Cherikpong, the Assemblyman for Kpazie, a key informant, was recommended by the mining company while the Chief of Nanga, the Assemblyman for Nanga a former presiding member of the Nadowli district assembly who doubles as an elder brother to the chief

of Nanga was identified by CIKOD. A unit committee member was randomly chosen by the key informant. He was a promoter of small-scale illegal mining.

The two focus groups of women were randomly selected but based on what the researcher was looking for. The researcher and his team met these women in a co-operative farm. The researcher requested for permission to discuss with them on issues concerning their livelihood which they agreed to. This strategy was adopted to avoid a situation where the women would be perhaps told what and how to respond. So, you could say 'the women were caught off-guard or unaware'.

2.7 Ethical considerations

This study paid heed to ethical underpinnings throughout the research process. The researcher informed participants of the details of the study and purpose. In this situation, the study was an academic exercise for the award of a Master of Arts degree in Development Studies. Participants were allowed the freedom to choose whether they want to participate or not, in fact, that was their fundamental human rights that the researcher respected. The researcher also minimized any harm towards participants (Hennink et al. 2011:63).

When the researcher asked how they preferred the data to be handled, they requested for a copy of the paper, the majority of respondents were indifferent about anonymity. However, the names of participants has been construed based on the do no harm view and kept anonymous. All these details were communicated to respondents before they participated in the study. The consent form that was read out to research participants before all the interviews are found in the appendix.

2.8 Reflexivity and positionality/Limits

Reflexivity and positionality of the researcher has been asserted as contributing greatly to knowledge production in qualitative research and therefore should not be ignored (Rose 1997:305, Maxey 1999:199). This is based on the researcher's position in relation to the research participants, his/her beliefs/biases and the experiences which enrich the research process and ultimately influences knowledge production (Gibbert et al. 2008:512, Guillemin and Gillam 2004:261).

I started contacting people to assess where it will be suitable to stay during the period of data collection. My search got me to a native of my community who is also the deputy director for the Lawra District Assembly, the research district. With few calls, he agreed to host me and passed the phone number of the Assembly member for the Tanchara community to me. I was then able to talk to the Assembly member before leaving my village.

My experience in the field was influenced by my multiple identities. As argued by Huijsman (2010), the data collected, and subsequent knowledge production is influenced by the relational power and positionality of the researcher. This includes but not limited to ethnicity, socio-economic background, age, nationality and gender. First, as a Ghanaian from the north, I felt comfortable in dealing with the stakeholders some of whom were also traditional leaders. My background of hailing from a traditional home (my father as the traditional landlord of my community) soared my confidence level.

My privileged position of being a brother of the deputy director for the District Assembly offered me so many privileges- using the District assembly's pick-up with a driver and community development officer assigned to me made community entry easy and smooth. My position as a foreign student complemented my age in how the respondents related to me. On the language, I got my schoolmate to help in the translation. These together reduced boredom and made my research experience very lively.

Per our local traditional beliefs, you cannot greet a chief or an elderly person without giving out money for kola, and the show of appreciation by buying drinks for the support rendered you is very much appreciated and I reconciled with these views easily. And so, in the two communities after an interview, the person was given a token to buy a drink as a compensation for the time spent. This idea, however, departs from paying research participants for information

The Deputy District Director, my host who is also an alumnus of Maastricht University here in the Netherlands made all the contacts. The officers of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD), the chief of Tanchara, the community officer of Azumah Resources Ltd (the mining company), the Assembly member for Cherikpong and Tanchara. The positionality of my host influenced to a larger extend my ability to smoothly access these communities and the organization. From my observations, the distance between the two communities would have been an obstacle. The fact that the people have not encountered researchers especially the traditional authorities could have been an obstacle as well if I was not properly introduced.

My position as a foreign student also threatened participation as most of the respondents feared that I worked for the mining company and would not open-up to freely discuss the issues. A member said to me:

“The discussion of mining is forbidden in this community”.

This issue was resolved by reading the ethical notes to them and an emphasis by the district community development officer that I was only a student who was doing a research as part of an MA program and my passing was dependent on their support in answering the questions. I realized that

even after successfully resisting mining, the community was in an alert mode regarding the return of the company or the government to talk about mining.

Another way this problem of my real identity was addressed was through my friend who even though was not originally from that district, spoke the same language and most often tells them where he comes from and how we knew each other. The letter of introduction from ISS and my student ID card were all used in defending and proving my identity. Even though these circumstances raise questions, I however, could not associate it with the group that accompanied me. I think the people simply wanted to be careful and to properly know who they were dealing with and to properly address me.

One striking discovery was the fact that Cherikpong community also resisted the operations of Azumah Resources Ltd but could not sustain their resistance to a logical conclusion. This was the opposite of what I had anticipated before going to the field. So, my earlier fear of asking questions and to rather go and observe was resolved and in-depth interviews conducted as well as observation. This proved very useful and provided more insight into the occurrences in the two communities.

Chapter 3 : Literature review

This chapter focuses on literature related to mining conflicts and on environmentalism. The focus on mining conflicts reflects general trends and narrows down to Ghana, especially the Southern part where conflicts have occurred, and research work undertaken. With the study focus on environmentalism, the varieties of environmentalism identified by Matinez-Alier and Guha are reviewed to find out which of them reconciles with the two cases- Tanchara and Cherikpong. Through the literature review, it is realised that there exists a research gap in the Northern part of Ghana where conflicts have not been documented. These mining-related conflicts again have bordered on the struggle to defend the environment with economic, social, and livelihood concerns.

3.1 Conflicts over mining

In recent past years local community resistance cases in relation to extraction has increased around the globe (Avci 2017:317, Escobar 2006). Likewise, research interest has also grown especially in the field of political ecology, unearthing the reasons for these struggles (Avci 2017:316). These engagements as studied and researched by scholars demonstrates a trend of indigenous communities' exercise of agency in defence of their cultural heritage, source of livelihood, and the control of resource within their surroundings (Avci 2017:316, Escobar 2006:8), the terms of participation, recognition and distribution, the ecological impacts and the autonomy to define their way of development (Avci et al. 2010:228, Avci 2017:316, Martínez-Alier 2002).

Contrasting the cases to what happens in Ghana, I draw on few conflicts related to environment and natural resources including mining-related conflicts. This includes arguments raise in relation to conflicts. One recurrent feature of mining-related conflicts in Ghana surrounds the problems of available land for both large-scale industrial mining and small-scale mining since about 25% of the land has been taken by industrial concessions (Patel et al. 2016:454). In other words, the conflicts concern mining companies and small-scale miners because of limited mineral-rich lands (454). This is mostly caused by authorities who re-assigns the area earmarked for small-scale miners to a big company, issues of beating-up company officers, on legislation in favour of multinational mining firms and the stealing of company explosives by small-scale illegal miners (Patel et al. 2016:454, Hilson and Yakovleva 2007:106, Okoh 2014:54).

To reduce such instances, companies have often allowed small-scale miners into parts of their concessions with the agreement that the small-scale miners sell the minerals to the company (Patel et al. 2016). For example, Akwatisa diamond mine, Abosso Goldfields Ltd preferred this strategy in

resolving their impasse between the small-scale miners. (Patel et al. 2016:454, Hilson and Yakovleva 2007:106).

The latest conflict within the mining sector in Ghana is the clamp down on small-scale illegal mining by the government of the day. This fight started in April 2017, when Citi FM a private radio station launched the coalition against mining dubbed #StopGalamseyNow campaign as a means of getting support in rescuing the fast depleting green vegetation and the destruction of water bodies through unsustainable ways of mining. This campaign soon obtained massive support from several quarters including the government through the police and military (Adogla-Bessa. 2017). With a large portion of these conflicts constrained to the south of the country, conflicts in mining communities in the Northern part of Ghana have not been studied and therefore leaves a research gap.

3.2 Varieties of Environmentalism

Varieties of environmentalism as coined by Guha and Alier (1997), embodies the rise of the environmental movement and activism Martinez-Alier (2002). This movement culminated as a reaction to the dominant model of development (economic development). However, some environmentalist, do favour economic development due to the belief that it will lead to technological advancement which will help resolve some of the environmental problems (Martínez-Alier 2002:1). For this reason, environmentalist has differentiated trajectories, which are however intertwined (1). Martinez-Alier (2002:1), identified three interlocking currents within the environmental movement: The ‘gospel of eco-efficiency’, ‘environmentalism of the poor’ and the ‘cult of wilderness’ (1). While these currents might be different in their approach towards the environment, they are all however, opposed by anti-environmentalist (Martínez-Alier 2002:1).

Below, I delve into the different currents to find out their differences and which of them reconciles with the issues in Tanchara and Cherikpong.

3.2.1 The cult of wilderness

The cult of wilderness with its roots with the sierra club and John Muir dating more than century prides itself in the protection of nature, beautiful scenery and old forest and rivers (Martínez-Alier 2002:2). This current as an environmental movement is not against growth or economic development but works towards the reinstatement or preservation of nature away from the market (2). Potentially, it appreciates pretty land scape with a religious value attachment and promotes its mandate in protecting and restoring existing and lost biodiversity (Martínez-Alier 2002:2). With this in mind, the current has some of its achievements as the biodiversity convention in Rio de Janeiro

1992, and the Endangered Species Act in the United States which places importance in preservation over markets (1).

The importance of preservation which this current emphasis is limited to scientific purpose but also religious, utilitarian and aesthetics. For example, the need for the future use of some medicinal plants, fruits (2). This explains why, others argue that living things such as animals, plants and others have the right to live. This is further supported by the argument of this current of environmentalism with religious undertone sometimes, citing the story of Noah's ark (2).

In other parts of the world such as North and South America, there is the fusion of religious believes in the form of the sacredness of nature providing more strength to resistance (3). The overall emphasis of this current of environmentalism is the preservation or protection of nature from human interference (3). Example of organizations in this current includes Friends of the Earth (3).

3.2.2 The Gospel of Eco-efficiency

The second current of environmentalism, the gospel of eco-efficiency is in sharp contrast with the first current in the latter's support of economic development (Martínez-Alier 2002:4). It advances not only through the defence of pristine nature but also against the agricultural, industrial and urban economy. It prioritizes sustainable development especially in the use of natural resources (4). This current avoids the mention of nature and rather uses natural resources. The prominent concept is the Kuznets curve which advocates for development first and later promotes good environmental practices and maintenance leading to a win-win impact for both the environment and the economy (6).

In other words, this current focus on ecological modernization which reminiscence on one side with emission grants and ecological taxes and in favour of materials (6). No wonder this current is associated with the economic and business rhetoric of 'sustainable development' (Martínez-Alier 2002:6).

3.2.3 Environmentalism of the Poor:

While the first and second currents interlock and are centuries older, they are currently challenged by another current, the Environmentalism of the poor and the environmental justice movement. Other names attributed to this current include liberation ecology, and livelihood ecologies (Martínez-Alier 2002:10). This current is premised on the idea that economic development would lead to a rise in environmental impacts leading to the dispossession and dislocation of people (10). The dependence of the western industrialized nations on southern countries for their energy, food, and

other resources creating the various frontiers such as the frontiers of shrimp, aluminium, soy and copper are some of the issues pushing boundaries initially inaccessible (11).

Basing the argument on the second current would mean to develop and later provide a remedy, this current instead views it as an anticipation which causes a lot of damage leading to resistance by groups (11). While, this leads to agitations, such groups who resist doing not even view themselves as environmentalists. Sometimes, the repertoire of contention of such groups are argued on the lines of the sacredness of nature, indigenous territorial rights, this is to protect and safeguard their source of livelihood (11). This current even though talks of the sacredness of nature as a reason on which resistance is based, it is however not the focus and does not pay attention to the needs of future generations, and as well little attention other inhabitants in the environment (Martínez-Alier 2002).

This current focus on justice now for today's people, while this is assumed as a weakness, it is a strength of this current in the sense that, the co-existence of peasants and indigenous inhabitants and the environment have long existed in a mutual symbiotic manner (11).

While environmental justice movement inspired in the United States due to the injustices meted out to certain cities through pollution and referred to as 'environmental racism', environmentalism of the poor focuses on the resistance of environmental problems faced by indigenous populations in southern countries (12). Example of southern resistant groups includes the struggle of small-scale fishermen against sophisticated fishing machines, an organized group of farmers fighting for the destruction of their crops by mining and the like (Martínez-Alier 2002).

The third current has amassed massive support from a range of scholarly fields including political ecology, ethnoecology, agroecology, and some environmental sociologist (12).

A portion of the current population does not have access to certain environmental goods, they suffer from pollution, endangering the rights of generations yet unborn. These are the issues involved in the expansion of the economy, demonstrating an inescapable environmental distribution conflicts (12).

Chapter 4 : Descriptive and historical account of the resistance

This chapter deals with the stories of the two communities-Cherikpong and Tanchara with similar geographical features, spirituality, belief systems, chieftaincy institutions and occupational resemblance and how these two communities were both confronted with the threat of mining even though in different periods, had similar support systems to oppose mining.

The periodization of the two resistances reflects in their outcomes with the losing and winning of the resistances by Cherikpong and Tanchara respectively. The outcome of the second case is attributed to the existence of an experienced organization- CIKOD who was involved in the first case and even though lost the fight, gathered the experience of dealing with mining, the unity between modern and traditional elite in Tanchara. This led to the deployment of multiple strategies like the BCP and spirituality and together with community's unity the results are positive, and the company and illegal miners have no business in the community. Below is a map of the deposits discovered by the company:

Map 1: Gold deposits in the Upper Region (Azumah Resources)



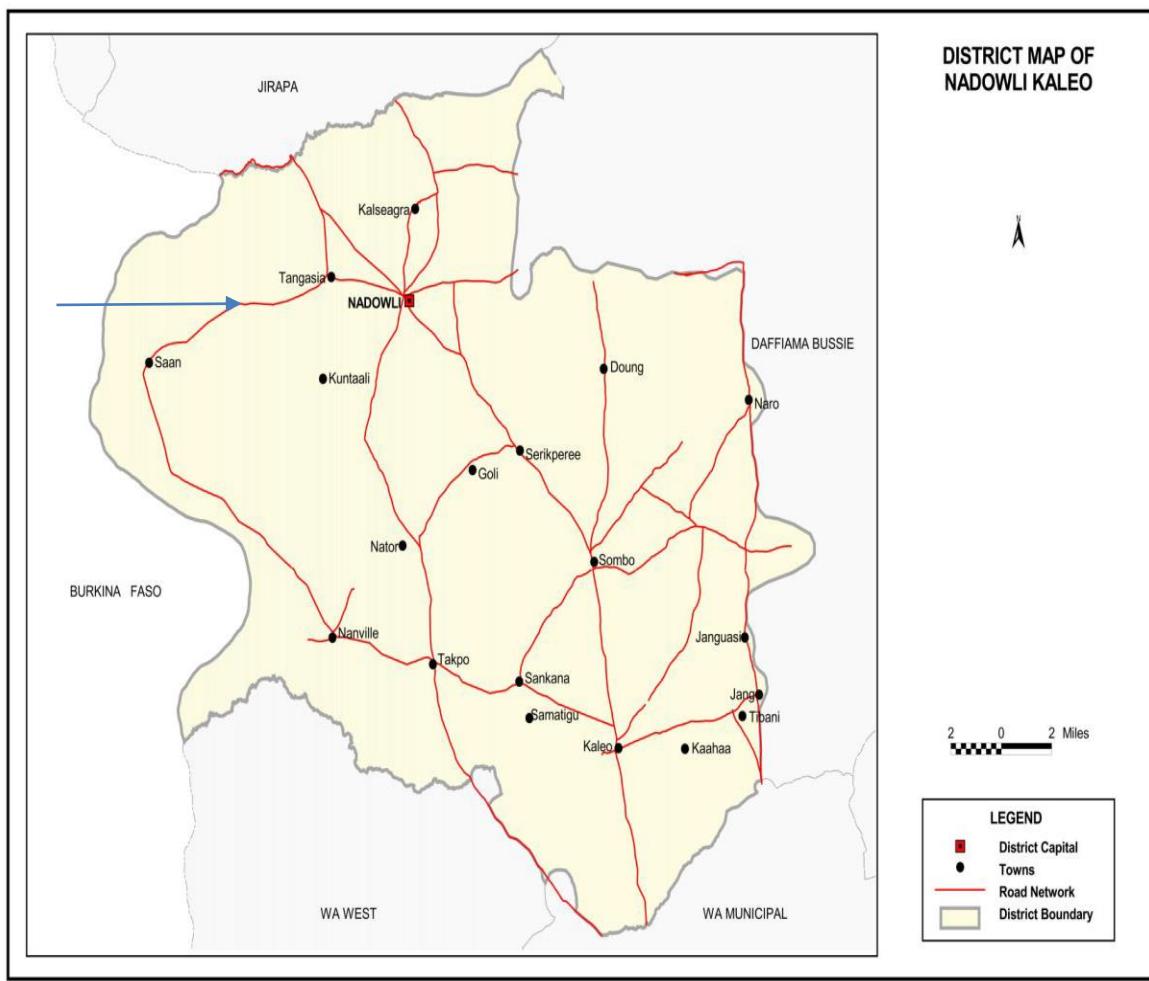
(Azumah Resources 2016)

4.1 Cherikpong- A failed resistance

The community of Cherikpong is located in the Upper West region of Ghana with its administrative capital being Nadowli. The community has a total of 29 villages with one paramount chief supported by divisional or village chiefs. Several decades ago, this community was a single village

of Kunche who through families' split-up to settle in different parts of the land with the whole area now known as Cherikpong. The ethnicity of the people is predominantly Dagaaba or Dagara. They have about 3.4% of the population being professionals, these include but not limited to nurses, teachers, carpenters, civil servants. 81% of the people rely on agriculture as their main occupation which consists of crop and livestock farming. Streams like the Bekpong and others flow into the Black Volta-a tributary of river Volta. With these water bodies, 1% of the people engage in fisheries (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a). During the long dry season when the community wells dry out of the water, community members resort to these water sources for domestic use.

Map 2: Nadowli-Kaleo District (Arrow showing Cherikpong)



(Ghana Statistical Service 2014c)

The land is low laying but undulating at an altitude between 150-300m above sea level and in other places up to 600m (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a). The temperature ranges from 36°C in March

to 27°C in August, giving an annual average of 32°C. The annual mean rainfall is 1100mm which is mostly at its peak in August (2014a). However, from October to March there is virtually no rain which is accompanied by the north-east trade winds in the harmattan (2014a). The vegetation is the guinea savanna woodland with the following economic trees; kapok, shea, baobab, mongo, dawadawa and these trees are resistant to both drought and fire (2014a).

This community belief in spirituality is rooted in the African Traditional religion with sacrifices and rituals being done occasionally to appease the gods and their ancestors. However, Catholics are the majority but do not have any authority in relation to land and resources. The community has a long history of artisanal mining since 1998 when exploiters discovered some traces of gold in rocks around the Nanga village (part of Cherikpong). These activities were not at a larger scale until Azumah Resources arrived in the community. For instance

Author: when did cherikpong first encounter mining?

Respondent: "I think somewhere 2004 but at the time we didn't really see any danger because we didn't know, and I was out teaching. I got involved strongly in 2009 when we realized that the mining company, the people did not accept them, they didn't have any community relations, so the chief of Cherikpong then, called for a meeting to deal with Azumah issues" (a key informant from Cherikpong Wa- 14/08/2017)

In 2004, a multinational Australian mining company-Azumah Resources started to prospect for gold in the Upper West region of Ghana. Their operations as of then were based in Cherikpong where large deposits of gold were identified. In fact, 2.1 ounces of mineral resources with reserves being 620,000 ounces. Without any consultations with the villages affected by the earmarked area, their geologists with SUVs entered farms and destroyed crops whilst conducting their testing and mapping.

The community's first complaint was that the company had desecrated the land by moving over graves and destroying sacred sites. With a dialogue between a section in the community the company convince them, and those people asked the company to bring animals for cleansing the land. This was a strategy adopted by the company to divide the community to successfully drive home their goal of mining in the area. As this procession went on, the company took it as the legitimate approval of their operations and continued. Community members were agitated and formed a committee to confront the activities of the company.

The company's character and position in all the processes was one of a dominant force backed by its legal claim of a license from the government to carry on its activities. Members of the community even with respect for the laws of Ghana saw an imposition and erosion of their source of livelihood and undermining of their customary, traditional authority and governance structure and so demanded a dialogue with Azumah Resources. The incessant refusal of the company to meet

the community for proper dialogue turned into a conflict between the company and the community. The company assumed the position of a dominant capitalist class in the form of an elite foreign company with little regard for local community members. Indeed, the community saw an exhibition of class politics in the sense of them (company) being rich and could do anything and the community being poor and cannot stop mining. The community wanted Azumah resources to come for proper community consultation and for them to understand the access and benefits sharing (ABS) agreements.

While the engagements between the company and the community became difficult for the committee, an NGO-Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) came to support the resistance. This organization basically specializes in farming through natural methods and natural measures. This organization campaigns against the use of chemical fertilizers in farming is an advocate of food sovereignty and strongly opposes activities of extractive nature which will have adverse effects on the land.

The efforts of CIKOD in the resistance was very influential in temporarily stopping the company from working. First, we classify this organization as part of a bigger umbrella of policy entrepreneurs who are seen as 'change agents' in policy circles based on the burgeoning literature (Minstrom 1997). CIKOD facilitated the travelling of the committee leader to a conference in Ethiopia to solicit for support for the resistance. CIKOD's repertoire of contention was that the northern part of the country is an ecologically sensitive area with desertification fast advancing and so should not be considered for extractive activities. Their arguments reconcile with the organization's focus towards the environment. Even though the story in Cherikpong was not successful for CIKOD but it served as a learning phase.

The interplay of power levels was deeply exhibited as another petition was sent to the regional house of chiefs (who are the traditional governing body of the region) to stop the company from working. The chiefs met the minister to stop the company from working. The regional minister who represents the president in the region did not have any idea about the company and could not act much in stopping them. The contradiction in the character of the state to promote economic development and at the same time protect the environment and the inhabitants came to play in the engagements between the company and the community. The state issues license for mining and still enshrines in its laws environmental protection and community's rights and ways of defence against activities of extraction.

A major key informant and one at the centre of the resistance expressed a lack of adequate information in extractive activities in the beginning by the paramount chief and some of the people and

the late opposition against the mining company. Even though CIKOD came to mobilize for collective action from the community, it was difficult in the sense that the company had made investments and was backed by the central government in Accra. After a while in the fight, the community became diverse in ideas, whiles some thought mining was not good for the entire community others believed that community members could do small-scale illegal mining alongside the company. This division and different interest relating to mining by members of the community finally brought about the collapse of the resistance. There is now a redirected conflict from stopping mining to fighting the company for the land to mine. Whilst this looks sarcastic, the people's hope of survival with their farms taken by the mining concession was to venture into small-scale mining which became a turning point for the initial resistance.

4.2 Tanchara- Modern and Traditional local institutions (Unity &spirituality)

While the campaign against mining in Cherikpong was not successful, this study shows how the resistance against mining in Tanchara another community within the bigger concession of Azumah Resources was successful through a collaboration between community elite and traditional opinion leaders and the deployment of a biocultural community protocol (BCP) and spirituality.

Tanchara is a community located in the Lawra district, close to the Burkina Faso border. With about 4000 people, they are basically farmers and practice the African Traditional religion with strong spirituality. These people believe in trees, rivers as having spirituality, connected and protects the community. In fact, the belief is supported by the fact that Tanchara is the only community in the Upper West region not discovered by slave traders and raiders during the era of slave trade.

The land area covers several small sections together forming Tanchara. The vegetation, temperature, rainfall pattern, altitude of land, and ethnicity is the same as those in Cherikpong. However, the population of highly educated people in Tanchara who were involved in the resistance were more than those in Cherikpong. With similar tactics, Azumah Resources appeared in the Tanchara community to prospect for gold in 2009. The people quickly spread news of strangers in the community. The traditional and the elite together had already identified ways of opposing the company to protect the community's resources. However, the reserves in Tanchara have not been made known as the community relations officer of Azumah resources claims he does not know about them being in Tanchara.

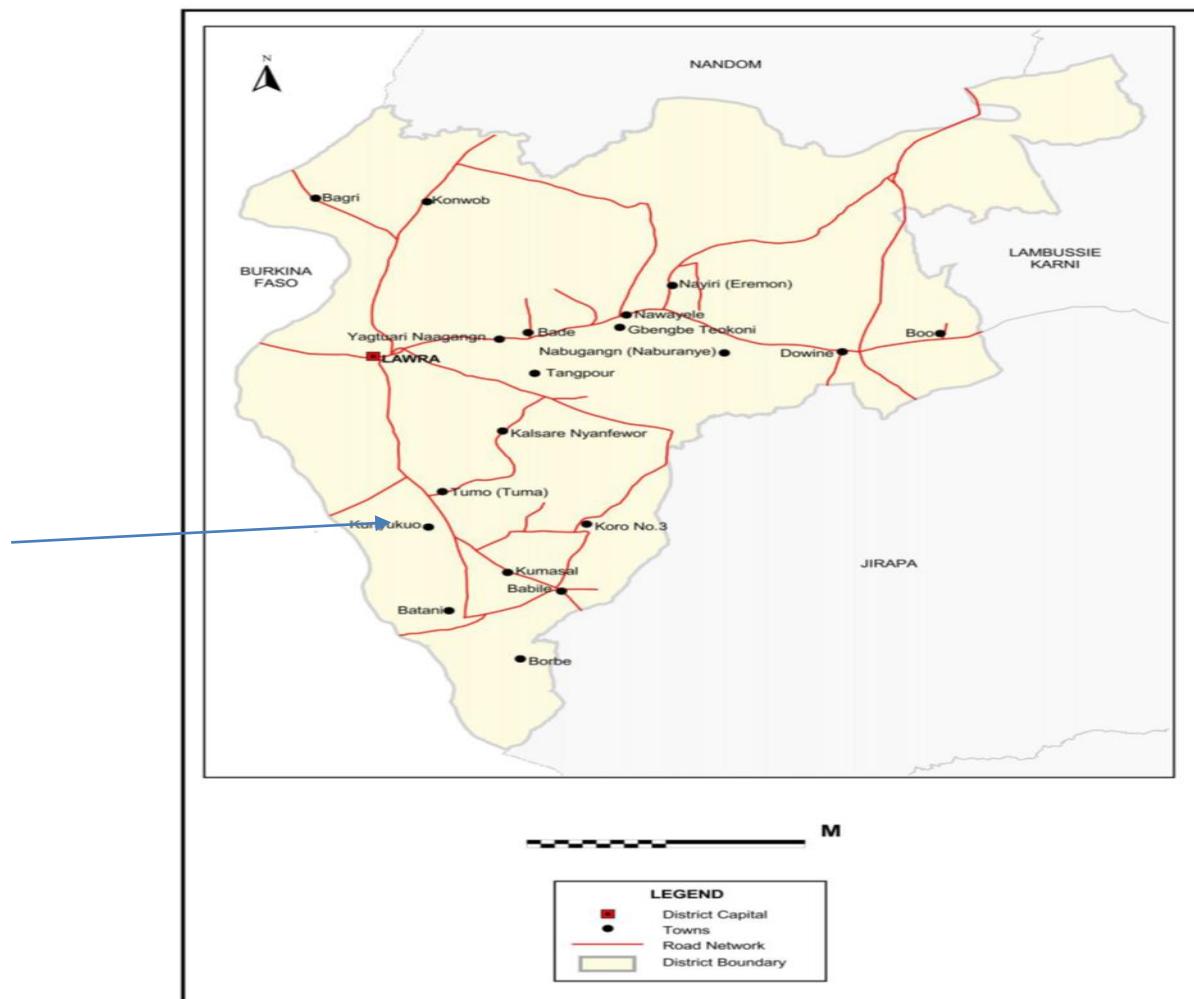
Before the arrival of the company and being natives of Tanchara, CIKOD had conducted a community health impact assessment and an action research which included community resources

mapping to identify what the community valued and would not want to lose. In the health impact assessment, a recurrent theme that community members wanted to achieve was ‘sound sleep’. In the action research, sacred groves and sites including rivers, economic trees were identified. The action research was informed by CIKOD’s experience in Cherikpong and their (Cherikpong) encounter with Azumah Resources of which they (CIKOD) were a part of. While they knew that Tanchara, their own community was part of the concession and deposits found already, CIKOD collaborated with the traditional authority and the elite and together outlined measures to resist Azumah Resources.

There was a confluence between the elite and traditional authority in raising issues related to laws that permitted the community to say no to mining and the invocation of spirituality on the issues of mining. CIKOD in Tanchara was a better and experience force in the resistance. With the identification of their resources, CIKOD and the community together developed a document based on customary laws, national laws, and international legal instrument to resist mining. This document, you can call a local constitution is referred to as the ‘***Tanchara Biocultural Community Protocol*** (BCP) was a powerful tool in saying no to mining in Tanchara

Map 3: Lawra District (Arrow showing Tanchara)

DISTRICT MAP OF LAWRA



(Ghana Statistical Service 2014b)

4.3 The Making of the BCP

The information on the making of the BCP and the BCP itself are paraphrased materials from the BCP's document. The following outlines the processes of making the BCP. The BCP can be found in the appendix

The Tanchara community is a community with strong ties to spirituality and traditions and over the generations, these beliefs have been passed on from the ancestors through oral tradition. The sights of worship and rituals are being preserved and so these customs and belief system governs the people, what not to eat, where not hunt, fish or get fuel are important sites and violations of these rules attract severe penalties.

Being an NGO that works in the community, CIKOD conducted a community resource mapping together with the community in 2006. This included sacred sites, water resources, plant and animal species. 30 sacred groves and natural sites were identified and documented but their state had deteriorated. Community forums were organized to discuss the development and implications of spirituality. Preservation and further development of sites were emphasized and both elite and traditional leaders task to adhere to the concerns.

With the threat of mining in 2009 CIKOD and the community conducted an action research to ascertain the effect of mining on the sacred groves (SGs) and sacred natural sites (SNS). It was realized that if mining were to take place these indigenous spiritual connections the community has, would be broken. The traditional opinion leaders and the elite together with CIKOD developed the biocultural community protocol (BCP) as a document to guide and protect the community's resources from external actors. In other words, this becomes a 'local constitution' and even if the state intends to extract the resources, the provisions in it would have to be respected.

Chapter 5 : Presentation and Discussion of Result in Context

This chapter focus on the detail exploration of the empirical data with the theoretical framework and involves discussions. The analysis has been thematised and moves through a comparative fashion with the juxtaposition of opposing narratives deployed from the two case studies. I end the chapter with themes common to these two cases and ascertain that even though, their narratives and discourses were varied their ultimate or latent aim reconciles with the livelihood struggle. Again, the quotes are excerpts of the responses from the research participants who were the stakeholders of the two communities.

5.1 Economics and Environmental Issues

The research sorts to understand how the people related to their environment and the value they attach to the environment. This was also to unpack the reasons people would give for refusing or accepting mining in their community.

The people in both communities, attached superior value to the environment. For example, a youth leader in Tanchara said

“The environment is our mother because everything we have, comes from the environment”.
(Youth leader Tanchara, August 2017)

They alluded to the fact that their food, fodder, herbs, medicinal plants, and more importantly a resting place for their gods and deities are found in the environment. The Tanchara community viewed their sacred groves as important and holy grounds and must be protected from destruction at all times less there will incur the wrath of the gods. Majority of respondents also thought that the environment is now deteriorating and does not support life as it used to. Most of the respondents attributed this to the use of chemicals in farming, bush burning and illegal surface mining.



Picture 1: Tanchara

Picture 2: Cherikpong

The state of the environment pertaining to its ability to support or not being able to support life in relation to mining in Tanchara was not mostly devastating as in Cherikpong. The visible illegal site was very bad but rather contained in a small say 400m² piece of land. Erected concrete platforms where mining machines were mounted were still found in the place. Same could not be said for Cherikpong, where the mining company Azumah had been given the approval to mine and where operations of Azumah are in the advance stage of exploration as described by the community relation officer of the company. Natives of the community and others have through illegal mining devastated vast stretch of the forest where farmlands were located. This is also the area earmarked for Azumah Resources operations.

In Tanchara the women talked of CIKOD initiative that aided them to plant trees and continuously prune them until the trees reach maturity. The women believed that with the deteriorating land such a practice was good in restoring the lost soil fertility. Again, the community of Tanchara took the initiative of inviting the national fire service officers to provide basic fire safety training to some village members to arrest the seemingly concomitant bushfires. These practices were for the defence of the plant and animal species, sacred groves and livelihood. Such an initiative was non-

existent in the Cherikpong area but whose land and forest were fast deteriorating due to illegal miners.

5.2 Reasons Why Tanchara and Cherikpong Resisted Mining

Contentions and mobilizations around extractive activities in communities fall under the umbrella of political ecology. While political ecology is extensive and broad, the discussions in this study will follow the theoretical frameworks and duel on extractivism and how movements mobilize around environmental conflicts in response to the ills of extractive activities. These have been dealt with by many scholars like, Gudynas, Bebbington, Billon, Martinez-Alier, Gerber, Robbins, Escobar and others.

[This land is ours
Here we've been trees and birds
And learned the rhythm of the water
And become children of the water
This land is ours
As is the happiness
We've invented
This land is ours
We founded it with pain and blood
It is the bed of our free dreams
The cradle of our desires
And the tomb of our elders
The water here taste like us] (Escobar 2008: 27).

The poem above is a repertoire of contention that communities deploy in defining place and the framing of it to suit their ownership of the land and how they are connected to it. Escobar argues that indigenous people

“mobilize in opposition to the destructive aspects of globalization from the view of what they have been, what they are at present and historical subjects of particular cultures, economies, and ideologies; being particular knowledge producers” (Escobar 2008: 7).

Contentions within the past decades have been mobilized on the grounds of culture, territory and place (Escobar 2008: 17). This is what the people of Tanchara sort to defend and protect. As narrated by members of the Tanchara community:

“Tanchara is a community that is connected to the earth, connected to the skies, the birds, connected to the sacred groves, connected to the land and everything”-Elite- video documentary, Tanchara, (Stein 2017)

Author: why did you resist mining?

Respondent: "The fear of relocation, you don't know where they will send you, whose land and whether it is good or not". (Spiritual landlord, Tanchara. August 2017)

They thought that the community had lived in the same location for more than centuries and to all the sudden move away was certainly impossible. They again associated the strength of their spirituality to why Tanchara was the only community not discovered during the slave trade era.

Due to the neglect of place by planners and other decision-makers' global capital finds its way into territories without recognizing the presence of those already existing there (Robbins 2012). Borras and Franco (2013), asserts that supposedly marginal lands claimed by the world bank and other institutions as existing in developing countries or agriculture-based economies remain a problem as these lands serve as homes to native people.

As described by Robbins, the view of global capital is that both resource users and decision makers are similar (2012:203). It views them as monolithic with converged interest, but this does not in any way make resource users disappear (Robbins 2012: 203). By treating them as monolithic, it leads to conflicts especially when resource users are left out by planners, decision makers and donors.

The emergence of a resistance movement in the Cherikpong on the other hand was not as Escobar (2006) points out defend of territory but can be understood from Bebbington et al's (2008a) notion as the absolute 'colonization of lifeworld' by the mining company with little control of their own community's' assets. As alluded by Bebbington and others, the movement challenged the structures and discourses the company deployed (Bebbington et al. 2008a). Many times, this is motivated by losses both psychological and cultural that might arise when livelihoods are disorganized. For example, the mining company's refusal to meet the stakeholders of the Cherikpong community for consultations with the reason that they have been granted the right from the government was largely why the conflict erupted. For instance, one community stakeholder indicated that

Author: I spoke with Azumah people and they said they have done community consultations and the people have agreed....

Respondent: "I won't say that they haven't come to the community, they would have met one or two people but to really get the community leaders together and have a meeting with them, no! That one they are not ready. Because they would eventually give them certain terms that will be difficult for them." (Stakeholder, Cherikpong August 2017).

Tanchara's resistance can be viewed from the angle of anticipated negative environmental and social impacts. Pegg (2006) asserts that environmental and social impacts can further deepen the vulnerability of subaltern groups. This assertion is based on the environmental bards often encountered due to mining and further restraining the use of forest resources. According to Bebbington

et al. (2008a: 2890), movements can emerge because of accumulation by dispossession. This relates to the privatization of nature in terms of land and other enclosures for private development and necessitated the emergence of grass root movements to fight for their rights and defend their livelihoods (Bebbington et al. 2008a:2890). The anticipated dispossession led to the establishment of a resistance front to tackle the mining company in Tanchara. For example, CIKOD organized an exposure tour to Newmont Mines at Kenyasi in the Ashanti region with Assembly members (Lawra district) and District Chief Executives for them to witness what mining could offer and to decide whether it was good or bad for their communities. For example, in the community of Tanchara a video of environmental and social impacts of mining was showed to members during their annual community forum. The people simply thought about these consequences and said mining was not an option.

For example, a respondent said:

Author: how did you resist both Azumah people and illegal miners?

Respondent: “we organize and told the people that we didn’t want mining”. We realised that the gullies that were created by the illegal miners started killing our animals and injuring our community people” (Stakeholder Tanchara, August 2017)

Whilst, the group in Tanchara, resisted mining because of the anticipated environmental consequences, in Cherikpong the group argued for access and benefit sharing agreements with the company. This can be viewed from what Perreault (2006: 154) argued as ‘procedural and distributive justices’. Procedural justice involves protestors demanding for participation and transparency with decisions regarding the resources whiles distributive justices is the demand for equitable distribution of the benefits accruing from the exploitation of the resources (154). He further argued that the restructuring of the mining sector in most countries is embedded in a state of power imbalances leading to unequal distribution of the resources from mineral exploitation.

“It was when we came in that we ask them to halt and come back and properly negotiate with the people which they were not ready to do”. (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

The lack of discussions on the benefits community stands to gain necessitated the group to be formed in order to get their share.

The Tanchara community was of the view that mining could bring a calamity to them, especially in their relationship with the spiritual world. Their argument was based on the idea that mining would destroy their sacred groves and sacred natural sites in addition to destroying the rich biodiversity that community has. Escobar argues that environmental conflicts can be placed under ecological and cultural dimensions (2006). Le Billon (2015: 601), found two aspects of environmental conflicts; he concluded that there is a search for justice because of ecological distribution on human beings and the justice sorted for due to the relations between people and non-human spheres.

“I wanted to find out from one of the elders why they did not want mining and you know what he told me?

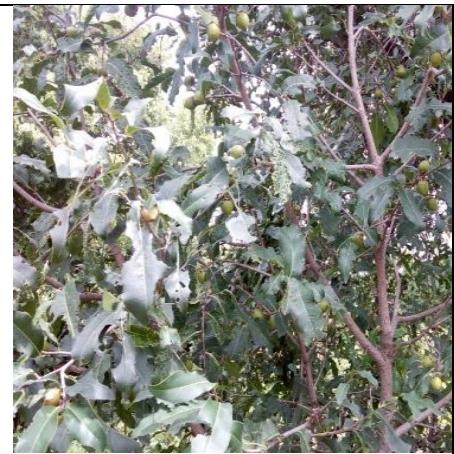
That they have three set of gods, gods up, gods on the land and gods under. So, if you mean to dig under you are destroying those under. According to him, they have a channel from one mountain here to another here is like triangular. So, if you mean to dig and interrupt them the community cannot pay” (Youth leader Tanchara, August 2017)

As argued by Escobar, indigenous people have resorted to maintaining their culture as against destroying it for the economy and vice-versa (2006). For the people of Tanchara, their spirituality was of outmost concern as the anger of the gods would be something the community cannot pay.

Picture 3: sacred groves, Tanchara



Picture 4: plant species, Tanchara



The community of Cherikpong on the other hand, did not concern themselves with loss of biodiversity or environmental impacts but rather, members were inter-alia interested in engaging in small-scale mining. Hilson and Yekovleva (2007), asserts that conflicts in some mining communities in Ghana dismissed the environmental impacts but focused on institutional injustice on the part of government to the natives who engaged in small-scale mining. Some members of the Cherikpong community felt that the company should stop chasing people out of the concession and allow them to do small-scale mining.

5.3 Why Tanchara’s resistance was successful but Cherikpong’s was not

Bebbington et al asserts that the differences in movements must be conceptualized in understanding them, differences in terms of the actual dispossession they are opposing or contesting (2008a: 2891). The inability of Azumah Resources to continue with mining operations in Tanchara can be viewed from the manner of dispossession anticipated by the people and the coherence of their position. The members of the Tanchara community were united in their efforts to prevent mining. The elite and traditional opinion leaders agreed to refuse mining as they believed would not elevate

poverty from their community. The traditional leaders placed a curse on mining in the community preventing community members from engaging in it, whilst the elite collaborated with the youth and the police to drive illegal miners away, in addition to supporting CIKOD draft customary, spiritual and conventional laws as a community protocol outlining the community's position. Bebbington et al. argues that when movement groups have a unified view of their sense of dispossession, of a way of an economic value and a way of life and not ready to negotiate such movement when they succeed are able to stop extraction (2008a: 2891).

For example, a dialogue with a participant:

Author: How were you able to stop both Azumah and illegal mining?

Respondent: "will I say, it was a collaborative effort especially from the traditional leaders and a few literates that are interested in the welfare of the people. It was the combination of these two forces that we were able to drive away the miners" (Youth Leader Tanchara, August 2017)

The Cherikpong community's lack of unity among the stakeholders and this further strengthened by the demise of the paramount chief weakened the resistance group. From this stand point, Bebbington et al (2008a: 2891), argues that even though movements might share the general sense of dispossession, they might exist diversity within movements or opposing opinions on the specific dispossession they are contesting, and this is likely to ruin the progress of such a group. This is what Horowitz (2011), described as communities being complex entities often with conflicting interest which often clash in terms of compensations with regards to environmental bards, indigenous rights and economic opportunities.

Author: what happened during the public forum organized by the EPA for your people?

Respondent: "they came and put up with the same and they even almost fought each other in the place and that is why EPA felt that there was no answer to it because the two chiefs didn't agree to each other. One wanted them to stop completely, another said no they should allow them their small-scale mining and come back to the community" (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

Author: hmm!

Respondent: "the community see that some few people are benefitting from Azumah people" (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

Author: hmm!

Respondent: "Nanga..... He is my but I don't trust him the least, several meetings he has held with Azumah without other members". (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

Respondent: in fact, our own before it even started, the chief had already compromised it (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017).

Respondent: the chief that died, they (Azumah Resources) often could bring him to Nadowli and buy him lots of drinks and when he was drunk, they will bring him back" (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2107)

These sorts of movements further breakdown following corruption and clientelistic behaviour of the leaders initiated by the mining company. Azumah Resources succeeded in dividing the stakeholders of the Cherikpong community gaining access to operate as the members fought among

themselves. As noted by Bebbington et al. (2008a: 2892) when such outcome emerges the overall goal of fostering to defend livelihoods breakdown and the company neglects most of its responsibilities towards the area in question.

One outstanding difference in the two resistance groups is the presence of CIKOD. CIKOD's work in fighting extractive activities was first encountered in Cherikpong. The NGO organized sensitization programs and created awareness on the dangers of mining. The role of CIKOD in the resistance can be likened to what is referred to as 'policy entrepreneurs' whose work is geared towards change (Mintrom and Vergari 1996, Mintrom 1997). Policy entrepreneurs per Mintrom (1997) refers to "individuals or groups who are able to reframe policy problems, and thereby generate and exploit the view that crisis is at hand". While CIKOD's presence in Cherikpong was significant as they sponsored a committee leader of the resistance for a conference in Ethiopia to help build coalition in fighting mining, these however, could not successfully stop mining as CIKOD pulled out claiming a lack of co-operation from members of the community.

Author: Apart from Tanchara, where have you had interventions related to mining?

Respondent: "we actually did some work in Cherikpong, that's where we started. We just couldn't handle it because of governance issues, the chief at the time didn't co-operate with us and so that is what happened and if you get to the community today you can see the impact of illegal mining" (CIKOD, Tanchara August 2017)

Whilst, their intervention was not successful in Cherikpong because they could not deploy several strategies in addition to governance problems, their presence in Tanchara on the other hand was fundamental in preventing mining. CIKOD in Tanchara was experienced and well equipped with knowledge and strategies in fighting mining, necessitated by coalitions and networks they had built globally.

Indeed, Horowitz (2011), asserts that, local or grassroot resistance groups usually connect with other groups around the world to collaborate and share ideas, a coalition she termed as 'transnational advocacy networks'. Bebbington et al sees movements as processes of collective mobilization that are kept across space and time and show grievances in anticipated injustices and which constitute the search for alternative measures (2008a: 2892). In building coalition and networks CIKOD learnt several ways of tackling mining related issues. CIKOD invited a news team from Citi FM in Ghana to make an audio documentary about mining in Upper West region, invited Media Action Advocacy Project to film and take photos of Tanchara' Sacred groves and showed the community's strong spirituality. ED Kashi an international photographer created a blog about Tanchara and Azumah Resources creating more awareness.

The narratives and discourses deployed in Tanchara strengthening the group and keeping mining out was strong spirituality and culture. Aguelovski and Alier (2014) asserts that, place, territory and culture are interwoven in discourses to stop extraction. For example, the Sarayaku people rituals represented an identity making, creating a link between the visible and invisible worlds (2014: 170). Le Billon asserts that most environmental conflicts are advanced in other to protect human and non-human forms of existence including culture (2015: 599). The Tanchara people's spirituality in the African traditional beliefs requires the protection of ancestral, sacred groves and sacred natural sites. Like the Sarayaku people, the people of Tanchara sees their strong inter-community relations, respect for elders and traditional institutions as emanating from their sense of spirituality in the community. Since, the elders placed a curse on mining, because of its threats to their scared groves and sacred natural sites, no native violated it. For example, a respondent said:

“That they have three set of gods, gods up, gods on the land and gods under. So, if you mean to dig under you are destroying those under. According to him, they have a channel from one mountain here to another here is like triangular. So, if you mean to dig and interrupt them the community cannot pay” (Youth leader Tanchara, August 2017)

The Minerals Commission further asserted that a community that is able to explain the need for the protection of its spiritual and cultural resources which are threatened by mining or any government project could successful refuse such a project. Like, he said it depends on the leaders of the community like the Chief and other opinion leaders

Director Minerals Commission Accra: “You can say that the northern part of my land is not allowed because there are some Odum trees which are family property or sometimes you get to a place and they say, oh this is where our gods are resting so in fact we cannot allow you to mine” - Minerals Commission Accra-documentary (Banuoko 2015)

Author: is it possible for a community to say that they do not want mining?

Respondent: “The community can decide that oh we want this place to be used for this, this, this so we don't want mining in existence” (Minerals Commission Wa, August 2017)

While the use of sacredness, culture and spirituality like the Sarayaku (Anguelovski and Alier 2014) and Tanchara people were strong narratives in preventing exploitation of resources, in other areas like Cherikpong, spirituality and culture as a narrative were compromised by some community members. In Cherikpong, the mining company destroyed some sacred groves which was a good ground to halt the company's prospecting activities and to stop mining. This was not the case. As some members of the community demanded for animals and drinks in performing sacrifices that would appease the gods. The company complied and so, in later contestations with the company, this narrative could not be used.

“He said they woke up one morning just to see the people and machines moving around the area, so they question them, and the people said they had a license from government. The community

told them that they had desecrated their sacred groves, and without consultations people from Nanga asked them to come and pacify the land which they did and considered it as legitimizing their existence”

This is what Bebbington et al sees as the fragility of movements which is understood based on the specific context and the internal relationships in movements (2008a) . These internal dynamics in Cherikpong created a lost battle even before the committee was set up to stop mining.

As Bebbington et al argued, the existence of a strong state in terms of its interest in mineral development, among other reasons largely influences the success level of movements (2008a). With the increasing importance of extractivism and economic pressure for a lot of economies, the security of investments, custodian, public and legal order in enforcing regulatory measures for investors lies on the state (Powęska 2017: 443). This is what happened between the 1980s and 1990s in Ghana and most developing countries with the implementation of neoliberal policies in the extractive sector (Hilson and Potter 2005). With this happening, the state assumed a different and contradictory role, being a guarantor and defender of the rights of communities and the interest of society affected by development initiatives representing as rights and power negotiator and then law enforcement agent regarding institutional and legal order for transnational corporations(TMCs) (Powęska 2017: 443, Howlett 2010: 458).

In the state’s bid to remain legitimate, it allied its self with international capital promoting extractivism as against the livelihoods of its people (Powęska 2017: 443, Ayelazuno 2014: 300). The state supported the mining company with the police and military in driving people of Cherikpong out of the concession. The military at the time of the data collection in August went and filled the gullies created by the illegal miners. While the community’s efforts to stop the company was not successful, the committee attributed it to the support of the government.

Author: why do you believe that the government supported Azumah Resources?

Respondent: “If an assembly can resolve to stop them from going ahead and yet they go ahead, if the regional house of chiefs together with the then regional minister could come out to say well you stop it for now and yet they go ahead” (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

Respondents: “Until we decided to come all the way to the house of chiefs who met the regional minister and asked him to stop it”. (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

Respondent: “they always come with the police and military”

The presence of the state in Tanchara was minuscule. The state through the Minerals Commission offers licenses to individuals, groups and companies to first of all prospect which is also site-specific. These need to explore is accompanied by a letter to the local assembly who are supposed to put it on the notice board for 21 working days for the public to bring concerns (Patel et al. 2016). This license which is referred to as reconnaissance license (valid for 1 year) also allows the miner(s) to conduct aerial survey of the place. Then a prospecting license (valid for 3 years) is issued which enables the testing of soil samples and the results reported back to the Minerals Commission for

the mining license to be issued (Patel et al. 2016). Mining companies are equally required to conduct proper community entry to seek for the consent of community members based on free prior and informed consent (Armah et al. 2011). In Tanchara, just like in Cherikpong Azumah Resources did not conduct any community entry protocols and so, members of the community chased the officers away with cutlasses and guns. In such circumstances, the state involvement remained distant as the mining company could not conduct any prospecting and return with results.

“You can’t appear in the night and when you are confronted you claim you not doing anything illegal” (Stakeholder Tanchara, August 2017)

Even though, the Ghanaian state is present in almost all communities through the District Assembly decentralization system and with the provision of developmental projects such as schools, electricity and clinics, the members of the Tanchara community relied mostly on the sons and daughters of the community to provide some of the basic facilities.

The narratives of preventing mining in Tanchara is largely seen from the deployment of the Tanchara biocultural community protocol (BCP). Based on customary laws, ownership of land in Northern Ghana, freedom of worship, right to free prior and informed consent, the BCP provides basis for a community to decide whether certain projects are of importance to them or not and to refuse or accept. For example, the BCP outlines that:

“Interactions within the community and with non-natives is orchestrated through the traditional governance structure and the divisional chief is the first point of call for any consultations. We as well embody highly respected customary laws that outlines the use of our natural resources and healthy social order in the community. The reference to our customary law is legitimate and finds its support in article 11 of the 1992 constitution of the republic of Ghana which encapsulates customary laws as aspect of the laws of the republic” (Tanchara BCP)

This document, considered as a ‘local constitution’ was developed through the collaboration of the traditional opinion leaders and the elite of the Tanchara community with CIKOD. Copies of the BCP was given to Azumah Resources Ltd, the Lawra District Assembly, the Upper West Regional House of Chiefs, the EPA and the Minerals Commission. It does not acknowledge any refusal of resources extraction but rather outlines the demands of extraction to reconcile with the provisions in it. With this document in hand, Tanchara was ready for any consultations with the state or Azumah Resources, but none have returned. The development of the BCP through my observation was enabled because of the experiences CIKOD had from Cherikpong.

The earlier(time resistance started) tackling of the issues in Tanchara was partly why the resistance proved successful, including the chasing away of illegal miners, confronting officials from Azumah Resources in the night with guns and cutlasses, the invitation of the police to the mining site, advocacy through news documentaries, coalition with international environmentalist groups-New Media Advocacy Project, ED Kashi (international photographer), Tanchara’s story is found in the

front page of Namati (innovations in legal empowerment) web-an environmental justice network (Namati. 2016).

Whilst, Tanchara's strength relied partly on the BCP, in Cherikpong there was no BCP. This could also be seen from the inexperienced nature of CIKOD at the time of the Cherikpong resistance. Additionally, CIKOD was not given space to do much in terms of deploying different resistance strategies. Besides, the engagements with the mining company were through letters, and resolutions and community members never confronted mine officers physically as was done by the Tanchara youth to the officer. Bebbington et al argues that the likelihood of movement leaders being co-opted reflects in the ultimate fate of resistance (2008a: 2891). I believe, the mining company simply knew that the leaders were already in their pay cheque and would not commit to extreme measures of stopping their operations. Again, the resistance against Azumah Resources was the first of its kind in the Upper West region and so could be seen as a pilot case and its failures served as grounds for other communities to build on and learn.

Author: sir, if you look at your situation and Tanchara, what do you think made theirs successful?

Respondent: "CIKOD, Mr Dan is from there, and he already knew what was happening in Cherikpong, so he quickly went home and told his people and they agreed, as soon as they (Mining company) appeared there, they(Tanchara) drove them off completely" (Stakeholder Cherikpong, August 2017)

5.4 Defining Alternatives in Tanchara and Cherikpong

The differing alternatives envisaged by members of Tanchara and Cherikpong communities could be a factor in how Tanchara's case was successful and Cherikpong was not.

As people object to mineral extraction within their surroundings, alternatives are often defined more productive than mining or extraction. Like in the opening of the development dictionary Sachs, declared the end of the epoch-development and that it was time for its obituary to be written (2010: XV). Other scholars such as Gustavo (2010:20), called for the idea of development to be entirely abandoned (Gudynas 2013a:28). These were because development did not solve the purpose it set out to do at least according to these scholars (Sachs 2010, Gudynas 2013a). Whilst these scholars called for the abolition of development, alternatives were suggested. The alternatives in most cases focused on issues with states role in development, ideas of justice and how to deal with poverty (Gudynas 2013a:34). These views or debates assumes that development is a linear process and only possible through capital accumulation which still falls within the modernity project (Gudynas 2013a).

Like the discourses of alternatives in other places, those in Tanchara can be likened to the concept of *Buen vivir*. According to the doctrine of *Buen vivir*, it includes good living or living better which

is in opposition to the capitalist model (Gudynas 2013b). The community saw mining as not sustainable and preferred a sort of development that kept them connected to both nature and the spirits. For example, a community driven health impact assessment (CDHIA) conducted by CIKOD to ascertain the needs and visions of the Tanchara community showed the following:

“When we did the CDHIA in Tanchara one of the outstanding discovery was sound sleep as a vision that the people wanted to achieve in the next ten (10) years”. (CIKOD Tanchara, August 2017)

The people chose sound sleep as against good roads, hospitals, electricity, those championed by the capitalist system, which has become the ideal for all societies to follow.

Author: so, if not mining what is the alternative?

Respondent: “We gonna live on farming. Farming, you cannot harvest anything if you don’t have green leaves. So, the whole thing is green. Green gold, gold when you hear about it, it is in terms of money, we gonna pursue farming but find a way that they should have money in that farming” (Elite elder Tanchara, August 2017)

Again, the community has an agenda to embark on, something they referred to as **“operation green gold”**. Working on their own lands with an identified cash crop which would ensure a continuous availability of income as well as creating tourism with the sacred groves and sacred natural sites.

As reported by Hison and Yakovleva (2007), resistance groups against mining in Ghana have been advanced on the lack of available land for both industrial large-scale mining and small-scale mining of which the small-scale mining often done by natives claim their right to the land. Bebbington et al (2008a: 2892), argued that the differing ways groups might associate with the effects of dispossession and the different measures or remedy they might have about such dispossessions culminates into how the group survives or does not. This view was seen much in the Cherikpong group as the members of the group had different views pertaining to the effects as well as benefits of mining. For example, the quote below was from a stakeholder of the community and part of the resistance.

Author: Don’t you think that galamsey has a lot of health and environmental problems?

Respondent: “people have worked in mines and gone on retirement without dying and others die even whilst just walking” (Stakeholder and supporter of mining Cherikpong, August 2017)

This was a redirected interest of some members of the group into small-scale illegal mining. As against mining like in Tanchara, the people of Cherikpong already conceded defeat to the mining company and decided to diversify their livelihood sources from farming to small-scale mining. The fight now resides between small-scale community miners and Azumah Resources Ltd for space to mine and not to stop Azumah Resources from working.

5.5 : Common themes

Both Tanchara and Cherikpong even though different in how they approached the resistance, have significantly similar issues. The ethnicity of the two group is the same, coupled with residing in the same region with similar vegetation, rainfall patterns. The most outstanding commonality in the resistance can be traced to the livelihood struggle (Hilson and Yelovkova 2007). While, Cherikpong knew that it was impossible to stop mining on their land the group demanded to properly negotiate for the asset and benefit sharing agreements. The community's persistent pressure made the mining company to build a bore hole for the Nanga village. Like, Perreault (2006) analysis of the Bolivian protest, even though it was a local protest it yielded results as the government stopped and cancelled the contract with Aguas de Tunari to allow Cochabamba local office manage their water services.

Tanchara on the other hand, protected their lands from being taken away deploying their spirituality, place and the BCP which enshrines the community's demands. The people of Tanchara still have their lands and the gold remains in the ground. Anguelovski and Alier (2014) asserts that the struggles of the Chipko movements were all because the women depended on the forest for their survival.

Chapter 6 : What makes a local resistance movement successful?

The study has highlighted the issues in both the Tanchara and Cherikpong resistance and showed how a local resistance can be successful or otherwise. Whilst it is rare in seeing local people in Ghana rise against big powers like Azumah Resources, the Tanchara success story reveals ways local people can say no to extractive activities which affects the very fabric of their existence, especially in shaky policy environment like Ghana. The study reveals two key discoveries in successfully resisting extractivism- community unity and spirituality. However, the study also identified small-scale mining as a language of community development deployed in fighting large-scale mining companies in the case of Cherikpong.

First, in Tanchara, the resistance group was a collaboration (unity) between the elite of the community and the traditional opinion leaders. The traditional opinion leaders invoked curses on mining, invited the officers of the mining company to the chief palace to inform them that mining was not an option for the community. Mobilized the youth to chase whoever is seen walking around or embarking on any activity. The elite coordinated with the police, helped raise awareness among the people, assisted CIKOD in developing the BCP. These collaborative discussions further bonded members of the community. With the community's strong believe in spirituality, collectively they resisted Azumah Resources and small-scale mining. This unity in Tanchara is further demonstrated by the fact that no community member engaged in the small-scale mining as a means of livelihood. This fact reduced tensions among members of the Tanchara community. The mobilizations here was a response to capitalism and the inequality in the extractive sector towards communities.

The failure of the resistance in Cherikpong as identified in the study is attributed to the lack of unity among the stakeholders. The committee meant to lead the resistance had different meanings to dispossessions and the remedy thereafter. These differences led to accusation of one another as some believed others received financial benefits from the company. The group was further divided as some wanted small-scale mining whilst others did not. The group in Cherikpong compromise of the resistance, is seen from the request of animals and drinks for sacrifices in appeasing the gods. Whilst, common villagers or community members could have easily fought the company, some major stakeholders seemed to be on the side of the company making issues more complex and reducing the potency of the group.

A significant part of successfully resisting Azumah Resources in Tanchara is credited to the existence of the BCP. The BCP relies on constitutional provisions, customary laws and international legal instruments which allow communities to say no to extraction. With its dependence on the constitution of Ghana, it served as a strong tool in successfully resisting mining. For example, the BCP stipulates that:

“We request the preservation, respect and protection of our sacred groves and sites. These sites form part of the core and most important aspect of the functioning of our community and therefore their value and valor cannot be negotiated” “Regard for and observance of customary laws and traditional institutions can be found in lots of different international legal instruments, these includes, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, the International Conventions on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (Tanchara BCP)

This document (BCP) I call ‘local constitution’ was a platform for further strengthening community traditional institutions in Tanchara.

The literature on civil society groups such as NGOs and other groups reflects on how these groups filled rural development gaps in the south (Bernauer and Betzold 2012: 63). These groups are also referred to as policy entrepreneurs who enforce change in policy circles (Mintrum 1997). CIKOD, performed the role of policy entrepreneurs in the resistance which is largely the reason for the success of the resistance.

The community driven health impact assessment (CDHIA) and the action research conducted by CIKOD in Tanchara enlightened the people’s view of mining and their community resources. These interventions were influenced by the experiences CIKOD gained in Cherikpong. Being an NGO that opposes extraction, it would have been an affront on the organization for mining to take place in their native village. Haven’t built coalitions in and outside Ghana, several languages were framed to fight mining. It is worth knowing that the directors of CIKOD are natives of Tanchara, I would assume that, this relationship was partly why their presence in the resistance was strongest.

The deployment of the sacredness of nature and biodiversity as narratives in the resistance in Tanchara made a great difference. The elderly related the earth as their mother and the fact that it had breadth. Several tree species and the connection of the community to trees, sacred groves and sacred natural sites which would have been greatly affected if mining were to happen were very crucial.

As discussed already, the state’s interest in capital accumulation has placed it in a contradictory role. First, it provides a conducive atmosphere for foreign direct investment into the mining

sector, and enshrines in its constitution the need to protect the environment. For example, the BCP relies on the constitution of Ghana and argues that:

“Article 41 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana enjoins every citizen to protect and safeguard the environment” (The Tanchara BCP)

This is what Acosta sees as a ‘deterretorialization’ of the state where TMNCs have more power (2013). This is very visible in the Cherikpong and Tanchara resistances with the state playing an extremely contradictory attitude leaving communities and companies to struggle. The time the resistance started, and the demands made by the groups were crucial in the two cases. The Tanchara movement started before the mining company arrived to do their prospecting whilst, the Cherikpong movement emerged because the company over a very long time refused to meet with community stakeholders to discuss the terms and conditions of their operations. With this, the Cherikpong case can be understood from the valuation languages employed in the resistance (Avci et al. 2010).

There were from two-fronts, on one hand was the language of recognition, distribution and participation as those in Urkidi and Walter’s (2011) study of two conflicts in Latin America by the resistance committee and on the other hand, was a total rejection of mining by a section of the community through a language of community development through small-scale mining. My assertion is based on the similarities of the two communities-same language, belief systems (spirituality) and region or geographical region. I assume that Cherikpong would not have resisted if the mining company had done proper community entry and stakeholder consultations.

The view held by part of the community was a means to survive, after vast community lands have been taken by the mining concession. Hilson and Banchirigah (2009), reviews artisanal mining in Ghana as a source of livelihood strategy left after farming lands have been allocated to multinational mining firms. To further strengthen the community’s dependence on artisanal mining for their livelihood, this a quote from a respondent:

Author: do you not think that galamsey destroys the land?

Respondent: “yes, it does but it’s the only thing we have left to do, in fact, every house in this community except that one over there, is built with money from small-scale or artisanal mining” (Unit committee member Cherikpong, August 2017).

Chapter 7 : Conclusion

The disagreements in mining communities have been on the grounds of several injustices towards the people. These has over the years informed by the relationship between mining companies and local people. The demand for energy has grown and continuous to increase especially with demand from developed nations as well as China, and India. The findings from this study has attempted to reveal ways local groups frame narratives to fight mining and the reasons used. In the study we realised that the two communities even though very similar fought the company from very different angles and narratives. The Tanchara people resisted mining because of anticipated environmental impacts, loss of land and biodiversity and the protection of spirituality by preserving their sacred groves and sites. Whilst, the Cherikpong community fought the company because of the issues of distribution, participation and recognition in how their resources are exploited and then an account of community development through small-scale mining.

We understand the success of Tanchara as against the loss of Cherikpong based on the strategies adopted in fighting the mining company. Whilst, Tanchara adopted strategies of physical confrontations of the company officials, the Minerals Commission, were united with one voice, formed coalitions with international environmentalist, developed a BCP and with an experienced CIKOD, Cherikpong relied only on the ability of the committee and an inexperienced CIKOD, letters, resolutions and petitions and the lack of unity stood as an obstacle, which in the end could not even force the company for consultations. As the presence of the police and military made matters difficult for the Cherikpong group, this was non-existent in Tanchara, which I attribute to their possession of the BCP.

The study has also identified a new wave of mining related conflicts in Ghana which is worthy of noting. This wave is related to a livelihood struggle sort through the environment. As discussed already, the conflicts studied in the southern part of Ghana which mostly dwell on the antagonistic relationship between artisanal small-scale miners and large-scale mining companies, even though possess a livelihood argument, nonetheless are not in favour of the environmental justice movement.

With this in mind, the strategies adopted, or employed in any resistance (especially in the south), once it is for the course of safeguarding the peoples' livelihood, including their health, food, air, water and these narratives advanced in the name of the environment. for example, the engagements in both Tanchara and Cherikpong which were advanced through languages of anticipated pollution,

destruction of land including sacred groves and sites, improper consultation demonstrates a livelihood struggle and can be described as ‘environmentalism of the poor’.

Whilst the literature on environmentalism of the poor places emphasis on the concerns of todays’ generation, new discourses are being framed with concerns for the generations yet unborn. The uniqueness of the Tanchara case was the active involvement of the elite through legal narratives (BCP) to support and drive away the mining company.

I end with a quote from Le Billon (2015: 606), which sums up the broader sense of environmentalism of the poor. He asserts that

“these issues reflect a tradition based in large part on anthropology, cultural ecology and agrarian studies, which when combined with Marxian political economy yields a concern for the emancipation of historically oppressed groups from the forces of capitalism and colonialism”.

For future research, this study could be continued along different lines. In particular, more research on the exact role, micro-politics and influence of CIKOD would be welcome because some important questions remain unanswered. More broadly, further investigations should focus on the extractivist nature of the Ghanaian state.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: An Overview of the Tanchara BCP

Preamble:

This is a material which spells out the Tanchara communities' rights and responsibilities under both customary and contemporary law. It serves as a reference point and a guide for people who intend to carry out any activity in the community in a culturally and rightful manner.

Introduction:

The Tanchara Biocultural Community Protocol (BCP), would be referred to as the "Tanchara BCP". This document was produced between the community stakeholders and the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) an endogenous Non-governmental organization (NGO)

The Tanchara BCP encapsulates the fundamental cultural, ecological and spiritual resources of the community within a framework of contemporary and customary law. The Tanchara BCP is a tool that protects the community's resources and traditional knowledge through the provision of vivid terms and conditions to regulate access to their assets as well as goods that would emerge from developing the assets (Guardian 2010). Through this document and what it entails, the Tanchara people have been culturally and socially strengthened in the affirmation and empowerment of their local governance structures. The process of developing the BCP also enhanced the community's legal wherewithal as they now well understand international and national legal laws that regulates their lives

Tanchara Community Demand Rights to their Sacred Groves and Sites

Right to the Protection and Preservation of our Sacred Groves (SGs) and Sites

We request the preservation, respect and protection of our sacred groves and sites. These sites form part of the core and most important aspect of the functioning of our community and therefore their value and valor cannot be negotiated. Regard for sacred natural sites (SNS) is also widely acknowledged in international legal instruments.

Free, prior & informed consent

We mandate free, prior and informed consent with emphasis on all the communities' resources and the establishment of an environmental impact assessment within our established governance structure and traditional law. Our community's vibrant traditional governance structure comprises

of a divisional chief and a colleague traditional woman leader (Pognaa) assisted with 10 divisional chiefs, sectional pognabe and an active youth association.

Interactions within the community and with non-natives is orchestrated through the traditional governance structure and the divisional chief is the first point of call for any consultations. We as well embody a highly favoured customary laws that outlines the use of our natural resources and healthy social order in the community. The reference to our customary law is legitimate and finds its support in article 11 of the 1992 constitution of the republic of Ghana which encapsulates customary laws as aspect of the laws of the republic. Regard for and observance of customary laws and traditional institutions can be found in lots of different international legal instruments, these includes, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the International Conventions on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Tanchara BCP 2010)

Right to negotiate a benefit-sharing agreement that includes mutually agreed terms

As a cohesive community with authentic traditional governance structure and customary law system, we request the right to negotiate access and benefit sharing arrangements with Azumah resources and all related stakeholders on all issues regarding gold mining in the community of Tanchara before offering our free and prior informed consent before extraction works commence.

These are legitimate requests as they are enshrined in international legal codes including international legal instruments and regional case law.

SPECIFIC DEMANDS

Community demands in the context of impact of gold mining on community sacred sites, land and water bodies

With regards to the ensuing mining activities of Azumah Resources Ltd in the Upper West of Ghana as whole and Tanchara community specifically, we, the people of Tanchara community, demand to be recognized by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Minerals Commission, the Forestry Commission and the Upper West Regional Co-ordinating Council and the Lawra District Assembly as people enhancing and benefitting from the region's biodiversity and to liaise with them in establishing a system that ensures our continued access to the management of our sacred groves (SGs) and Sacred Natural sites (SNS). Following the above, we make demands to the Lawra District Assembly, the Regional Co-ordinating Council and the Regional House of Chiefs and spell out our commitment as a community.

At the Tanchara Community Level We commit ourselves to:

Ensure learning from elders of the community through the community annual forums and festivals to teach and enlighten members of the community of their role towards safeguarding the community's natural and sacred sites. As citizens of Ghana as a whole and members of Tanchara Community in particular, the constitution enjoins us under article 41 to safeguard and protect the environment.

Motivate people especially the educated and the youth of the community to take part in traditional rites which enhances the conservation of natural resources and the environment. Ensure that policy makers realize that the "Temgan dem" have not been respected by their exclusion from negotiations, decision-making and consultations processes relating to the granting of permission for prospecting for gold in Tanchara and eventually mining as the custodians of the land by the EPA, Upper West Regional Co-ordinating Council, Minerals Commission and other relevant government agencies. The Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703) has not mandated the Minister for Energy and Minerals Commission to consult the "Tengan dem" before a prospecting license can be granted (see section 34 of Act 703).

Resist against the taking over of land and natural resources to Azumah Resource Ltd without proper sensitization and prior consent of the custodians and owners of the land.

At the District and Regional Level

We request the Lawra District Assembly, the Upper West Regional Co-ordinating Council and the Regional House of Chiefs to ensure that:

Azumah Resources Ltd, with urgency conduct an appropriate re-entry into the Tanchara community and all the communities affected or would be affected by their activities. This should be done in tandem with the local governance structures enshrined in this document. Without this procedure, we the Tanchara people recommend for the seizure of all activities of Azumah Resources Ltd by the EPA, Minerals Commission, and stakeholders of Azumah Resources Ltd until the Tanchara community is promised by Azumah Resources of the protection of the 70 affected sacred groves and outline a realistic approach for win-win situation for all including the communities, the company (Azumah) and the environment.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should be offered the required financial assistance to embark on campaign and awareness creation projects in Tanchara and the communities that would be affected by the activities of Azumah Resources on the rights of communities affected by mining as well as the pros and cons of gold mining within their surrounding

Concerns raised by the affected communities should be involved in the Environmental Impact Assessment scoping report. In fact, section 5 (1) of the Environmental Assessment Regulations, 1999 mandates EPA to among other things incorporate the concerns of the general public and specifically concerns of immediate residents of the affected area in deciding whether or not to grant an environmental permit to a mineral right holder.

Prior to the issuance of a permit to Azumah Resources, the District assembly and EPA must organize a public hearing for the stakeholders of the affected communities to speak for themselves or through a representative or an experienced resource person.

The community wellbeing Impact Assessment report by CIKOD published in 2010 by the Advocate should be carefully reviewed by Azumah Resources and considered especially in designing a corporate social responsibility package (CSR) should they be offered permit to work in Tanchara in the future.

Azumah Resources should urgently provide the Lawra District Assembly and the other assemblies as well as stakeholders each with a certified true copy of their license for record keeping

CIKOD should continue to offer a leading role in ensuring that sound environmental and natural resource maintenance is adhered to in the region.

We, the elders and youth, representing the entire Tanchara Community are making these demands to the best of our knowledge. If we are misinterpreting certain issues or rights, we are available for further dialogue.

Signed for and on behalf of the entire Tanchara Community by:

.....
The Tanchara Naa

.....
The Tingan Sob

.....
The Pognaa

.....
The Youth Association

.....
Witness

.....
The Paramount Chief of Lawra

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Sample interview guide Tanchara community members

Opening questions:

1. Do you presently live in Tanchara?
2. If yes: For how many years? If no: What is your village/region of origin?
3. Are you married? Do you have children? Are you living with your family?
4. Please, how old are you?
 - a. between 12-20yrs
 - b. between 20-40yrs
 - c. 40yrs and above
5. What is your level of education?
 - a. no formal education
 - b. basic level
 - c. secondary level
 - d. tertiary level

Economic and environmental questions

1. What is your main source of livelihood? What is your 'profession'?
 - a. What work does your spouse do?
 - b. How long have you been doing this activity?
 - c. Are you engaged in other activities besides this main one? (e.g., depending on the answer: farming? wage labor? trade? etc.)
2. Could you tell me a bit more about your activity? What advantages/challenges do you encounter? If farmer: Do you own your land? If not, are you a tenant? Do you sell on local, regional, national markets? What are the major goods and services that you purchase from the market?
3. Does the village have commons (e.g. forested areas, pastures, water bodies) Are neighboring villagers allowed (without asking) to use the village's commons?
4. How is the environment important to you? (e.g. for wood, fodder, bush meat, medicinal plants, spirits, ancestors, etc.)
5. In the community, is the environment improving or deteriorating?

Core questions on mining

1. Why did you resist mining?
2. How did you resist? What mechanisms were adopted in resisting mining?
3. Did the company inform the village / ask permission before trying to exploit the community's resources?
 - a. Have you personally met officials of the company?
 - b. What did they say/promise?
4. How can you claim it was a good decision to resist mining? Does everyone agree in the village?
5. What is the BCP?
 - a. How was it designed?
 - b. Who designed it? Was it collective or someone took the lead on it?
 - c. Did everyone agree on it? (How did you deal with those who didn't agree?)
 - d. What is the role of the BCP?

- e. How would the BCP be beneficial to other communities facing similar circumstances
- 6. Who were the actors in the resistance process?
- 7. What role did CIKOD play in the resistance process?
- 8. What was the reaction of the company? What did they say?
- 9. What was the reaction of the state? What did they say?
- 10. How did you coordinate dialogue with state authorities?
- 11. What challenges did you encounter during the resistance process within the community?
- 12. What challenges did you face against external forces?
- 13. Do you consider the resistance in Tanchara to be successful? Why/why not?

Concluding questions

- 1. What is the future of Tanchara in terms of mining?
- 2. What is the alternative to mining?
- 3. What do you consider as development?
- 4. How would you request for developmental projects in Tanchara from the state?
- 5. Is Ghana developing toward the right direction?
- 6. Would you like to add anything to what we have discussed, maybe something I forgot to ask?
- 7. Do you have any question regarding how you want me to handle the data from our conversation?

Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD)

Profile

- 1. Please, how old are you?
- 2. What is your level of education?
- 3. What is your religious denomination?
- 4. What is your ethnicity?
- 5. Which region do you originate from?

General questions

- 1. What position do you hold in this organization?
- 2. How long have you worked with this organization?
- 3. What is the structure of the organization?

Key questions

- 1. What is the focus of your organization?
- 2. Which communities do you work?
- 3. What is your position in respect of mining?
- 4. Do you have other mining interventions in other communities?
- 5. Do you or have you ever had any intervention in respect of mining in Tanchara?
- 6. What is the overall goal of the Biocultural Community Protocol? -empowerment to insist on rights or to resist state sanctioned institutions from working in the community?

- a. How was the BCP developed?
- b. Who were the actors involved in the BCP development?
- c. How effective was the BCP in the resistance?
- d. What was the role of the Tanchara community in the BCP?
- e. How can the BCP be beneficial to other communities?
- 7. How did you coordinate dialogue with state authorities?
- 8. How will you describe your working relationship with:
 - 1. Mining companies
 - 2. District assembly
 - 3. EPA
- 9. What is it that Azumah Resources did or didn't do right?
- 10. Do you consider the resistance successful? Why/why not.

Conclusion

- 1. What is the future in terms of mining for Tanchara?
- 2. What is the alternative to mining in Tanchara?
- 3. What do you see as development?
- 4. How do you envisage Tanchara's relationship with the state in terms of development projects?
- 5. Would suggest any amendment in the mining laws? explain
- 6. What would you like to add that perhaps I have not asked?
- 7. How would you prefer I handle the data from this conversation?

Azumah Resources Limited

- 1. What is your position in this company?
- 2. How long have you worked in this corporation?
- 3. What is the structure of the organization?

Key questions

- 1. What is the focus area of this corporation?
- 2. Where are your operations in Ghana?
- 3. What is the quantity of deposits in these various centres?
- 4. What communities do you have any business with?
 - a. What are your operations in the Lawra district?
 - b. Which year were you in Tanchara?
 - c. What were your experience with them?
 - d. Who were the stakeholders you liaised with in Tanchara?

- e. Which stage of operation are you in the Tanchara community?
- 5. How did you approach the community with the news of coming for exploration purposes?
- 6. What consultation mechanisms exist between communities with resources and extraction companies?
- 7. What were the challenges encountered with the Tanchara community?
- 8. What were your efforts to resolve their grievances?
- 9. How did the state offer support to you in the situation?
- 10. How can you describe the nature of the state in enforcing what it wants to accomplish in mining communities?
- 11. Are you still working on returning to Tanchara? Why/why not?
- 12. If Kunche was among answers for 2 above...
 - a. Which year did you start working in Kunche?
 - b. What stage of operation have you reached?
 - c. What has been your experience with the people?
 - d. Who were the stakeholders you consulted in Kunche?
- 13. How did you approach the stakeholders in the Kunche case making things easy for your operations?
- 14. What do you think were the reasons why the community of Kunche did not resist your operations?
- 15. What corporate social responsibility (CSR) projects do you have for communities you work in?
- 16. What CSR projects have you embarked on in Kunche?
- 17. What happens to people's livelihoods, assets affected by your operations?
- 18. Did you offer this package to the Tanchara community?
- 19. From your international to national level do you have a laid down protocol you follow in approaching communities with resources? Explain
- 20. Would you accept that the resistance against your operations in Tanchara was successful? Why/why not?

Conclusion

- 1. What is the future for you in the Tanchara community?
- 2. How do you see the future of Tanchara in terms of state development projects considering that they resisted mining which would have boosted their development?
- 3. Do you think any part of the mining laws need amendment? explain

4. What would you like to ask or add to what we have discussed already, in case I forgot something?
5. How would you prefer I handle the data from our conversation?

Mineral commission (Upper West Regional capital)-Wa

1. What is your position in this office?
2. How long have you worked here?
3. What is the role of the mineral commission?

Key questions

1. Which places have been identified as having gold deposits in the Upper West region?
2. What do you know about Azumah resources and the community of Tanchara?
3. When was Azumah Resources granted the right to prospect for gold in Tanchara?
4. What role did your office play in making Azumah Resources to mine the resources in Tanchara?
5. What role did your outfit play in the conflict between Tanchara and Azumah resources?
6. What is your view of the Tanchara communities' actions?
7. Why do you think the people of Kunche did not resist Azumah Resources but Tanchara did?
8. What external support aided Tanchara in resisting mining?
9. What arguments were put forward as reasons why they did not want mining?
10. What happens to a community that refuses for its resources to be extracted?
11. What consultation mechanisms exist between communities with resources and the state?
12. What benefit do mining communities stand to gain from the state for allowing their resources to be extracted?
13. What packages are mining companies supposed to offer to communities for extracting their resources?
14. In what ways has the state failed mining communities?
15. How can you describe the nature of the state in enforcing what it wants to accomplish in mining communities?
16. Can the community and their supporters claim that the resistance was successful?
Why/why not?

Conclusion

1. What do you see as the future for Tanchara in terms of development projects?
2. What mechanisms are being laid for future extraction of the resources in the Tanchara community?

3. What would you wish or suggest to change or strengthen in the mining laws?
4. What would you want to add, may be something I forgot to ask?
5. How would you prefer I handle the data from this conversation?

Lawra District Assembly

1. What is your position in this assembly?
2. How long have you worked in this assembly?
3. What role do you play for the smooth running of the assembly?
4. Are you aware of mineral deposits in the district? If yes, where?
5. Are you aware of illegal miners in the district? If yes, where
6. Is any mineral company operational in this district?
7. How long have they been working here?
8. Which communities are they operating in?
9. What is the stage of mining (prospecting, exploration etc) in the various communities?
10. What is the role of the assembly?
11. What are the laid down procedures that companies are supposed to abide by in entering a community for extractive activities?
12. Are you aware of Azumah Resources operations in Tanchara?
13. Do you know of the stage of mining in Tanchara?
14. Have you received any complaint of a community or organization resisting mining? If yes, what role did the assembly play in resolving it?
15. How many NGOs work in this district? Name them
16. Which communities do they work in?
17. What is the area of focus of CIKOD? Do you receive reports from them on their operations or projects?
18. What was the role of CIKOD in the impasse between Tanchara and Azumah resources?
19. What do you see as the future for Tanchara in relation to mining?
20. Do you think that the opposition against mining in Tanchara was a success? Why/why not?
21. Do you have any suggestions of the mining regulations in the country?

Social welfare and community development

1. What is your position in this assembly?
2. How long have you worked in this assembly?
3. What role do you play for the smooth running of the assembly?
4. Are you aware of mineral deposits in the district? If yes, where?

5. Are you aware of illegal miners in the district? If yes, where
6. Does your organization have any community entry protocols?
7. What was the role of your outfit in the engagement of the Tanchara community by Azumah resources limited?
8. Did Azumah do community entry as outlined in your community entry regulations?
9. Was your office informed of the presence of Azumah resources in Tanchara?
10. Have you received complaints of any community's resistance or opposition to mining in the Lawra district?
11. What role did your office play in resolving such issues?

Cherikpong Community

Opening questions:

1. Do you presently live in Tanchara?
2. If yes: For how many years? If no: What is your village/region of origin?
3. Are you married? Do you have children? Are you living with your family?
4. Please, how old are you?
 - e. between 12-20yrs
 - f. between 20-40yrs
 - g. 40yrs and above
6. What is your level of education?
 - a. no formal education
 - b. basic level
 - c. secondary level
 - d. tertiary level

Economic and environmental questions

7. What is your main source of livelihood? What is your 'profession'?
 - a. What work does your spouse do?
 - b. How long have you been doing this activity?
 - c. Are you engaged in other activities besides this main one? (e.g., depending on the answer: farming? wage labor? trade? etc.)
8. Could you tell me a bit more about your activity? What advantages/challenges do you encounter? If farmer: Do you own your land? If not, are you a tenant? Do you sell on local,

regional, national markets? What are the major goods and services that you purchase from the market?

9. Does the village have commons (e.g. forested areas, pastures, water bodies) Are neighbouring villagers allowed (without asking) to use the village's commons?
10. How is the environment important to you? (e.g. for wood, fodder, bush meat, medicinal plants, spirits, ancestors)
11. In the community, is the environment improving or deteriorating?

Questions on mining

12. When did you experience or encountered mining in this community?
13. How did you get to know that mining activities were coming to your community?
14. Which company is responsible for the mining concession here?
15. What sort of consultations occurred between the community and Azumah Resources?
16. Was it a welcome idea? If yes, why/if no, why?
17. What CSR package was promised to the community?
18. Did all the stakeholders agree to the promises of Azumah resources? If yes, why/if no, why?
19. What was the role of the district assembly in giving the concession to Azumah resources?
20. Did the district assembly support Azumah's operations in this community?
21. What environmental and social impacts have you experienced as a mining community?
22. Have you had complaints from individuals and groups pertaining to the effects of mining on their livelihood?
23. What compensation packages, assets, were offered to individuals or groups whose livelihoods were directly affected by the concession?
24. Has Azumah resources fulfilled its promises to the community?
25. Why did you not oppose the mining operations in your community?
26. What is your view of mining now that you have had a feel of it?
27. What would you do if you were given the opportunity to renegotiate the whole project?
28. Do you think the community would agree with this position? Why/why not?
29. Do you have any suggestions to the mineral laws or regulations?

Appendix 3: Ethical Notes

Below is the ethical issues read out to participants before interview commenced.

My name is Vincent a Ghanaian and studying a Master's degree in development studies at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Netherlands. As part of the degree I will like to ask you some questions. These questions are based on my research which is about 'why and how communities defend the environment from destruction'. The communities' interaction with external bodies and the state.

The information we will collect is for academic purposes and not related to any project or investigation. Additionally, the information will be kept confidential in the ISS library and for academic reference only. Please, feel free to answer the questions as they are no later consequences to responses you will give. If you so desire your identity can also be anonymous.

Your participation would be very supportive to us and we will appreciate your understanding and cooperation. However, you are free not to answer certain questions if you do not want to and may equally at any time demand the stoppage of the conversation. But, we encourage you to answer every question for us to mutually learn from one another.

We will also beg for your permission to record the conversation. This is to help the researcher able to recollect every detail that is discussed and can do a proper write up of the research.

Thank you.