Power, Spaces and Capabilities: Rethinking Communication for Development in Climate Change-related Natural Resource Management

The Case of the Ngoyla Mintom Projects in Cameroon

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To Malcolm, Mum and Dad

Abstract

This thesis examines the nature and role of communication between various stakeholders in climate change-related natural resource management, precisely the WWF and World Bank Ngoyla-Mintom sustainable forest management projects in East Cameroon. My aim is to interrogate the enduring conceptual dichotomy between modernization and participation in Communication for Development (C4D) theorizing by foregrounding an analytical framework that situates C4D at the intersection of power, capabilities and spaces.

I employ a Foucauldian definition of power as discourse and power as diffused rather than concentrated. I argue that power, by its very character, opens up possibilities for resistance from competing discourses. Resistance is made possible through capabilities that afford social actors the opportunities to contrast and confront their discourses against hegemonic discourses through communication. The tussle of discourses contained in the capabilities approach implies and necessitates spaces: literal or figurative arenas where these conversations occur. Such spaces can be "closed", "invited" or "organic" and are also products and arenas of power and or resistance. Considering this, I argue that the important question is not whether a given C4D process is participatory or diffusionist/modernizationist. Rather, the critical question is, how does the intersectionality of power, spaces and capabilities influence C4D processes?

Findings from this qualitative study show that communication within the projects is characterised by competing discourses of policy actors and local inhabitants backed by NGOs in which policy advocacy emerges as resistance. In this process, spaces and capabilities feature as important factors in the contest of discourses where on-going communication fits neither the modernization nor the participation mould. I conclude that while modernization and participation may still be relevant for theorizing about C4D, within a development intervention like Ngoyla Mintom, C4D can be multidimensional and contested, participatory at times, media-centric at times and networked with different actors in different spaces at different scales.

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APIFED	Appui à l'Auto Promotion et Insertion des Femmes, des Jeunes et Désoeuvrés
ASTRAHDE	Association Pour La Traduction et le Développement Holistique de l'Etre Humain
CAFT	Coopérative Agroforestière de la Trinationale
CIFOR	Centre for International Forestry Research
D.O	Divisional Officer
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FLEGT	Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade
FODER	Foret et Development Rurale
FPIC	Free Prior Informed Consent
GIZ	German Corporation for International Cooperation
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MINFOF	Ministry of the Environment and Fauna
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OCBB	Observatoire des Cultures Bakas et Bantous
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation and the Sustainable Management of Forests
UNREDD	United Nations Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature
WHO	World Health Organization

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Chapter One

Introduction

Development is a site of struggle (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010, Escobar, 1995). It is an arena of contest of ideas, interests, values and worldviews about futures. In today's *glocalized* world characterized by articulations of "multiple modernities", "westernization no longer seems compelling in a time of re-evaluation of local culture and cultural diversity" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:1). The growing number of social contestations around the world are reflective of these struggles, pitting different visions of human progress. For instance, in Brazil, the indigenous Juruna people from the Paquiçamba region are fighting to protect their ancestral lands against the construction of a dam. In South Africa, environmental campaigners Makoma Lekalakala and Liz McDaid led a campaign that halted the construction of a nuclear plant by Russia. In France, the "Yellow Vests" protests have paralyzed the country for weeks and fought off a proposed climate change-inspired fuel tax decreed by President Macron.

These, and many other examples of social contestations have become recurring features of today's socio-political landscape. These events are also reflective of ideological struggles about the trajectory or trajectories of human "progress". In this new reality, contesters such as the ones in Brazil, France and South Africa above are increasingly creating or claiming spaces of their own and strategically employ a range of communication methods in their resistance to power. Against this backdrop of contestations characterized by space-creation and communication capabilities, how can we qualify or conceptualize the nature and role of communication in development processes today? This question becomes even more important because current conceptions of Communication for

Development (C4D) have largely been premised along the modernization and participation cleavage (Morris, 2003; Waisbord, 2005; Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009; Enghel et al 2018). This research attempts to rethink communication for development through the prisms of power, spaces and capabilities by examining the nature and role of communication in climate change-related natural resource management in Cameroon.

1.1   Background to the Problem

Communication has been a central feature of development architectures since the 1950s when it first became associated with development (McAnany, 2012). According to the World Congress on Communication for Development (2006), communication for development (C4D) is "a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. It is not public relations or corporate communication".

While this may be an appealing definition of C4D, debates around C4D and its practical application in development interventions indicate otherwise. A defining attribute of debates within the field of Communication for Development (C4D) is the juxtaposition of modernization/diffusion top-down models versus the participatory bottom-up models (Morris, 2003; Waisbord, 2005; Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009; Enghel et al 2018). These debates are characterised by "well-entrenched and seemingly irreconcilable differences" (Waisbord, 2005:78). C4D has been described as a "battlefield between the diffusion and modernization perspective to development and the participation one" (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009:18).

While the modernization perspective theorises communication for development as a "delivery system" for strategic organisational goals, the participation

approach conceives it as an all-encompassing constitutive element of social change processes (Melkote & Steeves, 2015:19). The modernization or diffusion model privileges the instrumental dissemination of information with the intent of bringing about social change while the bottom-up participatory model advocates social change through communication inspired and realised from grassroots with the aim of restructuring social relations. Participatory approaches in conceptualizations of C4D have largely emerged as and stand in opposition to the modernization paradigm (Jacobson, 2016), even though these two frameworks have been recognised as complementing each other in certain instances. As Morris (2003:227) states, "the diffusion model has evolved in a participatory direction since its initial formulation, and participatory projects necessarily involve some element of information transfer".

This overlap has even been recognised by architects of the modernization paradigm such as Rogers (1983: xviii) who recast diffusion as a "convergence model in which communication is defined as a process in which the participants create and share information to reach a mutual understanding". Other attempts at integrating diffusion and participatory communication have been made by Ascroft et al (1994:311) who propose a "triadic" form of communication in which trained social communicators would transmit messages in diffusion manner from top to down, but also relay views from below to the top: thus, ensuring a two-way communication process. This "triadic" communication model would feature "non-purposive moderators" capable of "representing the views not just of one side to the other, but of both sides to each other" between policymakers and local populations. In their "Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change" Figueroa et al (2002:2) propose a unified framework that conceives communication as "cyclical and relational and leads to an outcome of mutual change rather than one-sided individual change". These examples represent attempts at integrating modernization/diffusion methods and participatory communication methods in theorising about C4D.

Although these two perspectives overlap as noted by Morris (2003), participation and modernization are still overwhelmingly, the two methodological prisms through which C4D is conceptualized and researched (Waisbord, 2003). For instance, Tufte's (2017:49) "participatory-cum-culture-centred" model reflects this dichotomy as it positions the dominant modernization-inspired "development campaigns" against "participatory development". On one end of his model is social change and on the other is status quo. Tufte builds on Dutta's (2011) "culture-centred" development and positions "participatory-cum-culture-centred" on the social change edge while modernization-inspired "development campaigns" are on the status quo end. In Tufte's view then, "participatory-cum-culture-centred" development drives social change processes while "development campaigns" maintain the status quo of unequal power relations between the powerful and subalterns.

In a similar albeit a bit more drastic juxtaposition, Dutta (2011) who argues that notions of participation as referenced in C4D literature are in essence extensions of Western hegemonic practice, proposes participatory approaches steeped in and emerging from local cultural practices. He hence positions what he calls culture-centred participatory development on one end of his "culture-centred" development model, while Marxist and development campaigns (which he associates with the modernization approach) are at the other opposite end in his model. Tufte's and Dutta's models reflect an enduring trend of juxtaposing modernization-inspired communication with participatory communication in C4D theorising.

In this research, I will argue for a rethink of this binary conception, by recasting C4D as a struggle between discourses about futures, where capabilities and spaces play a significant role in the articulations of competing discourses. In making this argument, I will be attempting to address two conceptual gaps in the prevalent binary view of C4D. Firstly, the multi-faceted nature of global development problems today, radical transformations in the communication landscape, the expansion and increased activism of often transnational civil

society actors has given rise to contested spaces, new spaces and the increasing articulation of alternate narratives. As Tufte (2014:471) notes, "the massive transformation and proliferation of civil society has led to new power relations in governance structures". These contestations and transformations fit into neither the modernization nor the participatory mould. Rather, they are the upshots of local, national and sometimes transnational coalitions that contest hegemonic discourses at local, national and international levels using diverse communication strategies. As Waisbord (2015: 148) argues, "global social problems are complex and demand actions at many levels" and thus require "models and theories that examine the multicausality of social problems and recommend multilevel interventions". While this is not a new argument in the different fields of international development, for C4D, this means that the diffusionist and/or participatory approaches are becoming less-optimal frameworks for conceptualizing and understanding the locus of communication in social change processes today.

Secondly, media development is not often integrated in the enduring binary conceptualization of C4D. Media development which Scott (2014:4) describes as "efforts aimed at promoting independence, plurality, professionalism, capacity, an enabling environment, economic sustainability and media literacy" is arguably the foundation for the two other approaches to C4D. Media development does not only entail technological development but more importantly relates to freedom of expression, access to information, access to the media and the democratisation of the public sphere. Former World Bank President James Wolfensohn (1999) declared that "a free press [developed media] is at the absolute core of equitable development". Highlighting the connections between media development and development, renowned Indian economist Amatya Sen (1999) points out that no nation with a free press has ever suffered a famine. The field of C4D as argued by Manyozo (2012) comprises three, albeit sometimes overlapping elements: media development, media for development and participatory community communication. While the debates around C4D almost exclusively centre on the participatory vs modernization (also construed as media

for development) premises, media development is not explicitly accounted for in these debates.

Tufte, (2014:471) highlights the importance of media development when he argues that present-day "development and proliferation of mobile telephony and the internet have contributed to new socioeconomic and political dynamics, opening up for new and potentially more dynamic forms of relations between decision-makers and citizens, between media and activists, and between offline and online spaces of deliberation". Indeed, an argument can be made that the diffusion or the participatory approaches in development communication would hardly be effective without freedom of expression or without adequate media infrastructure. For instance, an enabling media environment fosters the growth of citizen media, which Pettit et al (2009:443) find, "can allow people to reshape the spaces in which their voices find expression" …and bring "diverse voices into pluralist politics" thereby contributing "to processes of social and cultural construction, redefining norms and power relations that exclude people". Despite such findings, media development, as a set of expanding communication capabilities has not featured prominently in the binary conceptualizations and debates in C4D (Jacobson, 2016).

Hence, building on Morris (2003), Waisbord (2003), Figueroa et al (2002) and Manyozo (2012) who have all highlighted points of convergence in C4D theorising, I propose to take a step back from the enduring conceptual dichotomy in C4D and argue for a reconceptualization of C4D as a contestation of discourses shaped by power, capabilities and spaces of engagement between social actors. While the centrality of power in C4D has been highlighted by others such as Servaes (2013) and Manyozo (2012), they have however adopted a functionalist and sometimes materialistic view of power as concentrated and unidirectional: flowing generally from the West and development "experts" to the global South, which is portrayed consciously or unconsciously as powerless.

While the above conception of power in C4D is valid in many respects, I, in addition, adopt a constructivist, Foucauldian view of power as place-based

discourse which by its very nature opens up possibilities of resistance. The exercise of power and resistance to power are communicative activities that occur in spaces, literal or figurative spaces of social interaction. Hence, I foreground the concepts of spaces as arenas for the deployment of hegemonic discourses, but also as enabling resistance. I also highlight capabilities as important attributes for resistance in the disputation of discourses. Taking a cue from Waisbord (2017: vi) who states that "digital technologies have upended traditional media industries and ushered in revolutionary forms of communication", I argue that communication capabilities including social capital accumulated from today's networked society has increased possibilities of voice in traditional spaces or in new "organic" ones. Seen from this perspective, C4D no longer can be best seen as a question of top-down versus bottom up. It is a question of how the intersectionality of power, spaces and capabilities shapes communication, where communication is also defined as an embodiment and vehicle of discourses in social relations.

1.2   Research Focus

I investigate the above premise by examining the nature and role of communication between various stakeholders and stake-seekers in climate-change related natural resource management, precisely the Ngoyla-Mintom sustainable forest management projects in the East of Cameroon. Therefore, C4D in the context of my study refers to communication in development interventions such as the Ngoyla-Mintom sustainable forest management projects. Climate change-related natural resource management (NRM) is a particularly relevant area to investigate this question because of the competing interests and worldviews characteristic of NRM scenarios and because of its topicality in global development architectures. Natural resources such as rivers or forests often have deep symbolic cultural value to its surrounding communities. In West Africa for instance, "forests serve a variety of cultural and symbolic functions…they are intimately linked with ancestry and cultural heritage. Forest

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symbols provide social structure and cultural identity" (FAO, 1990). While these natural resources such as forests have profound local significance, they are increasingly subject to governance regimes that have their origins at international level. As Bulkeley et al (2014:1) state, "the politics of climate change has been the emergence of new forms of transnational governance that cut across traditional state-based jurisdictions, operate across public-private divides and seek to develop new approaches and techniques through which responses are developed". This reality raises the potential of incongruities and discord between these globally-crafted discourses of climate-change and natural resources and local perceptions of these natural resources or of "climate" for that matter.

Such discrepancies in perception according to Rosenau (2003) are partly responsible for the difficulties in harmonizing climate change governance agendas and strategies between diverging standpoints including global and local, developed and developing countries and even between urban and rural. As Okereke et al, (2010: 83) note, internationally-sponsored forest governance regimes such as REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation, the conservation scheme that provides financial incentive to forest-dependent communities in return for their preserving their forests) are "emotive topic[s] of debate because it covers interconnected environmental, moral, cultural, political and economic aspects of both deforestation and climate change". This explains why these internationally-driven climate change-related forest governance regimes have been the site of often intense and prolonged contestations at international, national and local levels (Sikor et al, 2016). Sustainable management of natural resources entails changing practices and attitudes on the one hand, but also creating new institutional arrangements on the other. It essentially involves changing the way human societies interact with their natural environment through programs such as REDD+, climate-smart agricultural practices, conservation etc.

Natural resource management, especially common-pool natural resources is thus inherently contentious due to the diverse worldviews associated with natural

resources. Such natural resource management scenarios are often fraught with competing interests, discourses and worldviews (Van de Fliert, 2014). For instance, a given forest can be a source of energy and food to one set of actors, a cultural symbol for others, and a conservation site for others. These diverging interests and expectations in the social-ecological interface, often lead to what has been commonly referred to in natural resource management literature as "messy" or problematic situations. These often-competing interests, what Smith (2003:55) labels "value pluralisms" often are both the drivers of natural resource use and of problems associated with common-pool natural resource areas.

Yet, effective natural resource management is premised on the aggregation of the diverse and often divergent worldviews and expectations that characterize natural resource management scenarios (Van De Fliert, 2014; Reed, 2008; Bessette, 2006). Such aggregation is essentially an activity in communication, participatory communication to be exact. "Value pluralisms" in natural resource management contexts insinuate that such communication activities are in essence an encounter or a contestation of discourses. For instance, while UNREDD (the United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+)), states that "in addition to the environmental benefits, REDD+ also offers social and economic benefits" to developing countries, campaigners from the Global Alliance Against REDD, a network of forest-dependent indigenous communities arraign REDD+ as "cultural chauvinism" "reaping profits from evictions, land grabs, deforestation and destruction of biodiversity". This same trend is prevalent in other spheres of natural resource management such as conservation where, as Chapin (2004:17) observes, the programs of "the three big international organizations that dominate the world's conservation agenda…have been marked by growing conflicts of interest" between these conservation organizations and local indigenous communities.

This backdrop of contested meanings and discourses from the global to the local around climate change-related natural resource management hence provides an

appropriate starting point for re-examining the locus of communication in development interventions through the prisms of power, spaces and capabilities: how are these various discourses or meanings articulated, in what kinds of spaces, and with what facility? How can we, from a C4D standpoint, characterize the outcome of these three questions? Therein lies the central premise of this research endeavor. In the following paragraphs, I briefly trace the history of the emergence of the leading paradigms of C4D and highlight their differing conceptual trajectories. I then lay out an argument hypothesising how the intersectionality of power, capabilities and spaces provides a novel, integrated conceptual perspective to C4D processes.

1.3 Communication for Development: A Brief History of Conceptual Dualism

Over the last five decades, attempts at characterizing the role of communication in development have undulated between definitions: initially characterised as development communication (Devcom) in the 70s, then as communication for development (C4D) in the 80s, and today as communication for social change (CSC). These re-brandings notwithstanding, a persistent thread has been a struggle among communication and development scholars and practitioners to find a fitting definition and role of communication in development processes. Although some attempts have been made to bridge the theoretical divide between the modernization and participatory paradigms, and despite the fact that "the two are not polar opposites" (Morris, 2003:227), the field of C4D has over the last six decades, evolved roughly along two succeeding theoretical and methodological trajectories.

Earlier models of communication for development, of the 60s advocated by US communication scholars such as Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962) and Wilbur Schramm (1964) were premised on the modernization view of development, which prioritized technological advancement and economic growth as the answer to "underdevelopment". Hence, the modernization view of C4D.

According to this paradigm, it was the purpose of communication to bring "traditional" societies of the "Third World" into modernity. Modernization as a concept in development has been associated with US President Harry S Truman's Marshall Plan declaration in 1949 that "we [the United States] must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas". Modernization was thus essentially an approach to development rooted in Western neoliberal economic thought, based on rationalism, positivism and individualism (Mansell, 1982; Melkote & Steeves, 2015). Accordingly, the role of communication in this context was viewed as enabling the transmission of knowledge from the Western developed countries to the underdeveloped countries; which knowledge would overcome impediments to development.

Underlying this reasoning was a belief that lack of information was a major cause of underdevelopment. Hence, providing people in developing countries with information through the mass media, it was reasoned, would consequently lead to the adoption of new modern ideas. Also implicit in the modernization approach is the notion that attitudes in underdeveloped countries were a barrier to modernity and these attitudes needed to be altered with the use of the mass media. To aid in this process Everett Rogers's (1962) diffusions of innovations theory sought to explain why and how people adopt new ideas and the role of the mass media in this process. The diffusion of innovations theory crystallised the perception of attitudes as impediments to modernity by categorising social actors in a range from "innovators" and "early adopters" to "laggards". For instance, the KAP (Knowledge, Attitude, Practice) framework of some C4D interventions, like health behaviour-change communication highlight the behaviour-change purpose of the diffusion model. The KAP framework according to Valente et al (1998: 368) assumes that "individuals first learn about a practice, then develop a positive attitude toward it, and after passing through these stages, engage in the behavior". In short, the modernization paradigm was a mediacentric approach that privileged information dissemination as a pathway to modernity for

underdeveloped nations whose backwards attitudes were keeping them mired in underdevelopment.

The failure of the modernization paradigm to change the economic circumstances in developing countries (Mansell, 1982; Servaes, 1986) revealed the inadequacies of this approach and led to increased questioning of modernization and the role of communication therein. By the 70s modernization-inspired C4D approaches were critiqued by critics from developing countries as rooted in "alien premises" and consequently bore an "insensitivity to contextual and social-structural factors in society" (Ramiro Beltran, 1976:108). Modernization-inspired communication practices were considered exogenous, paternalistic and patronising towards "subjects" or "beneficiaries" of development. As a counter argument to the modernization paradigm, participatory bottom-up communication inspired by the ideas of thinkers from developing countries such as Paolo Freire were foregrounded as the alternative, based on the idea that true development must be endogenous as opposed to being externally directed (Servaes et al, 2005; Bessette, 2004; Dagron, 2009).

Internationally, calls for a departure from the modernization paradigm spearheaded by developing countries gave rise to calls for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) aimed at moderating the dominance of the West on global information flows and enable developing countries have a greater input in global information and communication flows. This was one of the justifications for the Macbride Report: Many Voices, One World (1980) which emphasised the need for a more balanced communication order globally. The Brundtland Report (1987) similarly redefined development as a multifaceted process requiring the involvement of local people as one of the defining features of the sustainable development paradigm. These developments and many more would over the next two decades occasion a shift in the theorization of C4D from the dominant modernization paradigm to participatory communication as the way forward for C4D.

Today re-christened as Communication for Social Change (CSC), current C4D theorizing is largely premised to varying degrees on participatory ideals, highlighting, in the process, its critical role in "fostering dialogue, ownership and the active participation of stakeholders in development programmes" (ComDev, 2014:1). According to the World Congress on Communication for Development (2006), communication for development is "a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. It is not public relations or corporate communication". A defining attribute of this and other current references to communication for development and in development discourse in general is the emphasis on participatory methods (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). This approach it is argued, facilitates social learning, encourages democratic citizenship, empowers local communities and ensures the sustainability of programmes (Bessette (2004), Dagron, (2009).

While there is evidence to support some of the above assertions, participation has been critiqued as idealistic and hard to achieve. Pioneering proponents of models of participation such as Arnstein (1969:217) point to limitations of her typology of participation and to "significant roadblocks to achieving genuine levels of participation". Others such as Dutta (2011) have arraigned participation as a conduit for Western hegemony, since it finds its roots in Western neoliberal democratic ideals. And like other characterizations of participation, the above definition of C4D does not for instance account for disparities in power between different social groups or between social actors. As Wilkins (2014:62) argues, participation entails a "pluralist view of communication in which individuals are assumed to have equal access to political capital and the capacity to enact change". But most often, power as discourse and as materiality, influences who can say what, when and how, especially in developing countries. The very notion of being invited to participate connotes an exercise of power according to Kothari (2001). Even though this emphasis on participation has been critiqued by some as "the new tyranny" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), and "superficial revisionism"

(Mansell, 1982), theorizing in the field of C4D has largely evolved as a juxtaposition of the two paradigms: Participatory vs modernization, as I explained above with Dutta's (2011) culture-centred approach and Tufte's (2017) "participation cum culture-centred" approach. Such enduring binary thinking is the prevalent feature of the field of communication for development.

1.4   Aim of Research

Having laid out this backdrop, in this research I propose to take a step back from this binary conception of C4D to interrogate this dualism by examining the positionality of C4D as a process embedded at the intersection of power, capabilities and spaces. The main thrust of my argument here is that in addition to conceptualizing C4D as participatory or modernization, examining issues of power, capabilities and the spaces in C4D processes opens up possibilities of conceptualizing C4D, as a co-created process in which communication is instrumentalised by competing discourses in constellations of spaces enabled by power and capabilities. In doing this I employ an analytical framework that builds on the works on power and spaces by Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2006) which both highlight the connections between power and spaces. Another cog in my analytical framework integrates Sen's (1999) capabilities approach which underscores the centrality of communication in the articulation of social preferences; where such articulation is construed as policy advocacy (Waisbord, 2015).

In employing this framework, I hope to begin to fill gaps in how C4D is currently conceptualized. One of these gaps is in the way power has been conceptualized in C4D thinking. There have been some calls for a rethink of the field of C4D to analyse the cardinal role of power in C4D (e.g. Tufte, 2017, Mansell & Manyozo, 2018). Some of such calls have highlighted the role of power as discourse and the manner in which such discourses shape C4D practice. For instance, Thomas Pradip (2015:71) argues for a rethink of C4D (or Communication for Development and Social Change, CDSC as he calls it) "based on a theory of knowledge, a

specific understanding of process that feeds into practice, a knowledge of structures, a specific understanding of context and flows of power". This research builds on these invitations for analysis of the role of power in C4D. Specifically, on the work of Manyozo (2012), who contends that the debate over the modernization versus participatory communication approaches overlooks the critical issue of power in the determination of development policy and the implication this has for C4D processes.

Thus, rather than the focus on the modernization/participatory dichotomy, analysis of communication for development should rather be attentive to the way power shapes development agendas and by consequence the role of communication therein. As Manyozo (2012:222), states, "it [C4D] is no longer a question of relevant technologies or local contexts, nor is it a question of top-down or bottom-up approaches. It is a question of how power (as in delegated authority) figures in the political economy of both development and communication". According to Manyozo therefore, a thorough analysis of the role of communication in development ought to go beyond the participatory/modernization cleavage and render a corresponding attention to the way power shapes development policy and the manner in which this impacts communication.

This implies that analysing C4D from the prism of power, and power as discourses (different ways of constructing reality), enables us to go beyond analysis of what media messages do to people (as in diffusion) and to examine the way knowledge is constituted and used as posited by Thomas Pradip (2015). To further this line of argument, analysing C4D from the prism of power also allows us to examine spaces (of participation or non-participation) as communicative arenas of the deployment of power: who creates such spaces, who is allowed in such spaces and with what discourses? As Manyozo (2012:206) astutely puts it, examining issues of power in C4D necessitates attention to "who is speaking. How are they speaking? …And for those who are

not speaking…who or what is preventing them from speaking? Do they want to speak? Have they ever spoken?"

But a caveat in Manyozo's argument is that he seems to conceive of power as fixed and predetermined by structural factors in the way of Giddens in his structuration theory of power. In this way, his argument mirrors the critiques of the modernization paradigm, and indeed much of the way power is addressed in development literature (e.g. Escobar 1995), through the indictment of unidirectional power flows from development experts from the Western countries and development planners to local communities in the global south. Global climate change governance for instance is one of those areas in which Western positivist constructions of climate and policy solutions "claims both global reach and universal authority" (Hulme, 2007:5). Such understandings of climate have led to the framing of tropical forests as sinks and reservoirs of carbon, thereby prompting and justifying conservation programmes such as REDD+ (Bäckstrand & Lövbrand, 2006). Although the above argument has its merits, current trends such as the rise of activism and the increasing articulation of "multiple modernities" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010:1), suggest that the power divide referred to above is getting altered and contested at different temporal and spatial scales. Therefore, while analysis of power is important, it is equally important to reconsider understandings of power and its deployment by various actors in today's *glocal* context.

Servaes (2013:371) raises the same argument about the need to focus our attention on issues of power in C4D processes. But he suggests that communication can have either of two consequences when he contends that understanding the role of communication in development entails:

> …an understanding of the way development and social change projects both encounter and transform relationships within and between the multiple stakeholders who are impacted by such projects and an understanding of the way in which

> communication plays a central part in building (or maintaining or changing) power relationships.

Servaes here suggests that communication can play a variable role either in maintaining power relationships as Manyozo implies above, *or* in altering power relationships between less powerful actors and hegemonic discourses driving development agendas. This means for instance, how local contexts as in capabilities, permit or restrict communicative actions that rearrange power relationships should also become an issue of analysis in attempts to unpack C4D processes. The latter is one of the key questions I seek to examine in natural resource management in this research. How and under what circumstances can communication become a vehicle for altering power relations between dominant discourses and subalterns. Hence, in this work I expand on Manyozo's power model and integrate discursive spaces and Sen's capabilities approach. I then hypothesize that the positionality of C4D is at the intersection of capabilities, power and spaces.

1.5   Organization of Dissertation

In this introductory chapter, I gave and overview of the current state of theorizing in the field of C4D and situated my own research and the gap it will attempt to fill. I also introduced the main concepts I will be examining in this research. In the next chapters I continue to build my argument with a more detailed discussion of my conceptual framework. In Chapter Two I build the core argument of this dissertation by elaborating the conceptual framework underpinning this research. I start by critiquing the way power has been conceived in C4D thinking, arguing for a Foucauldian view of power as discourse, which is diffused rather than concentrated. Such a view of power I contend, implies that contrary to the predominant view in C4D that power is unidirectional, all societies possess discourses, i.e. power, which underpin social relations within these societies. And

because by its very nature power engenders resistance or counter-power, differing discourses in different societies hold a potential for contest. I then point to parallels between resistance and Waisbord's (2015) policy advocacy which as an activity in communication, also can be compared to "spaces of engagement" (Cox, 1988). I also argue that capabilities such as freedom of association and communication including access to media i.e. media development are necessary for resistance. A capabilities perspective also implies spaces where such articulations of social preferences occur. Chapter two culminates with a visual representation of my conceptual framework for thinking about C4D.

Chapter Three explores climate change-related natural resource management as discourse, i.e. power and integrates it with my discussion on power. I also overview the way communication has been approached in natural resource management, highlighting in the process, its alignment with the modernization vs participation debate. I contend that because natural resource management scenarios are inherently sites of contestation because of value pluralisms associated with natural resources, natural resource management is a suitable area to test my conceptual framework and the alternative view of C4D it proposes. Chapter Three ends with a presentation of the case study and research questions. Chapters Five, Six and Seven present and discuss findings. However, the significance of spaces and capabilities as key concepts in this research is not readily evident in Chapter Five and Six. In fact, for the reader, it may appear as though these chapters reaffirm the significance of the binary conception of C4D which this work seeks to interrogate. However, Chapter Seven crystalizes the premise of this thesis by highlighting the significance of spaces and capabilities in C4D as a contestation of discourses.

In the conclusion, Chapter Eight, I establish how my conceptual framework is useful for understanding how the nature of C4D is shaped by power, spaces and capabilities based on evidence from the study. I ultimately conclude that my conceptual model is useful for a more elaborate representation of what sometimes takes place in terms of C4D in development interventions. I show how

in addition to the modernization and participatory approaches employed in development interventions, ordinary citizens create spaces of their own from which they resist and attempt to change policy trajectories in the projects. This research therefore goes beyond the modernization/participation cleavage and provides an alternative view of C4D as a contestation of discourses in which spaces and capabilities enable resistance. In this contestation, on-going communication is multidimensional: participatory at times, media-centric at times, and networked with different sets of actors in different spaces at different scales.

Chapter Two

Rethinking C4D through Power, Spaces and Capabilities

In this chapter, I present the concepts around which this research is built. I examine power, spaces and capabilities and lay out my argument for how they together provide a conceptual framework for unpacking C4D processes. I adopt a Foucauldian perspective to power as diffuse rather than concentrated, and necessarily susceptible to resistance or counter power. Resistance, I argue resonates with Waisbord's (2015) policy advocacy and Cox's (1998) spaces of engagement, which are in themselves enterprises in communication facilitated by capabilities as described by Sen (1999). Building on Gaventa (2006) and Cornwall (2002) who have both contended that spaces are products of power and or resistance, I show intersectionality between power, spaces and capabilities. Having established this intersectionality and the locus of communication therein, a key question my framework will be seeking to answer is, what kinds of C4D processes emerge from this intersectionality, how and why.

2.1   Of Power

Power is a constitutive element of development. Power and development policy-making are intricately interlinked (Escobar, 1995). But a crucial element missing from the dialectic perspectives to communication for development thinking, is a critical theoretical and methodological analysis of the significance of power in C4D processes (Tufte, 2017; Manyozo, 2012). Even though some of C4D literature recognises power as a key element in C4D processes (e.g. Servaes, 1986; Dagron, 2009; Manyozo, 2012; Mansell & Manyozo, 2018), this recognition

is largely premised on the idea that power is unidirectional: exercised by powerful Western actors and entities through discourses on local populations in developing countries. The role of C4D in this view "is to contest the external and imperial development theories, as to whether they are relevant in much of the global south" (Manyonzo, 2012:10). Power in this context has thus been perceived as discursive but also as material.

Discursive power refers to the ways of constituting knowledge and by extension the practices that such knowledge demands or even imposes (Weedon, 1987). Foucault's (1980) "knowledge and power" thesis describes discursive power as the ways by which certain "truths" are produced and mainstreamed into social practices and tend to characterize social relations. And as some have argued, development is said to have "relied exclusively on one knowledge system namely, the modern Western one" …. which has "dictated the marginalisation and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems" (Escobar, (1995:13). It is this view of development policy-making as dominated by discourses that legitimize certain forms of knowledge and consequently certain courses of action that has underpinned the treatment of power in C4D.

Indeed, the championing of participatory methods in development and by extension in C4D has largely been a response to the inherent hegemonic characteristics of the modernization paradigm as illustrated by the works of the likes of Freire (1970) and Ramiro Beltran (1975). This hegemony and its accompanying modernization was, according to critics, a result of the power imbalance between the North and the South which stemmed from colonial and post-colonial histories (Carpentier, 2011). In this regard, participation was championed "as a strategy to counter the reduced agency of developing countries and their populations, and to increase the focus on their empowerment" (Carpentier, 2011:48). Musing about the rise of the rhetoric of participation in the early 90s, Chambers notes that its "new popularity is part of changes in development rhetoric, thinking and practice" …which has aimed at affecting "a transfer of power from "uppers" - people, institutions and disciplines which have

been dominant, to "lowers" - people, institutions and disciplines which have been subordinate" (Chambers, 1994:1). Leal (2007:1) articulates the same argument when he states that participation gained ascendance in the 1980s "as part of a counter-hegemonic approach to radical social transformation". The rhetoric of participation was thus an attempt to recast development in a manner that would moderate the imbalance of power between the Global North and the Global South.

This perspective to power has permeated the field of C4D. Manyozo (2012:10) contends that "the central idea of development communication, therefore, is to contest the external and imperial development theories" [from the West]. "Power as an analytical praxis" according to Manyozo (2012:204) is critical because it for instance "enables us, to focus on how media and communication systems of donor countries influence and determine the kinds of development projects that are funded as well as the levels of multi-stakeholderism in the design and implementation of media projects and policies". This view of power as unidirectional is not restricted to critiques of the modernization paradigm within C4D.

Even the much-advocated participatory approaches to development and C4D, have been critiqued as purveyors of Western ideological hegemony. Cooke & Kothari (2001) labelled participation "the new tyranny". Dutta (2011) argued that the much-embraced participatory development discourse is a projection and an extension of a neo-liberal project of domination. "Development discourses, including their later incarnations incorporating culture and participation, serve as vehicles for capitalist market promotion. These new forms of planned social change communication, scripted in the narratives of local empowerment, community-based participation, and entrepreneurship, work systematically to erase subaltern communities" (Dutta, 2015:123). Such critics have argued instead for culture-centred approaches to C4D, that are framed around local cultural histories and memories. Thus, the conceptualization of power in C4D, be it against the modernization paradigm or against the participatory approach,

currently seems to view power mostly as unidirectional, flowing from the West to the global South.

But while these assertions may be helpful and discursive power is inherent in the modernization paradigm, one problem with the above representation of power in C4D however, is that it characterises power as fixed and possessed by one set of actors. Such power usually, is in the form of Western-inspired discourses dispensed in top-down manner or disguised as participation, to subalterns in developing countries. As Dutta (2015:123) states, "pivotal to the idea of communication in this frame-work was the imagery of the passive Third World subject, depicted as a receptacle of traditional traits, and as the target of top-down interventions of development, rooted in West (read U.S.)-centric conceptualizations of linear economic trajectories to modernization". Even though some C4D interventions may still be conceived in top-down manner, it is doubtful the social actors in the Global South today can be described as "passive" recipients of these top-down messages.

The point I want to make here is that conceptions of power in C4D research (and to some extend in development research in general) should be able to recognise that power is not necessarily only unidirectional: from the North to the South. As Gaventa (2003:18) argued, there is the need to "acknowledge not only the power of discourses to shape actors and local situations but also the ability of actors to strategically deploy discourses to their own ends or link with other actors around such discourses in complex networks". This research attempts to make the same point by highlighting the instrumentality of communication in this process.

If we consider Foucault's argument in Gaventa (2003:1) that "power is everywhere", that "power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them", it would follow that different societies have different "regimes of truth" or ways of constructing social reality which in turn constitutes the basis of power in that particular society. "In every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected,

organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off is powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events" (Foucault, 1970: 52). In other words, social constructions and interpretations of the world and the discourses that reinforce them are placed-based and such reinforcement is designed to delegitimise or resist other discourses. For instance, differential social constructions of aspects such as gender roles, the natural environment and spirituality in different parts of the world validate Foucault's premise. Lewis (2001:6) for example, highlights differential conceptions of feminism between the Global North and the Global South. She writes that,

> black feminists, womanists and African feminists argue that women's socially- inscribed identities in Africa take very different forms from women's acquisition of gender identities in the West. In particular, the cultural resonance of motherhood as practice and icon, as well as the valorising of 'superwomen' mean that African women's official identities frequently challenge the myths and stereo- types linked to western notions of femininity

As the above demonstrates, social actors in the global south are not "passive" but possess culturally constructed worldviews or discourses. Viewed from this perspective, the issue is not necessarily who has power and who does not. The key question is how these discourses encounter each other in development and the locus of communication in this process. This implies examining how power is manifest in the mediated and non-mediated communication practices of various stakeholders especially in cases of externally-directed development interventions in the global South. It also entails, examining how local populations experience these manifestations of power as phenomenology. And since power opens up possibilities of resistance, examining the possibilities of resistance among local populations and the locus of communication in such resistance is imperative. This also means that local contexts that enable or disable resistance cannot be discounted as Manyozo suggests above.

2.1.1 A Closer Look at Power

Power has been theorized in a number of ways (e.g. Giddens, 1984; Lukes, 2005). Power has generally been represented as an aspect of domination; often associated with coercion, authoritarianism and injustice. But in what Chambers (2006:107) terms the "pedagogy of the powerful", the exercise of power has potential for "win-win" outcomes for both the powerful and the powerless. Lukes (2005:62) notes that there is some disagreement about how to define power; observing that it is a "polysemic" concept that "we use in countless different ways in different contexts for different purposes". A widely held notion, however, is that power is not something people possess (Foucault, 1980; Gaventa, 2006). Power is manifest and constituted in social relations. That is what Arendt (1958:201) means when she writes that "the only indispensable material factor in the generation of power, is the living together of people". Foucault's (1980) seminal works on power highlighted the fact that power is constituted in social relationships. Foucault essentially argued that power is not something some people wield. Power, according to his argument acts on social actors and also produces them. In order words, power acts through us and produces us as social actors, shaping our perceptions, actions, preferences and sensitivities.

Two different perspectives exist on the way power is distributed in society. From a political science or "pluralist" standpoint, power is more or less fairly distributed in society. This perspective is encapsulated in Dahl's (1957) thesis which assumes that power can be exercised through political participation and mobilization. On the other hand, a sociological view suggests a Marxian or elitist perspective to power. That is, society is divided between the powerful and the powerless. The powerful according to this reasoning, hold sway over the powerless partly through hegemonic ideology which perpetuates the dominance of certain ideas and practices over others. Such dominance is supported by a "false consciousness" perpetuated by media, education and other modes of socialization. These views on power are not mutually exclusive and tend to coexist and quite possibly reinforce each other. In fact, these and other

perspectives on power it could be argued, are extensions and operationalisations of Foucault's definition of power.

Foucault's "knowledge and power" thesis argues that power is not dependent on structure or agency but produces and embodies agents through often localized "regimes of truth": locally accepted ways of being. Thus, power is rooted in local worldviews and constitutes local worldviews and by extension, local actors. This amplifies the view that there is hardly a clear cut way of defining power. Lukes (2005:63) concludes that power is a "dispositional concept, comprising a conjunction of conditional or hypothetical statements specifying what would occur under a range of circumstances if and when the power is exercised". In his "three faces of power" treatise, Lukes (2005) characterises power as visible, hidden and invisible. These categorizations which are also sometimes referred to as the manifestations of power, can be said to be an attempt to operationalise power as a concept. I employ the three faces of power as an additional framework for examining the nature of power in C4D processes in this research.

In this research endeavour, I subscribe to the Foucauldian conception of power, which is conceived as fluid, possessed by no one, acting through and constituting its agents. This perspective is shared by Gaventa (2006:24) who notes that power "is not a finite resource; it can be used, shared or created by actors and their networks in many multiple ways". Viewed from this angle, power is both the discourses and institutions (laws, bureaucracies, customs and traditions) that serve to sustain a particular worldview or particular worldviews.   But power is not necessarily all negative, although there is a tendency to view power as oppressive and coercive (Gaventa, 2003). As Foucault himself states, "we must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production." (Foucault in Gaventa, 2003:4). Thus, power can be used to empower, as advocates of participatory methods would contend as it sometimes

enables the articulation of previously excluded voices. As Chambers (1994:1) states, participation can be an "empowering process, to enable people to take command and do things themselves".

In a Gramscian or Foucauldian sense, power manifests itself through ideology or discourses which govern the thoughts and actions of social actors. Discourse here can be understood as "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them" (Weedon, 1987:108). Discourse or *Weltanschauung* (worldview in German) thus constitutes what counts as knowledge, defines the knower and what he or she may or may not do. Hegemonic ideologies and discourses are constructed and reinforced in large part through communication as Heywood (1994) and Scott (2001) have argued. This suggests that power and communication are interwoven and influence each other in social interaction. If we consider that power is activated and exercised through discourses (Gaventa, 2003), and that discourses are locally constructed ways of imagining the world, it can be construed that development is a contestation, or at least an encounter of discourses: in a general sense, between Western (neoliberal-positivist) discourses and discourses of the Global South. Or as Manyozo (2012:3) puts it, "development is a conflict, or a site of it". And if development is a conflict, or a site of it, is it construable that C4D may embody this conflict? Put another way, what is the role of communication in this conflict?

To this point, Foucault (in Gaventa, 2003:3) argues that discourse does not only enable power, "it undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart". This means that discourse also opens up possibilities of resistance through "attempts to evade, subvert or contest strategies of power" (Gaventa, 2003:3). Carpentier (2011:353) notes that "dominant articulations, whether they concern more minimalist or maximalist forms, provoke resistance and allow for counter-hegemonic practices". As an example, the discourse of the UN-sanctioned REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) has given rise to a NO-REDD discourse, a movement which

endorses and promotes a discourse counter to the REDD project. Going by this argument, if constructions of development are rooted in particular (Western neo-liberal and positivist) discourse or discourses as has been argued by many, (Escobar, 1995; Bodenave, 1976; Sen, 1999; Dutta, 2011), it implies that such discourses similarly open up possibilities for resistance to them in the Global South where the bulk of development work takes place. As Wilkins (2014:141) argues, "critical analysis of how dominant groups attempt to maintain their hegemonic control in relation to competing agendas demonstrate the potential for collective voice to enable resistance".

Taking this into consideration, if development is premised on certain discourses (Wilkins, 2014; Dutta, 2011; Escobar, 1995), and if we consider that development is a site of contestation of power or of discourses as is contended by Manyozo (2012) and (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010), what is the role of communication in these encounters or contestations? As a component of development apparatuses, can C4D similarly be theorized as involving a contestation of discourses? Because after all, C4D processes are also arguably a site of encounter between different discourses even in ostensibly straightforward cases like disease prevention.

Fairhead (2016) for instance found that even in the height of the deadly Ebola crisis, WHO health educators faced resistance from local populations in Guinea. This resistance can be construed as the articulation of counter discourses to the one promoted by health education workers. Because as Fairhead notes, these counter discourses are "actions that have their own logics within culturally shaped practices, but which contradict Ebola policy" (Fairhead, 2016:2). Even though this local resistance ultimately ebbed with the help of community engagement actions, the example above indicates that even in instances of "scientific" consensus like the origins and virulence of the Ebola fever, alternate discourses, or local "regimes of truth" subsist and compete with these positivist science-based discourses.

Thus, if C4D can be conceptualized as an encounter or a contestation of discourses, should the focus be on the modernization-participation dichotomy, or should we aim to understand the character of these encounters of discourses and the conditions that shape these encounters, especially in terms of how less powerful discourses experience these encounters and their attempts at resisting hegemonic discourses? In other words, how is communication employed by actors with competing worldviews and to what extent are these successful in mainstreaming their discourses in the spaces of encounter of discourses?

Considering the well-documented critiques of the modernization paradigm, and the questions about the practicality of participation (e.g. Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Scott, 2014), how can viewing C4D through the prism of power as discourse, and discourse as culturally situated, help our understanding of how C4D processes unfold? If power is everywhere, what is the nature of the encounter between power(s) and what is the locus of communication in these encounters? Put differently, if we hypothesize that C4D is at least partly a contestation of discourses, how can we unpack the locus of communication in this contestation, including its enabling and disenabling factors especially for less powerful actors. What contextual factors may influence "the potential for collective voice to enable resistance" as Wilkins states above? This is where Sen's capabilities treatise fits into the argument I am trying to construct. I address the concept of capabilities later. But for now, a bit more on resistance.

2.1.2 Resistance

The point of resistance needs a little elaboration. Conceptualising C4D as a contestation of power necessarily implies juxtaposed discourses competing for relevance or dominance. Resistance here can be characterised as "the mobilization of bias" (Schattschneider, 1960: 7), which entails deliberate efforts by social actors to organise and project their discourses, values, practices and beliefs over others (Sadan, 1997). Mobilization of bias is activated and aided by what Mann (1986) labels, organizational outflanking. Organisational outflanking

describes the organisation of resources and tools necessary to resist power (Sadan, 1997). For instance, the environmental activism of NGOs such as Greenpeace or the Green Belt Movement in Kenya are examples of attempts at organisational outflanking. These movements and other forms of activism usually employ strategic actions, including the production of knowledge through research and communication strategies to counter other forms of dominant discourses or power. This means that resistance to power requires capabilities necessary to mobilize, plan and organise what Foucault terms a "*dispositif*": or the "institutions, discourses, etc. that serve an overall strategic function" (Gaventa, 2003:3). Seen from this perspective, resistance is in itself a manifestation of power, since the mobilization of bias, organisational outflanking and *dispositifs* are all strategies of power. In sum, resistance employs the technologies of power (Pickett, 1996).

In C4D terms, mobilization of bias (Schattschneider, 1960) and organisational outflanking (Mann, 1986) could be likened to policy advocacy and its strategies. Wilkins (2014) has highlighted the intrinsic link between advocacy as resistance. As she states, advocacy aims at "resisting hegemonic dominance and valuing social justice" (Wilkins, 2014:62). According to Waisbord (2015:150) policy advocacy denotes "the actions of mobilized citizens to raise public awareness about social problems, engage and convince policy-makers about policy changes, and support the implementation of policies". In other words, policy advocacy denotes the actions of organized citizens acting together, creating narratives and promoting discourses to influence policy trajectories in ways that benefit them. In this process communication occupies a central position as it "represents a social and political process of contesting meaning" (Wilkins, 2014:63).

The strategies of policy advocacy include mobilisation, meetings, public demonstrations, research and the use of media. Hence, policy advocacy is essentially an enterprise in communication that incorporates both media for development and participatory communication. Attention to policy advocacy as an integral part of C4D processes, according to Waisbord (2015:151) "might help

to overcome the theoretical divide between diffusion and participatory approaches that has characterized the field", since policy advocacy incorporates both modernisation-inspired strategies and participatory approaches. Despite this, policy advocacy has received little attention in C4D research due maybe to the enduring binary conceptualization of C4D, according to Waisbord (2015). In this research I take up this summon and examine policy advocacy as resistance and as a constitutive part of C4D within development interventions.

But the very notion of resistance, as is the case with policy advocacy, presupposes a capacity to do so. I earlier critiqued the binary view of C4D for overlooking media development in theorizing about C4D. Media development provides the enabling environment for both modernization-type and participatory communication, and by extension policy advocacy. Waisbord's policy advocacy proposition aptly provides an integrated framework for theorising about C4D, but it similarly overlooks or takes for granted, media development. For instance, critical questions regarding "communication capabilities" (Jacobson, 2016) are not addressed in Waisbord's policy advocacy proposition. I therefore built on Waisbord's framework to examine the enabling factors, or the "capabilities" (Sen, 1999), that might impact policy advocacy as organisational outflanking and a form of resistance. This brings us to the question of capabilities, which I aim to argue, should be an integral part of C4D theorising.

2.2   Of Capabilities

In continuation of the hypothesis above, if "development is a conflict or a site of it" as Manyozo (2012:3) states, if C4D can be conceptualized as a contestation or encounter of discourses, and if policy advocacy as resistance is relevant in theorizing C4D as Waisbord (2015) contends, the inference is that some capabilities are necessary for actors involved in these encounters to articulate their various discourses. By capabilities, I do not simply refer to material resources, although they are important. By capabilities, I also refer to the freedoms which social actors afford to be what they want to be and do what they

want to do. This is where Amartya Sen's (1999) capabilities approach becomes a useful piece in the argument I am building. Even though Amartya Sen's capabilities approach is primarily designed to measure human well-being, they offer an instructive framework for novel analytical insights into C4D through their emphasis on agency and public debate in the pursuit of development. Jacobson (2016) has suggested the capabilities approach as a relevant framework for researching C4D processes due to the prominence of communication in the capabilities approach. I return to this later. First, a bit more elaboration on the capabilities approach.

Sen (1999) conceptualises development as freedom. Development is "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" through "the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states" (Sen, 1999:3). The central premise of his capabilities approach is that social actors ought not only to have the "freedom" to define development but must also be able to experience such development as they define it. The capabilities approach addresses the socio-political and economic, but also, personal individual circumstances that afford social actors the opportunities to lead the kind of life they value.   By freedom, Sen refers to the opportunities or "capabilities" people have to live the life they aspire to. This entails making free choices amongst a number of available options. Capabilities can for example mean the right to vote, freedom of expression, safety and security as well as accessible health facilities.

But he also cautions that having such capabilities is not enough. Social actors must actually be able to enjoy the "functionings" or "being and doings" derivative of their capabilities. For instance, a villager in rural Africa who has the freedom and will to express himself or herself on the governance of the local forest but cannot access spaces where these issues are discussed cannot be said to be enjoying the functionings of his or her capabilities. Thus, capabilities need to be transformed in to functionings for people to lead the kind of life they want,

according to Sen (1999). Sen presents this as a cyclical process in which one feeds and develops the other: capabilities are transformed into functionings, which in turn lead to more capabilities, according to Sen. For instance, media access and freedom of expression (capabilities) can have positive influences in combating corruption (functioning), which in turn lead to better democratic societies which uphold freedom of expression (i.e. more capabilities).

Kalenborn et al (2013) performed a regression analysis in a cross section of 170 countries from 2005 to 2010 as well as on panel evidence for 175 countries from 1996 to 2010 and found direct correlations between press freedom and reduced corruption. In their study, which sought to measure the effects of both democracy (voting) and press freedom on corruption, they found that democracy was not associated with reduced corruption in countries with less press freedom. On the other hand, democracy was associated with reduced corruption in countries with a free press. They concluded that "democratic elections only work in controlling corruption, if there is a certain degree of press freedom in a country, and vice versa" (Kalenborn et al, 2013:1). In other words, freedom of expression can reduce corruption, which leads to better democracy, which also leads to freedom of expression. As Sen puts it, "freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means" (Sen, 1999:10).

But the availability of freedoms or capabilities and their consequent transformation into functionings are according to Sen (1999:5) "influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education and the encouragement and cultivation initiatives". Hence, institutional arrangements and personal attributes are necessary conditions in the capabilities approach. Sen calls these "conversion factors". Institutional arrangements such as political liberties and social powers here relate to aspects such as values, freedom of association and freedom of communication. Values and discourses for instance are reflected in aspects such as gender relations within a given society. Sen's allusion to political liberties also means that social capital and social networks often accumulated

through civic associative engagement (Putnam, 2000) are another set of capabilities or basis that underlie functionings. This basis according to Sen (1999:5) allows the "exercise of people's freedoms, through the liberty to participate in social choice and in the making of public decisions". Inherent in this proposition is that a society can construct the kind of life it desires through the unhindered contestation of diverse ideas in the public sphere, obviously through communication. As Sen argues, "indeed, one of the strongest arguments in favour of political freedom lies precisely in the opportunity it gives citizens to discuss and debate—and to participate in the selection of—values in the choice of priorities" (Sen, 1999: 30).

From a C4D standpoint, and of relevance to the thesis of this research, the capabilities approach recognises that ideas or discourses are place-based and that the tussle of ideas is a necessary part of development processes. Implicitly, the exercise of power and resistance to power including its strategies such as policy advocacy are features of social change processes. It also, acknowledges the incidence of diverse worldviews in any given social change context and the agency of social actors either as groups or individually in advancing their worldviews in the quest for development. However, this process is underpinned by institutional arrangements that afford opportunities for social actors to compare ideas and worldviews in the marketplace of ideas or in the public sphere. Such institutional arrangements include a developed media environment, access to information and the like. As Sen (1999:9) states, this process is facilitated and made possible through "opportunities for open dialogue and debate (including the role of the mass media and communication)". This highlights the connections between the capabilities approach and C4D, especially when we think about policy advocacy and media development. However, according to Jacobson (2016), this linkage has been but scantily considered in current theorising of C4D.

One of the few who have acknowledged the potential that the capabilities approach holds for expanding our theorizing of C4D is Jacobson (2016) who proposes that the capabilities approach be employed as an overarching

framework for theorizing about C4D. He argues that the capabilities approach offers a definition of development that is consonant with the main elements of C4D (or CDSC as Jacobson calls it): "that development should address fundamental issues of social inequality and that citizen stakeholders should drive it" (Jacobson, 2016:805). Sen's (1999:3) characterisation of development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" through "the removal of major sources of unfreedom" resonates with the above aim Jacobson ascribes to C4D. Jacobson supports his proposition on the grounds that "the capabilities approach treats communication as being of key importance insofar as public speech plays a central role in the processes through which citizen agency should drive the collective identification of preferred capability sets" (Jacobson, 2016:199).

This means that on the one hand, political liberties and freedom of expression (read media development) or what Jacobson (2016) calls "communication capabilities" should be integral components of C4D conceptualizations. On the other hand, social actors' agency, either as groups or individually is crucial for the effective deployment of these communication capabilities in the process of aggregating social choices in the public sphere. Agency is a key factor since "capability choices are not decisions that are simply made in the minds of individuals. They are outcomes of public communication processes that are complex, which need to be understood in detail, and that must be effectively practiced" (Jacobson, 2016:807). This chimes with Sen's capabilities and functionings postulation. The implication here is twofold: firstly, an enabling media and communication environment, including freedom of association is necessary. And secondly, social actors must be able to utilize this enabling environment to articulate their preferences in the contestation of discourses as exemplified by policy advocacy. A great deal of research has been done in what Jacobson calls communication capabilities. Studies on alternative media such as Guedes Bailey et al (2007) have presented alternative media as effective self-representation channels for communities that challenge established power relations. Others such as Myers (2011) have documented the positive impacts of

community radio in Africa. However, these and other work on communication capabilities have addressed the topic as a stand-alone topic or in opposition to modernization-inspired communication, rather than as part of a broader attempt at conceptualizing the field of C4D.

My aim in drawing on Jacobson's communication capabilities is to add another cog in the conceptual wheel of C4D, which is not prominent in the binary view of C4D. My aim is to argue that conceptualising C4D requires that corresponding attention be paid to communication capabilities. This implies that questions regarding the nature of the media and communication environment are equally important. Equally important are questions regarding social actors' access to media, including associative networks in the civil society and how they employ other forms of communication in articulating their preferred choices in the face of dominant discourses. In this research I build on Jacobson's postulation to probe these dimensions, as part of on-going communication processes in my case study.

Implicit from the above illustration is that spaces for these dialogues and debates to occur are essential components of development processes. This brings me to the third cog in the framework I am attempting to construct: spaces, which I examine in the next section. Before that, let us remember that the capabilities approach also recognises that personal attributes or agency and environmental factors are in addition to institutional arrangements vital for transforming capabilities into functionings. This means that's even in situations where institutional arrangements afford opportunities, actors' personal dispositions may determine whether or not, and to what extent they can convert these capabilities into functionings. Going back to the example of the villager above, he or she may decide to not partake in forest governance meetings even though he or she has the freedom and the means to do so. Also, he or she may want to attend but may not have the means of locomotion, especially if the area lacks good transportation infrastructure. Against his backdrop, an important question in relation to C4D processes is, what sorts of freedoms exist and to what extent do social actors'

agency transform such arrangements into functionings acceptable to them? I now turn to the question of spaces.

2.3   Of Spaces

Building on the works of Manyozo (2012) and Jacobson (2016) who have argued for a rethink of C4D theorizing that captures the centrality of power and capabilities, I in this research propose a third cog to their framework: spaces. Implicit in the capabilities approach is the proposition that spaces where social actors confront their various ideas through public deliberations and social interactions are constituent elements of the shaping of social change processes. Space is an important metaphor for visualizing the arenas in which these social interactions and deliberations occur. They can be both physical or abstract places of encounter between various social actors, and by extension of various ideas and worldviews. Habermas's (1962) notion of the "public sphere" initially described the 18th century bourgeoisie Cafes where members of the public would discuss important matters of the day reported in the newspapers. The public sphere today can be construed as the arenas outside the state, including media spaces where public conversations and arguments occur between members of the public. These for example include media spaces, civil society and other associative spaces, including public demonstrations which can be construed as spaces of expression.

In development discourse, the concept of space is closely aligned with attempts at mainstreaming participation in development processes. As Cornwall (2002:2) states, the on-going

> efforts to engage participation can be thought of as creating
> spaces where there where previously none, about making room
> for different opinions to be heard where previously there were
> very limited opportunities for public involvement, and about

enabling people to occupy spaces that were previously denied to them.

In this light, the research focus as well, has examined spaces from the standpoint of participation (e.g. Cornwall, 2002 and 2004; Brock et al, 2001; Carpentier, 2011). In his 2011 book "Media and Participation", Carpentier constructs the media as a space with possibilities and constraints for citizen involvement in shaping social discourse.

Carpentier describes participation as an inherently political struggle that "manifests itself in the struggles to minimize or to maximize the equal power positions of the actors involved in the decision-making processes" (Carpentier, 2011:11). He distinguishes between participation in the media and participation through the media. Even though Carpentier does not directly examine media through the lens of space, he nonetheless concludes that "access and interaction remain important conditions of possibility of participation" in media spaces (p.354). Where "access" has to do with presence in media organisational structures (ownership and control) or simply being able to receive media content (technology). Interaction, according to Carpentier, relates to the "social-communicative relationships that are established" between social actors through participation in the media.

In other words, the communicative relationships or social capital that participation in the media engenders between social actors either as producers or consumers of media content, is a building block in the contestation of power through participation in media spaces. Carpentier's AIP model (Access, Interaction and Participation) bears significant resemblance to Sen's capabilities approach as they both highlight the opportunities afforded to social actors to articulate their social preferences as discussed in the previous section on capabilities.

Spaces generally refer to "the moments and opportunities where citizens and policymakers come together, as well as 'actual observable opportunities, behaviors, actions and interactions … sometimes signifying transformative potential' (McGee 2004: 16). Gaventa (2006:26) echoes a similar view of spaces

when he describes spaces as "opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests". These characterizations resonate with Sen's account of the opportunities afforded to social actors by the capabilities approach to influence the direction of development. Hence the possibilities of accessing spaces and creating spaces is an attribute of development, and by extension of C4D processes.

But spaces are not neutral. Spaces are not void of power relationships. "Space is a social product … it is not simply "there", a neutral container waiting to be filled, but is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (Lefebvre 1974: 24). As arenas for public engagement and participation these spaces highlight the interrelationships between power and citizenship (Cornwall, 2002). In other words, power and spaces are intricately linked, since space is a product of power. As Cornwall (2004:1) states, "space can be emptied or filled, permeable or sealed; it can be an opening, an invitation to speak or act". This implies that spaces can be opened or closed by social actors. Other spaces can also be organic, arising from grassroots citizen action.

The ability to open up, create or close a given space is in itself a manifestation of a form of power: "Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence" (Arendt, 1958:200). But without spaces, power ceases to exist according to Arendt: "Only when men live so close together that the potentialities of action are always present can power remain with them" (Arendt, 1958:201). This does not however mean that social actors must always be in close proximity for them to have power. Spaces can be physical or abstract. Being and acting together; creating a space generates power that sustains the space even when that physical space of action ceases to exist, as Arendt argues: "what keeps people together after that moment of fleeting action has passed, and what at the same time, they keep alive by remaining together, is power" (Arendt, 1958:201).

Put differently, power creates spaces, spaces are necessary preconditions for power and power maintains spaces. If communication or some form of arrangement, what Arendt calls "organization", cease after the space is created, its actors loose power. For instance, a street protest might have power in the moment of the protest, but if its members disperse and don't maintain communication or some form of organization when they disperse after the protest, they lose the space and the power that came from acting in that moment. The London protests against US President, Donald Trump was a manifestation of power as tens of thousands of protesters converged in London during his visit to England in July 2018. But in the aftermath of the protest, after the "space of appearance" as Arendt would say, of the protesters faded, that momentary power seems to have faded as well. This means that a certain organisation and communication between social actors is necessary for a space (i.e. power) to occur and be maintained. While the concept of spaces conveys spatial imageries of actors interacting in a given physical setting, spaces are also shaped by their temporal nature. I will be delving into a typology of spaces further in the next section.

The interrelationships between power and spaces can further be uncovered by examining the nature of spaces: who creates a given space? Who owns it? Who can enter the space and in what capacity, with what discourses? As has been argued by Foucault in his "conduct of conduct" treatise, discourses permeate space thereby determining what can be said and done in a given space. Lefebvre (1974: 73) emphasizes this notion of space as imbued with power relations when he states that "social space is what permits fresh actions to occur ... while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others". For instance, in development practice, discourses such as gender labels and categorizes social actors as women or youth, creates and fashions the spaces in which these groups can appear and also the discourses they can hold. Thus, power not only creates and maintains space, it also helps determine the actions and discourses of actors within that space. Going back to the argument that power is everywhere, this means that the multitude of discourses that characterize society constantly create

and shape different spaces. Consequently, examining the nature of citizen involvement in spaces requires that we pay attention to the "dynamics of power that shape the inclusiveness of participation within each" space (Gaventa, 2004:37). This constitutes one of the research objectives of this work.

2.4   Typology of Spaces

According to Gaventa (2006) spaces can be categorized as "closed" and "invited" spaces. Whether or not a given space is closed or invited has significant bearings on inclusiveness and participation in these spaces. Cornwall (2004) on her part talks of "organic" spaces: spaces that emerge from below through grassroot citizen action. I examine these spaces in a little more detail below.

2.4.1   Closed Spaces

Closed spaces generally refer to the decision-making spaces, often products of bureaucracies, where policy actors (experts, administrators etc.) craft policy out of the view or reach of ordinary citizens. Cornwall (2002) calls them "regularised institutions" which are bounded, and solely aim at advancing the state's discourse and policy positions.   It refers to the state bureaucracy and its attendant institutions and employees operating under a particular discursive position or positions "that bound what can be discussed and frame versions that emerge" (Cornwall, 2002: 18). Closed spaces can also be viewed as those internal spaces (board rooms, government departments, directorates etc) provided by the bureaucracy where functionaries make policy decisions without having to consult with the members of the public (Chambers, 2006). Apart from functionaries of the bureaucracy, most citizens usually do not have access to these spaces, unless invited to participate in them. Closed spaces can thus sometimes become invited spaces.

2.4.2 Invited Spaces

Invited spaces generally seek to align with participatory ideals. According to Gaventa (2006:26) invited spaces are attempts "made to widen participation, to move from closed spaces to more 'open' ones". These attempts usually produce other spaces in which citizens partake in the policy process. Public consultations whereby policy actors invite local populations to get their input on a given policy issue, are an example of such opening-up of closed spaces and usually serve some participatory objective. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), which aim "to give voice to those who are left out and to make their reality count" (Chambers 1997b: 174) is one of the most widely-recognised forms of invited spaces. In PRA processes, "outsiders are convenors, catalysts and facilitators to enable people to undertake and share their own investigations and analysis" of a given problematic situation (Chambers, 1992:13). Media, as invited spaces also afford citizens opportunities to influence social discourse. According to Carpentier (2011:147) "the media sphere is one that allows citizens to participate in public debates and to deploy their discursive powers by voicing their views" and even resisting hegemonic discourses. As Cornwall (2002:9) states, "spaces produced to lend legitimacy to powerful interest can become a site for the expression and expansion of the agency of those invited to participate". Hence invited spaces are efforts at giving ordinary citizens a voice in policy processes, but also potentially constitute opportunities and arenas of resistance.

A subset of invited spaces is what Cornwall (2002) calls "fleeting formations". These are temporary spaces opened for the sake of deliberation of some policy issues but not with the aim of taking any major decisions. Public consultations are an example of such temporary spaces, which disappear after the purpose for which they were created ends. However, some of these spaces may go on to become institutionalized practice or may "exist only as ephemeral events that dazzle with promise, then fade away" (Cornwall:2002: 19). This implies that, while such spaces might present members of the public opportunities to articulate their preferences, such preferences likely do not have significant bearing on the final

policy decisions. As Cornwall (2002: 19) states, "despite their mercurial possibilities, these are liminal; it is their very conditional, transitional, fleeting nature that makes them "sites of radical possibility" as well as for maintenance of the status quo".

This nebulousness of some invited spaces, as arenas for the expression of citizen voice has led to critiques by some (e.g Arnstein 1969; Pateman, 1974; Kothari, 2001). A common charge is that final decision-making in such spaces is seldom influenced by the invited citizens. Another foremost charge is that even when citizens are invited to participate in these spaces, the subjects of debate and participants are selected based on some criteria defined by the power-holder's (usually the state) overall strategic goal. Depending on the level of citizen involvement, participation in these spaces has been characterized, amongst others, as "minimalist" and "maximalist" (Carpentier (2011). In her "Ladder of Participation" model, Arnstein (1969), categorizes participation in these invited spaces on a range from nonparticipation, tokenism and citizen control (with nonparticipation being the lowest form of participation and citizen control being the highest form of participation). She critiques most forms of citizen involvement in invited spaces as an "empty ritual" which serves to legitimise the powerful while maintaining the status quo of unequal power over decision-making between policy actors and citizens. Others, such as Burns et al (1994) labelled such ephemeral forms of citizen involvement in invited spaces as "customer care" "civic hype" and "cynical consultation".

In a similar fashion, other critiques have associated invited spaces as arenas of participation to the perpetuation and even amplification of existing unequal power relations between social actors, especially between policy actors and local populations. Kothari (2001:142) contends that participatory approaches are liable to "encouraging a reassertion of power and social control not only by certain individuals and groups, but also of particular bodies of knowledge". In her view, participatory approaches (invited spaces) can lead to "inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity" with hegemonic discourses by including people

who might otherwise benefit most by challenging existing power relations. Considering Foucault's knowledge and power thesis, and Lefebvre's postulation that space is a product of power and of control, it would follow that despite their participatory intent, invited spaces in development interventions processes are arenas in which dominant discourses sometimes reaffirm their dominance, albeit in a less obtrusive manner. Put another way, invited spaces are arenas where Lukes's "invisible power" or "hidden power" is sometimes manifest and exercised. Thus, despite its alleged empowering objective, invited spaces can sometimes be disempowering. Conversely, despite the view that invited spaces may serve to reassert existing power relations or inclusionary control, invited spaces may also provide opportunities for less powerful actors to reverse power relations. This is what Foucault labels the "strategic reversibility" of power; that is exploiting the exercise of power, to counter power.

2.4.3 Organic/Created Spaces

On the other end of this spectrum of spaces, are spaces that emerge from "below", created through citizen action out of a shared common set of goals or interests. Cornwall (2002:24) describes these as "organic spaces" which come into being "out of sets of common concerns or identifications" or "as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue-based concerns". These spaces which may range from local community groups, to community media, protests and online platforms to civil society organisations are created to promote or defend shared interests of its members. Organic spaces bear similarity to what Freire (1970:88) alludes to when he states that, in order to fend off hegemonic powers, "those who have been denied their primordial right to speak their word must first reclaim this right".   This form of space-creation has grown considerably over the last two decades, fuelled by the dawn of what Fung and Wright (2001) label "empowered deliberative democracy". The dawn of "empowered deliberative democracy" has recast the relationship between the state and citizens by engendering the creation of new spaces for citizens and the state

(Cornwall, 2002). In the same vein, the exponential expansion and democratisation of means of communication, the growth of civil society and the mushrooming of national and transnational social movements has altered the character of civil discourse in areas such as health, human rights and democracy across the globe. These new developments have injected new actors and "multi-vocal narratives…. that have moved beyond traditional political claims for representation and instead touch on a fundamental emotional need to feel included in processes of change, especially processes that affect peoples' own lives" (Tufte, 2017:24).

Social movements and other civil society actors represent alternative discourses, challenge entrenched power and spur change in societies across the globe. The Occupy Movement and the *Tahrir Square* in Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring revolution are examples of citizen-created spaces. In Africa, movements such as the Green Belt Movement in Kenya have been instrumental in changing discourses in the domains of environmentalism and gender by "valuing the knowledges and ecological literacies already present in rural African women's communities and sponsoring ecological literacies that sustain women's livelihoods" (Schell, 2013:586). In Burkina Faso, the *Balais Citoyen* (Citizens' Broom) movement helped mobilize and spur a popular revolt that unseated the long-serving president Blaise Compaoré after he attempted to change the constitution to run for another presidential term even though he was constitutionally not allowed to.

In Cameroon, a spontaneous movement, similar to the Arab Spring uprisings, is seeking to redress perceived marginalisation of the English-speaking minority by the Francophone majority. These movements like many others, employ diverse communication tools and strategies, to create spaces or enter spaces where their discourses can be heard and influence change. The "multi-vocal narratives" are today sustained due in large part to the internet which has immensely democratized the production, dissemination and consumption of media content. Going back to Sen's capabilities approach, the internet has increased the freedoms, the communication capabilities, available to citizens across the globe.

Castells (2012) presents an account of how social movements and citizen movements have successfully employed the internet as a tool to counter power. This again provides grounds for a rethink of how we conceptualize C4D, as Obregon et al (2017) have argued.

However, spaces do not exist in isolation from each other. The dynamics between invited, closed or organic spaces produce overlaps and offer possibilities for resistance, especially in the case of invited spaces (Cornwall 2002). Cox's (1988) distinction between "spaces of engagement" and "spaces of dependence" captures the interrelations between different spaces and how the agency of social actors can broaden the scope of spaces in efforts to resist dominant discourses. Spaces of dependence denote "those more-or-less localized social relations upon which we depend for the realization of essential interests and for which there are no substitutes elsewhere" (Cox, 1998:15). According to Cox, although spaces of dependence are localized, they are connected to other broader spaces nationally and even internationally through institutions like the administrative state, religion, or other objects of governmentality. For instance, a local forest on which some community in Africa depends on for livelihoods and cultural fulfilment is also part of a web of national forestry policy and international climate change governance discourses. Cox (1998) postulates that when these local material and psychological means of existence come under perceived threat from other discourses in the web of which it is part, local actors whose livelihoods are threatened have to mobilize to connect to other external centres of power to counter the perceived threat. These centres of power may include actors such as the media, NGOs, Government agencies, and even international institutions.

When local actors link up with other external centres of power (institutions, discourses or actors) they create another space, a network of actors, institutions and resources which Cox calls spaces of engagement. "Agents, experiencing a problematic relation to a space of dependence, construct through a network of associations a space of engagement through which to achieve some mitigation" (Cox, 1998:15). The purpose of creating a space of engagement is "drawing in

centres of social power that have decision making capacities directly affecting the realization of the objectives of agents" in resisting the threat on local spaces of dependence or "to create links with those that can exercise some leverage over that decision making" (Cox, 1998:15).

Implicit in the creation of spaces of engagement is advocacy, which is essentially an activity in communication using diverse strategies and tools. Cox's space of engagement hypothesis resonates with Waisbord's breakdown of policy advocacy which I discussed earlier. Although Waisbord does not illustrate policy advocacy in terms of space-creation, his characterisation of policy advocacy as "the actions of mobilized citizens to raise public awareness about social problems, engage and convince policy-makers about policy changes" (Waisbord, 2015:150) implies an expansion of spaces beyond the local, beyond the space of dependence. And such expansion of spaces is an activity in communication. Hence, building on Waisbord's (2015) argument that policy advocacy has not been a constitutive part of C4D theorizing, the present research will examine the establishment of spaces of engagement and its consequence on the nature of power relations between policy actors and local communities in this case study.

To conclude on spaces, today's realities such as activist civil society indicate that while policy spaces may be closed, there are indications that some of these policy spaces are being opened up for citizens to contribute to policy processes, although the effectiveness of these overtures remain contested. Furthermore, in line with Cox's spaces of engagement postulation, citizens are increasingly also creating local, national and even transnational spaces of their own which serve as platforms that have in many cases jolted hegemonic discourses and altered policy trajectories. These trends are steeply embedded in and sustained by communication processes that are both mediated and non-mediated. Such transformations mean that the diversification of spaces is an indication of changing power relations between hitherto hegemonic discourses and novel discourses emerging from local-to-global citizen coalitions.   Given this new reality, can the binary conceptualization of C4D fully capture or explain the nature

and role of communication in unfolding C4D processes in today's context described above? Put another way, how can we conceptualize C4D, especially in the cases of externally-directed development interventions, in light of these new developments?

2.5   Conclusion: Bringing It All Together to Address Conceptual Gaps in C4D

In chapter one I briefly traced the evolution of C4D and explained how conceptual and methodological polarity accompanied this evolution. I then added my voice to others like Manyozo (2012) and Jacobson (2016) who have pointed to some of the inadequacies of the binary conceptualizations of C4D. I then proposed a reconceptualization of C4D as a contestation of discourses shaped by power, capabilities and spaces of engagement.   So far, I have described the relationships between power, capabilities and spaces. I established power as discourse or discourses that permeate and shape social relations, but also as elastic since it can be shared between social actors. By its very character, power also opens up possibilities for resistance from competing discourses. Resistance is made possible through capabilities that afford social actors the opportunities to freely elect and experience the life they want. The capabilities approach acknowledges the tensions that might occur between dissimilar worldviews held by social actors or social groups in any given context and encourages open debate between these discourses. The deliberation of ideas or the tussle of discourses advocated in the capabilities approach implies and necessitates spaces: literal or figurative arenas where these conversations occur. Such spaces as I explained, can be closed, invited or organic and are also products of power and or resistance.

Ultimately, the purpose of this work is to begin to fill some gaps in current conceptualizations of C4D by integrating power, spaces and capabilities; concepts which have previously been only partially explored or are absent from current C4D theorizing. In so doing, my intent is to expand conceptualizations of

C4D beyond modernization and participation, with empirical data from on-going communication between various stakeholders in the Ngoyla-Mintom sustainable natural resource management projects.

Firstly, as I have argued previously, definitions of power in C4D have tended to view power as unidirectional, generally exercised on subalterns in the global south by development experts and policy actors from the global North. In this research I adopt a Foucauldian view of power as place-based discourse, as diffused rather than concentrated and as necessarily susceptible to counter-power or resistance. Therefore, rather than viewing power as unidirectional, this research aims to expand the conceptualization of power in C4D and in so doing, argue that viewing power in this manner offers new possibilities for how we theorize about C4D.

Secondly, this research integrates capabilities, which has not featured in C4D theorizing. Capabilities here can be construed as media development, access to media and information, political freedoms and social capital accumulated through civic associative engagement. And as I have earlier pointed out, capabilities such as a developed media and communication environment have not featured prominently in the binary conceptualization of C4D. This research intends to fill this conceptual gap by positioning capabilities as a key element in C4D, where communication as policy advocacy constitutes a vehicle for articulations of competing discourses about development trajectories.

Thirdly, the binary conceptualization of C4D as participation or modernization mostly insinuates invited spaces where policy actors dispense knowledge or exercise discursive power on subalterns. Such invited spaces are also construed in the binary view of C4D as instances wherein subalterns are invited to "participate" in policy formulation. While this view of spaces might be useful, in this research I feature organic spaces as an analytical concept. By their definition, organic spaces constitute arenas of mobilization and expression of voice away from or as counter-space to the invited spaces. These organic spaces, I aim to

argue, also constitute strategies or components of C4D processes since they influence development trajectories through policy advocacy.

Having laid out this backdrop, I recall at this juncture that my ambition in this research is to interrogate the enduring binary conceptualization of C4D by situating C4D at the interface between power, capabilities and spaces. What can we learn from this intersectionality and how if at all does it influence C4D especially in cases of externally-driven development interventions?

Fig 1*: Intersectionality of C4D*
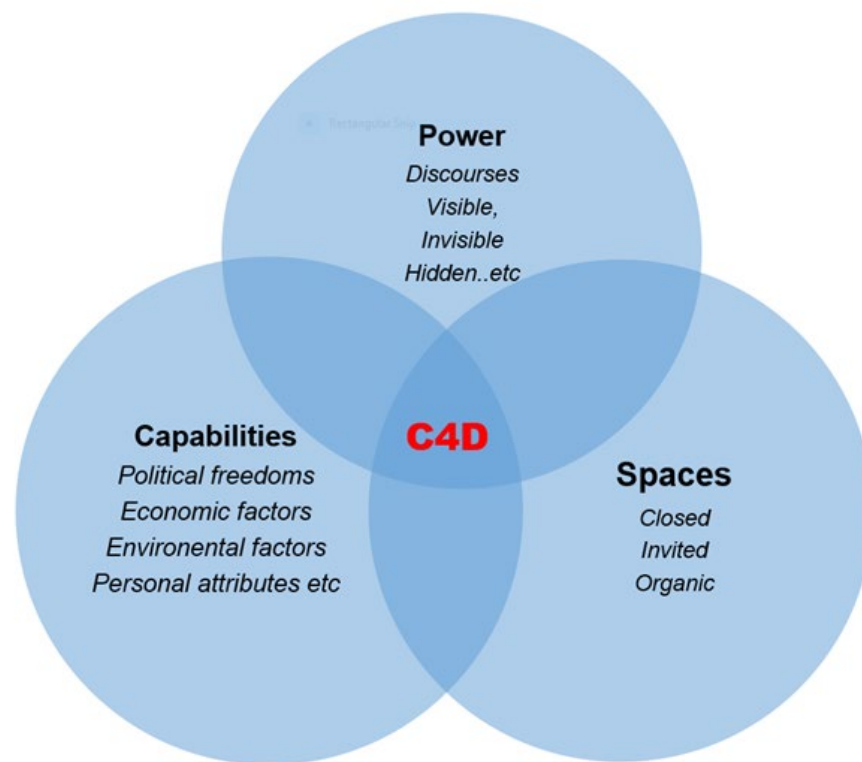
Figure 1 above illustrates the positionality of C4D at the intersection between power, capabilities and spaces. While it is important to examine the way power shapes communication in development projects as Manyozo (2012) and Servaes

(2013) have stated, it is equally imperative to understand how and under what circumstances power becomes used and shared between stakeholders and the locus of communication in the contestation of power in development interventions. Power, as discourse shapes communication, especially in aspects like climate change which is largely based on positivist techno-scientific "knowledge". Ferrari (2010:1551) for instance states that "communicating REDD rests heavily upon authoritarian and instrumental communication". According to Ferrari (ibid), "this authority and instrumentality finds its sources in the capacity of more powerful actors to manage climate change issues discursively and then to impose that discourse on local people". I expand on climate change-related natural resource management as discourse in the next chapter.

To round up this section, if we consent that power is everywhere, and that constructions of social reality is place-based, Ferrari's observation above emphasizes the need to examine the import of communication on power relations in development projects, and to, as Waisbord (2015:159) contends, "show why a politicized conception of communication [in C4D] matters". Also, given the transformations in the communication landscape, and the expansion of civil society as a significant feature of social change processes that has engendered a bourgeoning of spaces outside of the formal invited spaces, it is imperative to increase our understanding of space-creation and how this may alter long-held conceptualizations of C4D. As I argued above, current conceptualizations of C4D infer power to be static and unidirectional. In this research, I seek to go beyond this view and examine how and under what circumstances "subalterns" enter or create spaces of their own and how this may or may not rearrange power relationships between various stakeholders and the role of communication in the process.

Chapter Three

Climate Change-related Natural Resource Management:
A Case for Unpacking Power, Spaces and Capabilities in C4D

The previous chapter hinted at climate change-related natural resource management (NRM) as discourse. This chapter situates present-day natural resource management in the context of global environmental governance, with attention to climate change-related sustainable governance of natural resources particularly forests. I explore the discourses that have underpinned the development and deployment of global climate change-related natural resource governance architectures and survey a growing body of literature that highlights global environmental governance as governmentality i.e. power. I then review current conceptualizations of the role of communication in NRM, which largely mirrors the modernization vs participatory debate in C4D.

This chapter further argues that participation or modernization provide only a partial picture of NRM contexts, because NRM scenarios are often sites of contested meanings, worldviews and interests. Furthermore, NRM inspired by current discourses of global climate change governance necessarily opens up possibilities for resistance. Hence, the conceptual framework I propose seeks to uncover the role of communication in the encounter between discourses of global climate change governance and local discourses about the environment. Lastly, I present the case study and the research questions this study will examine as a means of testing my conceptual framework outlined in the previous chapter.

3.1   Climate Change-related Natural Resource Management: Origins, Discourses and Implications

There is today near-universal agreement that our planet's climate is changing: for the worse. According to the newest IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change) Fifth Assessment Report (AR5), the planet's climate continues to warm; sea levels continue to rise while atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases are at levels unseen "in at least the last 800,000 years". Such anthropogenic climate change and its already observable corollaries such as extreme weather, land degradation, depletion of aquatic resources and species extinction will increasingly jeopardize the planet's life-support systems according to AR5. The consequences of human-induced climate change have over the last few decades prompted an acceleration of multilateral endeavors to primarily take steps to prevent further anthropogenic disturbances to the planet's atmosphere and secondly to curb the impacts of climate change on socio-economic systems around the world.

Whether by sheer coincidence or design, the transformations in the global media and communication landscape has equally been matched by a transformation in global environmental governance especially as it became intertwined with climate change. The drive to tackle climate change risks and its associated effects on the planet's life support systems has led to global convergence in what Beck et al (2013:2) label "cosmopolitan communities of climate risks". This cosmopolitanism is evidenced by "new transnational constellations of social actors, arising from common experiences of mediated climatic threats, organized around pragmatic reasoning of causal relations and responsibilities, and thereby potentially enabling collective action, cosmopolitical decision-making and international norm generation" (Beck et al, 2013:2).

The genesis of this cosmopolitanism can be traced back to the 1983 World Commission on Environment and Development conference which subsequently led to the Brundtland Report. The Brundtland report prescribed that "the goals of

economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries". Such sustainable development, according to the report should be one "that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Thenceforth, a web of international and national global environmental governance architecture was progressively established as nations coalesced to tackle the newly discovered threat to mankind: climate change.

This cosmopolitanism in global environmental governance is reflected in the numerous international treaties, conventions and institutions (e.g UNREDD, the UNFCCC, the Tokyo Protocol, Green Development Mechanisms, COPs, the Paris Climate Accords etc) that permit globally-binding or multilateral arrangements for climate change governance including climate-change related NRM. According to Brand (2010:137), in the cosmopolitan community of global environmental governance, "there is little conflict among different governments that nature has to be appropriated". Rather, conflicts stem from the "how". For instance, Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and other developing countries routinely advocate that developed nations bear greater responsibility in global climate mitigation and adaptation financing.

Thus, contrary to the diversification and democratization of media and communication, cosmopolitanism in global environmental governance is characterized by international convergence regarding the causes and responses to climate change. This convergence is illustrated by the international embrace of sustainable development or what Martinez Alier (2002) calls the "gospel of eco-efficiency". Eco-efficiency as the bedrock of global environmental governance, is rooted in Western technocentric, reductionist and instrumental rationalism (Cohen et al, 1998). In this light, discursive stances such as ecological modernization and sustainable development have contributed to discourses that tend to emphasize certain aspects of environmental problems as "our common problems", thus requiring common responses (Brand, 2010; Hajer, 1995).

Hence, characterizations of climate change and responses to it emanate from particular discursive positions, namely Western positivist and neoliberal discourses (Arnall et al, 2014; Brand; 2010). According to Hulme (2007:9) "the dominating construction of climate change as an overly physical phenomenon readily allows climate change to be appropriated uncritically in support of an expanding range of ideologies". In the same vein, Bäckstrand et al (2006) contend that expert-driven climate science tends to favour certain knowledge, institutions and discourses that create and maintain certain policy dispositions while excluding others. Global governance of the natural environment is thus dominated by global pacts which find their roots in neoliberal environmentalism. Understanding this is important for understanding how climate change-related NRM policies are deployed and received at local level.

Along with the construction of climate, natural resources have also been constructed in ways that enable their management along certain discursive positions: namely conservation. A prime example is the *tropical rainforest,* which according to Scott (1999) does not exist as an object but is a myth created by Western early explorers and modern-day scientists alike. In his essay "*Tropical Rain Forest: A Political Ecology of Hegemonic Mythmaking,* Scott (1999) traces the historical origins of the concept of the "tropical rainforest", from early European explorers to its successful mainstreaming as a mainstay present-day environmental discourse, through naming and framing. As he states,

> The hegemonic myth of the 'tropical rain forest' is thus created. Essentially it is a European linguistic construction which has become an integral part of the Northern mindset and one which has little to do with any ecological reality or object in the tropical world and which deliberately excludes other forms and sources of mythmaking (Scott, 1999:34)

Such constructions of climate and forests can be linked to particular climate and natural resource governance discursive approaches. For instance, qualifying tropical rainforests as "carbon sinks" or "the lungs of the earth", prompts the need

to protect or preserve these resources. As Hulme (2007:6) argues, such framings induced and underpin "the institutionalizing of mitigation and adaptation as co-dependents in future global climate policy regimes". Mitigation of and adaptation to climate change have become cornerstones of "a global environmental management discourse representing a technocentric worldview by which blueprints based on external policy interventions can solve global environmental dilemmas" (Adger et al, 2001:281). This research examines such "external policy interventions" in NRM.

From a political ecology perspective, mitigation of and adaptation to climate change which stem from particular discursive positions represent an exercise of power. They are arms of a project of "green governmentality", or "eco-power" as some have argued. Green governmentality is described as the use of "eco-knowledges to legitimize certain rationales, authorities and agencies that seek new ways to control societies' interaction with its natural environment (Bäckstrand et al, 2006). And such "control" may sometimes be enacted with the acquiescence and cooperation of social actors being controlled. The case of REDD+ illustrates this. As a climate change mitigation project, REDD+ alters the way forest dependent communities in tropical countries interact with their forests by enacting restrictions on how these communities use the forest. But even though a given community may give its Free Prior Informed Consent for a REDD+ project in its community forest as is required by REDD+ statutes, even though the said community may benefit from the said REDD+ project, what may be at play is "invisible power". Lukes's third dimensional view of power articulates the argument that hidden power is at work when social actors are conditioned and prevented from having grievances by "shaping their perception, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things" (Lukes, 2005: 28). Agrawal (2005) qualifies such forest and other environmental governance processes as attempts to make "environmental subjects" of citizens.

This mirrors Foucault's "conduct of conduct" governmentality treatise, which I discussed in the previous chapter. In the realm of global environmental governance, this exercise of power has been labeled "green governmentality". Green governmentality or *environmentality* as Agrawal (2005:320) coins it, employs the technologies of governmentality as it connotes "the knowledges, politics, institutions, and subjectivities that come to be linked together with the emergence of the environment as a domain that requires regulation and protection". Conservation, REDD+, Car-free zones, emission standards etc. are examples of how knowledge comes to inform subjectivities and to govern everyday life.   The forerunning commentary points to the fact that global environmental governance today involves the construction of dominant framings that are highly resistant to alternative worldviews, are discursively powerful and have become institutionalized. The forms of discourse and policies they produce take on different characteristics at the global, national and especially local levels. For instance, atmospheric carbon-curbing policies such as conservation impacts local livelihoods. But "while national and international policies often have a symbiotic relationship, local policies have a different driving force and often take different dimensions" (Gupta et al, 2007:146). One of such dimensions and of relevance to this study, is the nature of communication. Considering this, how is this discursive power mirrored in communicative practices of policy actors in NRM, especially at the local level?

On the other hand, in my characterization of power in the previous chapter, I argued that different societies have different constructs of social reality and that such constructs or discourses constitute power within those societies. Thus, despite technocentric Western hegemonic framing of climate and natural resources and cosmopolitan convergence on responses to climate change and the environment, policy interactions at local level occur in value-laden contexts. Such value-laden contexts include localized conceptions of climate and natural resources, including livelihoods, spirituality and wellbeing. Local epistemologies and ontologies around climate and natural resources have been constructed, reinforced and institutionalized over centuries. These epistemologies and

ontologies, or "traditional ecological knowledge" (Colding et al, 2003), accumulated from historical interactions defines how local communities interact with and perceive the natural environment and its associated risks. As Beck et al (2013:3) state, despite global characterizations of climate change risks, "risk conceptions retain distinctive political-cultural features as their respective meanings are prefigured by path-dependent pasts". Such cultural realities can be linked to cultural cognition, which in most cases means that local interpretations of nature and climate differ from the Western reductionist conceptions on which NRM policies such as REDD+ are based (Adger et al, 2001).

Cultural cognition denotes how group values influence perceptions of issues such as risks (Kahan, 2010). These perceptions have been honed over centuries, during which local communities have employed traditional ecological knowledge in managing natural resources through locally-embedded institutions. In his study of the Banawa-Marawola region of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, Armitage (2003) finds that local indigenous communities possessed established practices and knowledge that served in the management and conservation of natural resources. These include "sanctions and taboos" and "ceremonies and social interactions that promote cultural internalization of the various practices, procedures and mechanisms" (Armitage, 2003:79). How such traditional ecological knowledge, including other local livelihood values interact with technocentric policies at local level remains at the heart of difficulties of global-to-local climate-change natural resource management efforts. These difficulties stem in most cases from the shortcomings of techno-scientific knowledge in addressing the uncertainty and complexity of socio-ecological systems, of which cultural cognition is part (Armitage et al 2009). To address this deficit, there have been calls to, amongst other things, embrace traditional ecological knowledge as it can complement scientific approaches in NRM.

In this light, NRM frameworks put forth by Berkes et al (1998) and Ostrom (2009) have proposed viewing NRM scenarios as socio-ecological systems wherein governance systems, resource systems, resource units and users are viewed as

interacting and influencing each other at different spatial and temporal levels. Other approaches like adaptive management and soft systems thinking, highlight and recommend learning by doing, flexibility and stakeholder inclusion in NRM processes (Williams, 2011; Cundill et al, 2012). A common feature of these propositions is the acknowledgement that integrating citizens, and by extension local knowledge and worldviews, is key in NRM contexts. The IPCC in its 5th Assessment Report also recommends "sharing indigenous, traditional, and local knowledge" in climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies.

These models and recommendations thus recognize that communication is central in NRM scenarios. But as Adger et al (2009:349) state, "diverse and contested values—underpinned by ethical, cultural, risk and knowledge considerations—underlie adaptation responses and thus define mutable and subjective limits to adaptation". This means that adaptation or mitigation to climate change is largely place-based, i.e influenced by local discourses. And to the point of this research which is primarily concerned with the nature of communicative interactions in NRM, "revealing the localization and spatialization of knowledge thus becomes central for understanding both the acceptance and resistance that is shown towards the knowledge claims of the IPCC" and the policies it underpins (Hulme (2007: 9). Going back to the premise of this research, if we consider for instance traditional ecological knowledge, including the worldviews and institutions that underpin them as discourse, i.e. power, what is the nature of the encounter between traditional ecological knowledge and the technocentric discourses of climate and natural resources in NRM contexts. What is the nature of encounters of the gospel of eco-efficiency and local livelihood values. In other words, how do local communities experience these externally-driven NRM projects through their cultural prism and what is the nature and role of communication in this encounter?

3.2   Communication and NRM

The role of communication in climate change mitigation and adaptation has been widely acknowledged (Van De Fliert, 2014; Nerlich et al, 2010; FAO, 2003; Röling, 1994). As a central feature of climate change governance architectures, communication plays a variety of roles including transfer of information and facilitating knowledge co-production through social learning. Effective communication of climate change (risks) and perceptions they engender are important determinants of the successful implementation of mitigation measures (Ockwell et al. 2009, Guariguata et al. 2012). NRM is both about managing the physical resource and the diverse expectations, histories, interests and perceptions surrounding a given river, or forest or wildlife. This means that managing the "wicked" problems of NRM is largely an enterprise in communication. ''Dealing with wicked problems is—to a large extent—a problem of interaction'' (Van Bueren et al. 2003:194).

Effective natural resource management, it is argued, is premised on the aggregation of the diverse and often divergent worldviews and expectations that characterize natural resource management scenarios (Van De Fliert, 2014; Reed, 2008; Bessette, 2006). Such aggregation ascribes a preponderant role to communication in areas such as facilitating information flow between various stakeholders, capacity building and consensus building for collective action (FAO, 2014). This implies that policy actors' conception of communication in natural resource management's and their resultant communicative practices are vital components and determinants of the success of natural resource management projects.

Whether or not such conceptions of communication and communicative practices are "monologic" or "dialogic" have bearings on how such natural resource management processes unfold. Monologic communication is synonymous to what Quarry & Ramirez, (2009) describe as "telling": communication analogous with the modernization view of communication for development which prioritizes dissemination of information as a means of facilitating social change.

Communication around climate change and climate change-related NRM remains technical, i.e monologic. This can be explained by its deriving and foundation in the natural sciences where positivist facts about climate change such as climate models and IPCC figures drive mitigation and adaptation policy proposals. Communicating such scientific data factually, it is reasoned, would spur eco-friendly attitudes and create public support for mitigation and adaptation policies.

As Kahan (2010:296) notes of communication of climate change risks, "the prevailing approach is still simply to flood the public with as much sound data as possible on the assumption that the truth is bound, eventually, to drown out its competitors". The consequence has been that climate change and climate change-related NRM is characterised by modernization-inspired "telling" communication. According to Bessette (2006:4), communication in NRM has "focused on the dissemination of technical packages and their adoption by end users" with the aim of prompting "buy-in". This modernization-type communication consequently overlooks the local context or the worldview of those whose livelihoods NRM policies impact.

Perez-Teran et al (2015) examined how instrumental local radio could be in climate governance of the Congo Basin. Using a theory of knowledge uptake framework, the researchers sought to test whether local communities' knowledge of climate change and forest governance issues could be enhanced through local radio. Researchers recorded 24 radio programs on selected climate change topics, played them on selected local radio stations and measured climate awareness among audience members after exposure to the recorded programs. The research found increased climate awareness among audience members that had listened to the programs. While these results may have been encouraging for the researchers, it was based on the diffusionist logic which privileges much-critiqued top-down communication in social change processes. The researchers assumed that local populations attitudes or "ignorance" constituted an obstacle or a threat to forest governance.

The research is based on the premise that such attitudes could be changed by providing the locals with "facts" about climate change. Such "objectivist" communication overlooks the notion that audiences and the meanings they construct of climate change occur in complex value-laden environments (Leeuwis et al, 2010; Wibeck, 2014). Moreover, while climate change is a global phenomenon, its perceptions are locally constructed (Ferrari, 2010). Therefore, audiences are not mere receivers of predetermined "facts" about climate change. Whether the "knowledge" gained by local people will translate into climate-friendly action is uncertain, considering that research has shown that there is little correlation between awareness and behaviour change (Nerlich et al, 2010).

Against this backdrop, "dialogic" communication is prescribed as an alternative to "telling". Dialogic communication on the other hand, or "sharing" (Quarry et al, 2009) denotes communication which allows for different stakeholder perspectives to be expressed and inputted into social change processes. This is consonant with precepts of participatory communication which views communication as a horizontal process by which meanings are actively co-constructed by social actors. The effort to adopt participatory approaches in natural resource governance systems stems from a realization that top-down technocratic management regimes have achieved little success in managing the complexities inherent in social ecological systems (Armitage et al, 2009).

This reasoning has fuelled a growing interest in the idea of increased public involvement in natural resource governance programs at all levels (Borrini-Feyerabend et al, (2004). More and more time and resources are devoted by international actors such as the World Bank and the FAO to opening up participatory spaces in NRM. The SDGs prescribes a path to development that prioritizes "inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels".   The growing number of terminologies such as Community based NRM, community forestry and decentralization all connote variations of improving participation aimed at granting ordinary people access to decision-making spaces in NRM. Efficient NRM is thus predicated on integrated approaches that involve

both policy actors, planners and the general public in the management process, (Carlsson & Berkes ,2005). This necessitates and implies dialogic communication "that is based on interactive, participatory approaches" (Van De Fliert, 2014:130). Collective decision-making, it is reasoned, is necessary in NRM scenarios where people's actions are interdependent, requires broad-based horizontal communicative approaches. Communication in this context ought to provide a "discursive space" for the disputation of narratives, negotiation of meaning and (re)production of socially accepted arrangements between various stakeholders and stake-seekers (Leeuwis et al, (2010). Bessette (2006) therefore proposes "participatory development communication" (PDC) as a framework for NRM. According to Bessette (2006:79), PDC is

> a planned activity that is based on participatory processes and on media and interpersonal communication... [It] facilitates dialogue among different stakeholders around a common development problem or goal. The objective is to develop and implement a set of activities that contribute to a solution to the problem, or the realization of the goal, and which support and accompany this initiative

By now, it is evident that the modernization vs participation debate is also a feature of NRM. However, despite the normative benefits claimed of participation in NRM, the account of its actual application has been less optimistic. Reed (2008) conducted an extensive literature review of participation in environmental governance and concluded that "few of the claims that are made have been tested" and that "although many benefits have been claimed for participation, disillusionment has grown amongst practitioners and stakeholders who have felt let down when these claims are not realised" (Reed:2008:2817). A similar conclusion is advanced by Akhmouch et al (2016:1) who in their assessment of stakeholder engagement and participation in the OECD Water Governance Initiative, remark that "there is a lack of evidence-based assessment on how engagement processes contribute to water governance objectives". This points

to the difficulties in applying the normative tenets of participation in NRM especially in cases of externally driven NRM projects such as REDD+.

For instance, the REDD+ 2010 Cancun Safeguards stresses that "the full and effective participation of relevant stakeholders, in particular indigenous peoples and local communities" must be a feature of REDD+ initiatives. But according to Evans et al (2014) despite international consensus on participatory approaches in REDD+ design and implementation, its execution at local level has tended to be problematic. Using participatory futures scenario methods among forest dependent communities in Peru, they uncover discrepancies between locally held expectations of REDD+ and REDD+ discourses prevalent in the international forest governance propositions. According to Evans et al (2014) REDD+ seems to have created a new class of powerful beneficiaries (loggers, corrupt local government officials, carbon traders etc) while the local population seems to be the losers as the forest, their source of livelihood is appropriated by a set of rules crafted without their input and indifferent to their aspirations.

A similar scenario is revealed by Mustalahti et al (2014) whose analysis of a Tanzanian REDD+ project dubbed Community Carbon Enterprise found that poor forest-dependent villagers were not sufficiently represented in decision-making and benefit-sharing in the project. Mustalahti et al (2014) employed the Empowered Deliberative Democracy framework based on REDD+ social safeguards of the COP16 Cancun Agreement to examine local participation in their case study. Interviews conducted with fifty respondents revealed that poorer segments of the community had little information or understanding about the project, were not sufficiently involved in decision-making and felt that the project had been imposed on them with the compliance of their local representatives. Though these representatives were perceived to have acted against the interest of the community they could not be held accountable by the community because the community lacked the power to do so. This highlights the fact that despite calls for participation in NRM, existing power structures within communities also tend to inhibit their effectiveness.

Even in cases where participation in NRM projects has been reportedly successful, some have pointed out that local communities have participated out of perceived material gains or as a form of subtle resistance rather than as concurrence with the discourses of global climate governance on which these NRM projects are based. In his ethnographic study of conservation projects in the Amazonian Cofán community in Ecuador, Cepek (2011: 512) found that "rather than adopting an external logic as their own," the Cofán people accepted and participated in the conservation project not out of belief in the Western notions of conservation but because of economic interests. "As long as they receive some portion of the political-economic benefits they seek, Cofán people are more than willing to devote themselves to a form of labour that they consider as burdensome and oriented to community-external rather than community-internal logics and needs" (Cepek, 2011: 512). Such findings echo Scott's (1985) "Weapons of the Weak" which highlights the subtle forms of everyday resistance through calculated conformity with dominant discourses. Thus, for local communities, participation in NRM may sometimes be "participation as a means" rather than "participation as an end".

Given that theoretical precepts of participation are difficult to implement in practice, given that global climate change-related NRM is driven by particular framings of climate change, given the role of cultural cognition and local ecological knowledge as discourse, does participation or "monologic" communication adequately capture the nature of policy interactions in NRM contexts? This question becomes more important especially in those NRM contexts spearheaded by the cosmopolitan climate community which Agrawal et at (1999:629) label "intrusive resource management strategies". Echoing this conundrum in NRM, Adams and Hulme (2001:198) argue, that "conservation, like development, is highly political, and debate about what should be done and how are inevitable". In other words, NRM ostensibly also involves a contestation of discourses.

Furthermore, while the conceptualization of the role of communication in NRM acknowledges deliberation as necessary for effective NRM, it does not critically account for the spaces in which such debates occur. It characterises spaces as mostly "invited spaces" wherein policy actors invite different stakeholders to debate around "a common development goal" as Bessette puts it in his definition of PDC. Whereas, as we know, interests, worldviews and perceptions differ in NRM contexts; meaning a "common development goal" may be hard to qualify. For instance, in their critical analysis of community conservation in Africa, Adams & Hulme (2001:198) note that "the most important questions to be asked about community conservation are therefore who should set the objectives for conservation policy on the ground and how should trade-offs between the diverse objectives of different interests (e.g. biodiversity preservation and local livelihoods) be negotiated". In other words, NRM scenarios are potentially sites of contestation, especially in cases of "intrusive resource management strategies". This is one of the reasons why NRM presents a good case for examining the central thesis of this research i.e. C4D as a contestation of discourses.

And while such contestations may take place in the invited spaces of a given NRM project, other spaces may also be created by local citizens in such contestation, as I explained in the previous chapter using Cox's (1998) "spaces of engagement" proposition. The contestations in environmental governance are for instance depicted by what Martinez-Alier (2014) labels, "environmentalism of the poor": the struggle by indigenous forest-dependent communities to safeguard their ecological livelihoods from the encroachment of techno-scientific and capitalist discourses.   Implicit in these struggles of "environmentalism of the poor" is that a multiplicity of spaces are also characteristic of communicative interactions in NRM contexts. As an example, in his study of 58 NRM conflict cases in the global South where monoculture industrial tree plantations were being established as carbon sinks, Gerber (2010) found that local inhabitants whose livelihood values were threatened by these monoculture industrial tree plantations linked up with local NGOs who filed lawsuits to contest the

encroachment of these plantations of their lands. Other forms of resistance included demonstrations and national and international advocacy according to Gerber. Taken together, these forms of resistance constituted forms of space-creation by disaffected locals with the aim of countering the plantations and the discourses they symbolized. These actions by locals, which in themselves constitute communicative acts and expressions of power, are not represented in the participatory vs modernization conceptualizations of communication in NRM or in C4D for that matter (see Bessette (2006) "participatory development communication" above). The central ambition of this work is to fill this gap in conceptualizations of the nature of communication in NRM, and by extension C4D with a focus on different kinds of spaces.

Conclusively, in this section, I reviewed the nature of global environmental governance as dominated by Western technocentric forms of knowledge. I also argued that global environmental governance can be viewed as an exercise in power, underpinned by particular discursive positions. Although these discursive positions claim global reach and authority, they are at odds with conceptions of climate and nature in much of the global south where mitigation and adaptation policies stemming from Western discursive positions are undertaken. I also highlighted the fact that communication in climate-change NRM tends to be top-down owing to the technocentric character. Participatory approaches have been prescribed as essential for NRM, but participation is difficult to implement, and participation does not imply concurrence to NRM discourses. Instead it sometimes mask resistance to dominant environmental discourses in NRM.

3.3   Research Context

This research is concerned with understanding how power, capabilities and spaces influence C4D processes and outcomes. I examine this question in climate change-related natural resource management in East Cameroon, where the government of Cameroon alongside WWF and the World Bank have undertaken what has been dubbed the Conservation and Sustainable Use of the

Ngoyla-Mintom Forest Project. As I earlier indicated, NRM contexts are often fraught with competing discourses and interests. Hence, the Ngoyla-Mintom Forest Projects present a suitable case for examining the premise of this research.

Cameroon has one of the largest rainforests in Africa. The country boasts about 21 million hectares of forest, covering about 45 percent of its territory according to MINFOF, the Cameroon Ministry of Forests and Fauna. The Ngoyla-Mintom forest is part of the Congo basin: a biologically rich expanse of rainforest covering five countries in Central Africa. The Ngoyla Mintom forest massif has been described as "one of the last chances to protect relatively intact primary forests in the western part of the Congo Basin" (WWF, 2007:47).

The Ngoyla-Mintom forest massif is a pristine forest that covers an expanse of about 1million hectares (about one third the size of Belgium) on the Eastern edge of Cameroon at the boundary between Cameroon and the Republic of Congo. The massif's rich biodiversity and strategic location linking two other forest enclaves, the Nki and Dja National parks in East Cameroon has rendered it of prime interest to conservation efforts. Its rich biodiversity makes it a potential harbour for carbon stocks if left untouched. According to WWF, the forest holds 37 species of large mammals (elephants, gorillas, chimpanzees, mandrills, buffalos etc) including 280 bird species and almost 230 species of fish. But due to perceived threats which WWF (2007) identified as arising from rapid industrialisation (mining and logging), unsustainable agricultural practices, poaching and demographic pressures, conservation and other sustainable forest management projects have been initiated jointly by the government of Cameroon and international actors: WWF and the World Bank.

3.3.1 Demographics

The Ngoyla-Mintom forest bloc is inhabited by about 12 000 people. These are mainly Bantu tribes (Fang, Djem, Nzimé) and the indigenous Baka (about 2300)

spread within 60 villages in and around the massif (World Bank 2012). The local populations around the Ngoyla-Mintom forest are said to rely extensively on the forest for their livelihoods through activities such as subsistence farming, artisanal fishing, hunting and collection of other forest non-timber products (WWF, (2007), Freudenthal et al. (2011). However, an unequal relationship exists between the Bantu tribes and the Baka, a forest dwelling people who are believed to be the indigenous inhabitants of these regions. This inequality stems from historical caste systems between Bantu tribes and the Baka. According to Pyhälä (2012) the Baka have historically faced discrimination and exploitation from the other Bantu tribes in the area. Their status as indigenous peoples is also unclear under the law. Furthermore, government-instigated "sedentarsiation" of the Baka has further curtailed their access to forests around which their whole lifeworld is built (Pyhälä, 2012).

3.3.2 Background to the Ngoyla Mintom Projects

Since 1995, a government land use plan had carved the forest into nine forestry units and froze exploitation on these units. But by 2005, the government of Cameroon was preparing to open up some of these forest units for mining, commercial logging and other exploitation. There was a planned construction of an Iron ore mining facility, including a 400km railway for transporting the iron ore to the sea terminal in Kribi (coastal town). Furthermore, the Cameroon-Congo highway that would go through the forest was being planned. These projected infrastructural developments and industrial activity caused WWF (which had been present in the area since 2000, fighting poaching and promoting wildlife conservation) to lobby the government to assign some of the forest for conservation. Three of the nine forest units were thus destined for conservation in 2010. One of them was consigned as a wildlife sanctuary while two were earmarked for conservation.

For the Government of Cameroon, the Ngoyla Mintom project not only contributes to fight climate change but it fits within its vision of sustainability as it

envisions becoming an emerging economy by 2035. The project also falls within its Strategy Document for Growth and Employment (DSCE) 2010-2020, which among others seeks to improve rural livelihoods through the sustainable management of forest resources.   The Ngoyla-Mintom project was constituted of two separate projects: The World Bank-Cameroon Ngoyla-Mintom project and WWF-EU Ngoyla-Mintom project. However, both projects overlapped, sometimes cooperated and generally had the same objectives. For this reason, I will treat them as one throughout this research as my aim is not to engage in a comparative analysis of both projects. I however think it is important to give a brief background of the individual projects.

The World Bank-Cameroon Ngoyla-Mintom project

The World Bank-Cameroon Ngoyla-Mintom project ran for five years from April 2013 to June 2017. It was launched with a $3.5 million grant from the Forest Carbon Partnership, the World Bank's Climate Finance facility. The aim of this project was "to improve the conservation and management of the Core Area (of the three forest units earmarked for conservation purposes) and improve access to income-generating activities for local communities" according to the World Bank document of the project. The core area was an area of at least 160,000 hectares, within the Ngoyla Mintom forest massif classified and managed for conservation and low-impact community use. It was selected because of its rich biodiversity, and its strategic location as a corridor connecting two existing protected areas in the massif.

According to The World Bank the "primary beneficiaries of the project will be those among this community whose livelihoods traditionally depend on the diverse natural resources within the Ngoyla-Mintom forest." Such benefits to local communities are described by the World Bank as: "support to better define and secure their traditional rights of access to the forest for hunting, gathering and cultural activities in future classification documents and management plans; improve sustainable use of forest resources through training and other support;

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and provision of alternative livelihoods initiatives for those whose use of forest resources may be restricted under future management scenarios". The World Bank project had three main components:

I. Capacity-building for government and civil society actors in participatory planning and management of designated areas.

II. Support livelihoods by providing income-generating activities and infrastructural development

III. Establishment of a monitoring mechanism for the long-term management of conservation areas.

Along these lines, the World Bank project constructed houses for the indigenous Baka and a dormitory for Baka students. It also build water bore holes and undertook wildlife education and sensitisation campaigns. The project also provided training and financing for income-generating activities for local common initiative groups. These income-generating activities included fish farming, animal farming and agriculture. The project was placed under the tutelage of the Ministry of Forests and Fauna (MINFOF) but had two other organs that oversaw its execution: the steering committee and the management unit headed by a National Coordinator. The management unit was responsible for the day-to-day management of the project and headed by what was called a National Coordinator. The World Bank project had a field office in Mintom while its headquarters was located in Yaoundé, the capital of Cameroon.

The WWF-EU Ngoyla-Mintom Project

WWF set up shop in the Ngoyla-Mintom area in the year 2000 under an accord with the government of Cameroon. It was mostly involved in wildlife protection and fighting poaching, especially of elephants for their ivory tusks. In 2007, in the wake of proposed industrial developments, WWF made a proposal to the government of Cameroon for a new land use plan for the forest massif. The land use plan was conceived based on what WWF identified as threats to biodiversity in the massif. These included increased poaching, commercial hunting,

unsustainable agricultural and logging practices, illegal artisanal mining and other population pressures resulting from increased migration into the area due to the imminent construction of the cobalt and iron ore mine within the massif (WWF, 2007). The new land use plan created protected areas and two community forests: one in Ngoyla and one in Mintom. It also proposed the creation of agro-forestry units where-in local communities could farm and hunt within the community forests.

Cameroon had in 2005 expressed its interest in participating in the Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD+) mechanism. REDD+ which includes forest conservation, sustainable forest management and forest rehabilitation activities is an international climate change governance mechanism established as a viable means of mitigating the rise of global temperatures. The scheme provides financial incentives to mostly tropical developing countries such as Cameroon, in exchange for cutting global greenhouse gas emissions by keeping their forests standing.

In its 2007 proposal, WWF also included a proposal for REDD+ and PES (Payments for Ecosystem Services) projects in the forest massif. It provided technical assistance in helping the government prepare its REDD Readiness Project Idea Note (R-PIN) and its REDD Project Proposal (R-PP). Both documents are technical documents necessary for a country to qualify for the UN-REDD administered programme. In line with this plan, WWF initiated REDD+ and PES (Payments for Ecosystem Services) pilot projects within community forests in the Ngoyla Mintom massif. It also engaged in providing alternative livelihood options to local communities. These included material help for smart agriculture such as high-yield cocoa seedlings and financing and training for animal and poultry farming. All these sub-programmes were initiated as a means to reduce human pressure on the biodiversity, since local populations relied extensively on the forest for their livelihoods. WWF also had a wildlife component to its project. It had funded the creation of eco-guards, and initially paid their

salaries. These Eco-guards were part of WWF's wildlife protection campaign; which also included education and sensitization activities.

Fig 2. Location of the Ngoyla-Mintom Forest massif
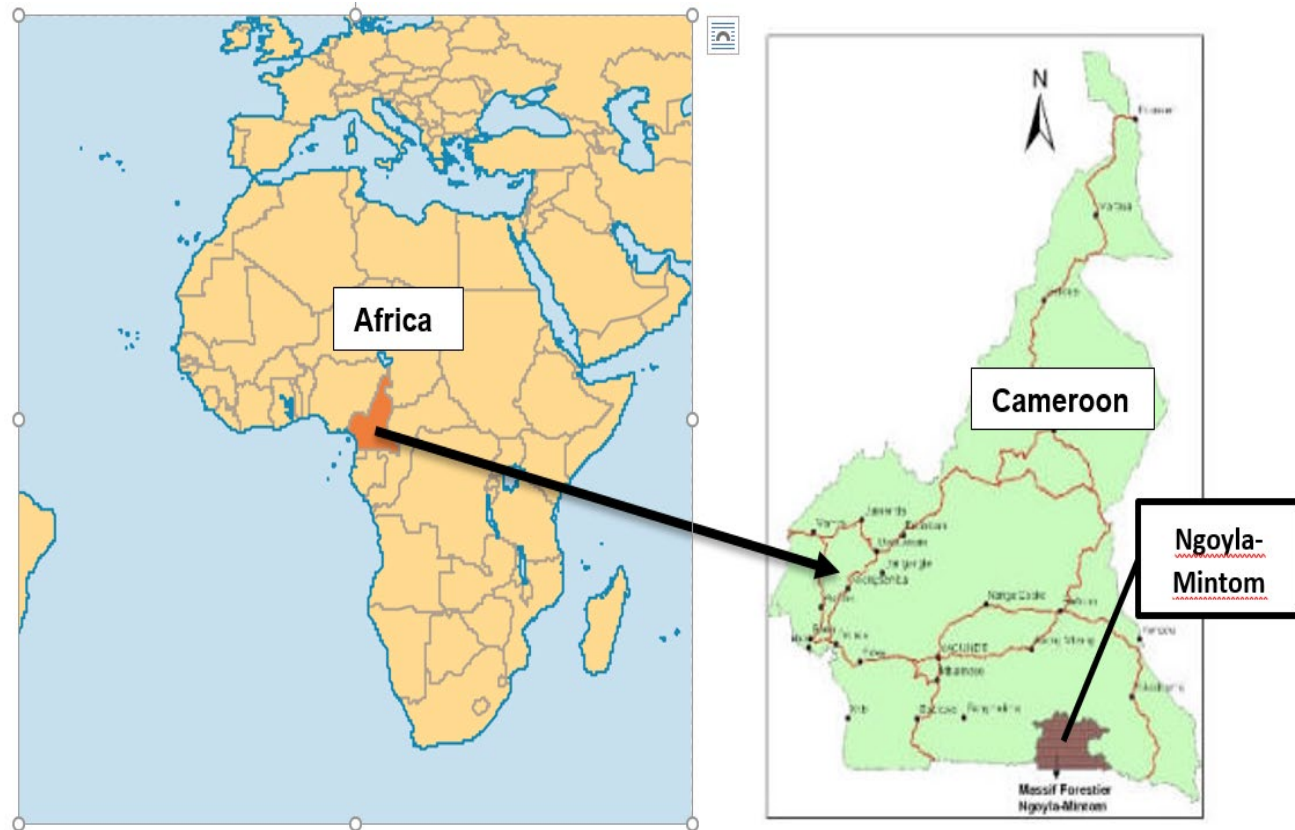
3.3.3 Research Problem

This research is concerned with examining the role of communication in the design and implementation of climate change-related conservation and sustainable forest governance projects in South East Cameroon. I seek to investigate whether and how communication re-arranges power relationships between policy actors and local communities within the Ngoyla-Mintom projects. I examine this question in the context of complaints expressed by local communities about their non-involvement, despite policy actors' pledges of transparency and local involvement in the project. In its 2011 Ngoyla Mintom

project document, MINFOF asserts that "the affected populations will participate in the design of project activities, as well as the implementation and monitoring of activities of the project" (MINFOF, 2011:6). While in its REDD+ Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP) submitted in 2013 to UNREDD, the government of Cameroon articulates its plans for REDD+ as a decentralized "participatory and inclusive "bottom-up" process that takes into account the aspirations of the local communities and of all the stakeholders" (Cameroon R-PP, 2013:1).

However, there seems to be some disagreement between policy actors and local communities about their involvement or transparency in the projects. For instance, an October-2015 petition from a consortium of thirty-eight civil society organizations under the umbrella of the Community Forest Platform decried the lack of involvement of local communities in the design of REDD+ strategies and called for "the proper and effective participation and consultation of local communities and indigenous peoples". Also, a 2014 report of the UK-based Forest Peoples Programme (FPP) which works closely with local NGOs in the Ngoyla-Mintom area notes that, "indigenous peoples' and forest communities' land and consultation rights are ignored and overridden" in the project (FPP, 2014).

Another 2014 report of the International Workshop on Deforestation and the Rights of Forest Peoples held in Indonesia, expresses the same indictment of conservation and forest governance practices in East Cameroon. In page 44, the report states that local communities in Cameroon "resent the repressive conservation practiced by the state and by international conservation organizations" (p.44). These allegations are formulated based on evidence provided by local NGOs, including some working in the Ngoyla Mintom massif. These civil society organizations have positioned themselves as defenders of local community rights in the project. They have formed networks and produce their own research reports which they use to support their claims against policy actors of the Ngoyla-Mintom projects.

Taken together, the above claims indicate a tension between policy actors and local communities in the Ngoyla-Mintom process. These tensions in the Ngoyla Mintom projects is revelatory considering the preceding discussion about the contested nature of NRM contexts and warrants further examination. Therefore, given the highlighted primacy of stakeholder engagement and participatory communication in natural resource management, this research attempts to examine the nature and role of communication in this project. In the light of the preceding discussion of contested discourses in NRM and of the difficulties in implementing participatory processes in C4D, the Ngoyla Mintom project presents an appropriate case for examining the premise of this research endeavor.

3.3.4 Research Purpose

The purpose of this enquiry is to examine the nature and the role of communication in the articulation of different claims by stakeholders in the Ngoyla-Mintom project. I aim to uncover if and how communication embodies and reshapes power relations between policy actors and local communities. I also examine how communication shapes spaces and the role of these spaces in the project. As I argued earlier, despite the recognition of the role of power in development and in C4D processes, the focus on participatory versus top-down definitions of C4D, does not adequately capture the intricate ways in which power works to shape C4D processes. Thus, a necessary step in examining the role of power in communication for development processes entails defining the nature of power in development interventions (Melkote & Steeves, 2015) and locating the communicative spaces where power is manifest. Power as discourse can be visible, it can be hidden, and it can be invisible (Lukes, 2005). These different forms of power have bearings on decision-making in social processes, and by extension C4D since C4D is a social process. However, this link is but scantily empirically addressed in current C4D literature.   Gaventa (2006) argues for a critical examination of the various "levels" and "forms" of power and the "spaces" where engagement occurs between stakeholders in development interventions.

Therefore, examining the role of C4D entails on the one hand, exploring the nature of power at international and especially national and local levels. And on the other hand, examining the relationship between power and communicative spaces between various stakeholders and stake-seekers. In other words, how does power influence the communicative spaces in development interventions such as Ngoyla-Mintom? And since power is dynamic and shifting, the flipside of the question is, how does communication influence power relationships in development processes? How and under what circumstances and with what effect do less powerful actors employ communication in their engagement with policy actors? Such examination positions communication for development at the core of the intersectionality between power, capabilities and spaces. Taking this in to consideration, the important question thus is not whether a given C4D process is participatory or diffusionist. Rather, the critical question becomes, how does this intersectionality influence C4D processes? What sort of C4D processes emerge from this intersectionality and how? Against this backdrop, this research will seek to answer the following questions:

1. How does power shape policy actors' communicative practices in the projects?
    a. How do policy actors conceive of the role of communication and what kinds of spaces are engendered by this conceptualization of communication?
2. What are local community experiences of the projects and how do local discourses of nature and the environment underpin their perception of their experiences?
3. How, if at all have spaces of engagement been created in attempts to safeguard local space of dependence.
    a. How have organic spaces influenced communication and with what effect?
    b. How can this be linked to capabilities?

Chapter Four

Methodology and Methods

In the previous chapter, I laid out the research case study, the research problem and the research purpose. This chapter is about how I delve into the case study to uncover the nature of communication within the projects and what this means for the central premise of this research. It lays out my epistemological stance and the ways in which I went about answering the questions I am examining in this research project. Avison and Fitzgerald's (1995) define methodology in research as "a collection of procedures, techniques, tools and documentation which is based on some philosophical view". Thus, in this chapter I explain how my choice of methods enables me to adequately answer my research questions. In this research I seek to understand communicative interactions between various stakeholders in the Ngoyla Mintom projects, through the prisms of power, spaces and capabilities.

In order to achieve this objective, I conducted 36 semi-structured interviews over a three-month period between January and early April 2017 with various stakeholders of the projects, including participant observation and reviewed documents related to the projects. These methods are based on my epistemological stance that knowledge is a subjective interpretation of social reality. In the sections that follow, I explain my methodological stance in this research, followed by the conceptual design of the study. Then I recount the data-collection procedure and finally explain how recorded data was analyzed. I also address my positionality and acknowledge how this might have impacted my interactions with participants and influence my interpretations in this research. Lastly, I argue that despite its shortcomings, the methods I employ in collecting data in this research sufficiently allow me to answer my research questions.

4.1 Methodological Foundation

According to Creswell (2004) the nature of the question under investigation in a research project shapes or even dictates the methodology and procedures the researcher should employ in the study. Holliday (2007:47) notes that researchers' ideological position expressed in the conceptual framework either "as agreement or disagreement with current discussion and issues" determines his or her methodological stance in conducting the research. As I have argued in the previous chapters, the enduring conceptualization of C4D primarily along the modernization and participatory divide does not account for how power, spaces and capabilities influence C4D processes. I quoted Foucault's proposition about power as discourse and argued that contrary to the view in C4D literature that power is unidirectional, "power is everywhere", which implies that every society possesses its forms of power i.e. discourses that underpin its functioning. I also highlighted the centrality of capabilities and spaces and argued for their consideration in C4D theorizing. In this study, I aim to uncover the connections between these concepts in C4D by investigating how and why they characterize C4D processes.

Therefore, this research endeavor necessarily lends itself to constructivist epistemologies. Adopting a positivist investigative approach would not enable me to understand the various subjective worldviews and constructions of social reality this study seeks to understand. Moreover, concepts such as climate change, spaces, power, communication, capabilities are socially determined concepts that cannot be suitably examined from a positivist rigid methodological stance. As I stated for instance, climate change has been constructed in ways that have warranted certain managerial policies. But I also argued that local communities in which these policies are implemented similarly construct climate and forests based on accumulated ontological and epistemological positions. These stances thus shape their perceptions and interactions with global climate change policies. Therefore, examining actors' subjective experiences of these NRM policies requires methods best suited for recording subjective experiences.

Consequently, this research employs a constructivist epistemological approach in researching subjective perceptions and interactions of both policy actors, local inhabitants and other civil society stakeholders in the Ngoyla Mintom Projects. It lends itself to philosophical tenets of constructivist theorists such as Berger and Luckmann (1966) who posit that social reality is constantly created and recreated through human symbolic interaction (communication). As Charmaz (2006:398) states, "an abstract understanding of particular sites and situations can allow social constructionists to move from local worlds to a more general conceptual level". This research is based on the above premise, i.e. that examining subjective communication between policy actors, local communities and other stakeholders in natural resource management can inform another conceptualization of C4D as also involving a contestation of discourses.

4.2   Research Design

In undertaking this research, I aim to make a theoretical contribution to how C4D can be understood. In the conceptual framework laid out in Chapter Two and Three, I argue for how viewing C4D processes as outcomes of the intersectionality of power, spaces and capabilities can provide a novel theoretical angle to C4D. The empirical work which this chapter outlines is thus one part of an overall research strategy that is designed to test and refine my proposed conceptual framework. Therefore, in line with the constructionist stance expressed above, this research is a qualitative case study that makes use of various qualitative data collection procedures which include, semi structured interviews, participant observation, documentary sources and field notes. Such data is transcribed and analyzed thematically according to the protocols of qualitative enquiry. In addition, in my analysis, I triangulate data from these various methods to ensure validity. According to Eisner, (1991: 110) triangulation ensures "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility". I explain the research design more detailly in the sections below.

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4.2.1 Case Study Approach

This research employs a case study approach to understand how communication between stakeholders in the Ngoyla Mintom projects are shaped and the role of power, spaces and capabilities in shaping these interactions. Given that I am attempting to make a theoretical contribution to C4D in this research, a case study approach is appropriate because as Hodkinson et al (2001:7) state, "case studies are fertile grounds for conceptual and theoretical development". Yin (1994:13) summarizes the case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context". I employ the case study approach because as Yin argues, "a phenomenon and context are not always distinguishable in real-life situations" (Yin, 2009:13) and case studies serve the purpose of uncovering contextual conditions and their connections to the phenomenon under study.

Furthermore, the case study is appropriate for this study because as Baxter and Jack (2008: 544) argue, in addition to the fact that case study enables the "exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources", it also ensures that "the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood".   In line with this characterization, this research examines communicative interactions between stakeholders through the multiple facets of power, capabilities and spaces, with a view of understanding how and why these affect C4D processes.   Case study research aim to answer "how" and "why" research questions (Yin, 2009). The Ngoyla Mintom projects present a suitable scenario for investigating contextual conditions (power, spaces and capabilities) and how these relate to communication within the projects.

In the last chapter I described the Ngoyla-Mintom projects, in terms of its origins, justifications, its objectives and main implementing actors. As I stated previously, the Ngoyla Mintom projects present a particularly suitable case for testing my conceptual framework in NRM because of the diverse and potentially conflicting

philosophies, interests and worldviews or "value pluralisms" (Smith, 2003) inherent in NRM scenarios, especially in externally-directed NRM interventions like the Ngoyla Mintom. I similarly in previous chapters, highlighted some of the complexities of streamlining global environmental governance philosophies with local understandings of the environment and natural resources. Some of these complexities feature, as I earlier mentioned, in reports by groups like the local Community Forest Platform, the UK-based Forest Peoples Programme, and the International Workshop on Deforestation and the Rights of Forest Peoples.

These reports have all pointed to dilemmas in the Ngoyla Mintom projects pitting local communities and implementing organizations. Against this backdrop, and from a C4D standpoint, the Ngoyla Mintom projects presents a revelatory case for examining how communicative interactions between the various actors in this context is influenced by power, spaces and capabilities, and how the nature of such outcomes can inform current understandings of C4D in NRM.

However, the limitations of the case study as research design implies that the conclusions, I arrive at in this research may not necessarily be extrapolatable. A major weakness of case studies as research design is that they do not lend themselves to generalizations. This means that the conceptual framework I employ in this research may not be appropriate in other C4D contexts such as health communication or even other NRM contexts. As Hodkinson et al (2001:10) state, "case studies can make no claims to be typical".

4.2.2 Sampling

This being a qualitative study, the selection of participants within the case was purposeful, in order to address the questions this research sought to answer. As Creswell (2004:21) states, "the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question". As I was not familiar with the majority of actors of my case study, the best way for me to have

access to potential participants was to start off through my known contacts which served as entry points. I then received referrals to other partcipants or information that could enable me to proceed with data collection. I therefore employed a purposive snowball sampling, also known as respondent-driven sampling, approach in locating participants. Atkinson et al (2001:56) state that "snowball sampling techniques offer an established method for identifying and contacting hidden populations".

This technique was therefore the most suitable for me to reach the potential participants, but also gain access to documents and activities which I observed as part of the data collection exercise. Other researchers have also used snowball sampling to reach interviewees in research contexts they were unfamiliar with or where respondents were not directly accessible (e.g. Colleen et al (2007). There are three types of snowball sampling, and each by its nature influences the quality of the data. These include linear snowball method, the exponential non-discriminative snowball, and the exponential discriminative method. The linear sample starts off with one interviewee who then refers another interviewee, who also then refers another and so on and so forth until the sample size is met. In exponential non-discriminative sampling, the first interviewee provides multiple other referrals. These referrals likewise provide other referrals and the researcher interviews all these referrals in search of data until data saturation. In exponential discriminatory snowball sampling, the researcher gets many referrals from the first interviewee but decides to pursue only some of these referrals based on the aims of the research (Lewis-Beck et al, 2004).

In this research I pursued what could be described as a hybrid of non-discriminative and discriminative snowball sampling. In some cases, I interviewed all the referrals provided by an interviewee, and in other cases I interviewed some and declined some. This was because I had already interviewed someone in the same organization, or I had already interviewed the referral. In other cases, I interviewed referrals whose name was mentioned by several people whom I had interviewed. Employing this form of sampling was

very useful for me in reaching a wide range of actors who were in some cases geographically remote. Furthermore, because the group of participants I was interested in interviewing had been interacting for years, snowball sampling made it relatively easy to get many referrals and interviews in a rather short period of time.

While snowball sampling has advantages such as easing access to many participants in relatively short time (Atkinson et al, 2001), it also has its limitations. There is the potential for sampling bias as participants may provide referrals to only like-minded individuals (Griffiths et al, 1993). For instance, in the course of data collection for this study, an interviewee I had just finished interviewing attempted to dissuade me from interviewing a referral that I had had from a previous participant and suggested I talk to someone else instead. But I went ahead and interviewed the referral. So, steps like these helped mitigate the drawback of bias sampling. Furthermore, I used more than one entry-point to help diminish bias sampling. Secondly, not all interviewees in this study were referrals. Some were individuals I approached during participant observation exercises. The combination of these mitigated sampling bias thereby strengthening the validity of the data. Furthermore, triangulating interview data with data from other methods also helped strengthen validity.

For the purpose of this study, data needed to be collected from three main set of actors involved in the case under study. These include:

1. The implementing organizations, i.e. WWF and the World Bank Ngoyla Mintom Project agency, an outfit of the Cameroon Ministry of Forests and Fauna (MINFOF). These organizations were purposefully selected as they were the main implementers of the projects. The projects ran from 2012 to 2017. However, WWF had been present in the area since the year 2000 and had previously been focused on wildlife conservation. Within these organizations I obtained data from senior staff at Headquarters in Yaoundé and field officers who interact frequently with community members in Ngoyla Mintom. These group of actors were the main policy drivers of the

projects and therefore most suitable for answering the first research question which seeks to understand how communication was understood from the project's perspective. These actors' understandings of the role of communication in the projects are important for examining the role of power as discourse in shaping project communication choices and the consequence this had for spaces.

2. Local community members in Ngoyla and Mintom including local traditional and administrative authorities, and local media persons around Ngoyla Mintom. These group of actors on the ground where the projects were implemented can provide firsthand accounts of how local communities experienced the projects through local worldviews. In addition, and key to this research, my purpose for interviewing this group of actors was to get a deeper insight into local worldviews about conservation and the environment and how, local community worldviews on conservation encountered the discourses underpinning the projects. This is a very large and diverse group which poses a sampling challenge. I opted to interview local community members that had interacted directly with the projects as this kind of actors could provide first-hand accounts of their experiences with the projects. These included traditional community leaders and local community association leaders. I also made sure to include other subgroups like women and the Baka in my sample from these communities.

3. The last group of actors are civil society organizations in and around Ngoyla and Mintom, but also other national civil society organizations involved in natural resource management. A preliminary background read of natural resource management in East Cameroon, revealed that civil society organizations such as OKANI and APIFED play a role as champions of community rights in natural resource management in that part of the country. My aim was to talk to the leaders of these local and

national organizations. This group of actors was chosen because they can provide information about policy advocacy in the Ngoyla Mintom process.

4. For purposes of triangulating data, I also wanted to engage with other actors from international organizations involved in natural resource management. These were actors from international organizations like the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR). These organizations have country offices in Cameroon and have been involved in National NRM projects, either individually or in partnership with other organizations. CIFOR regularly conducts and publishes research on forest governance in Cameroon. Although these organizations were not directly involved in the Ngoyla Mintom projects, some like the GTZ had in the past carried out pilot conservation and NRM projects in the area. Hence, they constituted potential sources of data for this study.

All of these organizations, including the implementing organizations are headquartered in Yaoundé, the capital of Cameroon, from which they run the projects in Ngoyla Mintom, located some 300 miles away. However, WWF has a field office in Ngoyla while the World Bank project has a field office in Mintom. Therefore, I conducted interviews with policy actors mainly at headquarters in Yaoundé while some were conducted in the field offices in Ngoyla and in Mintom.

4.2.3 Gaining Access

Gaining access to participants in research can be a tricky and sometimes difficult exercise, especially if the research concerns a sensitive topic (Wanat, 2008). I initially gained access to potential participants for this research in two ways.

Firstly, through a friend who had worked in WWF Cameroon, but who now resides in Canada. I also know of a former classmate from secondary school who works for WWF Cameroon as Communications Officer. So, I had some form of established contacts who could facilitate my access into the research context and point me to potential participants. In late October 2016, I emailed my friend who had worked at WWF Cameroon before I went to Cameroon to collect data and explained to him that I needed the contact information of my secondary school classmate who still worked with WWF. Once I received that information, I called my former classmate and explained I was coming to Cameroon to collect data for my PhD project. We agreed to meet at his office at the WWF Central African Headquarters in Yaoundé once I got to Cameroon. I met him and snowballed from him.

The second way I gained access was through a Cameroonian former UEA student whom I met here during his time at UEA. He worked at the Prime Minister's office in Yaoundé and was familiar with government officials. I discussed my plan to collect data with him and he linked me with possible potential participants once I got to Cameroon. That is how I gained access into the research context and snowballed from thenceforth.

4.2.4 Geographic Setting

The Ngoyla-Mintom forest bloc is inhabited by about 12000 people. These are mainly Bantu tribes (Fang, Djem, Nzimé) and the indigenous Baka (about 2300) spread within 60 villages in and around the massif (World Bank 2012). The main localities are Mintom and Ngoyla, which are rural enclaves with much larger populations. These towns are relatively poor although Mintom has a little more infrastructural development than Ngoyla. It has telephone connectivity and the highway linking Cameroon to Congo passes through it. There is however no electricity and no media in the area. Ngoyla is much poorer. The earth road leading to Ngoyla is muddy and difficult to travel in the rainy season. Electricity and potable water are lacking. There is no internet or telephone connection or

any media. TV and radio signals do not reach the town. Save for the earth road, Ngoyla is completely cut off from the outside world and its population is much poorer than that of Mintom.

To answer my question about community understandings of conservation and their experiences of the projects, I needed to collect data in the localities of Ngoyla and Mintom; the two main towns of the forest massif. This was the site of encounter between the discourses of global environmental governance and local discourses about nature and the environment. Examining this site was thus of crucial importance in this research.   Although the localities of Ngoyla and Mintom are about 100km (63miles) apart, there is no motorable road linking the two enclaves. During data collection I went from Yaoundé to Ngoyla and back. Then went from Yaoundé to Mintom. Ngoyla is located 445km (277miles) to the east from Yaoundé. The journey from Yaoundé to Ngoyla can take anything between 12 to 15 hours, owing to the bad road network and poor transportation facilities. While Mintom is about 396km (246miles) to the south east from Yaoundé. Getting to Mintom from Yaoundé takes about 8hours and is less tedious due to the newly constructed highway linking Cameroon to Congo (the highway bypasses Mintom).

Since I was employing a snowball sampling technique, some referrals were located out of the three main locations of data collection. These referrals were actors who had directly been involved in the Ngoyla Mintom projects as NGO leaders or in other NRM projects in the region. Hence, they were sources of valuable data. I therefore conducted one interview in Bertoua, the capital of the East Region (the equivalent of a province or county) where Ngoyla is located. I also had one three interviews in Lomie (also in the East region, on the outskirts of the Ngoyla-Mintom massif). One of these interviews turned into an unplanned focus group discussion as the leader of the NGO I was interviewing invited six of her staff to participate in the interview. Other interviews took place in Abong-Mbang, still in the East region. Abong Mbang is a dusty rural town about halfway between Yaoundé and Ngoyla, while Lomie is about halfway between Abong

Mbang and Ngoyla. The map below (Fig. 3) shows the locations of data collection for this study.
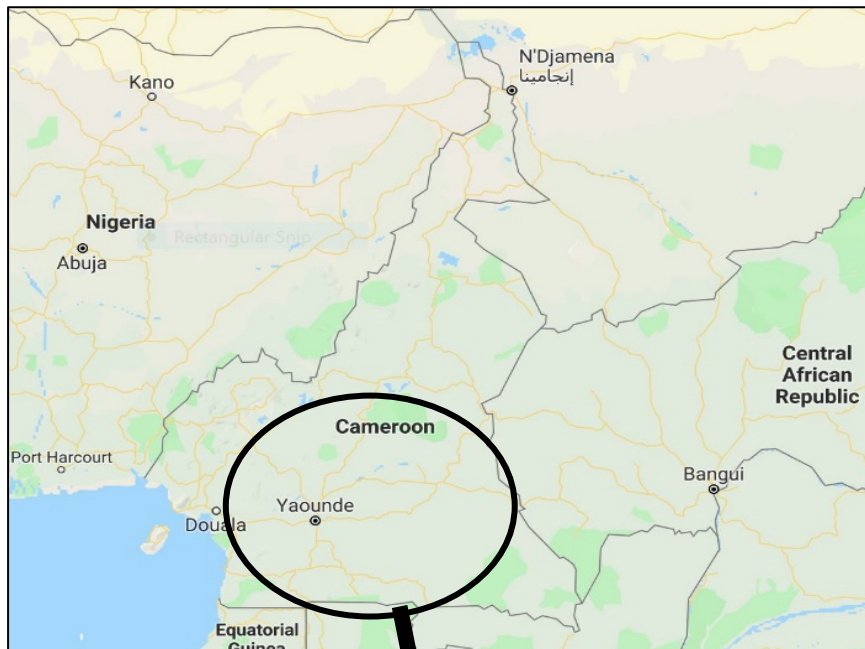
Fig 3. Locations of data collection
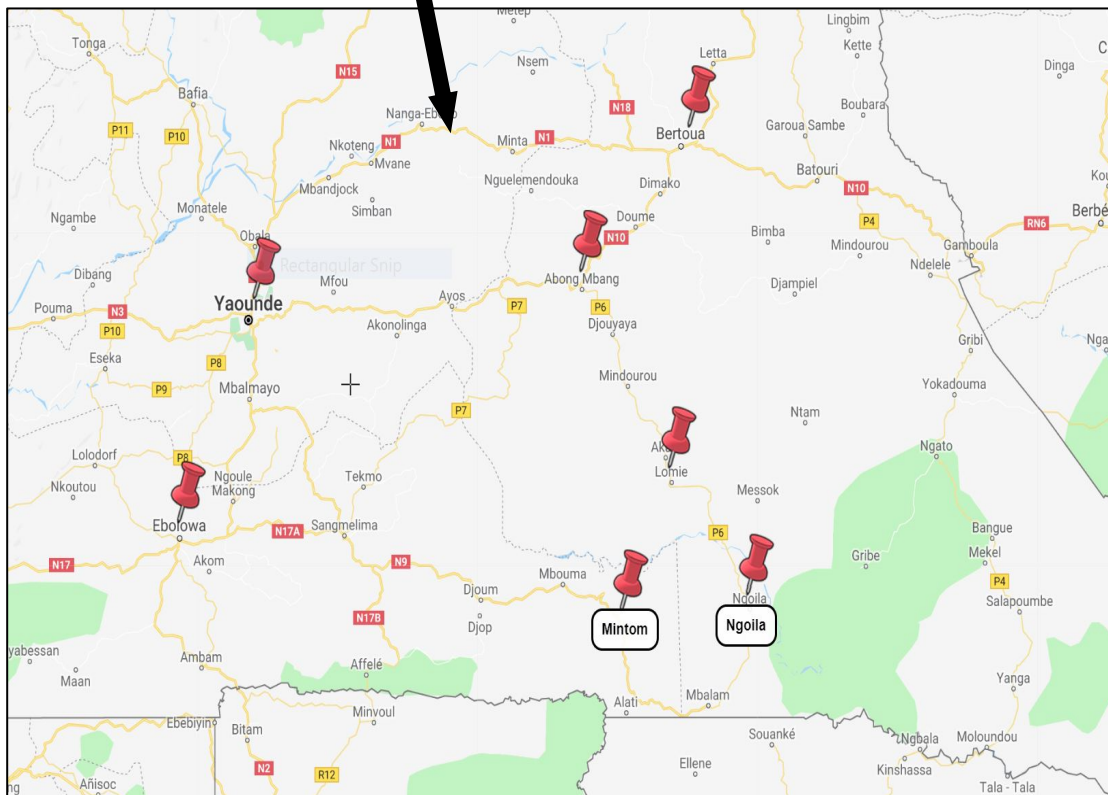
4.3   Data Collection

Qualitative studies aim to study phenomena in "specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants" (Cresswell, 2014:9). Understanding such phenomena in context requires methods of data collection that provide the richness in detail, explanation and rhetoric including non-verbal cues that can facilitate the researcher's understanding and analysis of the phenomenon being studied. For this reason, qualitative studies collect data using a variety of techniques that include interviews, observation and documentary evidence (Cresswell, 2004). In line with this, and in view of my epistemological stance that knowledge is socially constructed, in this research I employed interviews, participant observation and official documents related to the projects as methods of data collection. These methods enabled me to capture an array of perspectives and information necessary for answering my research questions. Interviews were however the means by which most of the data for this research was collected.

4.3.1   Interviews

Interviews were the most used form of data collection in this study. In all, I conducted 36 interviews with three sets of actors involved in the projects; namely: policy actors, community members and civil society organizations. This demarcation was in line with the three main research questions of this study. These interviews where semi-structured face-to-face interviews which lasted forty minutes on average but ranged from 30minutes to an hour. Most interviews, about 90percent, were conducted in French (I am fluent in French). Three were conducted in English and I used a translator in one, since it was conducted in the local Dzem language of the Ngoyla Mintom area. I conducted the first interview in Yaoundé on January 22, 2017 and the last took place in Yaoundé on March 23rd, 2017. In between these interviews, I went out to Ngoyla and Mintom where I gathered more data through interviews and one participant observation in Mintom. Below is a breakdown of interviews of different participant groups.

4.3.1.1 Interviews with Policy Actors in Implementing Organizations

The purpose of interviews with policy actors was to gain information that would enable me to answer my first research question, which seeks to understand the role of power in shaping policy communications with the local community in the project. I interviewed nine key actors in the World Bank project and WWF in their Yaoundé offices. Others were interviewed on the field in base camps in Ngoyla and in Mintom. Interviews with policy actors from project implementing organizations were aimed at answering my first research question, i.e. how policy conceptions and practice of communication are reflective of particular discursive positions (power) and the consequence this has for spaces. During these interviews, policy actors spoke frankly and genuinely believed they were doing the right thing both for the environment and for the local populations. They did not feel uncomfortable with any of the questions I asked and attempted to answer the questions to the best of their knowledge. They readily referred me to other actors who could provide further information and, in some cases, provided me with documents. Figure 4 below is a table of policy actors interviewed and the subject matter of interviews.

Implementing Policy Actors	Subject Matter of Interviews
1. WWF Field Officer, Ngoyla 2. WWF Communications Officer 3. National Coordinator, World Bank-MINFOF Ngoyla Mintom Project 4. WWF PES Field Officer 5. World Bank Ngoyla Mintom Field Technical officer 6. Forestry Chief, Mintom 7. WWF Field Officer Mintom 8. Head, National REDD+ Technical Secretariat 9. Comms Officer, National REDD+ Technical Secretariat	• Rationale for the projects. • Conceptions of the role of communication • Actual communication strategies and practices and rationales underpinning these strategies (media use). • Community engagement • Project knowledge generation and community contributions to project knowledge generation • Relationship between policy implementing organizations and the state. • Perceptions of community experiences with the projects • Conflicts and conflict management with communities • Allegations of community frustrations and community resistance to the projects • Treatment of subgroups within communities.

Fig 4: *List of Policy Actors Interviewed*

4.3.1.2 Interviews with Local Community Members

My purpose for interviews with representative members of the local community was to understand how these local communities experienced the projects through their local worldviews. Most of these interviews took place in Ngoyla and in Mintom. Three took place in Lomie and Abong Mbang, adjacent towns to Ngoyla. In my sampling of participants from the local community I was interested in interviewing persons who had interacted directly with the projects; both traditional authorities such as chiefs and ordinary villagers. As custodians of traditions, chiefs are suitably placed to provide information about local discourses and histories about local imaginings and constructs of the environment and conservation. But I also wanted to interview ordinary villagers and women and

the Baka because these groups of people often tend to be excluded from decision-making spaces.

I started off in Ngoyla by interviewing a local Chief who had been referred to me by a WWF Field officer I had interviewed previously. From him I snowballed to other participants. Community members I interviewed spoke very passionately and sometimes angrily about the projects. In some cases, they mistook me for an officer from one of the implementing organizations. In such instances I had to re-explain that I was just a researcher. Figure 5 below shows, community members interviewed and the subject matter of the interviews.

Community Members interviewed	Subject Matter of Interviews
1. Local Chief 1, Ngoyla 2. ADEBAKA President, Mintom 3. Female Eco-guard 4. Female Nursery school teacher 5. Local Chief 2 6. Etekessang Village Committee (President and 8 members including OCBB facilitator) CODEVI 7. 1st Assistant Mayor, Ngoyla Municipal Council 8. Community Radio broadcaster, *Metoung FM*, Abong Mbang 9. Community radio broadcaster, *Kúl Mélab FM*, Lomie 10. Female Municipal Counsellor, Ngoyla 11. Baka Chief, Mabam village, Ngoyla 12. Former Mayor of Ngoyla 13. Head of local female farmers' group, Ngoyla	• Community experiences of projects • Community views of the environment, conservation and climate change • Collaboration with civil society actors and views of the role of NGOs • Community involvement in project knowledge generation and implementation • Involvement of subgroups within communities • Perceptions of policy actors' communication • Access to information and communication problems • Intra-Community mobilization

Fig 5: *List of community representatives interviewed*

These discussion topics covered in the interviews sought to answer my second research question by understanding community constructs of the environment, climate change and conservation. It also aimed at understanding how local communities perceived and experienced the projects, including communication and mobilization activities. In terms of numbers, the above sample is rather small as a representative sample on which to make generalizations about the community as a whole. While this may be a limitation of this study, the variety of actors in the sample size is fairly representative of the different subgroups within the community.

4.3.1.3   Interviews with NGOs and Civil Society Organizations

Given the reports that I had read about the active role of civil society organizations and NGOs in defending community rights in NRM and the Ngoyla Mintom projects, I wanted to interview a representative sample of these NGO actors. Furthermore, as Samndong & Vatn (2012) found in their research on NRM conflicts in East Cameroon, local communities view NGOs as key to securing their rights against policy actors in NRM. My aim was to understand how these NGOs engaged in policy advocacy for the purpose of answering my research question about capabilities, space-creation and spaces of engagement. I interviewed actors from eight prominent NGOs, who were very actively involved in the projects or in NRM. Three of these interviews took place in Yaoundé, two took place in Mintom, one in Ngoyla, one in Lomie and one in Bertoua. In one case the interview turned into a focus group interview because six individuals from that particular NGO (ASTRAHDE) participated in the discussion.

NGOs and Civil Society Actors	Subject Matter of Interviews
1. ASTRAHDE, (Focused Group) Lomie 2. Head of APIFED, Mintom 3. Head of Community Forest Network, Yaoundé 4. Head of National REDD-Civil Society Network, Yaoundé 5. REDD & FLEGT Officer, FODER, Yaoundé 6. Head of OKANI, Bertoua 7. President of ADEBAKA, Mintom 8. Local Coordinator, OCBB, Ngoyla	• Motives and rationales of Civil Society organisations in NRM • Interactions between NGOs and local communities • Community experiences of the projects • Interactions between NGOs and policy actors and implementing organisations • Communication strategies and rationales behind these strategies • Networking and partnerships • Influence of Civil Society in NRM

Fig 6: *List of NGOs and Civil Society Organizations Interviewed*

Some of these NGOs like OKANI had been selected because preliminary research about Ngoyla Mintom revealed that OKANI had been playing a central role in safeguarding community rights in the Ngoyla Mintom area. For instance, it had together with the UK-based Forest Peoples Programme published reports criticizing WWF policy in the area. Other NGOs like FODER are also prominent in defending community rights, while the National REDD-Civil Society Network is a national grouping of civil society organizations engaged in NRM and community development. The National REDD-Civil Society Network is constituted of hundreds of NGOs and is the main interface between government and civil society in matters of REDD+. It is thus a key player with veto power in national REDD+ policy. ADEBAKA is an organization representing the indigenous Baka tribes of the Ngoyla Mintom forest block. As I noted earlier, the Baka suffer marginalization at the hands of both government and local bantu tribes. My aim in selecting ADEBAKA was thus to get a sense of their involvement and

experiences with the projects. APIFED and OCBB are both local NGOs in Mintom and Ngoyla respectively. They were often cited by participants as prominent actors in community mobilization on NRM issues in the area. My aim in interviewing actors from the above entities was to answer my third research question about spaces of engagement, policy advocacy and the role of these civil society actors in the process.

4.3.1.4 Interviews with Other Actors

In addition to interviews with the three groups of participants, I conducted other interviews with other individuals who were not part of the three main group of participants. These actors were from other organizations that were involved in NRM, although not directly in the case study. Some had undertaken work in the Ngoyla Mintom area, although not directly connected to the WWF and World bank Projects. I interviewed actors from the German Technical Cooperation, CIFOR, the IUCN and two consultants who had worked with various organizations in the Ngoyla Mintom projects and in other NRM projects. Additionally, I interviewed a journalist of Radio Environment, a Yaoundé-based radio station sponsored by the IUCN. These interviews provided supplementary information on the context that was key the in triangulation of data obtained from interviewees in the three main groups of participants.

A key question in this research is understanding the role of media and communication capabilities in communication around NRM and the Ngoyla Mintom projects. In order to obtain information in regard to this question, I wanted to interview local media persons around the project. So, I interviewed the station manager of the IUCN-sponsored Radio Environment in Yaoundé, because of its exclusive focus on environmental reporting. This was in addition to the two community radio broadcasters I had interviewed in the Ngoyla Mintom area: one in Abong Mbang and one in Lomie. My aim in these interviews was to provide supplementary information for my question on media development,

communication capabilities and the role these played in the communication of various stakeholders in the project.

Interviewee	Organization	Interview Location	Subject matter of Interviews
REDD+ Officer	International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)	Yaoundé	• Role of International Organizations in national NRM policies • Relationships between international organizations with state and with civil society and local communities • Communication problems between various actors • Effectiveness of civil society actors • Role of local NGOs as defenders of community interests
Station Manager	Radio Environment (IUCN Radio)	Yaoundé	
Communications Officer	Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR)	Yaoundé	
REDD+ Adviser/Climate Change Team Leader	German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ)	Yaoundé	
Head of Climate Change Programme	Centre for Environment and Development (CED)	Yaoundé	
Senior Scientist	Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR)	Yaoundé	

Fig 7: Other Actors Interviewed

4.3.2 Participant Observation

According to Berger, (2000: 161) participant observation is "a qualitative research technique that provides the opportunity to study people in real-life situations". In this study, the purpose of participant observations was to observe actors in different spaces of interaction in the context of the projects. For instance, I wanted to observe the interactions between stakeholders in public as that could be useful for understanding different roles they adopt when engaging one to one with me as a researcher in private. Identifying such roles, I believed would add validity to their claims during interviews. In addition to interviews, data from participant

observation was necessary for triangulation of data purposes in the interpretation phase. During the data collection exercise, I participated in four gatherings of stakeholders involved in NRM in and around the Ngoyla Mintom area. These included two large meetings, a press conference called by FODER, a prominent NGO that bills itself as the defender of community rights in NRM. The fourth was the "Baka Dream Days", a three-day event organized by APIFED, a prominent community NGO in the Mintom area. These were the only four gatherings I was aware of during the data collection period. Others might have taken place, but I had no knowledge of them.

The first meeting I attended was the validation conference of the stakeholder consultation strategy document of the National REDD+ process held on the 30th and 31st of January 2017 in the city of Ebolowa (some 150km from Yaoundé). This meeting was one of the few gatherings that occurred while I was in Cameroon, and naturally I wanted to attend to observe for myself the nature of interaction between policy actors and other stakeholders in invited spaces. Deliberations took place in French. But as I am fluent in French, I was able to follow the discussions with ease. Attendance at this meeting was diverse. There were civil society organizations, NGOs, media persons, Government agencies, traditional rulers and some international NGOs like the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and GIZ, the German International Development agency.

The purpose of the workshop was to get stakeholders to assess and validate the stakeholder consultation proposal that had been undertaken by a consulting firm hired by the ministry of Environment, Protection of Nature and Sustainable Development (MINEPDED). The stakeholder consultation proposal would become the blueprint for stakeholder consultation in Cameroon's nascent REDD+ process. I had gone to this gathering on the invitation of the Technical Director of the National REDD+ programme who had explained to me that, that would be an opportunity for me to interview him and to meet other key actors of the REDD+ and Ngoyla-Mintom projects. I sat through the workshop recording

and taking notes of the deliberations. Attending this gathering was important for addressing questions related to invited spaces and how such spaces can provide spaces of resistance for less powerful actors.

After the consultant presented the document, the floor was open for deliberations and several individuals rose to question and comment on different aspects of the document. Sometimes the session got quite heated. Most of the criticisms came from representatives of NGOs or local communities. At the end of the morning session, participants were grouped into different working groups to address the major questions raised about the consultation document. These subgroups were to work in groups after the launch break and provide proposals or amendments to the documents at the end of the day. The next day these amendments were incorporated into the final blueprint document and adopted at the end of the day.

With regards to my first research question which examines policy actor's communicative practices, the meeting was an opportunity for me to witness how deliberations unfold in such spaces, especially with regards to invited spaces and actors' communicative practices. It was also an opportunity for me to identify potential participants for my research. During the lunch break on the first day of the meeting, I spoke to two representatives of NGOs who had been active and critical of the proposed document during the morning session.

My second participant observation activity came on the 28th of March 2017 in Yaoundé. The event was the end-of-project assessment meeting of the WWF Ngoyla Mintom project which held at the Hilton hotel in Yaoundé. The gathering was organized by the Ministry of Forests and Fauna (MINFOF) and I had been invited to the event by the WWF Communications Officer whom I had interviewed two months back. Present at the event were about fifty different stakeholders. Some of them included local administrative and civil society actors of the Ngoyla and Mintom area, government ministries, funding agencies like the EU, media persons, and even some representatives from the Gabonese government since WWF's conservation activities are transboundary and extend into Gabon. Some people I had previously interviewed were also present at the event (e.g the heads

of APIFED and OCBB, the forestry chief of post for Mintom and the FLEGT and REDD+ Coordinator at FODER). The day-long deliberations featured presentations on achievements of the project in such areas as REDD+ pilot projects, wildlife conservation and livelihoods projects by two of the WWF field officers I had interviewed. A Baka representative was given the floor to speak about how the project had benefited his community. He spoke positively about the benefits the project had brought to the Baka.

All through the meeting, I was taking notes in my field notebook. I also had an informal interview with another Baka representative from a Baka community association of elders, ABAOUNI as it is called. The second part of the day was dedicated to feedback from the attendees. The floor was opened for attendees to share their experiences of the project. The head of APIFED whom I had interviewed a few weeks earlier spoke quite critically of some aspects of the projects, particularly information sharing between WWF and local NGOs. She also critiqued the approach to wildlife conservation that according to her, penalized the locals instead of involving them in the process. As with the other meeting, observing deliberations in this meeting was an opportunity to observe invited spaces and how such spaces constituted spaces of resistance.

The press conference which I attended on February 24, 2017 in Yaoundé, was organized by FODER, a prominent NGO that bills itself as the defender of community rights in NRM. FODER had invited a variety of media persons in continuance of its advocacy efforts for government to reinstate forestry royalties to forest communities. These royalties had been suspended for two years prior to 2016. While the subject matter of the press conference was not directly linked to the Ngoyla Mintom projects, such press conferences are routine for FODER and was an important opportunity for me to observe media strategies, communication capabilities and policy advocacy by NGOs involved in defending community rights in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Attending the press conference was therefore important for accessing data for answering questions about spaces

of engagement and communication capabilities which I address in my third research question.

The fourth participant observation exercise was the Baka Dream Days which I attended in Mintom on the 11th and 12th of March 2017. The festival held in a specially amended clearing in the forest. My purpose with this exercise was obtain data that would help answer my third research question about spaces of engagement and policy advocacy. The festival organized on the theme "Promotion of Tourism and REDD + in Forest Communities in Cameroon" was organized by a local NGO, APIFED, which is very active in promoting community rights in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Attendees included Government departments, local community leaders, other NGOs and a cross section of the populations of local villages and towns. In addition to cultural performances, the festival featured discussion sessions topics such as sustainable forest management, community rights and the preservation of Baka ancestral sites in the Ngoyla Mintom forest. The aim of the festival I was told by its organizers was to create a space wherein stakeholders in the Ngoyla Mintom forest could meet and discuss issues related to the forest and promote the Baka culture. From the standpoint of my research questions, attending this festival was important for triangulating data from other methods in answering my third research question about spaces of engagement and policy advocacy.

4.3.3 Field Notes

All through the data collection process I carried along a notebook in which I recorded significant observations and occurrences. I also used the field diary to note down information that I came across during informal conversations with some individuals. For instance, information that I got during chats with the bike riders which I hired to get me around in Ngoyla and Mintom. The field dairy also contained records of my observation of the interactions between various stakeholders during meetings I attended.   These notes provided useful information that was not explicitly available during interviews. Information

recorded in the field dairy became handy in the triangulation of data from other methods.

4.3.4 Data from Relevant Documents

"Documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem" (Merriam, 1988: 118). The final major part of my data collection activity involved obtaining all relevant documents on the Ngoyla Mintom projects produced by both policy actors and NGOs. I hoped that these documents would provide further insights into justifications, rationales, actions and discourses of the various actors within the projects. As Bowen (2009: 30) states "documents provide supplementary research data. Information and insights derived from documents can be valuable additions to a knowledge base". Some of these documents were gleaned from websites of institutions such as the World Bank, WWF and other international advocacy groups like the Forest Peoples Programme (FPP). Other documents were handed to me during interviews and I obtained some when I participated in gatherings such as the WWF end-of-project meeting in Yaoundé.

Therefore, as sources of data, these documents complemented the data that I had collected from interviews and participant observation as they revealed supplementary information about communication strategies, public consultations, policy discourses and policy advocacy etc. These documents were useful for triangulation of data from other methods and sources. In analyzing these documents, I scanned them for evidence consistent with or diverging from other data from interviews. For instance, some provided evidence to support themes such as community experiences of the projects or spaces of engagement. Below is a list of documents consulted, their authors and brief descriptions of their content.

Fig 8: *List of project documents consulted*

Document Title, Author and Date	Description/Contents
Functional Framework for the Integrated and Sustainable Management of the Ngoyla Mintom Forest Massif MINFOF, October 2011	The project blueprint document sets out the aims and methods of the project including the participation and compensation of local communities
Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed grant from the Global Environment Facility trust fund in the amount of US$3.5 million to the Republic of Cameroon for the Conservation and Sustainable Management within the Ngoyla-Mintom Forest Project World Bank, March 14, 2012	This document presents the rational of the project, justifies its aims within the sustainable development paradigm and aligns it with Cameroon's development prerogatives. It also prescribes amongst others the project's strategy and approach for implementation including local participation, environmental impacts assessment etc.
Specific Instance against the World-Wide Fund for Nature ("WWF") under the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. Survival International Charitable Trust Survival International Charitable Trust, February 2016	The complaint accuses WWF with accompanying evidence of failing "its duty under the Guidelines to respect the human rights of the Baka "Pygmies" of Southeast Cameroon".
The Rights of Baka Communities In the Redd+ Ngoyla-Mintom Project in Cameroon Forest Peoples Programme and Association OKANI March 2016	This document explored the challenges, and made proposals for the respect of the rights of the indigenous Baka in REDD+ in the Ngoyla Mintom projects
Project Idea Note (PIN) Payment for Ecosystem Services in the Ngoyla-Mintom Forest Block for rural communities Plan Vivo, 25th Nov 2013	Description of the PES project, its objectives, communities involved and other stakeholders, community participation, and a SWOT analysis of the project context.
Strategic Objectives for the Management of the Ngoyla-Mintom Forest Massif. Propositions of the WWF Central Africa Regional Programme Office WWF Central Africa Regional Programme Office, October 2007	This document sets out the aims and strategies of WWF's plan for the management of the Ngoyla Mintom forest. It points to threats to biodiversity in the area and proposes action plans. It is premised on the notion of sustainable development and stipulates the need to balance livelihood prerogatives of local

	forest-dependent communities and environmental protection
Jengi WWF Southeast Forest Programme Newsletter WWF Cameroon, September 2008	News about WWF conservation programme in the South East forest Massif. News articles mainly promoting WWF's work.
Final Communique of the Workshop on Public Consultation and Participation in the Project for the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Forest and Wildlife Resources of Ngoyla - Mintom MINFOF, Ngoyla, Aug 29, 2011	Minutes of public consultation meeting in Ngoyla between policy actors and local communities
Analysis of Social Dynamics and Evaluation of [local] Actors and their Capacity Building Needs MINFOF, Yaoundé, October 17, 2011	This pre-project document is an analysis of social dynamics in the Ngoyla Mintom region, including an analysis of local actors and their capacity building needs. According to its executive summary, the aim of this analysis was to ensure the success of project activities.
Educational Communication Tools of the Ngoyla-Mintom Project World Bank Ngoyla Mintom Project Office, 2015, Yaoundé	Communication tools like Posters and almanacks carrying various messages promoting conservation and against poaching.

Fig 8: *List of project documents consulted*

4.4   Positionality

A key step underpinning the validity of research is an acknowledgement that the researchers' personal background is intertwined with the research process (Holliday, 2007; Creswell, 2004). Reflexivity in research thus underscores the importance of the researcher acknowledging that personal background, values, beliefs and status may play a significant part in shaping the research context and the analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Consequently, interrogating my

own identity, beliefs and life experiences and how these might have influenced this research is a crucial part of supporting the validity of the research process and its conclusions.

I am an African who rues this continent's relegated position in many spheres despite its immense potentials. I believe that, contrary to its present acquiescent stance, the continent ought to assert its perspective particularly in international development issues such as climate change governance. In addition, I am cognizant of and particularly concerned by the inequality, subjugation and lack of voice suffered by poorer communities in African countries. I believe that local discourses ought to be articulated and counted especially in matters such as natural resource management that directly affect their livelihoods. It is for this reason that I am concerned with issues of power in this research. This proclivity may translate into my questions, interpretations and analysis being prejudiced in favor of local communities.

Although I have lived in Europe for 16 years and hold a Finnish passport, I was born and raised in Cameroon. This in some ways makes me an insider as I am intimately familiar with the local cultural character of Cameroon. This familiarity also extends to local discourses about climate change and the environment and how these influence local perceptions of natural resource management interventions like the Ngoyla-Mintom projects. Consequently, navigating the research context, gaining access, deciphering verbal and non-verbal cues occurs naturally for me.

However, my insider status only goes so far. I cannot exactly consider myself an insider for the simple fact that I am not part of the local community in Ngoyla Mintom, neither am I part of the implementing organizations in the project. Cameroon is a diverse country made up of an English-speaking part and a French-speaking part like Canada. The Ngoyla Mintom forest massif is located in French-speaking Cameroon. In addition, the country has over 250 ethnic groups and languages in addition to French and English which are its official languages. As an English-speaking Cameroonian from a different ethnic group, I was

therefore an outsider in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Moreover, as an educated person, who has lived out of the country for that length of time and acquired different viewpoints on certain subjects, I was an outsider on many levels. It is undeniable that I have lost some of my *Cameroonianness* (as in national culture) due to my many years of living in the West. But this long stay in the West has also engendered a hybridity in my character, my perception and my sensitivities. Recognizing and constantly reminding myself of this hybridity all through this research process, enabled me to understand my positionality and be mindful of its potential influence on my collection and interpretation of data during this research.

For instance, my status as a PhD student from England put me in a vantage position especially in relation to local community members in Ngoyla Mintom. I sensed that being an outsider in the communities in Ngoyla-Mintom, carried double significance. On the one hand I could be associated with policy actors: a prospect that would have affected the way local interviewees interacted with me, according to one WWF staff in Ngoyla. He had cautioned me that we must not be seen together in town so that the locals would not associate me with WWF. Otherwise, as he said, "your data will be corrupted". He did not explain why the people would give me false information if they associated me with WWF, but the way he said it gave me the impression that WWF was not viewed positively by the locals. I got a whiff of this when one interviewee said during an interview, "go back and tell your people that…".

On the other hand, local community members viewed me as an outsider who could help draw attention to their local problems in the projects. Another interviewee in Ngoyla literally pointed out that I was an outsider: "I personally prefer expressing our problems to outsiders like you" he said during our interview. Constantly reflecting on my positionality and understanding perceptions of me was essential in understanding my interactions with my research context and in my analysis. For instance, in analyzing my data, I interpret expressions like the

one from the quote above as indicative of lack of voice or a tension in power relations at local level.

4.5   Ethical Considerations

As with most research involving social actors as participants, ethical issues related to the interactions of the researcher and participants constitute potential ethical pitfalls which need to be recognized and taken into account in the research process. In this study, ethical concerns included issues such as obtaining the full consent of participants, full declaration of the intent and purposes of the research and enlisting vulnerable participants such as minors. Furthermore, given my status as a researcher from England, there was the possibility that participants, especially from the poor communities might expect or request financial compensation. I endeavored to mitigate these potential ethical challenges in a number of ways. I ensured that all participants in this study were adults and all freely consented to participate in this study. Prior to interviewing them, I explained the purpose of the study and the implications of consent to all interviewees. I also obtained their permission before recording the interviews. One interviewee declined to be recorded. Some interviewees signed the consent form while others declined to sign but nonetheless agreed to be interviewed and for the information they provide to be used for this study. None but one of the interviewees objected to be cited in this study. However, because there is no signed document attesting to this, in presenting the findings, I have tried where necessary to anonymized interviewees to avoid a potential future contestation.

In two instances I offered interviewees a token during the interview. In one instance I was advised by some local inhabitants in Ngoyla to take a "little present" along for a Baka Chief I was going to interview. I asked them what this "little present" might be. They suggested a pack of gin sachets which they said was a favorite drink of the Baka. So, I bought a pack of twenty gin sachets or "Fighter" as the product was called, which I gave the Baka chief. In the second instance, I was interviewing a local Chief in Ngoyla in a restaurant (the restaurant

meeting was unplanned). During the interview, I offered to buy him a drink and he accepted. These tokens were in line with UEA ethical guidelines. These guidelines prohibit monetary gifts to participants in a research but allows tokens in kind. Therefore, no ethical violations were recorded during the field work exercise. In addition, I had obtained ethical clearance, including interviewee consent forms and a letter of research intent for this research from the UEA School of International Development before embarking on fieldwork.

4.6   Data Analysis

In all, data for this study included 36 semi-structured interviews, ten documents and field notes from participant observation and interactions with different individuals during the data collection exercise. Analysis of data is a continuous and reflexive process that begins right in the field during data collection (Stake, 1995). This means that the researcher is constantly evaluating the data collected against the research questions. This process is known as progressive focusing (Parlett & Hamilton, 1972) and enables the researcher to for instance alter the research questions or direction based on data being uncovered. In my case, progressive focusing enabled me to change from my initial focus on REDD+ to the Ngoyla Mintom projects. I had initially aimed to research REDD+ in the Ngoyla Mintom forest massif. But during data collection, I learned that Cameroon's REDD+ process was still in its embryonic phase and only one or two REDD+ pilot projects existed in the Ngoyla Mintom forest massif. On the other hand, interviewees talked more about the WWF and World bank projects. Consequently, I refocused my line of enquiry to the WWF and World Bank projects.

4.6.1 Coding

 In order to identify patterns in the data that would help answer my research questions, I sought to code my transcripts of interviews according to themes

linked to my research questions. Secondly, I coded the documents that I had obtained following the same method as with interview transcripts. The coding exercise was conducted in two phases using NVIVO software. Initially, codes were developed to capture various themes emerging from the transcribed interviews. These codes were varied and extensive, capturing descriptions, anecdotes and phrases frequently appearing in the data. In the next stage, similar codes were grouped into the three thematic categories in relation to the research questions. These categories became the basis of linking and interpreting the data to the research questions of this study. Furthermore, interview data was triangulated with data from other sources, notably participant observation, field notes and documents. This was important for enhancing the validity of findings. As Yin (2009: 116) states, "the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of enquiry, a process of triangulation and corroboration". Figure 4 below shows the initial thematic coding categories.

Fig 9*: Coding Categories/Basic Themes*

• Advocacy by civil society • Communication by community • Communication by NGOs • Communication by policy actors • Communities as closed • Community as lazy • Community as powerless • Community experiences of conservation • Community experiences with World Bank projects • Community perceptions of climate change • Community perceptions of WWF • Community views on deforestation and conservation • Disparity between theory and practice • Distrust in the ruling class • Hidden power • Information flow problems • Inter-civil society disagreement • Invisible power • Lack of community involvement • Local NGOs as community backers • Use of media	• Power • Rationale for World Bank Ngoyla Mintom project • REDD+ • Relationship between big INGOs and community • Relationship between state and civil society • Secrecy in decision-making • Spaces of Engagement • The role of civil society • The role of the "big" international NGOs • Treatment of subgroups such as women and Baka • Views on the importance of communication • Visible power • Wildlife conservation and poaching • WWF project actions and rationale • Local politics and dynamics • Logging companies and the communities • Obstacles to communication and communication problems • Participatory communication

After this initial coding, similar or overlapping categories where further grouped for emerging themes in relation to the research questions: (i) Power and policy actors' communication, (ii) Community discourses on NRM and experiences of the projects, (iii) Spaces of engagement and policy advocacy. Some basic themes appeared in more than one thematic group. This process of moving from primary codes to thematic codes is similar to the process of moving from basic themes to organizing themes in thematic network analysis as depicted by Attride-

Stirling (2001). The purpose of Organizing Themes is to collate similar Basic Themes. They then become "clusters of signification that summarize the principal assumptions of a group of Basic Themes, so they are more abstract and more revealing of what is going on in the text" (Attride-Stirling, 2001:389). In the case of this analysis in relation to the research questions, the following Organizing Themes emerged: Power, Policy Actors' Communication, Experiencing NRM, Alternate Discourses on NRM, Policy Advocacy, Capabilities, Spaces of Engagement, Spaces.

4.6.2 Thematic Categories/Organizing Themes

The table below shows how Basic Themes were arranged into Organizing Themes. Some Basic Themes feature in more than one Organizing Theme because of the interconnectedness and similarities between some Basic Themes.

Fig 10*: From Basic Themes to Organizing Themes*

Basic Themes	Organizing Theme
• Rationale for World Bank Ngoyla Mintom project • WWF project actions and rationale • Hidden power • Invisible power • Wildlife conservation and poaching	Power
• Communication by policy actors • Views on the importance of communication • Participatory communication • Media use	Policy Actors' Communication
• Community experiences of conservation • Community experiences with World Bank projects • Community perceptions of WWF • Lack of community involvement	Experiencing NRM
• Community views on deforestation and conservation • Community perceptions of climate change	Alternate Discourses on NRM
• Advocacy by Civil Society • Communication by NGOs • The role of Civil Society • Media use	Policy Advocacy
• Communication by community • Communities as closed • Community as powerless • Information flow problems • Obstacles to communication and communication problems	Capabilities
• Local NGOs as community backers • Relationship between big INGOs and NGOs • The role of the "big" international NGOs • Participatory communication • Local NGOs as community backers • Media use	Spaces of Engagement
• Exclusion of subgroups within community • Secrecy in decision-making • Participatory communication • Communication by policy actors	Spaces

• Local NGOs as community backers • Communication by NGOs • Media use	

Fig 10: *From Basic Themes to Organizing Themes*

Having developed these organizing themes, I in the next chapter, interpret and analyze the data using these organizing themes to answer the research questions of this research.

4.7   Chapter Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter introduced the epistemological stance from which I approach this research which I explained as constructivist. I then described the research context, the data collection exercise and how I went about analyzing the data. In my estimation, despite its limitations such as the small sample from the community mentioned previously, the methodology and methods described above was the most appropriate means for obtaining data necessary for answering my research questions. Firstly, the case study approach enables me to examine my research questions within a bounded setting, i.e. the Ngoyla Mintom projects. As I had limited familiarity with the main actors of the case, the snowball sample was very useful in locating participants in this study. Through this method, I was able to have hours of frank interviews with senior WWF and World Bank staff, including field staff who interacted frequently with local communities. Moreover, I was able to gain access to key civil society actors who were very much involved in defending community interests in the projects, locally, nationally and internationally. My stay in the remote communities in Ngoyla and Mintom, at the site of the encounter between discourses of global environmental governance and local constructs of the environment allowed me access to rare data about the lived experiences of local communities with regards to the

projects. Thus, the analysis in research is based on authentic data from multiple viewpoints, and multiple sources which helps me unpack C4D in ways that is not often done. In the next chapter, I present the findings based on the thematic interpretation of collected data.

Chapter Five

Power, Communication and Spaces in the Ngoyla Mintom Projects

In this chapter, I answer my first research question, which examines policy actors' communicative practices, how this is shaped by the discourses they espouse and how such communication shapes spaces between policy actors and local communities. This question is linked to my earlier argument about discourses of global environmental governance and how such discourses constitute manifestations of power. Implicit in this question is an appraisal of how policy actors' communication practices embody such power and the consequences these communication practices have for spaces. I will be establishing how this form of power influences the communication choices of policy actors.

To reach the above objectives, I will describe how policy actors in the projects conceive of the role of communication within the projects, their communication strategies and tools and the rationales behind these choices. I will also describe actual communication practices and strategies targeting different publics within and outside the project area. I will then show how these conceptions of communication embodied discursive power and how policy actors' communicative practices engendered different kinds of spaces at different temporal and spatial levels. All through this chapter and throughout the following chapters, I refer to staff of the WWF and World Bank projects as "policy actors". While I may cite interview data from WWF and the World Bank project separately to illustrate a point, I make no conceptual difference between the two. My intention is not to undertake a comparative study of the two organizations.

Predictably, evidence reveals that policy actors overwhelmingly employ discourses of global environmental governance in the projects. These discursive standpoints influence conceptions of communication by policy actors and leads to modernization-type communicative practices in some instances. In other

instances, what could best be described as low-level participatory communication is employed, and these are similarly dominated by policy actors' discursive positions. These communicative practices engender what could be described as a constellation of different spaces that involve different actors within local communities: some invited deliberative spaces, others closed off to some stakeholders, particularly local communities. Closed communicative spaces consequently limit local communities' voice in certain spaces such as media. Closed spaces similarly limit community voice where project decisions are made and highlight how power relations contribute to shaping communicative spaces in the projects. Lack of community voice can also be attributed to lack of communication capabilities and poor media development within the project area. I start by discussing how discursive power is characteristic of policy actors' communication and the strategies that they employ. Next, I discuss the kinds of spaces engendered by these practices. In reporting these findings, I assign numbers to certain participants because I interviewed more than one person with the same professional title. I refer to the three WWF Field officers I interviewed as WWF Field Officer 1, 2 and 3. The same applies for the local Chiefs whom I refer to as Chief 1 or Chief 2.

5.1 Discursive Power and Policy Actor's Conception of the role of Communication.

Weedon (1987:108) describes discourse as the "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them". Predictably, the discourse of sustainable development is at the center of the rationale for the Ngoyla Mintom projects. Combatting climate change, sustainable consumption, reducing emissions from forest degradation and improved living conditions for local populations are some of the discursive standpoints on which the projects are founded. Consequently, policy actors espouse this discourse as guiding their actions in the project. As the World Bank project coordinator noted, "the aim of

the project was to conserve the rich biodiversity in that area and the amelioration of the livelihoods of the populations living within that area". The WWF Field Officer 3 also stated regarding the work of WWF in the massif that "the bottom line is that as long as environmental destruction is minimized; we are fine…because our main thinking is one of sustainable development".

Achieving this aim, in part meant convincing the local population of the "good" that the projects would bring to them and the good that it would do the planet. Furthermore, this discourse is reinforced and sustained by the production of knowledge that legitimizes the rationale of the project. Although policy actors claim that local knowledge is important, expert knowledge overwhelmingly drives the projects. WWF routinely conducts wildlife and biological surveys in the area. This knowledge production is used alongside other IPCC-type climate change information to buttress the discourses that underpin the projects. These constituted knowledges are also instrumentally employed to legitimize the projects and influence the creation of new arrangements for how local populations interact with the forest. Communication was therefore conceived strategically to further this aim.

All policy actors unequivocally stated that communication is of crucial importance to the success of their projects. Communication is understood in most instances by policy actors in modernization terms and viewed as important for linking the project with both local and external audiences. It is conceived primarily as useful for information dissemination to local populations with the intention of educating, but also of public relations directed at the local community and in some instances at external publics. Modernization-type communication involving elements of public relations is thus very much a feature of communicative strategies employed by policy actors. For instance, during my interview with him, the Coordinator of the World Bank project stated that "for us, communication is capital. For us, communication paves the way" [plays a leading role]. But he also added that "we cannot get good visibility without communicating. If people are

not informed or aware of the good things that we are doing, they will not think we are useful".

Communication therefore is understood in the World Bank project as important for dissemination of information. But one can also conjecture from this statement that the coordinator views communication as important insofar as it can be used instrumentally to inform about and promote the "good" work that the project is accomplishing for the communities. Doing good and looking good is indeed a growing tendency among development organizations which employ communication to as well promote their work to various audiences, local, national or international (Enghel & Noske-Turner, 2018). But considering that "good" is a subjective qualification of the World Bank's project's work, it is reasonable to infer that this interviewee could be in this instance, espousing the "good" in conservation and sustainable development which underpins the project.

Communication thus also serves the PR role of bolstering the image of the World Bank project in the eyes of the locals and to external publics. The coordinator explained some of their communications activities thus:

> So, in terms of sensitization, when we have an activity to undertake in the field, the communications consultant is part of the team. He conducts interviews, takes pictures etc. Sometimes we call on Canal 2 [a TV channel] or CRTV [the state-owned national TV] to cover some of our events that we consider of national or international interest. Or sometimes, if need be, we go to Cameroon Tribune [the state-owned daily] or to the CRTV to disseminate information and explain to the public the activities we are carrying out. We participated in the Promote Fair in February…we were also on Radio Environment [in Yaoundé]. We also produce gadgets [publicity items such as key holders, t-shirts and the like] for communication.

Given the near-complete absence of mass media in the Ngoyla Mintom area, these communication activities demonstrate that communication in the World

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Bank project is viewed in corporate communication and public relations terms aimed at external publics. There are no media outlets in the Ngoyla Mintom area: no radio or newspaper. Telecommunications is inexistent in Ngoyla. TV signals from the national broadcaster (CRTV) do not reach the area. So, most of this media outreach activity by the World Bank project likely is aimed at an external audience. The state-owned national daily (Cameroon Tribune) is mostly read by the governing class. It is therefore conceivable that the use of that newspaper as a communication medium is primarily aimed at reaching government officials with information on the project.

At local level, communication is imperative to distinguish the World Bank project from others, given that, as the Coordinator alleged, some NGOs use those communities as opportunity to obtain funding from foreign donors for community projects that never materialize. The point was similarly made by a number of interviewees that some NGOs come into the community and promise to carry out projects that will benefit the community. These NGOs use community inputs to write project proposals and seek funding from mostly international donors but never really execute the projects they promised the communities. This has reportedly caused the community to become skeptical of entities who come in to the area with such projects. Explicably, communication, in this sense is conceived as a public relations tool for showcasing the achievements of the World Bank project.

In addition, communication is also conceived in the World Bank project as a marketing tool. Popular public events are seen by the World Bank project as an opportunity to market the project. To buttress this point, the Coordinator views the accomplishments of the project as in themselves a marketing tool to the local community members. He noted that when local community members see the cassava farms and poultry farms which some of their counterparts have started thanks to funding from the World Bank project, they become more interested in the project and want to benefit as well from it. "Even our micro projects are communication tools in themselves. When people see poultry farms…cassava

projects…they start asking questions amongst themselves "how did you do this? …who gave you the money?" So, the message spreads", he said. This conception of communication as marketing is also implicit in the way the project's coordinator described some local communication activities:

> And we also take advantage of public events to promote the project…for instance the International Day of Indigenous people [International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples, August 9] …we also participate in activities on the International Women's Day during which we support rural women…. We also try to strengthen our communication by producing items like calendars and the like that we distribute when we are out on the field.

The targeting of special events like the International Women's Day and the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples, including the production of marketing artefacts is meant to advertise the project at local level, since in Cameroon, these days are marked by public festivities. On such days, local women are offered T shirts carrying the logo of the project. These women wear these t-shirts and carry banners of the project during their usual march and other activities in the town square. Television crews are sometimes invited to cover these and other events such as the award of the World Bank project's funding for community-owned micro projects. One of such videos exists on YouTube. Such media coverage of these events is likely designed to both inform and bolster the image of the project to outside audiences as I shall demonstrate in a subsequent section. There is thus an element of publicity and marketing associated to communication in the project.

Fig 11: *Screenshot from Women's march in Ngoyla on Women's Day, March 8, 2015*

A similar instrumental conception of communication as an information delivery system and PR is evident in how policy actors at WWF expressed the role of communication in their project. All four staff (the communications officer and three field officers) that I interviewed expressed the view that communication is vital. When I asked the Communications Officer what he conceived as the role of communication in the WWF project, he said

> Communication helps in the mobilization of communities to support the initiatives that are carried out in the field. Communication also helps in building the policy agenda around particular issues of interest to WWF in the field and communication is used as a tool to magnify the achievements of the project and to share lessons learnt from these projects

The functions he ascribes to communication suggests that communication is considered first as engagement tool for winning community support for WWF

projects in Ngoyla Mintom, second as advocacy to advance WWF projects and thirdly as a way of publicizing achievements of the projects, a perspective similar to promoting the "good work" of the projects as expressed earlier by the Coordinator of the World Bank project. Hence communication is viewed as important for furthering the discursive rationales of the projects.

Furthermore, for project policy actors at WWF, communication is understood and deployed as a strategic tool for educating local communities and selling project goals and activities to local communities. The aim of which is to convince community members of the necessity of the project and get the local community to adhere, or to "buy-in" (to quote the Communications Officer) to WWF project goals. A case in point is in the WWF-led campaign against illegal hunting, whereby it was reasoned that providing local populations with information about dwindling stocks of wildlife would cause them to support the hunting curbs which WWF was advocating. This excerpt from my interview with the WWF Communications officer sheds more light on this aspect.

> We are working with local stakeholders to elaborate strategies and implement strategies on fighting poaching. Now in order to do this the communities that are living around protected areas need to know about the situation. So, what we usually do in Ngoyla for example, we organize awareness-raising meetings with the communities. One of these meetings was accompanied by a film projection using a giant screen in the village center and during that projection, we were able to provide a platform for the people to ask questions about wildlife…some particular wildlife species like elephants, gorillas and so on

This statement above provides an insight into the reasoning behind these communication activities. It was most likely believed at WWF that providing local populations with information about dwindling stocks of animals through such awareness-raising meetings would prompt them to support the hunting curbs

which WWF was advocating. WWF frequently conducts wildlife surveys in the area and uses results of these surveys to influence wildlife policy as in the case of hunting curbs. These results also form the basis of its awareness-raising campaigns in favor of the protection of wildlife in the Ngoyla-Mintom area. WWF's approach in this case conforms to key principles of the modernization paradigm in communication for development which according to Melkote & Steeves (2015) emphasizes the delivery of information as a means of bringing about change in attitudes that will consequently lead to social change.

The forerunning indicates the role of communication in the Ngoyla Mintom projects is viewed by policy actors in modernization terms such as information dissemination: to inform and justify the projects to the local community. At the same time, it is also a public relations or marketing tool for the purpose of informing different, sometimes external publics with a view of showcasing the project's achievements and the benefits that it brings to the local community. The diffusion or "telling" form of communication employed by policy actors can be linked to the discourses they espouse about conservation and NRM, which for the most part is based on positivist knowledges identical to the discourse of global environmental governance. Ferrari (2010:1551), highlighted this aspect when he talked of "authoritarian and instrumental communication" in communicating climate change mitigation NRM programmes like REDD+.

A key question in relation to the premise of this research, is what kind of spaces do these conceptions of communication engender? I shall be discussing this relationship further below. For now, suffice to say that these conceptions of communication relate to literature on spaces in that these communication practices generate invited spaces, as in the case with the WWF awareness-raising meetings, in which discursive power is exercised by policy actors. Discursive power in these spaces is sustained and supported by technical knowledge such as the WWF wildlife surveys which lead to the erection of new regulations concerning wildlife. I will be expanding on the relationship between communicative practices and spaces as I progress with this chapter.

5.1.1 Communication Conceived as Participatory

Although communication is primarily conceived in modernization terms, policy actors also view communication as collaborative engagement with the local population. Policy actors indicated that involving the local community in the projects was paramount, hence they considered participatory communication of prime importance for different project objectives. But as I will show, there was a difference between what policy actors professed about participation and what occurred as participation. What policy actors described as "participatory" in the projects best fits in the lower rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, or what Kothari (2001) characterizes as a reaffirmation of social control and power by dominant discourses in participatory approaches.

During our hour-long interview in his Yaoundé office, the World Bank Project Coordinator also articulated this view of communication as a means of building relationships with the local communities and facilitating their acceptance of the project. As I mentioned above, local populations have grown skeptical of entities who come into their locality with claims of executing projects for the benefit of the community. Participatory communication in the World Bank project serves a role of dispelling such skepticism according to the Coordinator:

> The people have been promised a lot of things [by some NGOs] but little ever materialized. So, we were conscious of these past failures and we were bent on making a difference. In the first year, the people were skeptical…but as we kept on going there and explaining things, spending time with them, spending nights with them, eating with them, staying in their homes etc…they began to realize that we are not like the others…

This form of communicative interaction to build rapport with the locals is strategically employed to enhance project acceptance among local groups like the Baka. Such communication is also viewed as necessary in order to prevent project failures and for involving the local communities. The World Bank project Coordinator cited the case of the Baka housing project which according to him

would not have materialized if they had stuck to the commonly held notion that Baka people prefer to live in their traditional thatch houses in the forest. Indeed, it is commonly assumed in Cameroon that the Baka who are a forest-dwelling people cannot live in modernity, that they prefer their forest life. In World Bank Project Coordinator's words:

> In the case of the housing projects for the Baka…you know the popular notion is that the Baka do not live in modern houses because they prefer their traditional huts. But without proper communication we could have fallen for the same notion. So, before we started on the housing project, we went on the ground and told them that we wanted to build houses for them...and asked them if at all they wanted the houses…and how would they want the houses to look like. They themselves drew the houses on the ground…how they wanted their houses to look like. If you go to Mabam [Baka village] …you will see for yourself

It is not clear whether the modern houses were a priority for the Baka or if they even wanted them at all. I was in Mabam, the Baka village which the Coordinator referred to, and saw the houses. The Chief of the village told me that the project people arrived in the village and told them they wanted to construct houses for them and they accepted. Although the construction of these houses was part of the World Bank project, it mirrors a long-standing Government policy aimed at bringing the Baka in to modernity. The government has since independence in 1960 been pursuing policies to integrate the Baka into mainstream national socio-economic culture through education and other social programmes (Pyhala, 2012). Nonetheless communication as is evidenced by the above quote is viewed as a means to facilitating understanding between various stakeholders or as "dialogue" as the project's Field Technical Officer in Mintom put it to me.

This view of the importance of participatory communication in the projects was echoed by the Field Technical officer for the World Bank project who assists local

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communities in setting up and managing income-generating activities financed by the World Bank project. During our interview in Mintom, she stated that:

> Communication as dialogue is central…but also communication in terms of messaging. The tendency for an outsider is to think that these communities are not knowledgeable…and lack the knowledge to do certain things. This is totally…[false]. These communities have innate knowledge. It is important that an outsider put aside any preconceived notions about these people.

As someone whose job involves frequent interaction with local communities on the field, the Field Technical Officer expresses the same views of communication as a participatory process, as the project Coordinator. Her recognition of the "innate knowledge" of the locals rings similar to the proposition that indigenous knowledge be acknowledged in participatory processes (Manyonzo, 2012, Bessette, 2006). Co-designing and implementing the income-generating activities is a time-consuming exercise that involves negotiating and dealing with diverse shades of opinions, levels of comprehension, expectations and needs. Effectively addressing and harnessing this diversity demands participatory communication approaches. Hence, her personal experience in dealing with these communities has likely influenced the way she appreciates the role of communication in the project.

However, even though policy actors emphasize the importance of participatory approaches, such participatory communication is also a requirement of international frameworks such as FPIC and World Bank operational guidelines which demand that projects such as Ngoyla Mintom be inclusive and participatory. So, the consideration for participatory approaches is foremost an institutional requirement as well as an approach policy actor consider as important. These frameworks are significant, I shall return to them and their significance in later chapters. Suffice to note at this point that in addition to modernization-type communication, communication in the World Bank project is

conceived also, as a participatory process imperative for establishing cordial relationships with and involve local communities through "dialogue" in at least some aspects of the project.

This view of communication as participatory is similarly shared by WWF policy actors who conceive of communication as important for community involvement in the projects. This understanding of communication seems to underline collaborative relationships between the community members and WWF as cardinal for the attainment of project goals. As the WWF Communications Officer asserted: "we pay a lot of attention to the communities who will be impacted by the activities we intend to implement within the framework of the projects we intend to carry out. So, community involvement is very important, and we take that very seriously". In theory, this supposes that community involvement is a priority for WWF, it is not clear what form or extent such involvement takes. This will likely emerge in the next section where I examine concrete communicative practices in the projects.

This participatory approach to communication is echoed by WWF Field Officers whom I interviewed. The field officer in charge of PES projects in Ngoyla explained to me that "communication is essential in this kind of project. You have to communicate about everything you do in these projects…even the inconvenient things and of course the benefits." According to him participatory communication is essential because the nature of forest management requires or even imposes collaborative approaches. As he reiterated, "and especially…especially…one of the requirements of these projects be it REDD+ or PES…is that they should be participatory. So, we made a lot of efforts in that direction". The requirements he alludes to are similar to the international frameworks (FPIC) which I mentioned earlier. His tone in his use of "especially" twice, for emphasis, in the quote above gave me a sense he genuinely believed that these processes must be participatory instead of top-down. The WWF field officer for Mintom concurred when I interviewed him a few weeks later. When I asked him how the forest mapping of the protected area was undertaken, he said

it had been participatory, that together with the community members, they had put red paint on the trees delimiting the protected area. He added that "you cannot do the forest plan without involving all stakeholders. So, the communities participated in the mapping".

Again, there may be questions regarding the extent of such participation considering the levels of participation as explained by Anstein (1969) and Burns et al, (1994). Such questions are related to whether the locals were participating only in the implementation of a policy that had been decided without their consent or inputs. Furthermore, judging community experiences of these projects (which I examine in the next chapter), these participatory overtures by policy actors hovered on the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder: therapy, informing, manipulation and consultation. Furthermore, and of more significance to this research, these participatory actions engendered invited spaces in which policy actors' discourses dominated deliberations and decisions. Thus, discursive power and hidden power characterized invited communicative spaces. I will be elaborating more on the nature of spaces and power in subsequent sections and chapters as I dissect more data.

To conclude this section, the evidence discussed above indicate that policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects view communication as important and conceive it along the modernization and participation lines: as a participatory process, information dissemination, as advocacy and as public relations or marketing. These conceptions of communications can in part be linked to discursive positions of policy actors, i.e. the positivist knowledges of global environmental governance. The implications these conceptions have for communicative practices and their consequence on spaces will start to emerge in the next section as I discuss some of the concrete communicative activities derived from the approaches to communication expressed above. But although policy actors did not explicitly say so, they also understood communication as personal advocacy with opinion leaders and other influential community members. I expand more on this in a subsequent section below.

5.2 Communication for (Sustainable) Development in Practice

In this section, I describe the communicative practices deriving from the conception of communication by policy actors as outlined above. This relates to my sub-question about the kind of communicative practices employed by policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects and how they are manifestations of different combinations of power within different forms of spaces. Examining these communication practices is a first step in unpacking the relation between communicative practices, power and spaces. Thus, in the ensuing pages, I will discuss some practical communicative instances and the use of media by policy actors. Given that there are no broadcast media in the Ngoyla Mintom area, public meetings are the most widely used forms of communicating with the local population on project matters. Following (McGee 2004:16) who characterizes spaces as "the moments and opportunities where citizens and policymakers come together", these meetings are the spaces of engagement between policy actors and local communities. Hence, I will discuss the various forms of meetings as spaces. In addition, I will discuss policy actors' use of media in their communication. I intersperse this discussion with analysis of the embeddedness of power in these communication activities and their significance as communicative spaces. I will conclude with an elaboration of how these communicative practices reflect certain forms of power and produce particular forms of spaces.

5.2.1 Public Meetings as Invited Spaces

Public meetings in the projects are the easiest way to communicate with the local population due to the total absence of media in the massif and serve as information dissemination forums. Communication in these spaces take on both modernization-type and what Arnstein (1969) would call "nonparticipation" participatory communication approaches. These meetings as invited spaces also constitute arenas of discursive dominance. In Lukes's (2005) terms, these spaces constitute arena's where to an extent, hidden power, visible power and arguably

invisible power are exercised by policy actors. I say to an extent because local resistance sometimes occurs in these spaces. I also say somewhat participatory because, although policy actors claim these spaces are participatory, public meetings are primarily intended as information sessions whereby the community concerned is informed about a certain aspect of the project. This usually pertains to explaining the reason for the project and how the community will benefit from the project. WWF uses these kinds of meetings to "sensitize" the local populations about aspects of its project such as the need to protect wildlife and biodiversity. Policy actors therefore exercise discursive power in these spaces. The WWF Communications Officer described the way these meetings were set up thus:

> We first of all invited the village chief…we invited…if there was a teacher in that village he would participate. If there were members of the association in that village, they would participate. The local political leaders in the village… we invited all of them. Everybody would be part of the meeting…it wasn't a secret. But the chief usually rallied the people…they go around, and they rally the people and then we meet at the…what they call hangar…in the village. And we shared the information we had with them…took some questions from them and then we moved to the next village.

Public meetings also feature at the start of a project to communicate the project aims and to gather the communities' view on the project objectives and workings. This chimes with Cornwall's (2002) characterization of invited spaces as public consultations whereby citizens are invited to provide their input on some policy. Policy actors consider these sessions as participatory because according to them, attendees freely express their views, ask questions, make demands and critiques aspects of the project. As an example, the start of the World Bank Ngoyla Mintom project in 2012 was preceded by such meetings in Ngoyla and another in Mintom. The World Bank Project Coordinator described the meetings

as being to inform and get inputs from the community. He noted during our interview that,

> from when the project was being conceived, we had missions to the field…to inform the populations, to get their suggestions…their requests etc. If you look at documents from the preparation stage of the project you will see that we consulted the populations and they told us that they wanted this or that. We have all of that in writing

I examined the minutes of one of such meetings that I obtained from the World Bank's web page. The meeting was held in Ngoyla municipal hall on August 29, 2011, about a year before the official start of the project. The attendance of the meeting was varied: comprising local government officials, local traditional rulers, a representative of the World bank, local NGOs, representatives of four government ministries, representatives of mining and logging companies operating in the area, as well as local populations including the Baka. The attendance sheet signed by every participant shows a total of 111 participants at the meeting.

According to the minutes of this meeting, discussions touched on several aspects linked to the World Bank project. Some of them included "support mechanisms for ensuring the involvement of local populations in project implementation", "local skepticism about the project and the definition of guarantees for local involvement in project implementation", "human-wildlife conflict", "strategies for uptake and continuation of project achievements after project ends". Among the resolutions of the meeting were inputs from the local community. For instance, the Baka gave their accord for the project on condition that the project does not infringe on their customary practices such as subsistence hunting, fishing, collection of NTFP (Non-Timber Forest Products) and their traditional rites. Other resolutions include a decision to elaborate a manual of procedures for the acquisition of funding for income generating activities, and a pledge to stimulate the local economy. A major decision was that the population gave its accord for the project to

commence. The minutes was signed by all representatives in attendance. Overall, the minutes reveal that a wide range of issues pertaining to the project was discussed by diverse actors and stakeholders. It also reveals that these different stakeholders argued their various positions and obtained concessions, even if in theory only during the meeting.

The above demonstrates how we can view policy actors' communication practices as producing spaces. Such meetings constitute "invited spaces" (Gaventa, 2006) whereby local actors are called upon by policy actors to be informed and sometimes to get their input on project-related issues. Furthermore, meetings such as the ones described above are also what Cornwall (2002: 19) refers to as "fleeting formations": the one-off consultations between policy actors and the public often at the start of projects. The momentary nature of these meetings as spaces casts doubts as to the extent to which citizen concerns may be integrated into final decisions regarding the project. These temporal spaces often lack institutional foundations and therefore are lacking accountability (Cornwall, 2002). Such consultative meetings according to Cornwall (2002) also serve to foster "inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity" from hegemonic discourses, which in this case would be the dominant discourse of sustainable development on which these meetings were based. Furthermore, the format of the meeting and the inclusion of locals can be viewed as an exercise of hidden power through the use of "rules of the game" (Lukes, 2005), since decisions that were finally reached largely advanced policy actors' interests. And as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, local inhabitants accounts of their experiences with some aspects of the World bank's project fall short of the optimism expressed by the agreements reached at in the World Bank meeting above.

Public meetings as communicative practice by WWF similarly produced invited spaces similar to the space discussed above: temporal spaces or "fleeting formations" created by WWF in which WWF discursive positions dominate. The nature of some of these meetings appears asymmetrical and hint at top-down

communication practices whereby locals are simply informed of project issues. The meetings are characterized by two groups of actors that could be described as the knower and the learner, insinuating discursive power. WWF policy actors in these meetings act as knowledge dispensers to the local community: sensitizing them about wildlife, conservation, climate change and so on. This was especially the case in the WWF wildlife conservation programme, where public meetings were used to inform and educate local inhabitants about the need for wildlife conservation in Ngoyla Mintom. The WWF Communication officer described one of such meetings to me:

> What we usually do in Ngoyla for example, we organized awareness-raising meetings with the communities. One of these meetings was accompanied by a film projection using a giant screen in the village center and during that projection, we were able to provide a platform for the people to ask questions about wildlife…some particular wildlife species like elephants, gorillas and so on. Before then we had prepared a poster that shows the different categorizations of wildlife species: Class A, Class B. And we used this poster before the projection. We bring out this poster, we sensitize the people. And the film we were projecting had to do with great apes which are Class A protected species

So, while these gatherings are described as participatory public meetings and were open to all, they in essence are invited spaces where policy actors convey pre-packaged messages to local populations. "Awareness-raising" connotes a unidirectional flow of information or "knowledge" from the WWF project policy actors to the local communities. The rationale behind this strategy is the expectation that exposure to these messages will trigger pro-conservation behavior from the local population. This is reminiscent of the modernization paradigm which prioritizes dissemination of information as a means of fostering social change. It also evokes Freire's (1970) "banking" view of communication for development. Significant also, is that these communicative practices engender

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constructed arenas where WWF policy actors exercise discursive power by imparting "knowledge" on invited local actors. This conforms with what Lefebvre (1974: 24) signifies when he states that space "is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, of power".

5.2.2 Public Meetings as Participatory Invited Spaces

In some programs within the projects, meetings as policy actors' communicative practice engendered what could be described as participatory invited spaces. In this case, these spaces were more participatory and prolonged, as compared to the "fleeting formations" above. Such participatory invited spaces were characteristic of the preparation stages of income generating projects to be financed by the World Bank project. World Bank Project officers support communities in selecting which activity to undertake and provide technical assistance in elaborating, implementing and monitoring these "micro projects" as they are called. The World Bank Technical Officer in Mintom recounted the process of establishing these micro projects in our interview when I asked her about how these micro projects are created.

> What happens usually is that we discuss…I ask them questions and I take down notes. There is an advantage in that I understand the local dialect…so it makes things easier. They would come up with things like agriculture, fish farming or some other activity. Then we would ask them, if they had only three things to choose from the things they enumerated, which three would they choose? And we would also ask them to prioritize among the three they chose…as in the first, second and third. After, we gather their responses and find the most preponderant choice. This choice would become the community priority. But we would again negotiate to make sure that everyone was comfortable with the choice……After this…we would engage in another round of discussion asking them questions about how

they think they would achieve and manage the project…obstacles and how they can be overcome. We do a risk analysis. You must discuss and discuss and discuss. And we would come out with an elaborated project at the end of it all. ….

The World Bank Technical Officer told me this process would take days to accomplish. She also said special arrangements would be made for how the Baka select a project due to how decisions are made among the Baka. As she said, "in the case of the Baka, the approach was different…because they have a different culture. We would step aside, and they would discuss amongst themselves and come up with a single project idea."

This account suggests that some invited spaces were characterized by participatory communication during the making of the micro-projects. At first glance, it resonates significantly with deliberative processes and participatory designs in communication for development literature which argues that the role of communication in development should be inclusive processes that allow expressions of needs and gives voice to subalterns (Melkote & Steeves, 2015; Scott, 2014; Manyozo, 2012). But as critics of participation like Kothari (2001:142) would argue, because such participatory approaches "demands certain performances to be enacted", they are tantamount to "a reassertion of power and social control, not only by certain individuals and groups, but also of particular bodies of knowledge".

Likewise, this space, though described as participatory, was couched in what Lukes (2005) labels "invisible power": how power works to shape the psychological confines of social actors. In other words, invisible power conditions our minds to voluntarily accept and even desire a certain reality without us knowing such reality could be against our interests. The caveat however is that invisible power is hard to observe or prove according to Lukes. But in the case of these micro-projects, local actors who enthusiastically participate in these schemes could be said to be do so under a "false consciousness" (Freire, 1970) that conditions their psyche into viewing the micro projects as a boon. These

individuals, especially the Baka, prior to the arrival of the World Bank project had mostly lived in their lifeworld as hunters and gatherers. Their newfound interest in becoming animal farmers or commercial farmers constitutes a mental shift that could be attributed in part to invisible power encapsulated in the narrative that the World Bank-sponsored micro-projects were "good" for them. They became willing participants in and willingly accepted what was essentially different from their worldviews and life world. I say in part here because as I shall explain in the next chapter, in acts of resistance reminiscent of Scott's (1985) "weapons of the weak", some local inhabitants signed up for these micro projects simply for the money that was disbursed by the World Bank for such projects.

Communicative practice around some WWF projects such as in the WWF PES scheme similarly occasioned invited participatory spaces. PES or Payments for Environmental Services is a scheme that provides financial incentives to communities to keep their forests standing. A PES agreement requires that the local forest-dependent community abstain from exploiting a given forest in ways that deplete its carbon stock. These restrictions often include a freeze on agriculture and logging within the designated area. In a PES process, a baseline reference scenario is established by calculating the carbon stock in a given area. Carbon pricing mechanisms are employed to attribute monetary value to the carbon stock in the said area. The size of the conservation area is determined by both the policy actors and the community. At the end of the year, the carbon stock is measured again, and the community receives corresponding financial incentives based on whether carbon stock have increased or stayed the same. These arrangements are contained in contracts signed between the community and WWF, with external oversight of PlanVivo, the international carbon certification agency.

Public meetings are the main communicative encounters between WWF and local communities in the WWF PES process in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Fifteen of such meetings with communities in four villages were held in the elaboration of the PES process, according to a PES project document I obtained. This

suggests that this participatory space was more institutionalized and therefore likely had some form of accountability, following Cornwall's (2002) characterization of institutionalized spaces. The WWF Field Officer in charge of the PES project explained their communicative practice to me. Below is a quote from our interview.

> So, we have meetings with them and we explain to them how our project can help them change the way the manage their forest and mitigate climate change…that felling trees contributes to worsening climate change…whereas keeping these trees standing benefits them in the long term. We explain to them they are the custodians of the forest and they…and everyone else benefits if they sustainably manage their forest. They then understand that they are part of the solution to fighting climate change. And we employ simple language that they can understand because if we start talking carbon and the rest, it becomes complicated for them to understand.

While the quote above is reminiscent of discursive power (through the use of climate change knowledge's) and indicates that discursive power is embedded in WWF PES communication practices, these meetings nonetheless constitute invited spaces of participatory communicative interactions between WWF project policy actors and local inhabitants. It is during these meetings that information exchange and PES negotiations occur. The demarcation or zoning of the forest area to be earmarked for PES seemed to have been subject to a great deal of negotiation between project policy actors and members of the local community. This quote from the PES officer hints at the participatory nature of the process:

> What we did was that we made a lot of concessions…the micro-zoning exercise became participatory…to a point where we modified up to 50percent of our [WWF] original micro-zoning plan to accommodate the various complaints [from locals]. It took

a lot of negotiation…a lot of negotiation to reach a consensus with the community. Because we understood that it was pointless to have a large conservation area that would not be respected

That the WWF Field Officer repeated "a lot of negotiation" in the quote above is indicative of the fact that arriving at a consensus with the community must have involved considerable concessions. This, coupled with the negotiation and consensus alluded to above suggests that the process was characterized by significant collaborative work and participatory communication between project policy actors and local community members in the PES process, albeit embedded in discursive power and material power exercised by WWF policy actors. An argument could also be made about material power being exercised on local inhabitants given the promise of financial remunerations at the heart of the PES process.

Nonetheless, the participatory character and accountability of this created space was echoed when I interviewed a group of members of a local community association (CODEVI) the village development association of Etekessang village in Ngoyla. The village was one of the four villages that had opted to commit their community forests to the PES process and CODEVI was the representative of the village in the PES process discussions. The interviewees seemed to be confident about their role and their stake in the PES process. They apparently knew what to expect and what was expected of them in the process, as this quote from my interview with the CODEVI group illustrates when I asked them about their ability to influence the process. As the president said:

We in the community respect our obligations under PES, we expect them [WWF] to respect theirs as well. If they don't that is where we might have problems. PES payments have to be punctual… with PES we can do this [conservation]…we can do this well. And we are able to properly handle our own end of the

deal. We have to monitor…the PES plan makes the community
responsible for monitoring its own progress

This suggests accountability in the invited participatory space of the PES scheme. I will discuss this in detail in the next chapter where I detail community experiences of the projects.

In the two instances discussed in this section, it can be construed that public meetings as invited participatory spaces serve the purpose of positioning policy actors and local populations in a dialogic relationship for the purpose of facilitating project development. This echoes policy actors' conception of communication as participatory, which I discussed earlier. Such meetings are often open to all community members. As the head of the Etekessang village community association (CODEVI) stated, "we have a management committee, and everyone is involved…even the Baka. That means that nothing can be negotiated without the community. When there is a meeting with the PES people, we pass the message round to everyone and we meet. Everyone knows what is said…everyone." Thus, public meetings as institutionalized participatory spaces constitute important arenas for project formulation through negotiation between various actors. These instances also signal that participatory processes which are a cornerstone of natural resource management (Van de Fliert, 2014; FAO, 2014) are a feature of some components WWF and World Bank. Also significant is that these participatory invited spaces are characterized by the activation of discursive power, hidden power and invisible power. This however, is only one part of the nature of meetings as policy actors' communicative practice in the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

5.2.3 Meetings as Closed Spaces

In addition to the kinds of spaces discussed above, policy actor's communicative practice as interpersonal advocacy produces spaces that can be referred to as closed or restricted spaces. These spaces occur within communities but are open

only to selected community members. In Ngoyla for instance, WWF sometimes invites certain individuals from the community to meetings in its project office in Ngoyla. These individuals are actors whom WWF policy actors consider as crucial for achieving their project goals in Ngoyla. In a semi-informal conversation with the WWF field technical officer for Ngoyla, he pointed out to me that "there are four key individuals in Ngoyla without whom, nothing can be achieved here". These four men are three of the chiefs of three of the four cantons that make up Ngoyla. The fourth is the former Mayor of Ngoyla. These are the individuals who routinely get invited to the meetings at the WWF project base camp in Ngoyla. This practice of holding meetings with selected actors in the community is based on the idea that working with the influential people in the village would lead to better community acceptance of the project since these persons hold sway in the community. In this case WWF capitalized on the institutional power arrangements within the communities.

The WWF Field Officer's allusion to the role of local chiefs corroborated an earlier similar statement by the WWF Communication Officer when I interviewed him a few weeks earlier. In a segment of our interview about local resistance to the WWF wildlife protection campaign, the WWF Communication Officer had said that the strategy sometimes is to go through local leaders whom he called "targeted stakeholders". As he noted,

> We organize meetings. We bring them together …like during the study on wildlife inventory… we invited the chiefs, the local elites, the D.O [District Officer], the Mayor…all of them came. And we presented them the study, saying this is the situation: this are the species of animals we find in the forest, this is the trend, this is the estimated population, these are the threats to this wildlife, and this is what we are proposing as measures to tackle the threats. If you have the Mayor on your side, he can encourage people to listen. If you have [the chief] …even though the social structure is not as strong there [chiefs in that part of Cameroon

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do not command the same high community esteem as chiefs in other parts of the country] but there are some local chiefs that have a bit of influence.

The above indicates that WWF employs meetings strategically to create restricted communicative spaces wherein it can influence certain actors it views as influential in the community. One might call this interpersonal advocacy. In this case institutionalized power structures enable particular actors within the local community to enter invited spaces where discursive power, including material power, is exercised by policy actors. I say material power because of the accounts of two local women I interviewed.

These local women in Ngoyla deplored the fact that some of these meetings are not open to the rest of the community, especially to women. When I asked them how communication about conservation projects occurs given that there are no media in Ngoyla, one of them said:

> They [WWF and presumably the World Bank] have a particular group of people with whom they do things. When they come [with projects] they invite only the village chiefs, they send cars to pick up the Chiefs for meetings where the chiefs are offered food and drinks and per diems

In a small poor locality like Ngoyla where the two or three cars in town government service-cars are driven by government officials, the status-conferral symbolism of the chiefs being chauffeured by a WWF SUV is a luxury that is almost tantamount to WWF enticing the Chiefs. This, coupled with the food, drinks and per diems provided during these meetings render the suggestion of material power reasonable. As they ladies above pointed out sneeringly, "they [chiefs] seem to be more concerned about the food and per diems that they receive…when the chiefs return from those meetings, they are drunk…dead drunk [laughter]"

The forerunning suggests that there is a deliberate attempt by WWF policy actors to build on the influence of local leaders to rally local support and acceptance of the WWF wildlife conservation project. This practice resonates with earlier notions of the modernization paradigm such as the diffusion of innovations model (Everett Rogers, 1962) and Katz and Lazarsfeld's (1955) two-step flow of communication. These models highlight the determinant role elites or "early adopters" play in shaping public opinion in the adoption of new ideas.

Another form of spaces which this interpersonal advocacy communication strategy produces are invited spaces that are physically removed from the locality. These are meetings that are held with some members of the community but are held far away from the locality, in Yaoundé. Some community members get invited to meetings with other policy actors in Yaoundé, with the aim of discussing policy and project issues with other actors. The aim of inviting them to such meetings according to the WWF PES officer is to make local actors understand that they are part of a broader national action against climate change. As he put it to me during our interview, "we have these meetings in the village at the local level, but we also bring them to Yaoundé for meetings. When they participate in meetings in Yaoundé, they realize that it [climate change] is a serious issue and that they are one of the actors who can contribute in finding solutions to the problem".

The individuals that are invited to these meetings include members of local NGOs and some chiefs. They are invited to these meetings partly in the hope that they would in turn restitute the ideas discussed in these meetings to their various communities. At very least, as the WWF interviewee hinted above, from the standpoint of the actors coming from Ngoyla Mintom, these meetings can be characterized as information dissemination sessions following the two-step flow of information template. An unanswered question remains as to whether these individuals contribute and influence discussions in these meetings or if they are just brought in to listen. It could be construed that these meetings as communicative activity by policy actors constitute closed invited spaces,

physically removed from the Ngoyla vicinity, wherein discursive power is exercised by city-dwelling experts on rural actors.

From the above discussion about public meetings as communicative practice by policy actors, it is evident that meetings are employed by policy actors in a number of ways: as top-down information dissemination strategies, as low-levl participatory communication strategies and as interpersonal advocacy strategies. Evidence also points to the fact that while some of these meetings are cited as public and open to all community members, some meetings are restricted to certain members of the local communities for strategic reasons defined by policy actors' goals. This implies that spaces of communicative engagement are sometimes open and sometimes closed. A link could be made with how policy actors conceive of the role of communication and the spaces they engender. Conceptions of communication as information dissemination lead to open invited spaces. Conceptions of communication as participatory engender open participative spaces, while conceptions of communication as personal advocacy with opinion leaders led to closed spaces. Also evident is that these spaces are characterized by policy actors' exercise of discursive power, invisible power and material power. At this juncture, what is emerging is that these observations mirror the approach to power as unidirectional and concentrated in the binary conception of C4D, which I critique. In chapters Six and Seven I will show how viewing power as diffuse adds another dimension to how C4D can be theorized. Having established this, I will now examine the use of media by policy actors and how this use of media replicated some of the spaces and forms of power discussed above.

5.3   The Use of Media in the Ngoyla Mintom Projects

As I explained earlier, policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects also conceive of communication as information dissemination and PR. This necessarily involves the use of different media platforms to reach different audiences, both local and external. In this section, I examine the use of media by policy actors, the

rationales driving this use of media and how this use of media led to spaces dominated by policy actors' discourses, but which in some instances also were opportunities for locals to challenge these discursive positions. The Ngoyla-Mintom area as I have indicated earlier on, is a mass media blackout zone, especially Ngoyla. There is internet and telephone connectivity in Mintom due likely to the construction of the Cameroon-Congo highway which has opened up Mintom to these telecommunication facilities. But apart from this, electricity, TV or radio are nonexistent. Not to mention newspapers. This near-total lack of broadcast media seemingly constricts the use of media for communication in the projects; at least in the Ngoyla-Mintom vicinity. The absence of media also has important ramifications for spaces and "voice" and indicates that communication capabilities, especially for local populations are acutely restricted in the area. I will subsequently be revisiting this aspect. To the point in question at this juncture, due to this lack of media, project policy actors have made little use of legacy media such as radio or television to communicate with local inhabitants.

However, some form of media have been used in communication about the projects. As suggested by policy actors' conception of communication, most of this use of media in the Ngoyla Mintom area has been for the purpose of information dissemination. This was for instance the case with the wildlife conservation programmes. Both WWF and the World Bank projects have wildlife conservation components integrated into their projects. These wildlife programs both aim at denting what is perceived by policy actors as decimation of wildlife species, especially of big game such as elephants and gorillas. The campaign to preserve wildlife generally is two-pronged: there is a community engagement facet and a law and order facet. The law and order dimension seeks to create or favor the creation of new laws and implement old ones in combatting illegal hunting in the area. This action is mostly driven by WWF although it (WWF) also initiated community engagement activities to promote wildlife conservation. For instance, the WWF encouraged the government to recruit eco-guards and initially paid the salaries of the eco-guards. These eco-guards became a symbol of law and order in conservation related matters in the Ngoyla-Mintom area.

In its campaign to promote the preservation of wildlife in the area, WWF relied on information dissemination through the use of media. The rationale was that more information will lead to attitude changes. WWF used film screenings in different villages around Ngoyla Mintom. These films usually pertained to wildlife conservation. They were screened in village squares with the hope that these villagers would after watching these films be more predisposed to protecting and preserving wildlife. These screenings would usually be followed by a question and answer session. The WWF communication officer explained it thus:

> Ngoyla has a particularity in that there is no radio station…. no electricity…no telephone lines. So, our best bet was to do this face to face meeting and then this film screenings in the evening. We even included quizzes and prizes. And then of course there was the possibility for the people to ask questions…diverse questions…some very hostile questions and so on. We had to provide answers to the many questions that they asked

These screenings, like the public meetings, similarly represent temporary spaces created by WWF in which it exercised discursive power and controlled the narrative through entertainment communication. However, these spaces also provided opportunities for local expressions of "voice" and resistance, albeit fleeting, as indicated by the "hostile questions" referred to by the interviewee above. This adds to the developing narrative that modernization-type communication strategies adopted by policy actors favored the creation of invited spaces and these spaces became vehicles for the exercise of policy actors' discursive power. But as Foucault notes in his treatise about the strategic reversibility of power, these spaces also offer potentials for the resistance to the exercise of power as demonstrated by the "very hostile questions" from local inhabitants.

Another type of media communication employed by WWF is posters. These posters often contain different messages pertaining to conservation of wildlife and are pasted in key spots around localities in Ngoyla-Mintom. Some for instance

contain the various categorizations of the different animal species: class A, B and C. These animals are named on these posters in the main vernaculars of the region, that is in the Djem and Baka languages. The WWF Communications officer insinuated that the making of these posters were participatory:

> When I was in the field, I used to produce posters with a calendar on it. And we wrote the name out in the local dialect in Baka and in Djem [both local languages] You see. So, people now knew the name [of protected species] in the local dialect. And how did we do it? We took photos of the animal and gave them to the villagers. They identified the names [in local dialect]. The [posters] are all down there [in Ngoyla Mintom]. If you go to their classrooms, the police station, to the court you will see these posters…because we even work with the magistrate… [you will also find these posters] at bus stations, bars and so on.

The posters are meant to inform the local population of species that are protected and species that can be hunted for home consumption. Some also carry messages related to legal consequences of illegal hunting. During my stay in the Ngoyla-Mintom area, I did come across a number of these posters, including some that had been put up by other entities like logging companies such as IBC. However, interestingly these posters were made with some input from the local population as the WWF Communications officer explained.

The World Bank project too made similar use of posters as part of their communication against illegal hunting. As the project Coordinator said, "we are also involved in anti-poaching. So, we also produce information posters to inform the people of the types of protected animals so that they know the animals they are allowed to hunt". A 2015 calendar produced by the World Bank project featured diverse messages against illegal hunting. The caption under the month of January in this calendar states the law against poaching: "*Poaching is hunting without a permit and other hunting prohibited in areas or hunting with prohibited*

weapons. Poaching is a scourge against future generations. (Law No 94/01 art: 3-4)".
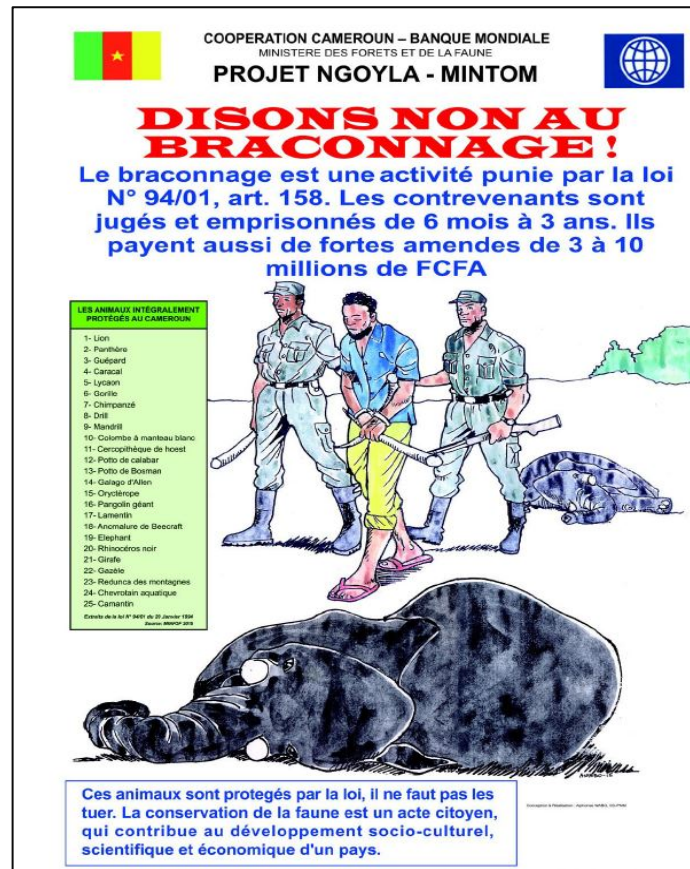
Fig 12*: World Bank Project Poster*

The use of these posters and films however emphasizes a media for development approach in which messages are crafted and directed by policy actors. It was in essence a top-down approach.   This also evokes the modernization approach to communication for development which is characterized by its reliance on top-down information dissemination with all its cited weaknesses. In a way also, the posters evoke Foucault's (1977) panopticon characterization of power and surveillance. The posters placed at different

strategic spots embody the surveillance of conduct through their cautioning local inhabitants of the consequence of hunting protected species of animals.

5.4   Media as Space: Communicating with the Wider Audience Outside Ngoyla Mintom

In the previous sections, I described policy actor's conception of the role of communication and described some practical communicative activities undertaken locally in the Ngoyla Mintom vicinity and discussed their implications for space and power. In the following paragraphs, I examine the other facet of policy actors' conception of the role of communication: communication as public relations and advocacy geared towards external audiences and actors. The upshot of communication with external audiences and actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects reveals how expert knowledge and restricted spaces of communicative engagement combine in the formulation of policy. Another emergent corollary of such communication is that information about these projects put forth by both WWF and the World Bank projects cannot easily be challenged in the public sphere owing to problems of media development in the Ngoyla Mintom area (lack of media and media coverage of the Ngoyla Mintom area). This is true considering Carpentier's (2011) AIP model which highlights the fact that citizen "access and interaction remain important conditions of possibility of participation" in media spaces (p.354). Where such access and interaction offer possibilities to "minimize or to maximize the equal power positions of the actors involved in the decision-making processes" (Carpentier, 2011:11).

As I earlier recounted, policy officers in these projects conceive of communication also as a strategic tool for reaching external audiences. The strategic aim here is twofold: to showcase the successes of these projects, and to influence government to adopt policies towards conservation in the Ngoyla Mintom area. I will illustrate these two points with one example each from the WWF and World Bank projects' communication activities geared at external publics.

Communication with external audiences was a vital part of the World Bank project's communication strategy. The purpose of such communication as I have discussed earlier, was publicizing the "good" work the project was accomplishing for local inhabitants in the Ngoyla Mintom area. It was part marketing part public relations which made use of the national television, the national state-owned daily, radio stations and marketing artefacts (the coordinator gave me a branded notebook of the World Bank Ngoyla Mintom project at the end of our interview). As the coordinator told me: "sometimes we call on Canal 2 [a TV channel] or CRTV [the national television] to cover some of our events that we consider of national or international interest. Or sometimes, if need be, we go to Cameroon Tribune [the state-owned daily] or to the CRTV to disseminate information and explain to the public the activities we are carrying out. We participated in the Promote Fair [annual marketing trade fair in Yaoundé] in February…we were also on Radio Environment." These media are mostly located in Yaoundé, the decision-making center in Cameroon and serve urban populations. Radio Environment is an IUCN-sponsored station located in the premises of the IUCN in Yaoundé. Cameroon Tribune, the national daily is state-owned and widely read in government circles. It could thus be construed that there was a deliberate attempt to reach government policy actors with the success stories of the project. In sum, while the World Bank project communicated at local level, communication was also designed to inform and sell the image of the project outside the project area with information mostly crafted by the project actors.

On its part, WWF engaged in advocacy as one of its communication activities with external publics, chief amongst which was the government. The WWF Communications Officer stated that "we believe communication has a very central role to play as far as mobilizing stakeholders at the local level…. influencing policy at the regional and national level." In line with this view, WWF, which had been present in Ngoyla Mintom since the year 2000 has undertaken various communicative actions to influence the government to enact legislation or policies favoring WWF's strategic goals in the Ngoyla-Mintom. During our interview, I commented to the communications officer that it seems to me that

WWF is an influential actor in government's decisions regarding forest management in the area. To which he responded, "of course, all what we do we try to inform…to provide decision support…all the data that we gather in the field. We share it with the government, and they use it to make decisions on the management of the forest. So that's the aim. And these decisions we want them to be environmentally friendly decisions."

"Environmentally friendly decisions" in this case, is a synonym for conservation which is WWF's strategic goal in the Ngoyla Mintom forest. To attain this strategic goal, WWF understands that it needs to influence government by providing it with information which it considers vital. It does this by collecting data from the forest massif and presenting it to government through the Ministry of Forests and Fauna (MINFOF). As the WWF Field Technical Officer in Mintom told me, "since we [WWF] are present on the ground, we are able to gather pertinent data and information which we are able to present to government through MINFOF...usually during meetings. You know… passing legislation requires input from those with important subject knowledge". This suggests that WWF believes in the superiority of its "knowledge" about Ngoyla Mintom and such knowledge should be the basis of action.

This is another instance of discursive power as WWF "knowledge" becomes the basis of policy formulation. The zoning of Ngoyla Mintom illustrates this point. The zoning exercise was a process of demarcating the forest for different purposes such as conservation area, wildlife reserve, community forests and so on. The WWF Communications Officer explained the process thus: "For the zoning…when you want to do the zoning plan you must have the socio-economic data…you must have the ecological data. With these two…you can now present to government and propose that this is what the thing should be…the best model; create agro-forestry zone, create forest concession, create a protected area. And that is what has been done".

The above indicates that in some instances, WWF has the capacity and attempts to influence major government decisions concerning the forest massif. This

influence as implied by the WWF interviewees is partly effected by presenting government with WWF data or "knowledge" during meetings with government officials. These meetings take place in Yaoundé, in the confines of ministerial departments at a distance from local communities. Thus, what emerges here is that these meetings between WWF policy actors and government policy actors constitute a communicative space that is restricted or closed to other actors such as local communities or civil society organizations. This communicative space is also characterized by WWF-produced expert knowledge, which seemingly has substantial bearing on policy outcomes. Evident in this process is an affirmation of Foucault's notion of discursive power: the ways in which certain rationalities become dominant in the exercise of everyday existence (Foucault, 1980). The significance of this in terms of spaces is that policy is crafted in communicative spaces or what Cornwall (2002) calls "regularised institutions" which are closed to the communities.

5.5   Chapter Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter I sought to answer the first of my research questions: policy actors' communicative practices, how this is shaped by the NRM discourses they espouse and how such communication shapes spaces between policy actors and local residents. Evidence as laid out in the paragraphs above prompt a number of observations. Firstly, that the discourse of sustainable development underpins policy actors' conception of the role of communication in the project. Discursive power is deeply embedded in policy actors' conceptions of communication and especially in the communication practices that they engender. Discursive power in this case is manifest in the "purification of knowledge" whereby particular kinds of knowledge are elevated and take precedence while other forms are disregarded (Kothari, 2001: 146). In some ways, this is exemplified by the WWF-generated "knowledge" which it uses to influence government policy in Ngoyla Mintom. This discursive position linked to the broader discourse of climate change governance leads to modernization-type

communicative practices: information dissemination and public relations. And although communication is sometimes conceived as dialogue with community members these dialogues are still conducted within the boundaries set by policy actors' discursive position, i.e. climate change and sustainable development. Taken together, the communicative practices of policy actors reflect what Foucault calls a "*dispositif*": or the "institutions, discourses, etc. that serve an overall strategic function" (Gaventa, 2003:3), which in this case was the sustainable management of the forest resources and conservation.

Secondly, the communicative practices which derive from these conceptions of communication produce both top-down communication processes and some form of participatory communication. These communicative practices furthermore engender some invited spaces that are open and some that are closed or restricted spaces to certain actors, notably local community members. Some of these spaces are also characterized by top-down communication as in the public meetings, while others are characterized by participatory communication such as in the WWF PES process. Hidden power is a feature of some invited spaces (e.g. public consultations) while invisible power characterizes invited participatory spaces (e.g. PES meetings). Furthermore, some of these spaces open up possibilities of local resistance to policy actors' discourses, especially in the invited spaces of modernization-type communication. In contrast, closed spaces limit community voices at two levels: firstly, closed spaces within communities' limit expression of voice by some groups such as women. Secondly, media spaces are closed to community members due to poor media infrastructure and lack of communication capabilities. This limits community voice as well in media spaces dominated by policy actors.

This chapter established the linkages between power, communication and spaces. It explained how power as discourse shapes communication choices and spaces that emerge from these choices. These conclusions mirror some of the familiar criticisms of both the modernization and the participatory approaches. To the point of this research, the above conclusions lay the groundwork for how my

conceptual framework extends our understanding of C4D, especially in development interventions like Ngoyla Mintom. As I argued, expressions of power as depicted in policy actors' communication necessarily opens up possibilities of resistance. And as I will show in Chapter Seven, resistance emerges as a key feature of on-going communication in the projects.   Having established the above, I will now, in the next chapter turn to examining how local communities experienced these communicative practices, the discourses they hold and how lack of capabilities affects their possibilities of upholding these discursive positions in the face of policy actors' discursive stances in the projects.

Chapter Six

Contested Discourses: Community Experiences of the Ngoyla Mintom Projects

This chapter answers my second research question by examining local communities' experiences of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. It explores how local inhabitants experienced these projects through the prism of spaces and power bounded in policy actors' communicative practices that I detailed in the previous chapter. I approach local communities' experiences of these projects as lived phenomenon. In order words, I examine these experiences as communicative encounters. Phenomenology attempts to "describe what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon" (Creswell et al, 2007:252). Therefore, I seek to develop a deeper understanding of how members of the community lived the projects.

I will accomplish this by examining how local discourses about climate change and natural resources juxtapose with policy actors' discourses underpinning the projects. I represent local inhabitants' experiences as phenomenology based on their expressed worldviews and expectations of the projects. Hence, in my representation of community experiences, I illustrate how locals make meaning of policy actors' actions and non-actions and how these meanings define their experiences of the projects, including attempts at resistance. The experiences related in this chapter dwell on community experiences and perceptions of mostly WWF activities because interviewees mostly associated the projects with WWF since, in contrast to the World Bank project, WWF had been present in the area for more than a decade.

Evidence reveals that local communities understand and have intrinsic notions of sustainability regarding the management of the forest resources. But they resent what they perceive as an unjust distribution of the burdens of conservation: they feel they are being made to conserve for the good of the entire planet while they gain nothing in return. Interviews with local community members reveal deep-seated community frustration with some aspects of the projects, including non-representation of community voices and powerlessness in communicating and challenging some of the issues they find disadvantageous about the projects.

Thus, lack of recognition and unfair distribution of trade-offs, which are both key aspects of environmental justice, seem to form part of the mix of emerging trends from the data. More importantly, in C4D terms, community experiences with the projects echo what Tufte (2017:166) labels "a crisis of representation". Community powerlessness can also be linked to a lack of capabilities, including communication capabilities. Hence, lack of voice and powerlessness in effectively articulating such voice are dominant characteristics of community experiences in the projects. But on another level this crisis of representation appears to also be intra-community, as some groups such as women do not feel they have voice in aspects of the projects. Thus, the crisis of representation is also fueled by local intra-community arrangements of power that are determinant for access to spaces of decision-making.

However, in some instances such as in the case with the WWF PES and the World Bank micro-projects scheme, there are indications that local voices were represented in some invited spaces due to crucial structural elements like the FPIC which altered configurations of power between policy actors and local communities. I will in the sections that follow establish how community experiences reflected the incidence of power and powerlessness in communicative practices around the projects. I will in this process, also establish that differing discursive positions about the environment between policy actors and local communities constitutes a contest of discourses, which this research seeks to examine the role of communication in. Furthermore, I will show how a

lack of capabilities initially hampered the articulation of community voices in this contestation. But first, I explore community conceptions of conservation and climate change.

6.1   Alternate Discourses: Local Constructs of Conservation and Climate Change

Delving into local constructs and discourses about climate change and conservation is necessary as it provides some clue to understanding the discursive standpoints from which local communities viewed the projects as well as their underlying rationales. Going by Weedon's (1987:108) characterisation of discourse as the "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them", local constructs of their natural environment and the meanings they associate to it were the discursive standpoints from which they perceived the projects.   Colding et al, (2003) alternatively describe it as "traditional ecological knowledge". Such knowledges or discourses denote localized understandings of the natural environment which as Beck et al (2013:3) state, 'retain distinctive political-cultural features as their respective meanings are prefigured by path-dependent pasts". It is therefore through such historically-constructed localized conceptions of the natural environment that local communities came to experience the Ngoyla Mintom projects and perceive risks associated with climate change.

6.1.1   "We Are Conservationists, Others Destroy the Forest"

Conservation and sustainability, I was made to understand, are engrained in local traditions. According to some interviewees, their way of life is sustainable and preservationist in nature. Blame for the destruction of biodiversity is heaped on other actors such as government and logging companies, including the "white man". As Chief B in Ngoyla argued during our interview,

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We have always conserved. In times past, our forests were just for farming, hunting was for domestic consumption…fishing was rudimentary…with no chemicals. The Djem [predominant local ethnic group] are indeed conservationists…and are very fond of their forest and its resources…The Djem have never cut down a *sapeli* [prized logging species] with their axes. It is the state that is destroying these forests… through its logging concessions awarded to companies.

Despite ample evidence that poaching is mostly carried out by locals, and even though Chief B somehow acknowledges that locals are engaged in poaching, he however puts the blame on so called "white collar poachers" and even WWF for encouraging poaching in the community. White collar poachers are individuals who come into the community from outside and provide the weapons, ammunitions and payments to local individuals to hunt big game on their behalf. As Chief B argued defensively,

But when the state uses NGOs such as WWF for wildlife inventories, they open up pathways into the deep forest…with the help of our children [local young men who are used by WWF as guides]. These young men get to see areas [wildlife] in the forest they have never set foot in. This stirs an appetite [in these young men]. It is these same NGOs that tell us the price of ivory [elephant tusks]. This excites the children [young men of the village] and they use the tracks opened up by the NGOs [to go hunt elephants in the place they discovered with WWF]. When they take the children far into the forest…to places they have never been to, when they disclose the price of a kilogram of ivory to these children…what do they expect the children to do?

The quotes above demonstrate a view that environmental degradation is a product of modernity. In his view, forces of modernity such as markets and

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technology are partly responsible for corrupting the community's lifeworld. Chief B's account also presents an ironic perspective of the unintended consequences of conservation on wildlife: the very act of trying to preserve wildlife exposes it to poaching. Furthermore, according to some of my interviewees, the locals who go out to hunt the elephants are the smallest link in a poaching chain that stretches up to wealthier individuals in Yaoundé, including even some local chiefs, conservation and senior government officials. As the head of APIFED, the local NGO in Mintom lamented during our interview, "the saddest part is that many of these conservation officials are themselves involved…are accomplices in this poaching crime". These assertions further reveal a different narrative about conservation and wildlife preservation and highlights the contrasting constructs about conservation in the Ngoyla Minton area.

The argument that these forest communities are by tradition conservationists, surfaced in almost all interviews with community members. The Vice president of ADEBAKA, the Baka association argued in our interview in Mintom that,

> If we want to talk about caretakers of the forest…the Baka are at the top. The Baka are the true caretakers of the forest. Because they are born in the forest…they grow up in the forest…they don't cut any trees. They don't destroy anything in the forest. When the government moved them out of the forest, the forest was still intact…as God created it. The caretakers of the forest are the Baka. What damage do they cause in the forest? If people say the Baka hunt big game today…it is the Bantu who send them to hunt. It is not the Baka who cut the trees in the forest…it is not the Baka who create roads in the forest.

The Vice President is himself a Baka, although he speaks of them in the third person. This account of the forest-dwelling Baka as custodians of the forest is supported by the head of APIFED, a local NGO in Mintom that is heavily involved in defending the rights of local communities in the forest Massif. APIFED is well-

known around the area for its work with the local communities. Among its other activities, it organizes a yearly three-day event called the *BakaDreamDays* which I attended on the 11th and 12th of March 2017. I return to the significance of this festival as spaces of engagement in the next chapter. The head of APIFED argued similarly during our interview that locals such as the Baka are conservationists by culture and are not responsible for the loss of biodiversity in the area. According to her;

> In times past, people hunted for domestic consumption…it was not destructive. Back then the Baka hunted the elephant for traditional rituals …once a year... as part of their traditions…and they can't even do that today, because of the one-size-fits all approach to conservation…which means they are losing their culture. You see…it is us the city-dwellers who have become aware of the monetary value of elephant ivory…it is us who take weapons and ammunition to these poor villagers who…unfortunately know the forest too well and how to kill an elephant. So, these conservation officials must understand that the problem is not from below…the problem is caused from above by us.

Once more, we see the portrayal of the locals as conservationist, in their own way, of the forest. Environmental degradation, as is argued by the preceding interviewees, is provoked by outsiders and markets. These representations of the community as conservationists is indicative of discursive rifts between these communities and conservation policies fostered by the WWF and World Bank projects.

6.1.2 "Climate Change Is Caused by Others Who Will Suffer More"

The question of rights and responsibilities for climate change mitigation and adaption characterizes community perceptions of the projects. Although these

communities believe in and have experienced climate change, they perceive its cause as being the result of the actions of other entities: national and international. Government is partly to blame for climate change according to Chief B in Ngoyla:

> If the government had not given out logging concessions to logging companies, these trees would still be standing. It is FIPCAM, GRACOVIL [logging companies in the area] …it is these companies that cut down the forest. It is them…with approval from government. We don't destroy [the forest].

This interviewee absolves the community of fault in accelerating climate change and blames government policy. This perception of climate change as the fault of others seems to be the lens through which local communities (at least from my interviewees) perceive the climate change related conservation projects. After telling me that the community believes climate change is a reality, the same local Chief B, in Ngoyla quoted above added quite defiantly that:

> And come to think of it, it is not even us Cameroonians who have caused climate change. You have been here for 3 days or so, have you seen any factory here that releases carbon into the atmosphere? There is none…even in Yaoundé [capital city of Cameroon]. It is the white people who have destroyed the ozone layer…and continue to destroy it. We are simply suffering the consequences. I am not very educated…I only attended elementary school…but I read often…I participate in meetings [hence I have an idea about the causes of climate change] … We suffer the effects of climate change, but it is not caused by us. It is the white man. I am not telling you anything which you don't already know. It is them who have the factories. All the factories in France, in China, in Russia, in the United States…those are the polluters…not us.

Here we see a perception of climate change as being the fault of industrialization in developed countries. This shows that some local inhabitants are informed about debates at the global level about responsibilities in climate change mitigation and adaptation. Indeed, the question of the distribution of rights and responsibilities in global climate change governance is a prominent question in these debates (Schroeder & McDermont, 2014; Okerekere & Dooley, 2010). Such debates have featured at international climate change gatherings such as the COPs where poorer countries have requested that the richer countries bear greater responsibility in climate change mitigation and adaptation financing. And as it will emerge later when I examine community experiences of the WWF PES project, the notion that richer countries bear greater responsibility in climate change mitigation is part of local communities' approach to the projects.

The same line of thought was expressed during my interview with the CODEVI NGO in Etekessang village, in Ngoyla. They acknowledged the reality of climate change but also pointed to "the white man" as being responsible to and even more vulnerable to climate change. The president remarked when I asked them whether they believed in climate change:

> We know climate change, we are even experiencing some of its symptoms…our seasons have become irregular…. We know that climate change does not threaten us as much as it does the white people over there, who are now suffering, who have already exploited their resources [and consequently created climate change]

Hence for these communities, even though climate change is real, it has come about as a result of the actions of the rich Western countries. And according to them, these countries are more vulnerable to climatic variations. Their claim about vulnerability is factually untrue. Available data and forecasts routinely show that poorer developing countries are "particularly vulnerable" to climate change according to Article 4 of the UNFCCC. However, while such local perceptions defy everything that is known so far about the distribution of global climate change

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vulnerability, it nonetheless raises the important issue of perceptions of climate change risks. As the president of the group I was interviewing said regarding PES, deforestation and climate change,

> On our part, we can cut our forest, we don't really care [about climate change]. We know climate change, we are even experiencing some of its symptoms…our seasons have become irregular…*but it is not that bad…it won't kill us* [my emphasis]

There is thus a belief that climate change may not be as detrimental to these local communities as it would be to others; especially, in their opinion, "the white man". I return to this view further down. The fact that they hold these beliefs despite being aware of the "risks" of climate change implies that perceptions of and attitudes towards climate change-related risks are likely influenced by local cultural cognition. Cultural cognition denotes how group values influence perceptions of issues such as risks (Kahan, 2010). Such local realities include the fact that the Ngoyla Mintom area is an equatorial rainforest with fertile soils, rivers, and a rich biodiversity.

Implicitly, the life-support systems and livelihoods in this area have relatively been spared some of the devastating effects of climate change. In our interview, the community radio journalist in Abong Mbang (an adjacent town to Ngoyla) who had worked with WWF in promoting wildlife conservation around the Ngoyla Mintom massif told me that the "forest people (inhabitants of the massif) do not believe that they might someday run out of wildlife, because they are used to seeing it every day". I received the same response when I asked the local teacher whom I was interviewing in Ngoyla whether people in Ngoyla believe things will get worse if nothing is done to curb hunting. Her answer was, "no…no, the majority of people do not believe that". While these statements may not necessarily be representative of the general view (and the limits of my data do not enable me to know), they nonetheless provide an indication of the way environmental risks are perceived in the community.

Perceptions of abundance thus likely fuels a sense of safety among local inhabitants from the risks and vulnerabilities associated with climate change. This resonates with Ferrari (2010) who notes that one of the difficulties with communicating climate change is the local-global interface of the phenomenon: while climate change is a global phenomenon, its perceptions are locally constructed. It also ties with the assertion that perceptions of climate change and its associated risks differ across different socio-economic and geographic regions (Hulme, 2010). These divergences in perceptions according to Rosenau (2003) are partly responsible for the difficulties in harmonizing climate change governance agendas and strategies between diverging standpoints including global and local, developed and developing countries and even between urban and rural.

In addition to the view that climate change is caused by others, especially the "white man", some of the interviewees hold the perception that western countries or "white people" predominantly suffer or will suffer the effects of climate change. This view was expressed by the president of the CODEVI NGO, of Etekessang village in Ngoyla. This village association represented the village in PES negotiations for the PES project in the village's community forest. When I asked them if the village would engage in conservation if it wasn't for PES, the president answered:

> We know climate change, we are even experiencing some of its symptoms…our seasons have become irregular. But it is not that bad, it won't kill us. But since climate change more seriously threatens the white man, they should be more generous [with funds] so that we can spare the forest so that they [white people] can live. I am speaking in simple terms here.

This is the interpretation some locals have of the Payments for Environmental Services (PES) programme which provides financial incentives to the community for keeping their forests standing. These locals understand from their interactions with the PES policy actors that funds for these payments are sent from (western)

international donors. So, in their reasoning, if the "white man" is paying to preserve the forest in order to prevent climate change, it must mean that the "white man" is suffering or will suffer more from climate change. As the CODEVI President added: "they [western nations] have to help in our development, and we will preserve the forest…because they will die first [of climate change] …we will die a little later".

This perception of the "white man" as being more vulnerable to climate change risks seems to be the prism through which local populations perceive climate-change related conservation programmes (at least in the case of PES). Their view again, though crudely articulated, indicates that they are in tune with international debates around rights and responsibilities in climate change mitigation and adaptation. It provides an interesting insight into how climate change-related conservation programmes may be interpreted at local level. It is an irony of sorts: international climate change adaptation and mitigation finance mechanisms such as PES, which are funded by rich nations are seen by these rich donor countries as a lifeline for poorer communities in developing countries who are most impacted by or most vulnerable to climate change. But as the quotes above reveal, these mechanisms are sometimes interpreted differently by local communities in these developing countries. In the case of my interviewees above, such payments are interpreted as the "white people" paying ransom for their survival. This perception could explain the businesslike insistence with which the locals approached the PES process.

To conclude this section on local discourses about climate change and conservation, I sought in this section to explore local constructs of climate change and conservation in relation to the Ngoyla Mintom projects. As is evidenced above, local communities' discourses about climate change and conservation, including rights and responsibilities are in many respects, divergent from the discourses of policy actors. These understandings constitute the prism, at least in part, through which the projects were lived by the local communities.

6.2   From Enthusiasm to Disillusionment and Apathy

The general notion that emanates from interviews is that local communities' experience and perceptions of the projects seem to have undulated from optimistic to apathetic over the projects' lifecycle, especially in the case of the WWF projects. These mixed experiences can be linked to the actions and non-actions of policy actors in invited spaces as well as in relationships with local communities. Unmet expectations and lack of consideration for community interests seemed to have fed community disenchantment with some components of the projects.

The changes in attitudes towards the projects is reflected in the way some community members talked of the public meetings as spaces of encounters with policy actors. Community disillusionment came as a result of their interpreting these meetings as spaces of manipulative participation or "empty ritual" as Arnstein (1969) put it. As I established in the previous chapter, these public meetings were open invited spaces wherein policy actors and local communities engaged in discussions regarding some aspects of the project, and thus consequently helped shape community expectations of the projects. A local Chief in related the nature of these meetings thus.

> When the project people want to have a meeting, they tell us and
> we inform the people the same way about the day, time and
> place of the meeting. During these meetings, we listen to what
> they have to say. After this there is a question and answer
> session during which people freely ask questions. In this way,
> the population gets to air its grievances or demands. So, at the
> end of the meeting there is an idea of what the people want…or
> of what they do not want. That is how it goes.

These forms of communicative encounters between policy actors and local communities raised community expectations and optimism about the projects because of the "promises", as interviewees described it, made by WWF during these meetings.   But while the quote above may suggest open optimistic

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deliberation between policy actors and local community members in these invited spaces, the reality is that as time passed, community members became disillusioned about the usefulness of these meetings and to an extent in the projects. The enthusiasm that characterized community perceptions of policy actors' communicative practices such as meetings seemed to have morphed in to indifference and even antipathy by the time the WWF projects were rounding up in 2017. Chief A of Ngoyla summed up community disillusionment, noting that people have lost interest in attending the WWF-organized meetings because "we feel like it is yet another meeting that will change nothing". This indicates unmet expectations and non-consideration of community interests.

WWF had been active in the area for over a decade and as time passed, the initial enthusiasm appeared to, at least according to the vast majority of my interviewees, give way to disillusionment and even antipathy towards WWF and its conservation initiative. As the First Assistant Mayor of Ngoyla told me rather disappointedly, "when the projects came into town, we had high hopes that the projects would benefit us. We had high hopes because they promised us a lot during the meetings that they held here". This sentiment of disillusionment was similarly shared by other interviewees such as Chief B in Ngoyla who lamented,

> WWF promised us a lot of things…that they will do this…they will do that. Ask Mr xxx (WWF Field officer) about me…he will tell you about me [implying they had both worked closely together, hinting also at a strained relationship]. Ask even Mr. XXX and Mr. XXX (all former WWF staff working in that area). They promised a lot of things for our youth…. we are disappointed…because we are forced to accept conservation, that is fine…. but in return we don't get what is promised us.

The Chief's allusion to them being "forced to accept conservation" is indicative of a tension between worldviews or discourses between policy actors and the local community that I highlighted earlier. What transpires from the above quote is that some aspect of the discussions and agreements arrived at in public meetings

between policy actors and community members failed to materialize for local communities. While it is unclear why agreements at these meetings failed to materialize, the more important point is the fact that while community interests were acknowledged, and promises were made by WWF policy actors, there were not followed through, judging from the disillusionment expressed by the interviewees above.

The community understood that conservation, as proposed by the projects involved trade-offs, which policy actors had promised to compensate for. They rationalized the failure of these compensations to materialize through a local proverb which I heard repeatedly in interviews with locals. As Chief B explained to me:

> We have a proverb that says when you take a bone out of the dog's mouth, you should replace it with something that is hard like a bone. It is a proverb from us the people of the forest. So, our bone has been taken away, but it has not been replaced by something like a bone… we are disappointed in the lack of compensation for what we can no longer access [due to conservation].

As I mentioned earlier, the fact that agreements reached at these meetings failed to satisfactorily address local community's concerns caused indifference and even apathy amongst community members. There was a strong sense that community members felt that their voices were not being reflected in major WWF project procedures and decisions. The perceived failure of the conservation projects to deliver on these material benefits which communities expected, and which had been promised the community caused the community to become hostile and unsympathetic towards the WWF and World Bank projects' conservation efforts in the area. Apparently, the policy actors had sold the idea of conservation as something that would improve the living conditions of the community. Chief B sums up community experiences of WWF with another local proverb that I heard many times in my interviews in the community.

We have a proverb that describes their [WWF] actions: a father
and a son are on a journey and the son is tired. His father tells
him they will rest at the next village. When they get to that village,
the father says he meant the next village…. That is how WWF
treats us. That is what they are doing [WWF keeps moving the
goal posts]

Thus, even though meetings appeared to be participatory, it is obvious from these
interviewees that these open invited spaces were not the spaces where real
decisions about the projects were made. The public meetings between policy
actors and local populations were mere formalities according to the 1st Assistant
Mayor for Ngoyla.

They [WWF] already have their minds made up [about what they
want to do] when they organize these meetings. No changes
have been effected despite all the proposals that we have made.
Whereas, in my opinion, those decisions are supposed to be
made through dialogue.

The above reinforces the notion that public meetings were perceived as spaces
where policy actors disseminated pre-packaged information to the locals, and
accepted community suggestions, thereby giving the impression that the process
was participatory, whereas key decisions had been already made in other spaces
to which the community did not have access. Chief B summed it up wryly:

The community exists just in name. The community is not taken
into consideration when decisions are made in Yaoundé. They
are oblivious to the fact that there are communities here, that
there are forest communities, that there are guardians of the
forest [local communities] …we exist only in the books. That's it.

These accounts highlight again the fact that these meetings constituted
temporary spaces, or fleeting formations (Cornwall (2002) which served to
legitimize policy actors' discourses by employing the strategies of hidden power,

or the rules of the game, to produce "inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity" (Kothari, 2001:142). This quote from my interview with Chief B of Ngoyla captures the ephemerality of WWF-organized meetings as spaces: "WWF holds its meetings…WWF gathers people sometimes, listens to people, promises things, gets a list of attendance and leaves". This interviewee here insinuates that WWF-organized meetings were mere formality, or an "empty ritual" (Arnstein, 1969), possibly so that WWF could collect lists of attendees to show that it had engaged with local communities. According to Lukes (2005), such practices constitute hidden power, where the rules of the game are employed to legitimize certain actions. The interviewee's statement also has undertones of a strained relationship between WWF and the community in Ngoyla, or at least with this interviewee since he had been one of the persons WWF had relied on for the success of its project in Ngoyla. More importantly, the overarching point he makes is that local communities have not benefitted from conservation the way WWF promised they would. Implicitly, communities' interests were not being taken into account.

Thus, while policy actors qualify their meetings with local communities as participatory activities, the outcomes of these meetings, from the point of view of local communities is not concordant with this characterization. Participation, in the case of the WWF projects as recounted by local interviewees mirror Arnstein's (1969) "tokenism" and "nonparticipation", which describes policy actors' half-hearted attempts to involve the public in governance scenarios, meanwhile they (policy actors) retain real power over decision-making. While these meetings were certainly not the only cause of some of the perceived shortcomings of the WWF and World Bank projects, the fact that meetings as communicative practices were fleeting formations, with their attendant lack of accountability meant that community ideas were sought but not incorporated into final decisions. And because of the lack of institutionalized spaces, local communities were powerless in holding policy actors accountable

6.2.1 Intra-Community Exclusionary Representation

Apart from having predetermined decisions prior to its meetings, some meetings organized by policy actors with selected members of the community created closed spaces, thereby restricting other voices. I explained policy actors' strategic reasons for meeting with selected community members in the previous chapter. This practice built on and reinforced historical local power divides between different groups. Thus, highlighting the notion that localization or local participation may reinforce existing power structures instead of redistributing power as it theoretically ought to (Kothari, 2001). Some locals believed the nature of some of these meetings kept out other community voices, especially women, as two women whom I interviewed in Ngoyla told me when I asked them about communication in the conservation projects. One of them, an eco-guard (wildlife protection officer) said, "the problem is that whether WWF or the World Bank project, they have already decided what they want to do…who they want to talk to…there at the top before they come here". The other interviewee, a kindergarten teacher added,

> They have a particular group of people with whom they do things.
> When they come [with projects] they invite only the village chiefs,
> they send cars to pick up the Chiefs for meetings where the
> chiefs are offered food and drinks and per diems.

The quote above reaffirms the WWF Officer's observation in the previous chapter that "there are four people in Ngoyla without whom, nothing can be achieved". It can be construed that WWF policy actors were necessarily seeking to, based on local power divides, co-opt local actors who would facilitate the implementation of policy objectives.   But this form of selective meetings, according to the interviewees above, keeps out other groups like women and prevents them from contributing to the policy process. As the kindergarten teacher suggests below, the selective meetings were missed opportunities for an inclusive and effective policy development process.

> If these NGOs [WWF and World Bank] invited at least a representative from all the various groups in the locality, to participate and learn in these meetings, things would be better… That is what they should do…and not only limit the invitation to the chiefs. If ten people are invited…at least three should be women. Women should at least be represented. [But] women do not even know about these meetings.

The reason for these exclusionary practices can be linked to structural arrangements in the community which is still very much patriarchal and male-dominated. According to some interviewees, women are not invited into such meetings and involved in other aspects of the projects because of patriarchalism that runs deep in the community. As the head of ASTRAHDE, a local NGO that works with communities in natural resource management told me when I asked her about the involvement of women in the projects,

> Women are nothing in this society… the local culture relegates women to the back. Women are not in leadership positions…how can we then talk of women being represented? So, women are already handicapped in that they are not represented in decision-making structures.

A similar view was expressed by the kindergarten teacher. She said "women are not given space to express themselves. The belief here is that women know nothing. A woman cannot stand in front of men and talk about such things [the projects] …it is in the local mentality". It is a situation reminiscent of Gaventa's (1980) thesis on power and powerlessness, in which the dominated acquiesce to such domination. Women in Ngoyla Mintom seemed to have internalized this domination and seem disinclined to agitating for access into decision-making spaces. According to the interviewee above, "The women [here] feel like… "if we are already marginalized…even if we want to engage …will they [men] allow us?"". While the other interviewee added "If you invite a woman to those things she will not show up [because they feel it is a man's thing]". Thus, the combination

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of patriarchalism and the internalization of such domination created a situation in which groups like women were unable to access important spaces of decision-making in the projects. As the kindergarten teacher concluded matter of factly, "And before these projects come here, everything has already been decided. They already know who they want to include: the D.O, the village chiefs…end of story".

The historical ethnic divides between the Djem and the forest-dwelling Baka similarly contributed to exclusionary practices in the spaces in the projects. Historically, other Bantu tribes like the Djem have always dominated the Baka (Pyhala, 2012). And this domination played out in Baka involvement in the projects. The kindergarten teacher decried the non-involvement of the Baka in the projects stating that "the Baka …they are marginalized here. It is common to see a Bantu say, "this is my Baka" …that is like the Baka is his property or his slave… They treat the Baka like slaves". Given this discrimination, it is conceivable that the Baka, were not often represented in invited spaces such as meetings. Or even if they were, it is doubtful they could aptly represent their viewpoints. It is for this reason that NGOs like OKANI, which defends the rights of the Baka advocated separate spaces for the Baka to address their concerns regarding the projects (I detail this last point in the next chapter). Ironically, attempts by policy actors to address these historical inequalities by focusing on particular groups such as the Baka created resentment from the dominant groups. As the World Bank project Coordinator intimated regarding the construction of school facilities for Baka students, "the Bantus may become resentful as to why their children are not entitled to the same facilities as Baka students. So…all of this may cause resentment and conflict. We may be trying to solve one problem but inadvertently creating another". This points to how complex local histories to which participatory strategies are sometimes confronted can compound participation as has been pointed out by Kothari, (2001) and Scott (2014).

To sum up this section, policy actors' alleged discriminatory communicative practices built on and reinforced local power configurations and had the effect of creating closed spaces for some groups in the community. On the other hand, local inequalities affected how groups like the Baka, participated in the projects. What this demonstrates is that participatory communication strategies may entrench local dispositions of power or even create new ones, since communities are not always homogenous entities. As Kothari (2001:142) summarizes it "participatory development can encourage a reassertion of control and power by dominant individuals and groups".

6.3   Community Experiences of the Wildlife Conservation Campaign

In this section, I examine the thorniest issue of the Ngoyla Mintom projects and how it defined community experiences and perceptions of the project: wildlife conservation, which was mostly spearheaded by WWF, but also later implemented by the World Bank project. Wildlife protection has been a top priority for WWF, and it worked to construct a discourse around wildlife that permitted the implementation of its goals in the massif. Local communities generally view the wildlife campaign as infringing on their rights, highlighting once again the divergent discursive positions between policy actors and local communities. Local communities have employed the "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985) in attempts to resist the discourses of the wildlife campaign. But first some background on the wildlife campaign.

Conservation was introduced in the Ngoyla Mintom forest massif by WWF in the year 2000 when it arrived the area under an accord with the government of Cameroon. Since that period WWF has undertaken numerous activities to promote conservation in the massif. This is due to poaching and commercial hunting of smaller animals, commonly called "bushmeat". Poaching, especially of elephants is rampant and has reportedly decimated the elephant population of the massif. The WWF field officer for Mintom whom I interviewed told me that 72 percent of the elephant population in the massif has been lost to poaching in the

last five years. He added that "as I am talking to you our statistics show that at least one elephant dies every day due to poaching". The poachers who reportedly use assault rifles such as the AK47 to kill the elephants, are usually local inhabitants. It is also said that some poachers cross into Cameroon from neighboring Gabon and Congo since Ngoyla Mintom is at the boundary between Cameroon and these two countries. The local Baka, who have very intimate knowledge of the forest are employed by both local Bantus and other outsiders to hunt the elephants.

The other threat to wildlife as identified by WWF is commercial hunting. This is the practice of hunting large quantities of smaller mammals for onward sale to the cities. "Bushmeat" as it is commonly called is a delicacy in Cameroon, which makes largescale hunting of these animals a lucrative activity for locals. However, this practice constitutes a punishable offense under the law. WWF has pushed for and obtained the categorization of wildlife in the massif in a sequence of A, B and C classes. It is completely forbidden to hunt Class A animals. Class B are moderately forbidden, while Class C animals can be hunted for domestic consumption. Gorillas and elephants are Class A animals. Animals are recategorized periodically based on wildlife inventories carried out by WWF. The WWF Field Officer for Mintom explained to me that some Class C animals can be reclassified as Class B or Class A if their population is seen as declining during the wildlife inventory. This means that a species which could be hunted this year may become forbidden next year. It also means that locals could be penalized for hunting the same species at different times.

The law allows for subsistence hunting to fulfill household needs, under the "rights of use" clause. This allows locals to hunt Class C animals for their own consumption. But as the WWF Field Officer for Mintom stated "but we cannot allow illegal large-scale hunting", an indication of how seriously WWF took its ascribed mission to protect wildlife. WWF sponsored eco-guards who became watchdogs of the forest and enforcers of laws which WWF had helped create. WWF had in its bid to protect wildlife encouraged the government to hire eco-

guards which it (WWF) initially supported with equipment, logistics and even paid their salaries. The eco-guards' assignment was to monitor the Ngoyla wildlife reserve which WWF had lobbied and supported the government to create. WWF had thus used its influence and resources to construct a discourse around the forest resources that permitted the enactment of a particular governance approach to the forest resources. It was this discourse that gave rise to and drove the wildlife protection campaign. The information and dissemination and education campaigns, which it embarked on, were thus simply a continuation of its strategically crafted natural resource governance narrative which it had constructed. These deliberate efforts by policy actors to organize and project their discourses, knowledges, practices and beliefs is tantamount to "mobilization of bias" (Schattschneider, 1960: 7) and Mann's (1986) organizational outflanking, which all constitute strategies of power.

6.3.1 Local Perceptions and Experiences of the Wildlife Protection Campaign.

Here I delve into how local inhabitants experienced this deployment of discursive power by policy actors. From a C4D standpoint, local experiences of the wildlife campaign strongly suggest that communication in this campaign was not participatory. Rather they reinforce the notion that communication was top-down as demonstrated in the previous chapter. In addition to the discursive power deployed in such top-down communication, policy actors activated "coercive power" and "legitimate power" (French & Raven, 1959) through the eco-guards that WWF had helped introduce in the Ngoyla-Mintom area. The eco-guard I interviewed in Ngoyla told me, "that is why sometimes we have to use force…to make people understand [the need to protect wildlife]", implying that there was some local resistance to discursive power being deployed by policy actors. The symbolism of these actions for local inhabitants was oppression and injustice, which ultimately led to disenchantment with WWF and to some extent conservation.

6.3.2 Loss of Access and Coercion

Some locals perceived the wildlife conservation projects as reconstituting the relationship between humans and nature in a way that was at odds with their local cultural imaginings of nature. The curtailing of access to forest resources occasioned by the wildlife protection campaign was a major cause of frustration for local communities. Locals I spoke to, perceived the hunting curbs as a contravention on their livelihoods. Eating bushmeat is very much ingrained in local customs in that part of Cameroon. The teacher in the local kindergarten in Ngoyla explained to me that, "for most people here, eating meat is a way of life. They must eat bushmeat...not chicken. They don't feel they have had a meal if it does not contain bushmeat".

Apart from this perception that native cultures were under attack, locals also resented the fact that they were prevented from eating bushmeat but not offered other alternatives. Chief A of Ngoyla decried this, stating that "we don't have a fish store here…no butcher either. We depend on meat from the forest". The First Assistant Mayor for Ngoyla echoed a similar view: "I am a Djem [local tribe], we are hunters. We live from hunting. We are not poachers. It is difficult [for us] to understand [why we are being deprived of hunting]". There is thus a perception of injustice in the way this interviewee views the wildlife protection effort, especially in this quote below,

> Our women are no longer allowed to harvest wild mangoes in the forest. When the eco-guards find out, they burn down the huts which these women use to store these mangoes in the forest. You can imagine…all the time that these poor women have wasted. And when they ask why, the eco-guards say that when the women harvest these wild mangoes, the chimpanzees and gorillas won't have enough left to eat. So, we are left wondering. As poor as we are…why is it not allowed for women to make a small income from picking and selling these mangoes?

Conservation as pushed by policy actors, was seemingly deconstructing locals' constructs of nature and their relationship to it in ways that were viewed as reversing ordained arrangements of the local lifeworld. This was the view of Chief B of Ngoyla.

> We are starting to think that the forest and animals have become more important than people. That's the impression we have. Because…you see… today the pangolin has become a Class A protected animal…that means it is totally forbidden to hunt them. The gorilla too is a Class A protected species. But when the gorilla destroys [our] crops, why would man who is said to have been created in the image of God, be prevented from killing the gorilla? In Cameroon today, gorillas have become more important than humans.

The biblical reference provides an insight into some of the philosophical moorings of local imaginings of the relationship between humans and nature. In this case, it is one that views divine creation as ordaining the preeminence of humans over nature. By this argument, it can be construed that conservation, as advocated by policy actors was viewed as a reversal of divine ordinance. In addition, it was a contravention on local customs and worldviews because of its perceived undermining of their livelihoods and their culture. Here we notice a significant rift between the discursive standpoints between policy actors and local communities. The locus of communication in the disputation of such contrary discourses in C4D processes is one of the building blocks of the argument I seek to establish in this research.

However, it is the reported abuses on the local community by WWF-sponsored eco-guards which seemed to have had the most negative impact on local perceptions of the wildlife conservation effort. The eco-guards would become the face of the WWF-led wildlife protection campaign; a campaign which would also become infamous for its abuse and repression according to some of the people I

interviewed. Speaking about the wildlife campaign during our interview, the head of APIFED was very critical:

> In the beginning it was war between the conservation service [eco-guards] and the local population. Why? Because the conservation service was repressive…they even went beyond repression. They would go into people's kitchens and seize pots of cooked food [under the pretext that the meat was a protected species] …and sometimes this was not the case…the animal was not a protected species. That is abuse. So, the communities considered them [conservation agents] enemies. Instead of educating the community on the reasons for preserving wildlife, the conservation people just stormed the community and started torturing and arresting people for eating bush meat.

Other community members whom I interviewed recount with distress and anger the "abuses" perpetuated on the local population by the WWF-sponsored eco-guards. People were apparently arrested and, in some cases, rough-handled for allegedly breaking conservation rules. One of the items listed in the complaint lodged by Survival International at the OECD against WWF is the rampant physical assault committed by eco-guards on suspected Baka poachers. Item 66 of the complaint reads: "Eco-guards are frequently said to raze to the ground any Baka camps they come upon in a PA [protected area], and to destroy or confiscate any property they are able to seize. They are said to often assault those Baka that they can catch, and to even threaten to kill them if they return". Survival International has documented tales of these abuses in the words of victims. The use of such repressive measures was confirmed to me by the Forestry Chief of post in Mintom who said that sometimes they have to employ these methods to get suspected Baka poachers to reveal their acts and give up their weapons.

Relating some of these alleged abuses to me, the 1st Assistant Mayor of Ngoyla recounted an incident involving an eco-guard and a local woman who sold cooked food at a local restaurant.

> There was once a woman who sold cooked meals in a restaurant around here. I don't know how she got her antelope…but on that day, she could not bring out the antelope to cut it up and cook because the wildlife officer was in the same restaurant. She got tired of waiting for him to leave and brought out the dead animal to cook. When the wildlife officer saw the animal, he jumped up and tried to confiscate the animal. The lady resisted. He was pulling from one end and the woman was pulling from another. It caused total commotion. The woman almost fell on the fireplace. People came out and started heckling at the wildlife officer…some even joined in and helped the woman pull the animal from the officer. He gave up and left the scene. He came back later to apologize. So, you see the kind of abuse we are talking about.

The symbolism of this exercise of coercive power on communities was highly negative. The highhandedness with which the eco-guards treated local populations likely permanently damaged WWF's image and strained its relationship with the community. The WWF Communications Officer explained to root of the strained relationship as linked to WWF's sponsorship of the abusive eco-guards in the wildlife protection campaign.

> We support anti-poaching operations. We support MINFOF [Ministry of Forests and Fauna] in their anti-poaching operations. So, when you have eco-guards from the MINFOF going out there organizing patrols, seizing and arresting people…some villagers perceive it differently…and they see you as an oppressor rather than a partner.

Echoing this assertion, the president of CODEVI, the Etekessang village association said the same of WWF when talking about the payments for ecosystems services (PES) scheme in which the village was involved. He said "I can assure you that it is only after PES that we see WWF giving us some consideration. Before [PES] the community considered WWF an enemy. WWF was the enemy of the community. Back then, children would run away when they saw a WWF vehicle…that was not a good thing". This initial negative perception that was formed in the minds of the local community members would dog WWF during the whole of its period in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Most local interviewees seemed to have a negative perception of WWF and its actions, especially in Ngoyla.

However, some interviewees indicated that attitudes towards wildlife conservation were changing. They attributed it to the sensitization efforts and the alternative income-generating activities sponsored by the World Bank project and WWF. The eco-guard whom I interviewed in Ngoyla was of the opinion that attitudes towards wildlife conservation and hunting are changing. She said,

> These days people are starting to understand…with the sensitization effort that has been made…even with the Baka…people are starting to understand. They now understand…with the sensitization…that they have some blame as well…because they have hunted too much that today they are forced to go far to find animals to hunt. But there are still some people who don't want to accept the idea of conservation. But the majority understands.

It is unsure if the "majority" of locals understand. Her position as a conservation worker may be the reason she advances optimistic claims. It is also unclear whether this alleged shift in attitudes is due entirely to the sensitization effort, i.e. discursive power or whether the locals simply fear coercive power deployed in the area. Coercive power here can be understood as punishment for alleged

poaching. The later appears more plausible considering what I garnered from my interviews with other locals. Especially as the eco-guard also added,

> With WWF present here…and those [income generating] projects…we have noticed a change. Before there was a lot of bushmeat being sold here. For the time we have been discussing, you would have seen two or three people pass by, selling their kill…but now [it is rare]. Things are changing.

This supports the point that locals are more apprehensive of legal consequences if they are seen in possession of a kill that might be a protected species by eco-guards, thus highlighting the role of coercive power in the wildlife campaign.

The forerunning offers more evidence that communication in the wildlife preservation project had been top down. More importantly, evidence also points to the fact that policy actors' discourse underpinning the wildlife conservation effort was at odds with local imaginations of their relationship with nature. Local resistance to policy actors discourses likely prompted the deployment of coercive power, which caused resentment in local communities.

One of the arguments I advance in this research is that C4D can also be viewed as a contestation of discourses between social actors through communicative practices. This contestation is however, predicated on the mobilization of resources and knowledges; what Mann (1986) refers to as "organizational outflanking" in this contest of discourses. Inherent in this proposition is an understanding that different social actors or social groups have different constructs of social reality (Berger & Luckman, 1966). In line with this thinking, it follows that social reality in the Ngoyla Mintom, as is evident in interviewees' quotes referenced above, shapes local constructs and discourses about conservation and climate change: the foundational concepts of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. These local constructs were in part the basis of local resistance to discursive power deployed by policy actors.

Such local resistance constituted a mobilization of local knowledges in both the invited spaces and in grassroot organic spaces. Locals also employed "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985) like sabotage and strikes. For instance, during WWF sensitization meetings, local populations would pose "very hostile questions" according to the WWF Communications Officer. In other instances, they would attempt to aggressively disrupt such meetings or even deny WWF staff from holding such meetings. The WWF Communications Officer recounted what happened at some of such meetings,

> there were people in the crowd that were even shouting at us [hurling insults] because at that time the villagers were very hostile to conservation activities. So, they were even heckling us. I had a colleague who was trying to set up the speakers and one man was insulting her…. Sometimes you arrive at a village and they tell you that "no you cannot do that [hold public meetings about conservation] here"

In another instance, the villagers held a demonstration to protest restrictions engendered by the WWF-led wildlife campaign. The 1st Assistant Mayor in Ngoyla told me that the people got frustrated with the wildlife campaign that they organized a protest march during which "they carried tiger skins to defy the government and WWF as well, because they [WWF and the state] are the same people". The above reveals that local communities sought to resist the discourses underpinning the projects in invited spaces and in organic spaces (Cornwall, 2002) like protests. It is unclear how effective these strategies were, but some interviewees viewed the lack of media as an obstacle to getting their voice heard. Chief A explained the lack of media as one of the limitations to expression of community voices.

> The problem is that we have difficulties with information flow. When we convey our grievances to elected officials, they don't carry it forward. We are stuck…since we lack means of

> communication. No radio…no telephone. If we had telephone
> connections, we could make calls and information would spread.

This lack of communication capabilities indicates that media development forms part of the mix of contextual factors that hindered the mobilization of community discourses in defending community interests in the projects. The use of media is key to organizational outflanking and to policy advocacy (Waisbord, 2015). As I have argued previously, organizational outflanking and policy advocacy are constitutive elements of the disputation of discourses and narratives through communicative practices, where such communicative practices can be mediated and non-mediated.

6.4   Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES)

In contrast, community experiences of policy actors' communicative practices appear to have been more positive in the case of the WWF PES scheme. As I recounted in the previous chapter, communication in the PES scheme was significantly participatory in invited spaces created by policy actors. The participatory character of the PES process was however largely favored by other contextual and external factors which bound policy actors to adopt a participatory approach. This is not to say that policy actors would have acted differently without those factors, but the influence of these factors created an enabling environment for participatory communicative spaces in the WWF PES scheme. On the other hand, it could be argued that community enthusiasm for PES was down to rational materialism, rather than the participatory nature of the scheme, due to the material gains the community received from PES. This raises the question of whether the participatory approach in PES was a means to an end or an end in itself.

Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES) is an idea mapped around the concept of REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation. + stands for sustainable management of forests). The PES scheme essentially provides

financial incentives to local communities as compensation for their not exploiting their forests. Ecosystem services refer to the benefits of natural environments to society. These include carbon sequestration and storage, aesthetic values, biodiversity protection, and watershed protection (Wunder, 2005). As these natural environments become squeezed by economic pressures, preserving these natural environments is essential so that they continue to provide these services to the planet. For instance, forests help in carbon sequestration and thus helps mitigate climate change. The main idea behind PES is that "external ES [environmental services] beneficiaries make direct, contractual and conditional payments to local landholders and users in return for adopting practices that secure ecosystem conservation and restoration" (Wunder, 2005:1).

The WWF PES project was launched in the Ngoyla Mintom area in 2013 and aimed at "sustainably managing the forest resources in community forests through a system of payments for ecosystem services", according to the WWF PES Officer. Four villages around Ngoyla; Lelene, Etekessang, Zoulabot 1 and Messok-Messok, opted to put up their community forests for the scheme. The villages total a population of about 1000 and are predominantly Bantu, although there are small Baka communities in Lelene and Etekessang. The community forests, which WWF had helped create a few years back, together total about 9000 hectares and are run by village committees. These village forest management committees run these forests following an agreed management plan established in conjunction with WWF and the Ministry of Forests and Fauna (MINFOF). Cocoa farming is the predominant economic activity of these villages. Amongst other local practices, cocoa farming was considered by WWF as a major threat to the area's biodiversity since these cocoa farms require large amounts of land. Therefore, one of the aims of the project was to introduce improved cocoa seedlings that require less space and produce cocoa pods in less time. The acquisition of other social infrastructure such as schools and solar panels were part of the plans of the project.

The main actors of the PES project were WWF, Plan Vivo (a Scottish natural resource management standardization agency), CAFT and OCBB (both local NGOs in Ngoyla) and the community associations of the four villages. I interviewed a group of members of CODEVIE, the village association of Etekessang, one of the villages that had opted to put up its community forest for the PES process. They had signed contracts with WWF in which they agreed to freeze their exploitation of an agreed portion of their community forests between 2014 and 2017. This meant amongst others, a freeze on logging and farming in the agreed area. When I interviewed the CODEVIE group, the village of Etekessang had just received its first payment of $11000, corresponding to the value of the carbon stock that had been preserved in its community forest during the first year of the PES scheme.

The group I interviewed was made up of ten young men including the president of the association, who spoke on behalf of the rest. There appeared to be no disagreement with what he said. The other members present often voiced their approval or interjected with a comment supporting what the president had said. Overall, the president expressed the view that the village's experience of the PES project had been positive. When I asked them about their experience with PES, the president said,

> I cannot express how happy I am for the PES…because it has demonstrated to us that conservation can be beneficial. Due to carbon trading with the white man…we can see benefit from four of our community forests. Frankly, PES has been a very important thing for the Etekessang community. With the benefits that we have seen, I am willing to give out all of our forest for PES, if there is a guarantee of financing.

The interview revealed that the community was also very involved in determining the PES process. They seemed aware of their responsibilities, what to expect and the responsibilities of the other actors. When I asked them about their ability to influence the PES process, the president affirmed that the community is

watchful that the terms of the PES contract are respected. He said, "we have always worked in harmony [with the PES policy actors]. We have contracts that we sign. We don't sign a contract without it being read, reread and approved. We are prepared, and we want everything to be laid out on the table...before we sign contracts…and that is what was done."

These statements reveal that the community, or at least those who represent the village in the PES process, are fully aware of their stakes in the PES process. They also give the impression that the communities feel confident or even *powerful* in the PES process. This would imply that communication between the various actors in the project has been comprehensive and that the participating communities voice was well-represented in PES negotiations. More importantly, that invited participatory communicative spaces characterized the PES process. And although an argument could be made that the idea of PES (framed on a particular epistemological idea of conservation) was discursive power in action, these spaces also were characterized by a fairly equitable distribution of decision-making and negotiation power between policy actors and local communities. As even the WWF PES officer affirmed about the PES process in our interview,

> we made a lot of concessions to the community especially during the micro-zoning…that is when we were mapping out the spaces to freeze for conservation and the space where they could carry out other activities such as farming. It was a delicate and challenging exercise…because those who opposed were saying "now they [WWF] even want to share our forest and tell us how to manage it" … So, what we did was that we made a lot of concessions…the micro-zoning exercise became participatory…to a point where we modified up to 50percent of our [WWF] original micro-zoning plan to accommodate the various complaints. It took a lot of negotiation…a lot of negotiation to reach a consensus with the community. Because

we understood that it was pointless to have a large conservation
area that would not be respected.

The WWF PES Officer's words demonstrate that community members held considerable leverage on representing their interests in the PES process.

As I indicated in the introduction of this section, the participatory nature of the PES process was favored by contextual and external factors that encouraged participatory spaces and ensured that the participating community would have clout enough to represent its interests in the PES scheme. The contextual factor is the role played by the local NGOs (CAFT and OCBB) who educated and coached the participating villages on how to engage with the PES policy officers. These two organizations were created and are coordinated by an influential local actor who has a long experience working in the domain of advocacy in natural resource management. This individual is also a member of a national network of NGOs and civil society organizations that support local communities in matters of natural resource management (the significance of this broader national network of NGOs on national policy regarding the Ngoyla Mintom project will become clearer in the next chapter). But for now, through his connection to this national network, this local actor has participated in several national and international conferences and workshops on climate change-related natural resource management (I had met him at the national REDD+ meeting in Ebolowa, even before I knew who he was). He is therefore conversant with the workings of climate change-related natural resource management projects such as PES and how local communities can stake their interests in such processes.

Although this individual resides in Yaoundé, he has through his local organizations coached local communities on how best to represent their rights and interests in projects such as PES. Alluding to such coaching, the CODEVIE president remarked that "when the OCBB told us that we could gain from conservation, we did not believe. But today with PES, we can see the gains from conservation". The OCBB/CAFT coordinator also represents and petitions for local communities to higher policy actors in Yaoundé. During my interview with

the CODEVIE group concerning PES, they mentioned his name a few times as a champion of community interests. As the CODEVIE president said, "CAFT is a local association of community forestry associations…which through its leader [Mr XXX] takes our grievances and suggestions to WWF". It is thus apparent that the backing provided by this influential local actor through the CAFT and OCBB proved decisive in enabling the participating communities better represent its interests in the PES process.

The intra-community collaboration between CAFT, OCBB and the local villages can be likened to "claimed or organic space", which Gaventa (2006:27) describes as those spaces which are "claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders or created more autonomously by them" to address issues of common concern to them (Cornwall, 2002). In this instance, these were spaces created by local communities, outside the WWF PES "invited spaces" wherein the local villages participating in the PES scheme together with local NGOs, CAFT and OCBB discussed on how to best represent their rights as stakeholders in the PES process. The organization and facilitation provided by the CAFT and OCBB was vital in ensuring that local communities were aware of their interests and understood how to engage with policy actors. These activities mirror Mann's (1986) organizational outflanking thesis which highlights the role which organization and mobilization of resources play in countering or outmaneuvering power. Thus, intracommunity mobilization in organic or created spaces played a crucial role in rearranging communicative relationships, and therefore power relationships in this instance.

The third factor that encouraged participatory communication and empowered local communities in the PES scheme was the existence and application of the statutes of the Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC). FPIC is incapsulated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the United Nations General assembly in 2007. FPIC is an international convention guaranteeing the rights of indigenous peoples and forest dependent communities to fully participate in forest governance and other development

projects that may impact their socio-cultural livelihoods. According to the FAO (2016) FPIC has become a prerequisite for the implementation of natural resource management projects such as the Ngoyla Mintom project. UNREDD, the United Nations REDD+ agency also requires that FPIC be employed in REDD+ projects such as the PES project which WWF was aiming to undertake in the Ngoyla Mintom project. The key requirement of FPIC is that local forest-dependent communities must be comprehensively informed and must, based on such information, give their accord before any project can be undertaken. This means that if a given community objects to a project, it cannot be implemented. As the UNREDD (2013: 20) states,

> At the core of FIPC is the right of the peoples concerned to choose to engage, negotiate and decide to grant or withhold consent, as well as the acknowledgement that under certain circumstances, it must be accepted that the project will not proceed and/or that engagement must be ceased if the affected peoples decide that they do not want to commence or continue with negotiations or if they decide to withhold their consent to the project.

The existence of FPIC meant that WWF had to not only seek the local communities' consent for its PES project, but it also had to ensure that these communities were fully involved in decision making concerning the PES process. FPIC thus empowered the participating villages in WWF's PES scheme as co-authors of the PES process with equal decision-making powers. As the WWF PES officer recounted when I asked him about local communities' ability to influence the process,

> FPIC also makes the community a powerful actor…because the project cannot be implemented without their consent. If after explaining the project to them and they say "No" …then the project cannot move forward. So, there is already an institutional framework that makes communities powerful actors on this

issue. This means that the community is a very important actor. That is why we made sure that all project activities were participatory.

The implementation of the FPIC requires systematic engagement, communication, information sharing, negotiation, partnerships and collaboration amongst others. Implicitly, this translates into institutionalized participatory spaces of engagement in which both policy actors and local communities co-construct policy around PES. From a structuration (Giddens, 1984), angle, the FPIC concept to some degree alters the configuration of power in the PES context in the sense that although the positionality of local communities is still determined by wider structures of power relations, FPIC nonetheless affords them the opportunity to be equal or even more powerful co-authors of the PES scheme.

The combination of the two factors discussed above contributed to the participatory communicative invited spaces that characterized the PES scheme. In contrast to the temporary invited spaces discussed previously, these spaces spanned the duration of the PES project, with frequent arranged encounters between policy actors and local communities. This meant that these invited spaces were institutionalized and by extension encouraged accountability on all stakeholders. This partly explains the satisfaction expressed by interviewees in relation to community experiences of the PES process.

However, despite the expressed satisfaction with PES, and although the president says PES showed the community the value of conservation and wants the project to continue, they do not necessarily view its usefulness in terms of climate change mitigation. Rather, the material benefits which the community received from PES is the most determinant factor in their desire to pursue conservation.

As the CODEVIE president said, "PES has to be real, it has to be logical and respect the norms and all that is laid out. It has to respect the agreed payments. We in the community respect our obligations under PES, we expect them to respect theirs as well. If they don't, that is where we might have problems". This

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gives the impression that the community views conservation almost in terms of a business transaction. The communities view conservation, not in terms of its benefits to say climate change mitigation, but rather for the material benefits the community can draw from conservation. In an informal conversation with a village resident before my interview with CODEVIE, he made it clear that the village would not conserve the forest if it wasn't for PES. I asked the CODEVIE group if conservation would work without the payments they get from PES. The response was negative. The president said (to a general buzz of approval from the rest of the group) conservation would not work without the benefits. In his words,

> No, it couldn't work. That is what upsets the community. Because those who ask us to conserve are better off than us…we refuse to conserve without benefits. If we are asked to conserve, we who conserve should be able to feel comfortable in that conservation. We cannot be asked to conserve for the benefit of others while we lose out. The community must be involved…we should be able to receive compensation for conserving…so that the community can see the benefits of why it is conserving.

The viewpoint expressed above (and the voiced general approval from the others present) appeared to be a mindset that the community took into the PES process. A mindset that in all likelihood must have been fashioned and strengthened in their intra-community organic/created spaces. It further illustrates, the limits of discursive power pertaining to the framing of conservation as intrinsically good for climate change. As the statement above demonstrates, attitudes towards conservation are not swayed by information about climate change or other benefits of conservation, especially in poor communities. Before the introduction of PES, the community had been hostile to earlier conservation efforts that did not involve material benefits to the community, according to the CODEVIE president:

> When they [WWF] came with conservation, people were wondering what it is…and what it is that should be

conserved and why. Whereas those [WWF] who were
telling us to conserve are better off than us. So, people
were angry at why they should conserve. That is how the
trouble started.

To drive home the point that the community would not engage in conservation
without receiving benefits, the CODEVIE president said that the community would
go back to exploiting the forest if the PES project does not continue after its
expiration date at the end of 2017. I remarked, to get more clarity, that the
community is willing to sacrifice its forest for conservation only if it brings them
the kind of benefits that PES brings to them. To which the CODEVIE president
replied,

You said it all. If not, on December 31st [Dec 31st, 2017 when the
current PES contract ends] we will be back in the forest. If the
community gets its money [from PES] all will be fine. The other
thing that is painful is that those who ask us to conserve live
better with bigger salaries [WWF staff] …while we who conserve
have nothing. So, we will cut the trees…so that we too can have
a living…it is our forest…it is our estate…given to us by the state
[the forest is a community forest]. So, we can use the forest as
we see fit…of course following the law.

Especially in the Ngoyla area, there is a prevalent idea that conservation as
advocated by the policy actors should bring material benefits to the community
for it to work. Thus, rational materialism is part of the mindset through which local
communities view conservation. This may also mean that the participatory
approach may have been a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

To conclude this section, two main points stand out. Firstly, the communities
participating in the PES programme have a positive experience of the project.
This can be attributed to effective collaborative communication and information
sharing between the PES policy actors and the local community. This
participatory communication was characterized by institutionalized invited spaces

that allowed for the expression and aggregation of the different voices. Contrary to the often-repeated mantra that participatory communication in C4D ought to emanate from below, the Etekessang experience demonstrates that participatory communication can still be an effective C4D process even if it is initiated from "above". Participatory communication as a process in this case enabled a recognition of the villagers' concerns. Process and recognition are two of the foundation blocs of environmental justice frameworks.

Secondly, intra-community mobilization in organic spaces formed by the community, was crucial in enabling the local community better stake its interests in engaging policy actors in the invited spaces. More importantly, the restructuring of power relations afforded by FPIC altered the communicative dynamics between policy actors and local communities. The emerging notion here in terms of C4D processes is that such processes are better served by institutionalized participatory communicative invited spaces, alongside created or organic spaces in which communities can self-organize to defend their interests. In addition, structural changes to configurations of power are necessary as a prelude to such institutionalized participatory spaces.

6.5   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has explored local communities' experiences of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. It evidenced the discursive dichotomy between policy actors and local communities and highlighted the importance of seeing C4D as a contestation of discourses. This mainly concerns views about rights and responsibilities in climate change mitigation and adaptation. It further established that from the community's discursive standpoint, conservation as is proposed by policy actors is unwelcome, unless it is accompanied by material benefits to the community. Furthermore, unmet expectations, lack of community voice and open invited participatory spaces are other emerging conclusions from this chapter. But these spaces are also arenas of inclusionary control, where policy actors exercise discursive power and hidden power through "the rules of the game".

Consequently, enthusiasm for the projects morphed into disillusionment and even apathy which led to local communities' resistance, sometimes employing the weapons of the weak. This was however not the case in the PES scheme where I demonstrated that structural changes to arrangements of power afforded by frameworks like the FPIC engendered participatory invited spaces. In addition, intra-community organic spaces were instrumental in facilitating communities' effectiveness in the invited spaces. Notwithstanding, given that local communities adopted a rational materialism approach to PES, such participation was more of a means to an end than an end in itself.

 In the next chapter, I will establish how NGOs and civil society actors engaged in policy advocacy in defence of local community interests in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. In establishing this, I will continue laying the groundwork for the central premise of this research, i.e. a view of C4D as the contestation of discourses by social actors in diverse spaces through communicative practice.

Chapter Seven

Resistance: Policy Advocacy in the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

Chapter Five explored the connections between power, communication and spaces in policy actors' communication. I established in that chapter, that policy actors exercise various forms of power (discursive, hidden, and coercive) on local communities. I also showed how policy actors' communication is shaped by the discourses they espouse and how such communication shapes spaces between policy actors and local communities. In Chapter Six I examined how local communities experienced the projects through their local discursive prism and how policy actors' communicative practices influenced community experiences in various spaces. In this chapter, I draw on the previous chapters, particularly on community experiences of the projects, to illustrate how the initiation of spaces of engagement, i.e policy advocacy constitutes resistance which has influenced the nature of power relations in the Ngoyla Mintom projects and the role of communication in this process.

This chapter crystalizes the main argument of this thesis by elaborating on the significance organic spaces and capabilities in shaping the nature of C4D in the case study. It draws on Cox's postulation on spaces of engagement in which he argues that "agents, experiencing a problematic relation to a space of dependence, construct through a network of associations a space of engagement through which to achieve some mitigation" (Cox, 1998:15). Space of dependence here refers to "those more-or-less localized social relations upon which we depend for the realization of essential interests and for which there are no substitutes elsewhere" (Cox, 1998:3). In the case of Ngoyla Mintom local space

of dependence include local worldviews about forest livelihood and cultural resources which were perceived to be under threat by the discourses Ngoyla-Mintom projects. Following this logic and given policy actors' exercise of power and local communities' experiences with the projects in their space of dependence, this chapter illustrates how spaces of engagement were instrumental in achieving "some mitigation" for local communities. I have earlier pointed to parallels between Cox's spaces of engagement and Waisbord's policy advocacy which denotes "the actions of mobilized citizens to raise public awareness about social problems, engage and convince policy-makers about policy changes" (Waisbord, 2015:150). Implicitly, the methods of spaces of engagement is essentially an activity in communication since it involves the use of different communication strategies.

 I will, in this chapter, therefore, demonstrate how the deliberate communicative practices stemming from organic spaces created by local communities and NGOs enabled resistance through "the mobilization of dissent" in the projects. In other words, this chapter will show how citizens organized in their own spaces and engaged in policy advocacy. The NGOs employ a mix of organic spaces and the strategic use of media and communication to advance discourses that support their agenda in this regard. Furthermore, their accession into policy spaces has in some cases been facilitated by their strategic use of international frameworks and support provided by international actors. This in some cases altered configurations of power in the policy process, thereby changing policy trajectories in some instances. In so doing, these civil society organizations have given voice to local populations in spaces where these voices were hitherto absent. The actions of these civil society organizations highlight the triangularity of spaces, capabilities and forms of power as key ingredients influencing C4D processes and outcomes especially in externally-led NRM interventions such as the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

The view espoused by the policy advocacy concept is that it transcends the dichotomy of participatory versus modernization debates characteristic of C4D

literature. This resonates with the premise of this research endeavor. Thus, this section examines how NGOs and civil society organizations engaged in policy advocacy both locally, nationally and even internationally with the aim of influencing natural (forest) resource management policy and in Ngoyla Mintom. I will initially show how NGOs and their collaborative interaction with local communities constituted organic space and the beginnings of the construction of spaces of engagement. Next, I will show that these local NGOs form part of a wider national network or "alternative interfaces" (Cornwall, 2002), in which they coordinate with bigger NGOs to elevate policy advocacy to the national level. I will lastly demonstrate how their communicative activities were multifaceted, led to the formation of different kinds of organic spaces and how these had significant ramifications in affecting power relations in the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

7.1　Spaces of Engagement: Local Civil Society Organizations (NGOs) and Local Communities

Following Cox's characterization of spaces of engagement, the collaborative interactions between local communities and NGOs, constituted what can be considered as the beginnings of a space of engagement, created out of a need to secure local communities' interests in the management of the forest resources. As Cox (1998:3) notes, when actors perceive a threat in their space of dependence, they "construct through a network of associations a space of engagement through which to achieve some mitigation". Thus, the relationships and networks extending from local communities to external NGOs constituted a space of engagement aimed at securing community interests by countering discursive and hidden power exercised by policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

Several NGOs and community organizations that cater for diverse interests exist around the Ngoyla Mintom area. There seems to be a thriving civil society characterized by networks of these different associations both locally and nationally. Nationally, there are numerous NGOs and civil society organizations

involved in natural resource management, some of which have been directly or indirectly involved in attempting to influence policy around the Ngoyla-Mintom area. These NGOs justify their existence as defenders of the interests of local populations in diverse spheres, but especially in natural resource management. Like local communities, these NGOs generally believe that local communities ought to have voice in how these natural resources are managed since they are the custodians of these resources. It is on this premise that some of these organizations became actors seeking to influence the process of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. Some of these NGOs are located within the Ngoyla Mintom area. Others are based in Yaoundé, and although these do not directly carry out activities in the Ngoyla Mintom forest massif, they form part of a network of NGOs which includes those with direct involvement in Ngoyla Mintom, that seek to influence natural resource management policies. This network, which can be considered "created space" (Gaventa, 2006) often works together jointly in engaging policy actors for the purpose of influencing policy. And as I will show later in this chapter, this created or "organic space" (Cornwall, 2002) was instrumental in policy advocacy endeavors.

I interviewed the leaders of six prominent NGOs who have been very active in engaging policy actors and local communities in the policy process of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. One was APIFED, working around Mintom. The other was OKANI, located in Bertoua, the capital of the East province in which a large part of the Ngoyla Mintom forest is located. OKANI positions itself as a defender of Baka rights. I also had a group interview with some members of ASTRAHDE, a local NGO based in Lomie, a town on the edge of the Ngoyla Mintom forest. ASTRAHDE is also active in the Ngoyla Mintom project, though to a lesser extent than APIFED and OKANI. CAFT and OCBB are also two local NGOs in Ngoyla that have been instrumental in facilitating the local populations' participation in forest governance projects such as the WWF PES process. I also interviewed NGO's with national reach but who engage in work at local level through networks with local NGOs around Ngoyla Mintom. These included FODER, the Community Forest Network and the national REDD-Civil Society coalition. Both national and

local NGOs described their mission as motivated by what all of them described as the non-involvement of local communities in the management of forest resources. Their stated intention was thus the defense of community interests in natural resource management projects such as Ngoyla Mintom.

The head of APIFED explained their mission as,

> We are involved in natural resource management because we believe that these vulnerable persons ought to have a say in the management of these resources. So, we advocate for their involvement and their active participation…there is a difference between involvement and participation. People can be involved without them participating. So, we want to make sure that this population participates actively…that they are at the center of all sustainable natural resource management initiatives. That's what we want to do…and that we are doing.

The head of OKANI whom I interviewed similarly described their mission as fighting for the rights of the indigenous Baka to be respected in the Ngoyla Mintom process. As he said,

> This planned project attracted the interest of other actors. One of such interest was conservation actors [WWF, World Bank] which led to the creation of a conservation area so as to compensate for the industrialization of the area. The creation of this conservation area [Ngoyla Mintom] also led to the involvement of other actors and programmes such as REDD+. As an NGO representing indigenous communities, we had to step in to make sure that the rights of the Baka in that area are respected. So, we scrutinized these projects because we want to make sure that we monitor that the rights of the local community are respected in these projects.

Hence a perceived lack of community involvement in the policy process around Ngoyla Mintom and a desire to safeguard the interests of local communities seemed to be a motivation for these local NGOs. This implies that there was not only a perception of asymmetrical power relationships, both discursive and hidden as I demonstrated in previous chapters, between policy actors and the communities in the Ngoyla Mintom project process, but also that this asymmetry was working to the detriment of local communities. In the view of these NGOs, this imbalance constituted a contravention on the legitimate socio-economic, cultural and livelihood prerogatives of the local communities in the Ngoyla Mintom forest. As the interviewee from OKANI who referred to themselves as "playing the police role" reasoned,

> The government is usually dominant in decision-making…but we
> as civil society organizations position ourselves in the middle
> between these powerful actors…whether government, WWF or
> other, and the communities. For a project like Ngoyla Mintom, it
> is unimaginable that there ought not to be a group, an entity that
> plays the role of an intermediary between the policy actors and
> the community. It is unimaginable! There are some groups that
> require different approaches. The Baka for instance do not yet
> have the requisite capacities [knowledge etc.] to directly engage
> in decision-making dialogue with these policy actors on these
> issues [forest governance projects]. There needs to be an entity
> to support them.

This interviewee thus perceives the role of NGOs as necessary to counter the discursive and hidden power exercised by policy actors on local communities. The asymmetrical power relationship according to these NGOs, worked against the interests of local communities in a number of ways: non-consideration of local knowledges, inappropriate communication and non-sharing of information with local communities, procedural inconsistencies, and the non-recognition of

community priorities in decision-making. For instance, the head of APIFED noted that,

> Whatever way you look at it, there is a real problem with information dissemination [between policy actors and local communities]. Those who come here with projects are more concerned with meeting the targets of funders…while there is little concern for whether these local populations are involved in these projects or whether they benefit from these projects. Many projects pay little attention to these issues. That's why we push these project actors to take these local populations in to account…and share information with these communities about what is going on.

The head of OKANI echoed a similar view of the problems with information flow between policy actors and local communities.

> The importance of information dissemination is still not fully appreciated [by policy actors]. And this constitutes a problem in all these projects [WWF and World Bank projects]. Even with WWF…they often do not realize that it is important to involve local actors in formulating their projects…. The issue is the way communication around this project [Ngoyla Mintom] is handled. Are the communities given enough time to reflect and come up with proposals? Everything is done in a hurry…all because government has deadlines, because there are targets to be met, boxes to be ticked. The situation is the same with the REDD [*sic*] project. Many commissions [on REDD+] were created [by policy actors] but very few of these commissions are functional at community level. Whereas it is these community commissions that are critical in informing local populations. But we realize that these commissions were created simply to fulfill donor requirements.

This characterization ties with some of the complaints from community members which I covered in the previous chapter. Similar to what some community members recounted, the quotes above suggest that local NGOs perceived problems with the communication or lack thereof, of policy actors. Considering that access to information is a critical element of effective citizen engagement and participation in NRM processes (Van de Fliert, 2014), the above assertion would imply that policy actors were not effectively engaging local communities. The point about lack of information was substantiated by the leader of the Baka community group, ADEBAKA when I interviewed him in Mintom,

> Concerning the project…we need to be informed in a timely way for us to be able to engage in the project. We were recently at a workshop in Ngoyla where the talk was about climate change. The WWF people told these communities that they do have a community forest, but the community is not aware of it…they don't even know its location and its boundaries… There is a lack of information. Why…because the authorities do not provide all the information to the communities. The communities get more information directly from partners [other NGOs] …not from government [policy actors].

The quote above also hints that local communities seem to receive more support from local NGOs than from policy actors in the project. I will further elaborate on the relationships between NGOs and local communities as organic spaces later.

Some of these NGO actors likewise criticized the hidden power in what they viewed as procedural inconsistencies by policy actors either in policy formulation and implementation or in their community engagement endeavors. These criticisms mirror the experiences of local communities who as quoted in the previous chapter, felt that meetings were empty rituals because, as one local community member told me, policy actors "already have their minds made up [about what they want to do] when they organize these meetings." According to NGO interviewees, the inconsistencies occur even though there are legal

provisions that guarantee the inclusion of local communities in the management of natural resources. As the REDD+ Officer at FODER, a national NGO that has worked in the Ngoyla Mintom area stated,

> we noticed that participation is not effective. So, we look at the situation from two angles: firstly, the situation of these local communities…if they are actually participating as stipulated in the law…and secondly, we look at government officials who are in charge of implementing government's policy.

This suggests that there are discrepancies between laid down rules for natural resource management and their practical application. Similar procedural lapses were according to other interviews are evident in the way communities such as the Baka were engaged with in the Ngoyla Mintom process. For instance, as the head of OKANI noted,

> In the case of Ngoyla-Mintom…It was by prime ministerial decree that the conservation area was created. It was a decision that was made already at the top…which means that the FPIC [Free Prior Informed Consent] was completely disregarded. Were people consulted? Did these people give their accord for the park? Did they give their opinion on the boundaries of the park? I am sure the government will say that consultations were held, but these consultations are not always properly conducted as they should be. Take the Baka for instance, to reach these kinds of agreements with them requires a different communication approach: You either have to spend a lot of time with them, or you schedule meetings long in advance to allow them to prepare…because they are very mobile people…their daily life is spent in the forest. So, you can't decide today to have a meeting with them tomorrow. No. You need to inform them at least a week in advance, so that they can arrange to attend these meetings. … Until now what has been done in terms of

communicating with the Baka has been ineffective even though
people will say the Baka have been engaged with. Because as
you know these are very enclaved areas…no telephone lines, no
internet connectivity…

The fact that the inception of the Ngoyla-Mintom project was a unilateral government decision, diminishes the project as a participatory process, according to this interviewee. The allusion to the disregard of FPIC indicates some of the limits of FPIC in natural resource management architectures such as conservation. Oftentimes and in the case of the Ngoyla Mintom projects, it is the case that such projects are decided upon by the state before seeking some form of community involvement. This means that participation in the projects was limited to "participation in implementation" as posited by Burns et al (1994), a claim which is consonant with community experiences of the projects as discussed in the previous chapter.

Even so, hidden power, the missteps in community engagement and inappropriate communication by policy actors further erode the alleged participatory intent of these projects according to the above interviewee. For instance, the OKANI head complained of a practice of

The immediacy with which meetings are called, invitations to
meetings are signed in the night for a meeting that should hold
the following morning etc. When they do this, of course the Baka
cannot attend such meetings and it comes out later that the Baka
don't attend meetings whereas the timing of such meetings is
hurried and inconvenient for the Baka

This practice of scheduling meetings at unsuitable times, whether deliberate on the part of policy actors or not, is reminiscent of one of the ways in which hidden power works to exclude other voices from decision-making (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). What is evident from the above is that NGOs and local communities in many regards, have a shared perspective of the nature of community involvement in the projects.

These shared perspectives also extend to conceptions of conservation and highlight the fissures between technocentric approaches inherent in global NRM architectures and local knowledges. There seemed to be conceptual disagreements between NGO actors and the policy directions pushed by policy actors. For instance, in the case of REDD+, the APIFED head intimated that the definition and implementation of REDD+ by policy actors was restrictive and excluded local perspectives to what constituted REDD+. APIFED had been training local inhabitants in handicraft, producing touristic-value items from remnants of logged trees. According to APIFED's president, the recycling of these remnants contributes to saving other trees from being felled for the purposes of craftmanship: something which to her is a form of REDD+. But she regretted the fact that these local approaches to REDD+ were disregarded because they did not fit the technical specifications of REDD+ as defined by policy actors. This points to another example of discursive power exercised by policy actors. As the APIFED head commented,

> They [Policy actors] believe that REDD+ should meet their definition of REDD+ as they have conceived it to mean. They [policy actors] define REDD+ in terms of the large amounts of money that they have been promising. For us REDD+ is on the ground…with the communities. This is a picture [shows me a picture] of handicraft made from leftover wood from the logging companies. If we can get our community forest to be exploited in this manner, it will help reduce the destruction of forests as is the case nowadays. If these communities use a felled tree to its last bits as I just showed you, it not only earns them income [through sale of handicraft] but it also stops them from cutting down more trees.

The above points to certain disparities in the perceptions and conceptions of forest management policies like REDD+, between local actors and policy actors. It also highlights the oft mentioned rift between technical knowledge and local

knowledge (e.g Adger et al, 2001; Hulme, 2007). In this case, policy actors apparently prioritize technical definitions of REDD+ to the detriment of other (local) interpretations of forest management mechanisms. This is further emphasized by the APIFED president who also criticized the highhandedness of conservation policy actors; citing the non-consideration of the contribution which locals could potentially bring to conservation if they were associated to the project. Insinuating the non-consideration of indigenous knowledge in these projects, she said,

> Filling the forest with eco guards [as policy actors had done] is not the solution. The Baka may not use scientific terminology when talking about the forest, but they teach us even more than all the science out there. And we have to recognize that knowledge…that is why it is important to locate these individuals within the community so that they can be the ones to help with these projects. It serves no purpose to assume that some people don't have the knowledge and hence cannot contribute to projects.

This section established two things. First, that NGOs and local communities have parallel viewpoints of the projects in many respects; and these viewpoints differ significantly from the perspectives held by policy actors. This dichotomy is indicative of different discursive standpoints between policy actors and local communities and builds into a central proposition of this research: i.e. that C4D is characterized by competing discourses. Second, the similarity of views between NGOs and local communities implies some collaborative interaction between these two entities. This is significant for two reasons with regards to spaces. On the one hand, the collaborative interaction between NGOs and local communities is tantamount to organic space-creation, which as Cornwall (2002:24) states, emerge from below "out of sets of common concerns or identifications" or "as a result of popular mobilization, such as around identity or issue-based concerns". And following Arendt (1958), the creation of this space is

a manifestation of and holds potentials for the expression of power. "Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence" (Arendt, 1958:200). On the other hand, the collaborative interactions between NGOs and local communities connotes the beginnings of "spaces of engagement" (Cox, 1998). In the sections that follow I will demonstrate how this space of engagement extended nationally and even internationally for the purpose of bringing some mitigation to local spaces of dependence. Furthermore, I will show how this mix of organic spaces and spaces of engagement engendered expressions of power through communicative practices and the significance of this for the nature of power relations in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. In other words, I will highlight the significance of organic spaces in my view of C4D as a contestation of discourses.

7.2   Organic Spaces and Policy Advocacy as Spaces of Engagement

Shared interests between NGOs and local communities regarding natural resource management in the Ngoyla Mintom projects resulted in the emergence of organic spaces. Organic spaces are grassroot-driven spaces distinct from policy spaces or invited spaces, wherein citizens mobilize around a common set of concerns (Cornwall, 2002). These organic spaces were arenas wherein these actors organized in order to better counter perceived unfavorable NRM policy discourses in the Ngoyla Mintom project. As Cornwall (2002:26) notes, organic spaces are sometimes spaces in which ordinary citizens "gain a sense of the legitimacy of their concerns and a sense of their own power, sites from which they enter invited spaces equipped with the tools of productive engagement". In the case of the Ngoyla Mintom projects, the organic spaces constituted initial movement towards the expansion of spaces of engagement, which as I would show, would be extended to national and international spaces. I first examine communicative interactions in grassroot organic spaces and the role of communication in these spaces.

7.2.1 Organic Spaces and Community Mobilization.

In line with Cornwall's hypothesis above, organic spaces in the Ngoyla Mintom projects constituted arenas where local actors sought to "gain a sense of the legitimacy of their concerns and a sense of their own power" (Cornwall, 2002:26). This process was spearheaded by local NGOs who sought to strengthen local communities' ability to respond to and engage with policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom process and in natural resource management in general. It was a communication process characterized by grassroots information and education campaigns on various aspects of natural resource management. The actions, I was told, aimed to build local capacity by acquainting local populations with their rights and obligations in the Ngoyla Mintom process. The head of APIFED explained their activities in this regard that "our work thus includes analyzing the capacity-building needs of different groups and improving these capacities. In some cases, we serve as facilitators, connecting these groups [local inhabitants] with the expert actors for this capacity building". In practice, she stated that:

> We usually do this through information and sensitization campaigns on particular topics…. we also target local communities during our campaigns to educate them on what exactly constitutes poaching. We tell them that when government forbids them from hunting for commercial purposes, it serves their interests too and the interest of the entire country. Apart from these campaigns, we produce fliers and DVDs…sometimes we use theater in the communities…where the actors role-play as the forestry officer and another as a hunter. We also do screenings where possible…and also seminar workshops in the community.

From a C4D perspective, the above indicates that NGOs employed a variety of communication approaches (participatory, media and theatre) in engaging with local actors in organic spaces. Participatory communication was thus a feature of community engagement processes. These NGOs also engaged in informing local

communities about certain aspects of natural resource management such as FIPC and novel programmes such as REDD+. FODER, the NGO based in Yaoundé carries out sensitization work on these issues in local communities around Ngoyla Mintom. It's REDD+ coordinator explained to me that:

> How is a Baka supposed to understand that information [REDD+ information contained on official documents] written in French [Baka don't always speak French]. So, we translated and published REDD+ information in Baka [language]…in *Bulu* [local dialect] …. So, locals were able to get…to listen to this information in their local language…it is necessary that the community properly understand because it facilitates their participation in the implementation of the FPIC which in turn helps to make the FPIC process satisfactory.

He further added that

> We work at capacity building in these communities…we work to give them access to information. We touch on things like the rights and responsibilities of local communities in forest management through documents that we produce like this one [shows me a document]. We go down to these communities with community leaders and explain to them. Since we have trained these community leaders, they better explain these concepts to their communities...the community can also better intervene in these issues. Because as I said, without information, people cannot involve themselves. But the more information people have, the more equipped they are…and the more equipped they are, the more they are able to get involved.

Access to information was thus viewed as important for local involvement in and informed participation in natural resource management, including in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. OKANI likewise engaged in similar education and community capacity-building in Baka communities. Education and sensitization activities

touched on issue such as REDD+ and climate change in general, with the aim of facilitating local comprehension of the phenomenon through locally-appropriate communication. This quote from my interview with the head of OKANI elucidates further.

> When Cameroon signed up for the REDD+ program, we took the time to assess community understandings of the concept…but also explain the concept to locals in language they could understand. Climate change is something that these communities have also experienced in terms of changing rainfall patterns and so on. So, people are aware that the climate is changing. So, we collect information from various sources: publications and from workshops we attend to supplement community knowledge of climate change. In this way, the local population understands climate change better.

Implicit in the above quotes is an indication that communication between policy actors and local communities was inadequate or that local communities had difficulties understanding the policies and projects. However, this is unverifiable because while policy actors claimed they had communicated extensively about various aspects of the project, some interviewees in the community cited the lack of information as one of the problems of the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

Other NGOs such as OKANI works with local communities to build capacities on how the community can best represent its interests in the imminent project. As its head explained during our interview,

> We also have a project there [among the Baka] on representation in the community. Because the issues relating to the Ngoyla Mintom project require legitimate and competent community representatives. Legitimate in the sense that they are selected by the community to represent them because of their

knowledge in the various projects in the area. That's why we undertook to facilitate the process of community representatives whom we then educated on certain aspects of the tasks they may be called upon to carry out on behalf of the community.

Such community capacity-building activities were also evident in the case of the WWF PES project which CAFT and OCBB, both local NGOs in Ngoyla were instrumental in supporting participating villages better navigate the PES process. In my interview with the CODEVIE group in Etekessang village, the president frequently referenced these two NGOs as entities that had significantly supported them in the PES process. "We have facilitators like the OCBB and CAFTE which is also a local NGO. CAFTE is a local association of community forestry associations…which through its leader takes our grievances and suggestions to WWF. CAFTE is us…it is the community", the CODEVIE president said, explaining how the village is supported by local NGOs. Speaking about the benefits the village had received from the PES programme, the president added that "when the OCBB told us that we could gain from conservation, we did not believe. But today with PES, we can see the gains from conservation. We are given the responsibility to develop our community through conservation". CAFTE and OCBB had been instrumental in facilitating, advising and monitoring these villages in the PES process.

The communicative activities described above between local NGOs and local populations constituted organic spaces of interaction and engagement where intra-community community dialogue unfolded. Such spaces likely afforded community members the opportunity to share and learn amongst themselves, with the facilitation of NGOs whom, community members regarded as sharing their views and interests. To buttress this last point, the president of the Baka community association in Mintom explained in our interview that:

We have a very good working relationship with OKANI. If we have a problem like now, I can call OKANI directly…. or I can go

there in person to report the issue. So, we have an open channel with OKANI. We have good collaboration with OKANI

This reference suggests that local communities trust local NGOs as their backers in the Ngoyla Mintom project. In the case of OKANI's work with local communities, the community members themselves selected individuals within the community who would speak on behalf of the community in matters of natural resource management. As the OKANI head explained,

> We work with the community to select these individuals. For instance, when we deal with forest issues, we, together with community members determine which individual or individuals are best suited to engage in issues around forest management. We determine this based on the individuals' knowledge, and frequency of interaction with the local forest [those who go further and frequently in to the forest]. The community often can identify these persons because they know who in the community knows the forest best.

The above again strongly suggests that participatory communication was characteristic of this grassroot space. Another evidence of organic space-creation is the fact that NGOs in around the Ngoyla Mintom massif have also constituted themselves into a network to facilitate information-sharing, learning and coordinate their activities, according to the head of APIFED.

> We got together with other NGOs and created a network called the network of Civil Society Organizations Working in and around Ngoyla Mintom and Tridom. We usually come together and discuss important subjects such as wildlife conservation. After such meetings, each organization then has the obligation to spread the points we discussed in their various localities through their local chiefs and local associations or groups.

Taken together, the evidence above demonstrates that the organic space created by communicative interactions mainly spearheaded by NGOs served the purpose of strengthening community responses to the Ngoyla Mintom project. It was, as Cornwall noted of organic spaces, a space for local communities to "gain a sense of the legitimacy of their concerns and a sense of their own power" (Cornwall, 2002:26)". The nature of interactions within this space also fits with Gaventa's characterization of such spaces as formed by less powerful actors "to discuss and resist, outside of the institutionalized policy arenas" (Gaventa, 2006: 27). This space was characterized by a mix of communicative practices that included the use of media, theatre, and participatory approaches. Evidence further shows that this space constituted participatory arenas whereby local communities engaged with each other in their social context to shape engagement strategies with policy actors.

These spaces also highlight Veneklassens (2002) "power with" manifestations of power: the ability for social actors to form coalitions and work together for the attainment of a common goal. And as I will show in the next section, the expression of this power entailed espousing discourses opposed to the discourses of policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. Lastly, participatory communicative interactions, within and between community members, as was evident in this space is one of the hallmarks of policy advocacy (Waisbord, 2015). This organic space therefore was the foundation which drove NGOs' policy advocacy with policy actors and other centers of power. I delve into this phase in the next section.

7.3   Spaces of Engagement and Policy Advocacy

Spaces of engagement denote the purposeful strategic communicative interactions with other actors outside a space of dependence for the purpose of resisting threats to a space of dependence (Cox, 1998). I earlier established the linkages between the processes of spaces of engagement and policy advocacy, which is a communicative endeavor to influence policymakers and change policy.

According to Wilkins (2014:58) policy advocacy espouses "clear political positions" and aim at "resisting hegemonic dominance". Building on their work with local communities, NGOs expanded the space of engagement to policy actors and other centers of power. These endeavors generally were aimed at policy actors with the aim of influencing policy trajectories and procedures in ways that would accommodate the interests of local inhabitants in the Ngoyla Mintom area in particular and in natural resource management in general. In so doing, these NGOs sought to resist the dominant discourses of the project by taking clear political positions, i.e. the consideration of local communities.

This advocacy or "mobilization of dissent" (Cornwall: 2002:21) was directed at policy actors within Ngoyla Mintom, and at national level, while some targeted international audiences and institutions (centers of power) such as the World Bank. At local level, some local NGOs such as APIFED organize workshops to which local policy actors are invited. The NGO also targeted local conservation authorities in the face of the alleged mistreatment of locals by wildlife officers during the wildlife conservation campaign. As the APIFED head recounted,

> We also expose and denounce abuses [on the populations] ….
> these happen often on the field. So, we step in and expose these
> so that action is taken to redress the situation. We had to
> organize campaigns on the ground to, on the one hand, to
> articulate to these conservation officials that if the local
> communities were not themselves conservationists… these
> animals would not be existent today.

The Baka *Dream Days* festival which APIFED organizes in the forest is also aimed at bringing policy actors in contact with local communities to engage in conversations regarding the management of these forest resources. As its president explained in our interview, "the festival is thus an interaction space or platform for bringing all the various stakeholders to engage with each other and brainstorm on the best strategies for achieving that goal".

Invited spaces are also viewed and used as opportunities to resist policy actor's discourses. Invited spaces can become "sites of radical possibilities" Cornwall (2002). These invited spaces were for instance the various meetings that are organized by policy actors around natural resource management programmes such as REDD+ and the Ngoyla Mintom projects. The NGOs and civil society actors whom I interviewed frequently partake in these meetings, sometimes on invitation by policy actors and sometimes on their own volition. The head of the Community Forestry Network, another NGO that is involved in forestry governance explained why they participate in these meetings.

> You noticed for instance what I was doing at the conference the other day [he had spoken critically at the validation meeting of the National REDD+ public consultation document, which I attended]. A document like the one that was being debated is an important document that will affect all actors of the civil society and at the grassroot. So, in the discussion to validate this document, we have to bring the policy actors to take into consideration, the interests of local communities. That is why we need to participate [in such meetings] to influence the elaboration of these documents. We participate in the elaboration of these laws. We do everything so that our position is taken into consideration, in the brainstorming, in the actual elaboration of these policies and in their implementation.

I attended two of such meetings: the concluding meeting of the WWF Ngoyla Mintom project on March 28th, 2017 which aimed at assessing the work that had been accomplished by the WWF Ngoyla Mintom project and chart the way forward. The second meeting was the validation meeting of the national REDD+ public consultation blueprint document on January 30, 2017 which aimed at discussing and finalizing the blueprint document that would be used in public consultations nationally in Cameroon's REDD+ process. During these meetings I observed how NGOs and civil society actors present use these meetings to

critique and challenge certain policy provisions or policy implementation lapses which they consider disadvantageous for local communities. I noticed that these NGOs and civil society actors appeared to have significant leverage on the discussions. For instance, some of their objections were taken into account and their recommendations were inserted into the final document approved at the January 30th meeting.

But although these conferences constitute "invited spaces" where agendas are often commanded by policy actors, the NGOs and civil society actors utilize these spaces as vehicles for advancing their claims. Cornwall (2002:27) refers to this as "pragmatic opportunism" where "less powerful actors seize opportunities offered by invited spaces to push the boundaries" by playing by the rules which involves "being able to articulate a position, mount and argument, define a view". This was the case with the NGOs who sometimes support their arguments with their own research findings and position papers. As the head of the Community Forestry Network explained,

> The tools we use to influence policies are the papers that we produce and hand to policy actors. So, you have to prepare a structured document with strong evidence. We have to demonstrate [through such documents] our capacities and know how. We have position papers for example. We take a common position on and issue and we co-sign [with other NGOs] the position paper.

This means that invited spaces also constitute arena's where power relationships in policy making can be altered through rational communicative action. Compared to the other invited spaces in Ngoyla and in Mintom which I covered earlier, what we notice in these invited spaces is that NGOs are able to project their discursive positions more effectively. One reason for this is that unlike the "fleeting formations" invited spaces in Ngoyla Mintom, these invited spaces were more institutionalized. These NGO actors had been participating in several meetings with WWF, the World Bank and other institutions involved in the Ngoyla Mintom

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projects. These invited spaces had also been established through institutional agreements which I will cover in the next section. Secondly, NGOs ability to effectively convey their positions can be linked to capabilities, since NGO actors generally are higher placed on the socio-economic ladder than most of the populations of the Ngoyla or Mintom. As Sen (1999:5) states, capabilities are also "influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education and the encouragement and cultivation initiatives".

The picture that begins to emerge so far is the "the mobilization of bias" (Schattschneider, 1960: 7), and a "mobilization of dissent" Cornwall's (2002). These are all strategies of power as they infer deliberate efforts by actors to organize and project their discourses, values, practices and beliefs over others (Sadan, 1997). In the next section I examine further, how these NGOs organized to create particular spaces and how capabilities were instrumental in their ability to affect policy trajectories.

7.4   Created Spaces, Alternative Interfaces and Policy Advocacy

NGOs who claimed to represent community interests in the Ngoyla Mintom projects understood that building networks amongst themselves was important for their "mobilization of dissent" in resisting certain policy discourses. These networks can be understood here in Arendt's terms as a necessary precondition for sustaining power: "what keeps people together after that moment of fleeting action has passed, and what at the same time, they keep alive by remaining together, is power" (Arendt, 1958:201). These NGOs constituted a space which Cornwall (2002:21) labels "alternative interfaces" between closed spaces and invited spaces. These are spaces where "citizens act without (both outside and in the absence of [the state])" and on it. This created space through organization was instrumental in expanding spaces of engagement and by consequence NGOs' "mobilization of bias" or resistance.

NGOs and civil society organizations have constituted themselves into formal networks and in the case of REDD+, a national umbrella-organization of networks of NGOs working in the domain of natural resource management or community development. The National Civil Society-REDD+ Coalition is an umbrella organization composed of the various networks of diverse NGOs. It is a network of networks. There are numerous networks constituted of different NGOs: Community Forestry, Women's Groups, sustainable development, indigenous peoples etc. Some NGOs belong to more than one network.   These different NGOs cooperate with each other within the different networks to influence policy on natural resource management projects like REDD+ and the Ngoyla-Mintom projects. In other words, this network is created or organic space formed for the purpose of exercising power. These NGOs seemed to have realized that they can be more effective in influencing policy if they work together in groups, as the head of the Community Forestry Network explained, "alone, you cannot have any significant impact [on policy]. But if you form groups or networks and have a common message, you will be stronger, and your message will be heard". The REDD+ Coordinator at FODER similarly echoed the same perspective regarding the importance of the NGO networks. He noted that "there is good collaboration among civil society organizations. For us this is a way of increasing our reach to various target audiences".

There is thus a strategic reasoning behind the formation of different networks of NGOs and civil society actors. The strategic intent is to insert themselves into policy spaces, equipped with alternative evidence about policy issues, as the head of the Community Forestry network explained.

> We occupy policy spaces; we insert ourselves in these spaces.
> If we are not involved [in a policy debate] we write to them [policy
> actors] telling them "if you do it without us, you are doing it
> against us…against local indigenous communities…so as
> intermediaries we can come in to help…we have useful

suggestions". Sometimes we went to these meetings on our own dime.

There is also a network of local NGOs located in the Ngoyla Mintom area as I mentioned in the previous section. Although its focus is Ngoyla Mintom, this network is also connected to the other networks referred to above. There is therefore a local-to-national linkage between NGO networks. This linkage enables local NGOs around Ngoyla Mintom to participate through the National REDD+-Civil society platform in influencing the elaboration of policies such as the national REDD+ policy which impacts local communities in the Ngoyla Mintom forest. The National REDD+-Civil Society Platform to which these NGOs belong is a key player in the formulation of REDD+ policy. As its Head told me when I interviewed her in Yaoundé,

> We serve as a link between government and local populations
> because after all, they are the ones who feel the impacts and the
> realities of REDD+. The needs, priorities and realities of these
> local populations have to be included in these processes…be it
> in the elaboration of the emissions reduction programme or the
> national REDD+ strategy. We intervene at all levels of the
> REDD+ process. We are also represented in the National
> REDD+ pilot committee, the main governing organ for REDD+ in
> Cameroon, chaired by the Prime Minister. You can therefore
> understand that we are a key player…if we don't agree to
> something, we can veto the decision.

This again points to the fact that institutionalized spaces such as the one described above were important arenas where NGOs exercised both discursive and visible power through their veto. This contrast significantly with the fleeting formations of invited spaces policy actors had on the ground in Ngoyla and in Mintom. The connection local NGOs had to the National REDD+-Civil Society Platform suggests that in theory, they were represented in some of the major policy arenas and had some clout in swaying policy. Such clout is evident in some

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of the ways in which the REDD+-Civil Society Platform had affected some policy aspects in the preparatory phase of Cameroon's REDD+ process. As the REDD+-Civil Society Platform head explained,

> When we felt that we were not consulted and involved in the elaboration of the ER-PIN [Emissions Reduction Program Idea Note, a prerequisite document for countries hoping to obtain World Bank funding for REDD+ projects] done by government, we expressed this to government and we warned them that we would oppose the document if it was submitted to UNREDD [the United Nations REDD governing body] in that form. Consequently, the government restarted the process and gave the civil society enough time to include its contributions to the document

It is conceivable that NGOs such as OKANI and APIFED participated directly or indirectly in influencing the policy process described above through their affiliation to the REDD+-Civil-Society platform. Although I did not ascertain this, the way the REDD+-Civil Society operates in making proposals suggests that local NGOs contribute in fashioning the coalition's alternative proposals to a given policy. As the platform's head explained,

> When we need to put forward a common position on a given issue to government, we use meetings. We call a meeting of our members, sometimes we ask members to debate their views at regional level and send us their suggestions for the common position.

This suggests that the local-to-national linkage, in other words, the organic space, afforded by the NGO networks enables local NGOs like those within the communities in Ngoyla Mintom to affect policy at national level. These networks also enable local NGOs to learn and get support from their counterparts in effecting policy implementation at local level. The 1st Assistant Mayor of Ngoyla alluded to this last point when I interviewed him:

We have some local NGOs here that have been active in drawing the government's attention to certain things. Our local NGOs did not used to do that [advocacy]…but they have copied from what other NGOs in the South and the Centre province are doing…and for some time now we have noticed that our grievances have started reaching government. So, there is that small change…the civil society is awake and is gaining momentum.

From the above thus, organization and institutionalized spaces in this case are key aspects in enabling the expression of voice or the manifestation of power in the projects. Organization here can also be understood as a function of capabilities such as political freedoms and civil rights that enable public debate, association and discussion (Sen, 1999) of the issues around the Ngoyla Mintom projects by NGOs in the civil society.

In addition to its national scope, NGOs extended spaces of engagement into other centers of power at international level for the purpose of influencing policy at the local level in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. NGOs like OKANI have partnered with other international actors in their bid to enhance the effectiveness of their advocacy efforts on the international scene. It has links with international entities like the Rainforest Alliance and the UK-based Forest Peoples Programme (FPP) which defines its mission on its website as supporting "the rights of peoples who live in forests and depend on them for their livelihoods. We work to create political space for forest peoples to secure their rights, control their lands and decide their own futures". With these partnerships, OKANI is able to tap into an international network of resources, information and access into international policy-making arenas.

When I visited OKANI's premises in Bertoua for my interview with its Head, I met two persons from the Forest Peoples Programme who had arrived from the UK some weeks before to work on OKANI projects in the area. OKANI and these international NGOs jointly research and publish material linked to the violation of

the rights of the indigenous Baka in the Ngoyla Mintom area. Some of these publications including petitions from Baka communities feature on the FPP website. These international partners also help OKANI secure media space in renowned international media outlets such as the New York Times, as the OKANI head explained, "our partners source slots or space in widely read newspapers such as the New York Times and others. For instance, if there is a case of abuse by eco guards we do a story in it and it is published through these channels". Thus, these local-to-global partnerships helps local NGOs like OKANI advocate and have a presence in global spaces where power is exercised in global environmental governance.

The forerunning reveals the contribution that organization and networking among NGOs makes to NGOs' policy advocacy efforts in natural resource management and by extension the Ngoyla Mintom projects. As demonstrated, NGOs have strategically constituted themselves into various networks for the purpose of influencing policy: there are local networks, local-to-national networks and local-to-international networks. These networks can also be considered as created or organic spaces where NGOs discuss, plan, exchange information and learn amongst themselves for the purpose of resisting "hegemonic" policy trajectories proffered by the policy actors. In contrast to the policy actor invited spaces where local communities' voice was absent, these created spaces enable NGOs to construct and articulate discursive positions that advance their strategic aims, i.e. the interests of local communities.

7.5 Communication Capabilities: Media Development and Policy Advocacy

In the opening sections of this research, I argued that communication capabilities and media development constitute one of the building blocks of an integrated conceptualization of C4D. My argument was that if we hypothesize C4D as involving competing discourses, then some capabilities is necessary for actors to articulate their various discursive positions. Such capabilities include access and

interaction with media (Carpentier, 2011), where access denotes the availability of technology and interaction denotes the actors' *ableness* in producing or co-producing media content. In other words, media development contributes to communication capabilities that enable ordinary citizens to participate in debates and discussions in the public sphere. In this section, I examine the role of communication capabilities in NGOs' "mobilization of bias" aimed at challenging or resisting policy actors' discourses. I show how NGOs employed media strategies in furthering their agenda and attract attention to the causes they were advocating: i.e. the lapses of the project and the concerns of local communities. Media, as a space is strategically employed to reach targeted actors and to inject the issues into the public sphere to encourage public debate about the issues. In this sense access and interaction in media as space is a key feature of mobilization of dissent in the Ngoyla Minton projects.

NGO actors explained that they place great emphasis on communication and use various media channels as a means of driving their policy advocacy efforts. The Head of the Community Forestry Network for instance intimated that,

> We communicate a lot. If you hear me speak on the radio, you would hardly believe it is me. We talk [on the radio] …to magnify issues. And for people to pay attention, you have to talk [about these issues]. Sometimes you have to talk all the time…especially if you are doing advocacy… We use different communication tools…radio, TV or newspapers.

The Head of OKANI, made similar reference to their use of media and communication tools in their advocacy efforts. As he explained,

> Communication is really important for us. When we have a participatory video session on an interesting topic…we make videos of these sessions. When we attend international events such as the COP or the Convention on Biodiversity, we are invited by our partners to screen these videos at side events. Another way is that our partners source slots or space in widely

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read newspapers such as the New York Times. For instance, if there is a case of abuse by eco guards we do a story on it and it is published through these channels. Nationally, we also use different platforms. In July [2016], we were quite active with the CRTV [state broadcaster], private TV stations and radios. We also create media events on pertinent topics around key dates such as the International Day for Indigenous peoples.

Apart from its use of national media, this statement also suggests that OKANI understands that influencing policy actors at global level can have impacts on national, and consequently local policies such as Ngoyla Mintom. OKANI's use of these global platforms suggests that it understands that engaging powerful actors in global environmental governance by exposing what it views as non-recognition of community rights, can have impacts on policies that affect the interests of enclaved communities like the ones in the Ngoyla Mintom forest. What obtains from this is that NGOs have extended spaces of engagement from the local to the international through the national level. NGOs like OKANI have, through communicative capabilities, entered spaces with discourses that would otherwise not have left the localities of Ngoyla or Mintom due to the acute lack of media in these localities.

FODER, another NGO working with community radio stations, frequently organizes press conferences and has launched an annual event called the "Forest Media Awards" to encourage media reporting on forest management-related issues. Sometimes it organizes joint press conferences with other NGOs from the NGO networks. I attended one of its press conferences on the 24th of February 2017, during which FODER discussed its efforts to get the government to re-instate the RFA to its original 10 percent. Unlike other NGOs, FODER maintains an online presence with a constantly updated web page, including social media platforms like YouTube and Tweeter. This suggests that the NGO aims to reach international audiences as well with its advocacy communication. It also connotes an understanding on FODER's part that it needs to engage with

powerful international actors who may be capable of influencing policy at local level. The following excerpts from my interview with FODER's REDD+ coordinator illustrates the important role FODER attaches to communication as an advocacy tool,

> we make use of all media…newspapers, radio, television, online platforms. We get the media to be interested in sustainable management [of forest resources]. We have a webmaster that is constantly updating our webpages…We have a guy whose job it is to update it every day…whether it is Twitter, YouTube, Facebook. And to use a phrase from the communications unit…they said, "this year we will have communication for impact" …

> …The forest media award is a competition which aims at increasing media coverage of sustainable development issues…especially with regards to forest governance. In the two years that we have had the competition, there have been many media stories on forest management. We even get invitations to participate in media programs on certain topics. Our aim is to generate media interest in sustainable development…

> …We have undertaken many capacity-building and training activities for media persons…and it is through these activities that we noticed that many media organs are interested in sustainable development, forest governance and the like…

These quotes reveal that NGOs communication endeavors include media for development, media development and even participatory communication approaches since it supports community radio broadcasters in some local communities. As the interviewee above stated, this emphasis on communication aims at setting sustainable development and forest governance into the public sphere. This is done in the belief that increased conversation about these issues

in the public sphere enhances checks and accountability in the way policies are elaborated and implemented.

Public debate and contestation of diverse opinions in the public sphere is a feature of Sen's (1999) capabilities approach which at the same time foregrounds access and interaction in media spaces as prerequisites for such contestation. NGOs' media development efforts are thus aimed at making media spaces more accessible and interactive. As the FODER interviewee summarized, "our communication does not simply aim at putting out information….no…we want to inspire a recapture of citizenship". A recapture of citizenship here means giving citizens the communication capabilities and opening up media spaces for citizens to resist powerful discourses in NRM and by extension in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. While this will depend on other factors (e.g. personal and environmental), it still represents the NGOs' strategic view of media development and communication capabilities as vital for the mobilization of dissent or resistance in NRM.

7.6 Spaces of Engagement and Policy Advocacy: How Successful were NGOs in Influencing Policy Trajectories?

The preceding sections of this chapter have established a number of factors. First, that the non-recognition of community interests attributable to policy actors' exercise of discursive power in invited spaces at local level prompted the creation of a space of engagement (i.e. policy advocacy) spearheaded by local and national NGOs. Second, this space of engagement was local, national and international. Third, NGO communication capabilities enabled access and interaction in media spaces aimed at inserting community discourses on NRM into the public sphere. Fourth, the NGO networks were created spaces or "alternative interfaces" (Cornwall, 2002), wherein these civil society actors co-strengthened their mobilization of bias strategies. These actions can be summed up as "organizational outflanking" (Mann, 1986), which describes the mobilization of resources and tools necessary to resist power. Organizational outflanking

"makes clear the extent to which organizational resources and tools to activate these resources are necessary for efficient resistance against power" (Sadan, 1997:46). Equally, organizational outflanking is a manifestation of power because it employs the strategies of power.

This section examines the extent to which, and why these organizational outflanking strategies were successful in changing power relations by changing the policy dynamics around the Ngoyla Mintom project. It is unlikely, and I did not uncover evidence, that any individual engagement effort on its own changed the course of policy trajectories, and that is not the aim of this research project. Rather, the policy changes that occurred were likely a result of the combined weight of organizational outflanking in the space of engagement. In addition, and quite significantly, certain international frameworks and powerful international actors afforded opportunities that were strategically harnessed by NGOs to trigger policy changes at national and local level. This last point means that institutional arrangements play a key role in facilitating participation in NRM (Holmes & Scoones, 2000).

Such institutional arrangements significantly contributed in making the REDD+-civil society Platform a key player in Cameroon's REDD+ process. When Cameroon initiated it's REDD+ process in 2008, policy actors were not receptive to inputs from the civil society and NGOs according to the REDD+-Civil Society Platform Head. As she explained to me when I asked her how the coalition became a key player in Cameroon's REDD+ process,

> It was difficult….it was difficult. At one point, I would say it was a battle. Our beginning was very difficult... We had to put up a fight…We started organizing ourselves in 2008 when Cameroon initiated the REDD+ process. Especially as the VPA [Voluntary Partnership Agreement] process was underway at that time. The civil society had to be part of this process. It was not easy. Things changed after the Copenhagen COP [Conference of Parties 2009, annual gathering of the world's nations to determine global

climate change governance priorities], because it was made clear in Copenhagen that governments must involve the civil society in their national climate change governance programs. It was then that our government realized that the civil society had to be a key player in the process. It realized that its national climate change governance process would lack credibility if the civil society was not involved. This is what caused the government to recognize us.

It is evident from the above quote that international conventions provided an institutional framework, which greatly helped civil society organizations accede to spaces of policymaking. I have earlier cited these same institutional arrangements like the FPIC, which had guaranteed full community participation in the WWF PES process in Ngoyla. But as the interviewee above further recounted, they as civil society organizations had to exploit another opportunity offered by such international conventions to consolidate their position as key actors in Cameroon's REDD+ process. In her words,

When Cameroon launched its RPP [Readiness Preparation Proposal], which is the foundation policy document for REDD+, the institutional framework did not favor the civil society. In the pilot committee, there were 27 members, with only 3 from the civil society. That meant that we [as civil society] would just be figureheads in that committee with no real influence. The government decided that that arrangement was final and could not be altered. This RPP had to be approved in Brazzaville [capital of Congo at the international meeting with the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility, the World Bank's REDD+ funding organ in 2012] …we were all there. That is where it all played out. We told the conference of participants that if the pilot committee remained the way it was in the RPP, we would have no influence in the committee. We requested that the method of

decision-making within that committee be changed: from simple majority vote to unanimous consensus. Cameroon was then asked to change the configuration of the pilot committee or accept the unanimous consensus as method of decision-making. Without which its RPP could not be approved. But Cameroon could not change the configuration since it was a decree that had been signed. It had no choice but accept the unanimous consensus option. That is how the RPP was validated…with unanimous consensus as the decision-making method. That is how we have the influence that we have today in the pilot committee. We grabbed it. Government did not willfully give it to us. We snatched it!

Above is another instance of how NGOs exploited invited spaces at international level for the mobilization of dissent that led to a change of power relations between them and policy actors from the state. They were aided by the conditionality imposed by the REDD+ funder, i.e the World Bank: if Cameroon's RPP did not get validated, it would not receive funding from the World Bank. More importantly, this shows how different invited spaces can be more conducive for the effective expression of power by actors who would otherwise been less powerful in other spaces. Space here can thus be viewed as both empowering and disempowering. The powerlessness of community members in some of the spaces in Ngoyla Mintom stands in contrasts to the power the NGOs have in invited spaces at international level. It also shows, as Holmes and Scoones (2000) found, how invited spaces in supportive institutional contexts can alter power relations in environmental policymaking processes.

Such institutional arrangements were similarly instrumental in other instances. For instance, OKANI utilized World Bank statutes to lobby for and obtain policy changes in the Ngoyla Mintom project when it perceived that community interests were undermined by policy actors. Article 4.10 of the World Bank's Operational Directive gives latitude to NGOs like OKANI to appeal some aspects in the

implementation of World Bank-funded projects like Ngoyla Mintom. Article 4.10 of the World Bank Operational Directive aims to ensure "that the development process fully respects the dignity, human rights, economies, and cultures of Indigenous Peoples" according to Article 1 of the Directive. The Directive, in Article 11.d further obliges recipients of World Bank-funded projects to guarantee "free, prior, and informed consultation with and participation by Indigenous Peoples' communities during project implementation, monitoring, and evaluation". Thus, in the face of perceived non-respect of these statutes by policy actors in the Ngoyla Mintom projects, OKANI petitioned the World Bank, quoting the said article 4.10, as the OKANI interviewee explained.

> Article 4.10 of the World Bank's Operations Guidelines gives us the right to contact the World Bank directly if we have misgivings about one of its projects. So, we wrote to the World Bank to decry the fact that the viewpoints of the local community were being ignored in the formulation of the land management plan [of the Ngoyla Mintom]. This management plan was going to be soon approved, and if it was approved the way it was, it would have been impossible to challenge it after its approval. And since the local populations…Baka or Bantu did not have their viewpoints included in the management plan they would have simply had to endure the disadvantageous elements of the management plan. So, we wrote to the World Bank and the bank made some strong recommendations to the government through the Prime Minister. So, they [MINFOF] invited us for a dialogue.

In another instance, OKANI had similarly written to the World Bank decrying procedural lapses in the way policy actors effected consultations with local communities. Apparently, meetings had been inappropriately timed, and consultations had been deemed unsatisfactory due also to problems with the flow of information between policy actors and local communities. In the words of the OKANI interviewee,

It is due to such inappropriate approaches that we just returned from Yaoundé on the 6th of this month where we had a big meeting with MINFOF and the World Bank-Ngoyla Mintom project people. Because we expressed some reservations that went right up to the World Bank. Following our letter, the World Bank instructed the government to respect the propositions that we made in our document for the process to continue. And they [the government i.e. MINFOF] really took it seriously [the World Bank's instructions] and invited us to discuss the points we had raised. We gave them six points which we wanted them to improve on including, consultations, the arranging of meetings, information flows.

The quotes above demonstrate how OKANI used institutional arrangements afforded by powerful international actors like the World Bank to influence policy directions in a way that upheld the interests of local communities. The avenues afforded by international actors and international frameworks were, as demonstrated above, significant in facilitating the reordering of power relationships, and by extension, policy trajectories, in favor of less powerful actors. As the OKANI interviewee commented with relief in reference to the World Bank, "we now have channels that we can use to redress these failings".

A key feature of spaces of engagement is interaction with "other centers of power" for the purpose of achieving a change of power relationships at the local level. NGOs' interaction with some prominent International organizations or "partners" as the NGO actors commonly referred to them showed how linking with other centers of power can bring about a change of power relations at the local level. Collaborative interactions between NGOs and these centers of power gave rise to other kinds of created spaces. These international organizations such as the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) and even the World Bank support these NGOs and civil society organizations by organizing capacity-

building workshops for these NGOs. These capacity-building workshops enable transfer of skills, knowledge and information to NGO actors who then put them to use in their advocacy endeavors. The head of OKANI explained their advocacy actions as being a result of knowledge they gather from these workshops:

> If we as an NGO are able to be critical of this process [and defend the interest of these communities], it is because of the training we have received from actors such as the World Bank. The World Bank has organized several workshops during which they edify us on their standards for projects they undertake in Cameroon.

The Head of the REDD+-Civil Society Platform similarly alluded to the decisive role the support they received from international actors had played in facilitating their influence on decision-making. The following quotes from our interview illustrate,

> Government can be sneaky…they can include the civil society just to satisfy the [international] requirements, but they make sure that in practice the civil society does not have any power to influence what they want to do. But we had been adequately coached by our development partners who advised us that in order to be influential we must have access to decision-making. It is not sufficient to be a member of the Pilot Committee; we must be able to influence what goes on in the Pilot Committee. That's how we were able to snatch that power. We can use our veto to block decisions…. We have to credit some of our development partners… They really took time to train the civil society. We have received different sorts of training from a number of organizations such as the IUCN, the FAO REDD and others.

The contribution, which these international powerful actors had on the policy process through their support of local NGOs, again brings into focus the

significance of spaces of engagement in policy advocacy. It also shows how created spaces involving NGOs and powerful international actors resulted in NGOs being able to alter power relationships in policy making spaces.

It may be hard to determine the exact extent of the success of local NGOs' influence on policy in the context of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. That is not the purpose of this research. What is evident however is that they succeeded in altering configurations of power between policy actors and local communities. Their actions in this regard presented a form of resistance to "hegemonic" policy positions advanced by policy actors. This has come as a result of creating organic spaces, communication capabilities and extending spaces of engagement beyond the local space of dependence where local community actors seemed powerless in the face of hegemonic NRM discourses. As the head of OKANI reflected at the end of our interview, when I asked him if their actions have leveled the playing field in the policy process of the Ngoyla Mintom projects,

> Well, leveling the playing field would be claiming too much…rather it has caused these powerful actors to be more attentive [to the needs of local communities] …be it in the management of these resources or in the involvement of local communities in decision-making. When the field was empty [when we were not present] they [policy actors] acted as they pleased…but now that we exist and that we hold them accountable, they are more conscious and are improving their approach.

7.7   Chapter Conclusion

The forerunning sections demonstrate the role spaces of engagement, communication capabilities and organic spaces played in the mobilization of dissent or resistance aimed at reordering power relationships. This was undertaken against the backdrop of the predominance of policy actors'

discourses in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. In the face of manifest unfavorable asymmetrical relationships between policy actors and local communities, civil society actors who position themselves as defenders of community interests undertook various communicative activities to influence policy trajectories in ways that would accommodate community interests. These communicative activities were multifaceted and included: capacity-building actions within local communities, strategic use of media and communication, fostering networked coalitions nationally and internationally, and strategically harnessing internationals statutes.

The actions of these NGOs do not only mirror conceptions of policy advocacy as described by Waisbord (2015), they also highlight the relevance of Cox's (1998) spaces of engagement and the relevance of Gaventa's (2006) "created spaces" and organic spaces as critical to how C4D processes unfold, especially in contested scenarios like natural resource management. Most importantly, the above narrative suggests that C4D processes sometimes are not the uniform, straightforward processes which the participatory and modernization paradigms sometimes portray them to be in C4D literature. If anything, what emerges from the above is that within a development intervention like Ngoyla Mintom, C4D can be multidimensional and contested, participatory at times, media-centric at times and networked with different actors in different spaces at different scales.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion: Rethinking C4D through Power, Spaces and Capabilities

This final chapter summarizes the findings and implications of this study. I begin by recalling the premise on which this research was undertaken. Next, I summarize the main findings and suggest the implications of these findings for conceptualizing C4D, for the Ngoyla Mintom projects and indicate areas of future research priorities in C4D. In essence this chapter assesses the usefulness of my conceptual framework in unpacking C4D in this research. Hence, I discuss the relevance of the framework I employed including some of its assumptions and limitations.

In this research, I sought to examine the extent to which power, spaces and capabilities shape C4D and how, based on this, C4D could be understood as a contestation of discourses. My motivation was to investigate the extent to which it was useful to move away from the enduring participatory vs diffusion binary theorizing of C4D and probe an alternative course for conceptualizing C4D through the prism of power, spaces and capabilities. I undertook this on the premise that rather than the focus on whether C4D, as communication within development interventions, is participatory or diffusionist, it would benefit understandings of C4D if attention is shifted to how and why the intersectionality of power, spaces and capabilities influence C4D processes. I argued for the consideration of this view of intersectionality for three reasons in Chapter Two.

Firstly, following Foucault (1980) and Gaventa (2006) who describe power as an ever-present quality in social relations, I built on others such as Manyozo (2012) and Servaes (2013) who have both called for a deeper understanding of the

nature of power in C4D. But I argued that contrary to the preponderant view in C4D that power is unidirectional, all societies are characterized by place-based discourses (power) which govern social relationships within those societies. Hence "power is everywhere" as Foucault famously wrote. Secondly, I foregrounded the idea that expressions of power in the form of discourse necessarily generate resistance to such power and that such resistance to power is facilitated by capabilities. Capabilities in this sense can be understood in part, as constituting media development and social capital accumulated through civic association, including individual agency. Such capabilities make resistance and the initiation of what Cox (1998) calls "spaces of engagement" possible. Spaces of engagement is synonymous to policy advocacy which denotes the actions of organized citizens to influence policy through communication and use of media. As manifestations of power, resistance is also construed as "organizational outflanking" which Sadan (1997) describes as the organization of resources and tools necessary to resist power. I also pointed to parallels between these strategies of resistance and Waisbord's (2015) characterization of policy advocacy, which according to Waisbord has not featured prominently in C4D theorizing.

Thirdly, I argued that a capabilities perspective insinuates the existence of spaces, physical or figurative spaces such as the public sphere wherein social actors compare and contrast social preferences through communication. I built on Cornwall (2002 & 2004) who characterized spaces as closed, invited or organic and are also products of power and or resistance. Following this reasoning, I hypothesized that because organizational outflanking is similar to policy advocacy, it therefore implies that power and communication are interlinked, since policy advocacy is essentially an activity in communication. Given this linkage, I reasoned, a key question is how can we theorize C4D in the light of this connection? I argued that exploring this linkage could expand understandings of C4D beyond participation and diffusion. Therefore, in this research I sought to interrogate the enduring binary conceptualization of C4D along the participatory versus modernization cleavage by positioning C4D at the

intersectionality of power, spaces and capabilities. The overarching question this research sought to answer was, what sort of C4D processes emerge from this intersectionality, why and how? Answering this question, I hypothesized, would provide grounds for understanding C4D also, as a contestation of discourses, wherein social actors strategically employ communication to advance their own beliefs and interests.

Having laid out this backdrop, I proposed to examine this hypothesis in natural resource management, precisely the Ngoyla Mintom projects in East Cameroon. I explained that natural resource management is a suitable area to examine these questions because of the "value pluralisms", i.e. often divergent discourses inherent in natural resource management contexts. Concretely, this enquiry sought to understand how power is embedded in policy actors' communication practices and the kinds of spaces engendered by such communication practices. I also wanted to understand how, from their local discursive positions local communities experienced the projects. Finally, I wanted to examine how the perceived encroachment of "foreign" hegemonic discourses led to resistance, how this entailed policy advocacy and an expression of power as well. I use the answers to these questions to propose an alternate perspective to C4D, especially communication in development interventions.

8.1 Overall Findings

Generally, there are two main findings. Firstly, that modernization and participation are still key features in development intervention-related C4D. Secondly, that citizen-led resistance as policy advocacy is also a key characteristic of communication in the projects. Policy advocacy is made possible through self-organized spaces and capabilities. Thus, in addition to C4D as modernization and participation, policy advocacy adds to the mix of on-going communication in the context of the projects. Policy advocacy is undertaken by citizens to counter some of the discourses espoused by policy actors through their modernization-type and low-level participatory communication strategies.

Taken together, the emerging notion here is that C4D in the projects, involves a contestation of discourses between citizens and policy actors from their respective discursive standpoints. I explain the basis of these conclusions below.

Evidence from this research as laid out in Chapters Five and Six establish primarily that modernization-type communication and low-level participation are characteristic of the Ngoyla Mintom projects. These are not necessarily groundbreaking findings considering the documented preponderant focus of C4D research on participation and modernization, which I earlier pointed to. But from the standpoint of the overall argument of this research, i.e. C4D as a contestation of discourses, Chapters Five and Six provide only a partial view of the nature of C4D in the Ngoyla Mintom projects. Chapter Eight highlights the core argument of this research by showing how local communities and NGOs employed communication through policy advocacy and self-organized spaces, to counter the dominant discourses of the projects. Hence the nature of communication in the projects could best be described as a mix of modernization-type, semi-participatory, but more importantly, as a contestation of discourses considering the role of policy advocacy as resistance. Taken together, the emerging conclusion is that although modernization-type communication and participation are still helpful for characterizing C4D, there is evidence that contestation of discourses constitutes a feature of C4D processes. Below I recap the evidence from this research on which I draw the above inference.

In Chapter Five, I demonstrated that modernization-type communication and low-level participation are still dominant features of communication in the projects. This was evidenced by the communication choices and strategies of policy actors attributable to the discourses underlying the projects. I showed how policy actors' communication in the projects is very much influenced by the discourses of global environmental governance, conservation and sustainable development. This discursive position is manifest in what can be likened to the "purification of knowledge" (Kothari, 2001:146) that characterizes policy actors communication practices both with communities and with government, especially in the case of

WWF. Policy actors' communication is predominantly reminiscent of the modernization paradigm of C4D or "telling" communication according to (Quarry et al, (2009). The resultant consequence is top-down diffusionist communication and some form of low-level participatory communication in which policy actors' discourses are still dominant.

These observations corroborate Van de Fliert (2014) who notes that such modernization-type approach to communication in NRM is still very much entrenched in established NRM organizations. Participatory approaches in the projects mainly consist of participation in implementation similar again to what Kothari (2001: 143) describes as strategies of "inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity" or what Arnstein (1969) describes as "tokenism". At other times policy actors' participatory approaches build on local power divides and consequently create closed spaces for some groups of community members. Hickey and Mohan (2004: 19) have critiqued the pseudo-participatory strategies. They note that "much of what is considered "participatory" is more a process whereby large numbers of people are represented by a relatively small number of participants. … this is primarily about the organized interaction of leaders than members per se". Policy actors' communication choices in various instances therefore engender invited spaces and closed spaces. In all these spaces however, policy actors' discourses are dominant and manifest through hidden and invisible power.

Chapter six highlighted the view of power as discourse and such discourse as diffused. This was evident in the divergent understandings of the environment and conservation between policy actors and local communities. I showed how local communities experienced the projects and its underlying discourses through their own locally-constructed worldviews, i.e. discourses. They in general viewed the projects as an encroachment into their lifeworld and their internalized imaginings of the relationship between humans and the environment. Also, despite discursive power manifested by policy actors through various communicative endeavors, local communities did not adopt the project

discourses. Instead, where possible they attempted resisting such discourses and, in some cases, adopted pragmatic material rationalism as was the case in the WWF PES scheme where participation was not an end in itself but a means to an end. Just like Cepek (2011) found in his ethnographic study of conservation projects in the Amazonian Cofán community in Ecuador, local communities in the Ngoyla Mintom project did not adopt the external logics of conservation as their own. Rather, they were prepared to engage in conservation as long as they received the material benefits from PES and micro-projects financed by the World Bank and WWF.

I also showed how a lack of capabilities such as lack of media and communication infrastructure, hindered local communities' attempts at resisting manifest power of policy actors. In line with Cox's (1998) postulation on "spaces of engagement", local communities perceived the projects and their underlying discourses as a threat to local spaces of dependence (local cultural and livelihood prerogatives linked to the forest). This perceived threat from these external discourses to local discourses about the environment engendered the establishment of spaces of engagement aimed at mobilizing against policy discourses. In other words, policy advocacy actions stemmed from differing discourses about the management of the environment and conservation.

While Chapters Five and Six reaffirmed that modernization and participation are still useful for understanding C4D, Chapter Seven introduces the significance of spaces and capabilities in shaping the nature and outcomes of C4D through policy advocacy. In this chapter I showed that apart from the invited spaces and closed spaces which policy actors created, other spaces, "organic spaces", emerged out of a need to resist the domineering discourses of the projects. These organic spaces were the NGO networks and the community mobilization activities which these NGO initiated in the communities as referenced in Chapter Seven. Organic spaces, wherein NGOs and local communities collaborated were sites of mobilization and strategizing for policy advocacy aimed at resisting the dominant discourses of the projects. In this effort, organic spaces, intra-

community mobilization, the use of media and participatory communication strategies were all instrumental in the "mobilization of bias". A key part of this policy advocacy was facilitated by capabilities, including communication capabilities and individual agency as demonstrated by the communication activities of some NGO actors reported in Chapter Seven.

Using Cox's (1998) definition of "spaces of engagement", I showed that policy advocacy extended spaces of engagement which expanded to national and international spaces of policymaking, including international media spaces with the intent of contesting policy discourses at local level in Ngoyla Mintom. And in this process, the local to global networks between local NGOs such as OKANI and international organizations such as the UK-based Forest Peoples programme was instrumental in conveying local discourses to international centres of power like the COP. Considering the central aim of this research which hypothesizes C4D as a contestation of discourses, policy advocacy as carried out by the NGOs chimes with "organizational outflanking" which (Sadan, 1997) describes as the organization of resources and tools necessary to resist power. Policy advocacy in itself as resistance, constitutes a manifestation of power. In this Chapter, I showed that in the case of the projects, C4D was not only limited to the modernization and low-level participatory approaches, and the invited spaces which policy actors initiated. Rather, C4D within the projects was characterized by different sets of actors, in invited spaces *and* in self-organized spaces who engaged in strategic forms of communication targeting other local, national and international spaces with a view of contesting the discourses of the projects at local level.

8.2   Way Forward: Implications for the Ngoyla Mintom Projects

The findings of this research have demonstrated that organic citizen-led spaces and capabilities are crucial for the expression of community citizen voice and in affecting policy trajectories. These spaces were instrumental in mobilization and organization between NGOs and local communities that drove policy advocacy

efforts. These citizen-led spaces emerged as a result of the fact that community interests or voices were not being effectively articulated in the invited spaces created by policy actors on the ground in Ngoyla Mintom. In other words, policy actors' discourses were dominant in the invited spaces they created (e.g. public meetings). Given the relative success of citizen-led policy advocacy in changing policy trajectories, organic spaces in Ngoyla Mintom need to be strengthened and resourced. The capacity building support given to NGOs by international actors as I recounted in Chapter Seven is a step in the right direction and should be pursued further. This also implies that capabilities including communication capabilities need to be improved. As reported by some local inhabitants I interviewed, lack of communication capabilities like media infrastructure limits their ability to convey their interests.

Secondly, institutional arrangements that guarantee possibilities of community voice should be reinforced. As the account of the PES process showed in Chapter Six, institutional arrangements like FPIC (Free Prior Informed Consent) are crucial for communities to effectively stake and defend their interests in NRM. The role of local NGOs such as the OCBB in the Village of Etekessang in creating organic spaces in which they help local communities better engage in FPIC processes is also important.

Thirdly, policy actors also need to consider the ramifications of the kinds of spaces they create as a result of their communication choices. As I demonstrated, the public meetings or consultations as space, are what Cornwall (2004) labels "fleeting formations" due to their temporary and one-off nature. The temporary nature of these spaces does not ensure comprehensive deliberations about the directions of NRM policy and likely contribute to resistance. Therefore, institutionalized spaces need to be created wherein continuous engagement and accountability between policy actors and local communities is encouraged.

8.3 Limitations of Study

As with most research endeavors, this research has a number of limitations. Some of which include the rather small sample size of participants from the communities. This small sample size makes it somewhat hard to make generalizations about community views or experiences. A larger sample size of participants from the local community would have likely enhanced the validity of claims about community experiences and views. However, I triangulated data from community members I interviewed with data from other sources.

Another issue was the use of interpreters during interviews with the Baka. The use of an interpreter may have diluted or misrepresented some of the original testimonies of interviewees. Furthermore, the interpreter was from the local Dzem tribe that reportedly has historically dominated the Baka. This historical tension might have prevented the Baka from expressing honest opinions in the presence of the Dzem interpreter. Nonetheless, these limitations do not significantly impact the overall conclusions of this study.

8.4 Contribution to Knowledge: How Helpful is Linking Power, Spaces and Capabilities in Conceptualizing C4D

In undertaking this research, I opted to eschew the enduring silo-like approach of participation or modernization that has been characteristic of C4D research. The findings reveal however that modernization and participation remain key features of C4D. Nevertheless, although modernization and participation remain key features of C4D in development interventions like the Ngoyla Mintom projects, this research also demonstrated that our understanding of C4D can be enhanced if we consider power, spaces and capabilities in C4D processes. On one hand, the findings substantiate the much-highlighted difficulty of establishing truly participatory processes as noted by Scott (2014) and Kothari (2001), and the shortcomings of diffusionist communication strategies as noted by critics of the modernization approach such as Dutta (2011), Dagron (2010) Ramiro Beltran

(1976) and Freire (1970). As I argued previously, C4D research often focusses on policy actors in development interventions to assess how participatory or diffusionist projects are, often with the presumption that participation enhances project success. But while participation is undeniably helpful for the success of project, evidence shows that policy actors often are less willing to relinquish power as true participation would require. As Berner (2010:2) notes "there is often little willingness on the part of development agencies and experts to share effective decision-making power" by fully involving local communities in project design and implementation. This was the case in the Ngoyla Mintom projects.

On the other hand, and to the point of this research, my findings demonstrate that C4D in development interventions is multifaceted, multi-layered, multi-sited involving competing discourses. It is not necessarily only diffusionist or participatory or both as is predominantly conceptualized in C4D literature. This chimes with Wilkins (2014:63) who argues that a policy advocacy perspective in C4D positions communication not just "as limited to hierarchical diffusion of information, or within horizontal connections across communities, but instead as facilitating activist strategies". Thus, by adopting a more flexible framework this research has revealed forms of communication that do not fit the polarized categories of modernization and participation. In particular the research identified resistance in the form of policy advocacy as part of on-going communication within the project. This has important implications for how we can view C4D, especially in interventions like the case study of this research. However, as demonstrated with my examination of policy actor's communication approaches in Chapter Five, modernization and participation remain a useful starting point for understanding C4D through power, spaces and capabilities.

8.4.1 Implications for Power

In continuation of the calls of a further examination of the role of power in C4D by the likes of Manyozo (2012) and Servaes (2013), this research further lays the groundwork for a deeper analysis of the role of power in C4D. Current

conceptualizations of power in C4D hold that modernization and even participatory approaches involve and perpetuate power imbalances. In her critique of participation, Kothari (2001:142) notes for instance that "the very act of inclusion, of being drawn in as a participant can symbolize an exercise of power and control over an individual". Therefore, in the binary view of C4D, the location of power is often viewed as residing with the policy actors or experts. And incidentally, the account of policy actors' communication strategies in Chapter Five reflects this perspective.   However, conceiving power, i.e. discourse, as diffused rather than concentrated offers new perspectives for our conceptualization of C4D. It opens up possibilities of considering resistance and the role of communication in such resistance, as part of C4D processes

Contrary to the predominant view in current C4D thinking that power is unidirectional, or concentrated, theories on power (e.g. Foucault, 1970; Gaventa, 2006) hold that power is diffuse and possessed by none. By these same theories, every society has its regimes of truth, discourses that are "at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events" (Foucault, 1970: 52). Following the logic of power as diffused, development interventions like the Ngoyla Mintom projects usually entail an encounter of discourses between the discourses underpinning such interventions and extant local discourses. As demonstrated in Chapter Six and Seven, the discourses of global environmental governance are in some respects at variance with local imaginings of their relationship with the environment. Consequently, discourse as power drives communication choices of policy implementing organizations such as policy actors' modernization-type communication as shown in Chapter Five. This reflects a widely held assessment of the conduct of C4D in organizations involved in international development. For instance, Morris (2003:229) states that "many development interventions are in effect advertising campaigns for such "products" as contraception or immunizations". On their part, Ferrari (2010) and Van De Fliert (2014) reached similar conclusions when the contend that

discourse as power drives diffusion-type communication in natural resource management interventions like REDD+.

I in this research go beyond these conclusions to direct attention to the fact that by its very nature as discourse, power engenders resistance by other competing discourses. From a C4D standpoint, my emphasis is partly on, as Mansell & Manyozo (2018:326) put it, "the manner in which such resistance becomes possible… through recourse to a variety of enabling communicative practices". Such resistance to the discourses of the project was demonstrated in Chapters Six and Seven, where local inhabitants and NGOs undertook different forms of resistance actions, involving partly the use of media and communication. This resistance was based on local discourses and in themselves constituted a manifestation of power. Thus, going back to my argument about power as discourse and such power as dispersed, it allows us to consider the significance of resistance in C4D theorizing, rather than viewing power as unidirectional or concentrated.

The perspective of resistance is significant for C4D because as Kraidy and Murphy (2008:339) state in reference to local-global interfaces in global communication, the local should not be portrayed "as something that exists in suspended opposition with "the global," where the local acts as the global's presumptive victim, its cultural nemesis, or its coerced subordinate". The implicit idea here is that local cultures are not necessarily powerless in the face of global discourses such as, in this case, international climate governance frameworks. As Kraidy and Murphy (2008:339) put it, "the local needs to be understood as the space where global forces become recognizable in form and practice as they are enmeshed in local human subjectivity and social agency. This entanglement is always multifaceted, part accommodation and part resistance, sometimes overt and other times latent". In this research accommodation was for instance, evident in the case of PES projects and resistance is visible in the establishment of spaces of engagement. In all these processes, the locus of communication is multifaceted and made possible by capabilities which allow for how local

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discourses become mobilized in encounters with external discourses. Viewing power in C4D from this angle allows us to understand that subaltern discourses can be manifested through resistance as policy advocacy in what Foucault labels the strategic reversibility of power.

However, the definition of what power entails is crucial for how we examine its importance in C4D theorizing. Although I mainly focused on power as discourse in this study, power has many variations including reward power and legitimate power (French & Raven, 1959). What remains unclear, and I did not probe this aspect in this research, is the role different forms of power can have in C4D processes. How might authority or legitimacy as forms of power influence communication and resistance in cases of divergent discourses. Although these are not accounted for in this study, it is likely that these forms of power played a role in shaping events in the project. Secondly, levels of power (Gaventa, 2006) too should be important considerations for how power located at national level influences C4D at local level. Thus, further research might be necessary in order to account for how different forms and levels of power might influence the nature of C4D and its outcomes.

8.4.2 Implications for Spaces

Considering the link between power and spaces as noted by Lefebvre (1974), Arendt (1958) and Cornwall (2004), this research expands our understanding of the role of spaces, especially organic spaces in C4D processes. Communication in NRM has been conceived along the modernization/participatory approach, e.g. Bassette (2006), Van de Fliert (2014). In this conception, participatory communication has been foregrounded as the optimal approach to NRM. Bassette (2006) for instance talks of participatory development communication. These conceptions of communication in NRM have mostly insinuated "invited spaces" in which policy actors and local communities debate and collaborate. But as literature on invited spaces tell us (e.g Lefebvre, 1974; Arendt, 1958), space-creation is a manifestation of power and of control. This was evident in this

research as I showed in chapter Five, recounting policy actors' public meetings with locals, wherein the discourses of policy actors were dominant.

However, as this research also found, a multiplicity of spaces such as "organic spaces" wherein citizens mobilize to affect NRM policy directions in invited spaces characterize NRM scenarios. Without attention to spaces, our understanding of C4D in the projects would have been limited to the invited spaces such as public meetings which policy actors organized and in which local resistance was ineffectual. Space is an important concept in unpacking how the policy process and by extension, the communication process, in the projects unfolded. As shown in Chapter Eight, the NGO networks, and the collaborative relationships between NGOs and local communities were spaces, "organic spaces" where citizens harnessed resources and organized to resist discourses of the projects. This ties with Cornwall's (2004:25) assertion that "spaces arising more organically rather than by invitation may offer more complementary ways of ensuring citizens' influence on governance".

The findings of this research indicate that organic spaces feature as important arenas for intra-community mobilization wherein subalterns can find their collective sense of power (Cornwall, 2004). In addition, policy advocacy extended into other national and international spaces or centers of power. This resulted in a multiplication and overlap of different spaces: local, national, international, invited, closed and organic. The forerunning expands our understanding of C4D using space as analytical prism. While spaces have been conceptualized in C4D as invited and even organic in some sense (if we consider Freire's postulations), the link between such spaces has not been explored. This research filled this gap by showing the relationship between invited spaces, organic spaces and the simultaneous role the play in a given C4D process. This adds another layer of analysis to current conceptualizations of C4D. But spaces on their own are not enough according to Cornwall (2004:28), who contends that citizens need access to information "on which to base deliberation or to mobilize to assert their right and demand accountability". Thus, capabilities such as media literacy and

communication capabilities go hand in hand with spaces, whether invited spaces or organic spaces.

Although the concept of spaces was useful in representing the nature of C4D in the projects, it may be misleading to assume that organic spaces are void of power relations or issues of inclusion. In a way, organic spaces are also invited spaces, created by those who claim to speak on behalf of the community. Furthermore, as I evidenced in Chapter Five, subgroups such as women and the Baka tend to be excluded due to existing intra-community power relations. Therefore, as Cornwall (2004) notes, critical questions need to be asked about who participates and who is excluded from organic spaces and why. In addition, given that NGOs claim to speak for these communities, there is a need to examine "who they are, on what basis they come to represent others, and the implications of their participation" in shaping development trajectories (Cornwall, 2004:24).

8.4.3 Implications for Capabilities

As mentioned above, analyzing spaces also entails examining capabilities. Thus, following (Jacobson, 2016) who calls for the capabilities approach to be integrated in C4D thinking, this research demonstrated how capabilities, or the lack thereof contributes to shaping C4D outcomes, especially in cases of competing discourses. Capabilities such as communication capabilities, I showed, was instrumental in facilitating policy advocacy efforts by NGOs as recounted in Chapter Seven. This, however, was not the case in the Ngoyla Mintom area, where, as I showed in chapter Six, a lack of media and communications infrastructure was seen by locals as an impediment to expression of voice. But as I showed in chapter Seven, communication capabilities, networking including individual agency (all elements of the capabilities approach), were instrumental in enabling NGOs undertake policy advocacy strategies aimed at projecting local discourses in their defense of the rights of local communities. Capabilities, both as communication capabilities,

individual agency and social capital accumulated from civic engagement between NGOs emerge as instrumental in the C4D processes examined in this research.

On the one hand, these capabilities enable the emergence of deliberative spaces in the form of organic spaces and on the other hand capabilities enable social actors to access other spaces such as media spaces. This research demonstrated that media access and communication capabilities emerge as vital ingredients of resistance to hegemonic discourses. The findings of this study mirror Carpentier's (2011) AIP model which highlights the notion that citizens' access to the media, both as consumers and content creators is determinant for "voice", or in the case of this study, policy advocacy and resistance.

However, the capabilities approach didn't feature prominently as a compelling analytical basis in this research. The relationship between capabilities and resistance as policy advocacy might appear   insubstantial, perhaps because the capabilities approach is a "broad and normative framework for the assessment of individual wellbeing and social arrangements" (Robeyns, 2005:95). This weakness in the capabilities approach exposes the researcher to the danger of generalizations and presumptions. Perhaps more research needs to be undertaken into how a capabilities approach might provide robust evidence and conclusions to benefit understandings of C4D.   Notwithstanding, while the capabilities approach "might not be a panacea for research on development, it can provide an important framework for such analyses" (Robeyns, 2005:111).

8.5   Implications for Theorizing about C4D

Development has been described by many as a site of contest (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Manyonzo, 2012; Escobar, 1995; Freire, 1970). Development is political. According to (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010), this very notion of development as political implies differing discursive positions about definitions and trajectories of development. There is widespread concurrence on this depiction of development, and participation has been foregrounded as the

alternative to the hegemony of Western-inspired development perspectives. But true participation as has been argued by Arnstein (1969) and Hickey and Mohan (2004), is hard to achieve. Given this, how can we situate the role of communication in development as a "contested space". Waisbord (2015) has called for a politicization of communication in development. This suggests a view of communication as taking an active role in the contested space of discourses. The findings of this research add to this call for more enquiry into the politics of communication, especially for those segments of the population who have been described as powerless or subalterns (Manyozo, 2012) in C4D theorizing.

The role of communication as demonstrated in this study, shows that communication of both the policy actors and NGOs backing local communities takes on a clearly political role. The politization of communication infers communication itself is influenced by subjectivities, and a political economy of communication choices needs further examination. Further research needs to be directed to issues of capabilities and space-creation, especially organic spaces. How and under what circumstances do they form? What has been their impact in negotiating development trajectories and what has been the nature and role of communication in this process. Such probes are likely to better enlighten conceptions of C4D today than the well-worn participation/modernization debate.

In the end, this research contributes to ongoing attempts at constituting the role of communication in development. While the modernization approach, and hard-to-achieve participatory communication will likely remain a key characteristic of communication choices of development policy planners, currently expanding capabilities like increased media access and ongoing networking and expansion of civil society presage that the nature of C4D will also similarly metamorphosize, if not yet. Such metamorphosis will likely be neither modernization or participatory, rather, it may increasingly become a struggle of discourses featuring different overlapping spaces at both local, national and international levels. Communication in this context may not necessarily be referred to as *communication for development*, since the phrase in itself carries undertones of

asymmetry and condescendence. In the struggle of discourses, it may be rechristened, communication *in* development.

This means that communication will no longer be the preserve of policy actors or experts as implicit in the modernization or participation paradigms. Rather, communication as articulations of social preferences will be employed strategically by different stakeholders, including policy actors, citizen coalitions, and other social actors to stake their claims in contests about development trajectories. This trend is already visible in social contestations like the ones in Brazil, France and South Africa which I referenced at the beginning of this dissertation. And as is evident from those examples, such contestations are not limited to development as a topic relevant only to the Global South. The implications for how we conceive of the role of communication in development is that C4D can be a simultaneous process of modernization-inspired communication, pseudo-participation and policy advocacy where communication denotes the articulation of different discourses by stakeholders and stake-seekers. More so, if we consider the expanding of communication capabilities and space-creation characteristic of today's globalized world.

Around the world, ordinary citizens are becoming more adept at articulating their preferences from within self-organized spaces both offline and online. Hence, invited spaces implicit in the participation paradigm no longer seem to be the arenas where development trajectories are crafted through "dialogue" and "consensus". Rather, development trajectories are increasingly influenced and shaped, sometimes vigorously, by mobilized citizens from within created/organic spaces outside the traditional invited spaces. Whether it is blocking bridges in London like climate activists of the Extinction Rebellion movement, or the Yellow Vests in France, or the recent popular uprisings that unseated long-serving dictators in Sudan and Algeria in 2019, the trajectories of human progress are being shaped in manners which bear little resemblance to the participation or modernization approaches. Therefore, from a C4D standpoint, in these mediated

and non-mediated articulations of "multiple modernities", spaces and capabilities emerge as determinants of how societies negotiate their futures.

For C4D and for development in general, such conclusions suggest that attention needs to shift from modernization and or participation to how spaces and capabilities shape social articulations of preferences in the negotiation of futures. Other avenues for inquiry in this direction include questions of how contextual factors (access to information, technology, political cultures, histories etc) across space and time enable or disable possibilities of space-creation. How do these contextual factors differ for instance between the Global North and the Global South, and how does this affect space-creation? How do spontaneously created spaces and long-established organic spaces differ in effectiveness as arenas of articulations of visions for the future. These questions are likely to enrich our understanding of the nature of C4D and development in general beyond participation and modernization.

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