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Policy Matters

Poverty, wealth and conservation



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Oui à la semence
traditionnelle graine
Non aux OGM

CAST

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR OF CEESP

M. Taghi Farvar

Interest in poverty and conservation among CEESP members goes back many years, to before the World Conservation Congress in Amman in 2000, when I became Chair of CEESP. During the tenure of my predecessor, Tariq Banuri, a meeting on sustainable livelihoods was convened in Boston. This was followed early in my tenure by a follow up meeting in Rome at the Society for International Development in 2001. The work of these initial meetings was crystallised in the 2000 mandate of the CEESP Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods—which has now evolved into a whole Theme on Sustainable Livelihoods (http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/SL/SL.htm). The theme strives to apply one of the main tenets of CEESP— ***“good policy comes out of good practice and supports it”***— to the area of livelihoods and has explored several topics:

- Livelihoods dependent on natural resources
- Pro-poor conservation
- Poverty eradication
- Food sovereignty and agro-ecology
- Livelihoods, equity and rights
- Livelihoods and protected areas

Dealing with these subjects, both in the field and at policy level, made apparent for us several “dilemmas”:

First Dilemma: are conservation and human livelihoods basically incompatible?

Many conservation professionals have assumed that conservation is incompatible with the presence of people whose livelihood is dependent on the resources to conserve. Others, however,

believe that conservation and sustainable livelihoods are two faces of the same coin. In fact, it is emerging that indigenous peoples and local traditional communities have been the business of nature conservation for millennia, while formal, government-based protected areas have only been around for a century.

Second Dilemma: are indigenous and local communities opposed to conservation initiatives?

Despite perfunctory recognition of the value of local knowledge and the long history of traditional natural resource management institutions, many conservation professionals still believe that communities have different priorities than conservation. They thus strive to de-link nature and people—including those indigenous communities that evolved with the nature we wish to conserve. on the other hand, indigenous peoples, including mobile indigenous peoples, and traditional local communities believe they are the original protectors of nature and if they mistreat nature they will be deprived by it of sustenance and livelihoods. Governments and outside actors, they feel, do not often understand them, their wisdom of and responsibility for natural resource management, and customary rights over natural resources.

Third Dilemma: is livelihood a matter of income or a matter of rights?

It is understandable that professionals identify measurable indicators to “deal with” poverty and livelihood failures. The World Bank, for instance, states that poverty can be equated with income figures of under \$1 per day, or the money equivalent of the market

value of a minimum food basket, supposed to guarantee food security in the household. Others would say that—beyond food security and other safety nets— solving poverty and gaining a decent livelihood is mostly a matter of securing rights.

Fourth Dilemma: is poverty an issue to be solved for and by individuals or for and by communities?

Poverty alleviation initiatives that focus on the individual level, including many small credit schemes, have shown some results. Yet, communities are more than individuals and have a history of relationships with natural resources, and institutions that can be fundamental for sustainable livelihoods. Interventions focusing on individuals and communities are fundamentally different, and can even be in opposition with one another. Many micro credit schemes have atomised once-strong communities into a set of pressure groups for payback of loans and making poverty into a way of maintaining a high standard of living for the NGOs involved in managing the scheme.

The debate in CEESP has amply dealt with the dilemmas mentioned above and has been rich. Many of the papers presented in this special issue of Policy Matters testify to the thinking and the solutions proposed by our members. Let me thank here the people who have solicited, collected and edited the papers in this issue— **Grazia Borini-Feyerabend, Dan Brockington, Chimere Diaw, Maryam Rahmanian, Aghaghia Rahimzadeh, Leili Shami, Dilys Roe, Lea Scherl and Allan Afriyie Williams.** They have done

an excellent job and I am extremely grateful to them all, and in particular to Grazia and Dan, who have done the lion's share of the work.

Let me end with a question that has been with me for some time: **are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) necessary and sufficient as milestones towards sustainable livelihoods?** I am afraid that, following the reflections spurred by the dilemmas mentioned above, the reply may be negative. We need some sobering reflections to see if the mass congregation around these goals by development agencies is justified by the potential they promise.

Several important components of livelihoods appear neglected in the MDGs, first among them the cultural dimensions of livelihoods. Just one example: in MDG No. 2 calling for "Universal Primary Education by 2015", the "content" and the "system" of education ought to be adjusted to the needed lifestyles of various communities and not determined by state decree. A proper educational system ought to follow— rather than destroy— community culture and values. Nearly all school systems end up alienating children from the way of life of their parents and communities. Similarly, conservation should be understood and nurtured as an aspiration of communities, closely tied to their history and identity. Livelihoods are much more than a matter of money. They are the sap of life, nourished by cultural and biological diversity and built upon human solidarity. I believe that only by adding this dimension to the MDGs will we build a sustainable future, and a future worth living....



EDITORIAL

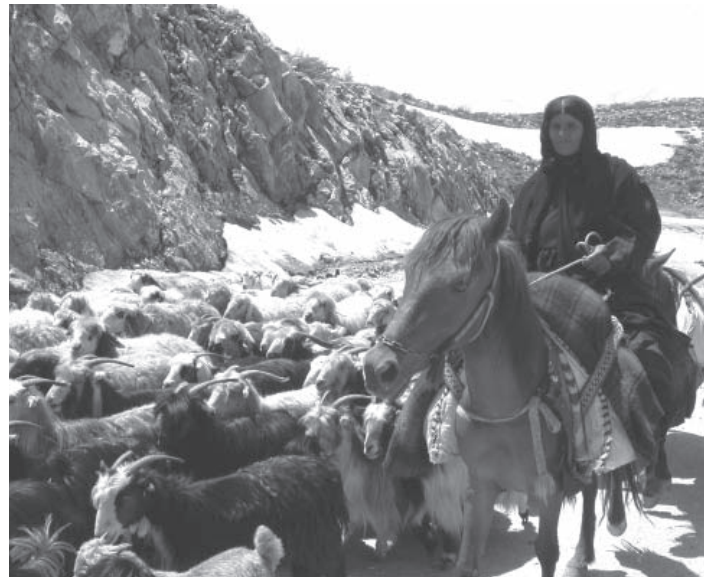
Poverty and wealth, security and respect, policies and rights—
seeking the conditions for synergy between livelihoods and conservation

All but the very young development and conservation practitioners and policy experts remember a time when poverty was firmly in the realm of “development issues” while “conservation” was dealt with by biological scientists, only occasionally interested in socio-cultural, economic or political questions. These times are gone. Poverty issues are now heatedly debated in conservation circles¹ and the relevant concerns are serious, concrete and likely to stay. Some observers choose to emphasize the risk of a “back to the barriers” movement, a desire to return to fences, fines, exclusion and eviction because alternatives – such as diverse forms of community conservation— have been so hard to put into practice.² Others note that the conservation rhetoric has actually masked the violent power of many such *existing* fences and barriers, the deprivation they engender and their ability to persist despite opposition.³ The collection of papers assembled in this issue of *Policy Matters* is a broad survey of the views, concerns and ideas of CEESP members on poverty, conservation and biodiversity. This special issue offers perspectives on the existing debate while advancing it in a number of ways.

Section 1 is entirely dedicated to an important development in the definition of displacement described by Michael Cernea. Prof. Cernea—Senior Social Policy Advisor to CEESP—has been a key architect of the World Bank policies on indigenous peoples, on displacement, and on the social impact of development and conservation initiatives. Displacement is now recognised by the World Bank and other lending

institutions to include diverse restrictions on livelihood activities, not just the physical removal of people from their homes. As Prof. Cernea observes, restricting displacement to the loss of homes “...belittles its core economic content and reduces it to geography. People’s place is their land too, not only the roof above their heads— land is livelihood and identity.” This fact has crucial implications for protected area policies, which often hinge upon imposing such restrictions. In this sense, it is an example of *policy that matters* indeed.

Section 2 offers some refreshing perspectives on the key concepts in the debate. Jacques Weber argues that opulence, rather than poverty, is the main cause of both environmental problems



Picture 1. A Bakhtiari woman during the seasonal migration of nomadic pastoralists in Iran (Courtesy P. Khosrownezhad)

and the persistence of poverty. Feasible and effective poverty-eradicating measures— such as granting to all citizens a basic income— are far from

being considered, let alone adopted. In this sense poverty appears, above all, as a deprivation of rights. Later in the same section, Espinosa and Pazmiño, and then Scherl, echo and elaborate upon the same views. Majid Rahnema's analysis is also rooted in a similarly uncompromising rejection of poverty defined only as a matter of income. Such definition denies the responsibilities of the market economy in creating the alienated victims of growth: "...the answer to the plight of the poor cannot be in the strengthening of the machinery that produced their destitution, but in new types of individual and collective endeavours that go against the grain of that machinery." Chibememe and Jones highlight the need to take human communities— and not the atomised individuals so dear to the market system— to the centre of the fight against poverty. Fisher stresses context-based solutions, rather than blueprint approaches. And Roe and Elliot consider a variety of ways by which biodiversity conservation can be of crucial livelihood value to the poor. The section is completed by the insights of Vermeulen, on ways to render conservation and development compatible and mutually supporting.

The intertwined roots of poverty, wealth and environmental degradation are explored in **Section 3** in a series of papers referring to specific contexts. This is a very rich section, where authors passionately strive to bring clarity to seemingly murky waters. Roy, Decosse and Huda highlight that, in Bangladesh, policies and practices ignore the real pressures on protected areas from commercial firms, which often enjoy strong political support. This is not only the opinion of a few external experts: it can also be heard straight from the voices of the local poor and even some governmental agency staff.... Through a detailed account of the situation in the Kafue

Flats of Zambia, Haller *et al.*, demonstrate that poverty and conservation issues are centrally linked with access rights to common pool resources. Tiani and Diaw examine the complexities of a resettlement programme in Central Africa. Bhomia and Brockington review a likely national bias, in India, towards setting up protected areas in the lands of scheduled tribes and hill peoples— who are amongst the poorest and most deprived of their rights. And Valenzuela illustrates how major development plans, in Guatemala, are likely to create rather than solve poverty problems.

In some situations the relationship between poverty and conservation is relatively straightforward. **Sections 4 and 5** examine cases where conservation has clearly induced impoverishment, and cases in which it has benefited livelihoods, respectively. For the former, Paudel adds to the increasingly sophisticated literature on Nepal's Royal Chitwan National Park to show that the "participatory conservation interventions" employed there resulted in an unfair distribution of the park-related costs and benefits and widened social inequalities. He states that the park's protective regime persists because it is supported by the elites that gain from its presence. Similar conclusions can be drawn, as shown by Thom, also for the community forestry programmes of Nepal. In Bwindi National Park (Uganda), Madden argues that gorilla conservation has meant significant and continuing economic loss and personal injury to local people, which are unnecessary and could be avoided. And Edjeta Buli documents the disturbing synergies of protected areas and commercial agriculture towards displacing the Karrayu indigenous pastoralists— whose mobile lifestyle would be much more benign for conservation. As a counterweight to these unfortunate situations, the cases illustrated in **Section 5** document livelihood benefits

resulting from successful conservation initiatives— some related to forest protection, others to protected areas, tourism, integrated conservation and livelihoods initiatives or conservation of wildlife and fishing habitats.

Bringing a sense of conclusion to all the sections above, the papers in **Section 6** stress that conservation and the fight against poverty can indeed be allies if— but only if— they manage to address the political relationships that govern access to resources and justice. As shown by Alcorn et al. and Tongson and MacShane— diverse political actors can engage around shared interests, leverage local energies through group reflection, and promote public deliberation at various levels leading to landscape scale decisions. Securing land tenure lays the foundation where local support for biodiversity conservation can be institutionalised and sustained by government, indigenous groups, non-governmental organizations and academia. According to Kothari and Pathak, social respect, livelihood security and redressing the alienation that has been unfortunately promoted between indigenous peoples and their environments are essential ingredients of successful policies and practices. Vaughan and Solis *et al.*, stress the need to better address governance concerns, and equity between rich and poor in the local communities, while Manningen shows that conservation organisations are not equipped to take upon themselves development goals, but local actors can succeed in promoting their own development. As argued by Philippou, Chang and Nuesiri— such actors need to be sincerely and not instrumentally involved in decision-making about conservation, and supported by appropriate policies and market conditions.

Ultimately, conservation and livelihood can coexist and support one another..

but this needs, first and foremost, a clear disentangling of the roots of poverty, wealth and environmental degradation. It also needs an intelligent combination of supportive policies—in particular to secure land tenure and existing rights— and some fortunate local conditions, such as the capacity to form partnerships, to nourish social respect and to promote ecological awareness and community solidarity.

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend and Dan Brockington, with Chimere Diaw, Taghi Farvar, Maryam Rahmanian, Aghaghia Rahimzadeh, Leili Shami, Dilys Roe, Lea Scherl and Allan Afriyie Williams.

Notes

- 1 For a recent example of contrasting perspectives on the topic see Brosius, 2004 and Terborgh, 2004. See also Barrow and Fabricius, 2002; Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2002 and Adams *et al.*, 2004.
- 2 See Wilhusen *et al.*, 2002 and Hutton, Adams and Murombedzi, 2005.
- 3 Brockington, 2004.

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Population displacement inside protected areas: a redefinition of concepts in conservation policies

Michael M. Cernea

Abstract. After considerable review of empirical data and evaluation analyses, the World Bank, the African Development Bank and other agencies came to the conclusion that people living in protected areas are made materially worse off and impoverished by the introduction of "restriction of access" to natural resources, enforced as part of conservation projects. This article describes and discusses a significant recent policy revision and development, adopted by the multilateral development banks as a response to that understanding, which has direct relevance for international conservation activities. The revised policy redefines "restricted access" to certain resources in protected areas as a form of involuntary population displacement, even if the affected groups are not physically relocated. This broadens the definition of "dis-placement", beyond its usual acceptance as geographic relocation, to include also occupational and economic dislocation, and requires commensurate economic reconstruction activities. Currently, the substantial opportunity costs and losses incurred by residents of protected areas are most often not compensated. Economic and social analyses have demonstrated that the benefits of biodiversity conservation through protected areas tend to be highest at the global and national levels and lowest at the level of local communities, while, conversely, the costs are highest for the local communities and lowest at the global level. In light of empirical evidence and of the above policy developments, conservation organizations need to consider issuing their own self-binding policy prescriptions to prevent impoverishment in protected areas and, specifically, ruinous displacements. The impoverishment risks and effects of access-restriction and displacement are severe and must be recognized, preempted, and counteracted. The new policy of the international banks is all the more relevant as it contains self-obligations and prescribes means correlated with ends. In this vein, among other measures, the World Bank adopted in April 2004 a new land financing policy that, for the first time, allows the use of Bank financing for land acquisition in displacement situations. The new policy on access-restriction, with its institutionalized new procedures examined in this article, does broaden the options for compensation and economic/livelihood reconstruction, and enhances the capacity for sound PA co-management arrangements.

Some of the most passionate debates that I attended during the recent 3rd World Conservation Congress in Bangkok, Nov. 2004, took place in the sessions dedicated to the relationships between people and parks. The tensions between conservation and livelihood, the issues of forced population displacement and resettlement, of poverty reduction, of indigenous people's rights, of global environmental benefits versus local costs, and of the position of environmental organizations, were intensely examined,

in a committed collective effort to forge conceptual and action-oriented consensus.¹

Given these issues' importance, intense debate was to be expected. However, I was rather surprised to realize that a very significant and relatively recent policy development, which affects the strategy of creating protected areas (PA) worldwide, was little or not at all discussed. Perhaps that recent policy change, with its social and economic rationale, is still largely unknown. But it

should be, because it institutes new approaches in conservation practice. Both its intrinsic meanings and its operational implications are far-reaching.

Restriction of access as displacement

This policy development consists in, and builds upon, the redefinition of the concept of "restriction of access" in the resettlement policy of the World Bank for the development and conservation projects that it finances. This redefinition was soon replicated in the policies of other multilateral donors such as the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the African Development Bank for their programs. It affects also programs financed by GEF. Obviously, it will have impacts at the level of domestic policies of many countries as well.

Circumstances justifying the introduction of "restricted access" to some areas or natural resources tend to occur in several categories of projects: conservation projects protecting biodiversity or cultural heritage and natural monuments, and various area development or extractive industries projects. Given the leading role of the multilateral development agencies in financing conservation, development, and general environmental protection programs, this policy change and its conceptual foundation are likely to be deeply consequential. They may help in overcoming the objective difficulties and severe problems that have affected the creation of many PAs. This article examines this policy change, its basic rationale, and likely challenges in its implementation.

The essence of the policy change consists in two elements. First, it defines the imposition of "restricted access" to certain resources in protected areas as *a form of involuntary population displace-*

ment. Second, the new policy broadens the definition of "displacement" beyond its usual acceptation as geographic relocation, to include also occupational and economic dislocation not necessarily accompanied by the physical (geographic) relocation of the local users. The economic risks and occupational displacement imposed by such restrictions are recognized as having many consequences comparable to physical displacement.

Restricted access to certain resources in protected areas is a form of involuntary population displacement even when it is not accompanied by physical (geographic) removal

As is rather well known, the World Bank's resettlement policy (with its preventive measures, and compensatory and entitlement provisions) has been historically covering, among many other sectors,² also the displacements caused by conservation programs through the establishment of parks. But it *did not cover* the projects that introduced "restriction of access" without imposing people's physical relocation. The recognition of restricted access as a form of economic displacement was introduced by beginning of 2002, when by the Bank Board's decision the previous (1990) version of the resettlement policy, code-named OD 4.30,³ was replaced with an updated resettlement policy, code-named OP/BP 4.12.

What explains this change? How was this change arrived at and why was the modified approach elevated to policy status?

Twin objectives in establishing protected areas

The changed definition of "restriction of access" as displacement even when physical uprooting isn't mandated was arrived at as result of long and in-depth



Picture 1. In 2001, people from Okwango village (Nigeria) listen to a lecture from the Cross River National Park staff, who are explaining they should resettle to a new site. (Courtesy Kai Schmidt-Soltau)

internal discussions between the World Bank social and environmental specialists, grounded in their joint examination of previous worldwide experiences with the use of "restricted access." The twin key reasons for it are the pursuit of *environmental effectiveness* and of *social equity*: that is, environmental effectiveness through real and sustainable protection of biodiversity; and social equity, through identifying and preventing the adverse impacts of PAs upon those whose access to some natural resources is suddenly restricted, by offering them alternative options for securing their livelihood sustainably. This way, they will not end up worse off. These two goals are seen as interdependent twin goals, which must be pursued concomitantly.

In substance, the overall aim of the new policy is to ensure a stronger protective regime to PAs. For this to take place, the means necessary are prescribed and provided through the new policy. These means, absent in the past, are specific entitlements, comparable with those prescribed in typical development-caused

displacement situations.

Protected areas are seen by the multilateral development agencies as a crucial modality for conserving unique biodiversity resources and areas endowed with major cultural heritage or natural monuments. Restrictions of access to such resources are objectively necessary to prevent total loss, overuse, or gradual depletion, since many such resources have global or national importance, beyond their immediate benefits for the local populations. The challenge is to involve those local populations in genuinely managing sustainably such resources, either by themselves or in various patterns of co-management. In certain such

situations restrictions become indispensable. This need for reasonable restrictions is not, in itself, at issue.

At issue, however, are two types of recurrent failures of the institution of restricted access, highlighted increasingly by independent research/evaluation studies.

First, in numerous situations the introduction of restricted access has sadly failed to achieve its environmental objectives: the resource depletion by the former users has continued, rendering the protection ineffective. Therefore, to avoid further environmental failure, the protection regime needs to be introduced with better incentives and additional organizational skills, improving implementation and monitoring.

Second, the practice of simply declaring some areas and some prior resource-use patterns as suddenly "restricted" and prohibited has caused imposed heavy opportunity costs on local people, subtracting without restitution from their liveli-

hood. The social outcome has been net de-capitalisation of those affected and impoverished.

The change in policy is intended to help in overcoming both types of failures, by creating organizational, economic and social premises conducive to "double sustainability": that is, to protecting both people's livelihoods and the environment at the same time.

Debates on the content of "forced displacement"

Forced population displacement caused by development or environmental projects is usually defined as occurring when people lose, through expropriation, either their *house*, or their *land*, or

People's place is their land too, not only the roof above their heads, land is livelihood and identity

both simultaneously. They are compelled to yield the "right of way" to the project. This broadly accepted definition of forced displacement, however, has given place

to at least two long simmering conceptual and definitional debates. The debates, not just academic, are loaded with heavy implications for practice.

In the first debate, the definition mentioned above was opposed by a somehow more limited definition of forced displacement, which introduced a distinction between loss of home and loss of land. The supporters of the narrow definition contended that displacement occurs only when people lose dwellings and are evicted from their houses. Loss of land or of access to land, their argument contended, would "affect" people's productive activities but will not necessarily dis-place them because they don't lose their "place," are not forcibly resettled and could stay further in their house. At closer scrutiny, this view-point appeared exceedingly narrow. It belittles the core

economic content of displacement and reduces it to geography. People's place is their land too, not only the roof above their heads, land is livelihood and identity.

Confronted with vast empirical evidence and robust theoretical response, that narrow definition of displacement as house-expropriation only has lost the debate. Land dispossession, even if occasionally not accompanied by loss of housing, has been vastly recognized as forced displacement. Today, that narrow definition of displacement is virtually forgotten. That debate is basically settled, even if isolated advocates unrepentantly return to the narrow definition.

In the second debate, the issue at stake was more complex. It referred primarily to populations with customary land ownership, not formal title. When protected areas are established, the populations with customary ownership over those areas (most often tribal or other indigenous groups) are often relocated forcibly.

Forced resettlements from park areas, however, have compiled a historical record abundant in well documented social disasters. Those physically uprooted were not given equitable, realistic and viable alternatives. Specifically, no land title to other sites have been allotted as part of such forced relocations; compensations were not paid or were woefully under-paid; people's place-rooted identity was undermined; conflicts with hostile host populations have frequently ensued. In turn, the displaced people, lacking an alternative livelihood, kept pressure on the PA from the outskirts, so that the "displacements-without-proper-resettlement" have also detracted from the expected environmental effectiveness of PAs.

Scholars of various specialties have em-

pirically researched and explained these negative impoverishing outcomes in great detail. The essence of the deep economic conflict between park-displaced people and park-promoting conservation has been well captured by Geisler in the suggestive title of his study *"Your Park, my Poverty"*⁴ and by Kaimowitz and his colleagues in their study –*"Your Biosphere is my Backyard"*,⁵ about the Bosawas Reserve in Nicaragua. Volumes and countless studies have reported hard evidence about the unmitigated impoverishment risks inflicted on those displaced, demonstrating how these risks turned into actual impoverishment and tragic destitution occurrences, and about the ethical clouds and unsolved dilemmas that the responsibility for causing such social pathologies has placed upon protected areas and their one-sided proponents.⁶

The mounting criticism of socially irresponsible forced physical relocations has had some impact, and a slight tactical shift was introduced in the establishment of conservation areas: namely, the promotion of PA approaches continued to enact "restriction of access" and create protected areas based on "restrictions of access", but it de-linked in some instances such restrictions from the pursuit of immediate physical displacement. The assumption was that, without imposing forced geographic displacements, the enactment of "restriction of access" would become benign in its socio-economic effects, and the obligation to compensate and relocate those "restricted" would disappear because they were not physically removed.

The real situation of the "restricted populations" inside parks and other types of PAs has become the subject of what I termed the second debate. The responses to the critique of park-caused physical

displacements have varied on a broad range.⁷

On the ground that no physical removal takes place, some promoters of protected areas have denied that the displacement concept is applicable when populations are subjected to "only restricted access". They argued that because there was no physical resettlement, there was no displacement either, and cited cases of populations that are still inside PAs, despite the laws that either made their residence there illegal or that "restricted" their access to resource-streams.

This is a fallacious reasoning. What in fact happens is displacement in its economic sense, without even the mitigation, alternatives and the entitlements provided through planned and organized resettlement.

People made into illegal residents and prohibited by access-restricting laws from using the land and resources declared "protected areas", also remain under the constant threat of being at any moment physically relocated.⁸ The denial of the displacing effects resulting from "restriction of access" without counter-risks measures implicitly justifies the promoters' refusal to grant the deprived populations compensation and entitlements to alternative land resources or activities, impoverishing them further.

Responding to this view, many social researchers and resettlement specialists,

The poverty effects of access-restriction and of denying a previous food/income stream remain severe even in the absence of physical relocation ... as long as the deep consequences of these restrictions on people are not recognized, preempted, and counteracted ... Instead of the vaunted "win-win", a "lose-lose" situation emerges

including also some conservation specialists, have argued and documented empirically that the enforcement of "restricted access" to resources vital for livelihood is tantamount to economic displacement, destitution and impoverishment. I have been myself a participant in this argument, both inside and outside the World Bank; long before the adoption of the revised Bank policy OP 4.12, I argued that "the concept of displacement describes also situations in which some people are deprived of their productive lands, or of other income-generating assets, without being physically evicted from their houses."⁹

Confronted with field-findings and critical analysis, the assumption mentioned above was proven precarious and incorrect. The poverty effects of access-restriction and of denying a prior food/income stream remained severe even in the absence of physical relocation. The underlying issue is that, as long as the deep consequences of these restrictions on people are not recognized, preempted, and counteracted, they suddenly and severely subtract from the livelihood of the local communities. Vulnerable and poor populations are made even poorer. The economic effects on their livelihoods end up being almost the same as if they were physically forcibly displaced. Moreover, lacking alternatives, such groups soon revert to surreptitious and now illegal use of the restricted areas, sapping the intended conservation as well. Rather than the vaunted "win-win", a "lose-lose" situation is created.

This debate, as opposed to the first one, has been long simmering. But accumulating empirical research evidence has revealed the dire impoverishing effects on people inside parks and protected areas and the failure to ensure sustainable livelihoods. This empirical evidence and the lessons from painful experiences with

"restricted access" have led the major multilateral development agencies to new conclusions, that is to recognizing that the practices of restricted access, even without physical relocation, are tantamount to occupational displacement with imposed impoverishment. For the first time, the newly adopted policy provisions and definitions regarding restricted access bring key international actors to an unambiguous position in this debate.

...Research has revealed the dire impoverishing effects on people inside protected areas ... The conversion of this research finding into explicit policy is a landmark.

This is why the *conversion of this research conclusion into explicit policy* is a landmark.

New policy conclusions and prescriptions

How is this conversion reflected in the text of the updated policy? The World Bank's new policy statement explicitly broadens the coverage of the policy from only situations of involuntary "taking of land" through expropriation, extending it also to situations of imposed and

"involuntary restriction of access to legally designated parks and protected areas, resulting in adverse impacts on the livelihoods of the displaced persons." (OP 4.12 art. 36).

Further, the policy explains what is understood by "involuntary restrictions" and to whom it refers. It states:

"For the purposes of this policy, involuntary restriction of access covers restriction on the use of resources imposed on people living outside a park or protected area, or on those who continue living inside the park, or protected area, during and after implementation." (OP 4.12, Note 9).

In the 25 year history of the World Bank's resettlement policy, this is for the first time that "loss of access" is being explicitly considered as a form of displacement. However, this is fully consistent with the conceptual definitions and argument developed by the sociologists and anthropologists studying displacement. It is also consistent with the theoretical principle adopted by the World Bank long ago: namely, that the *definitional* characteristic in forced displacements is not only the *physical geographic removal*, but the imposed *loss of assets and income*.¹⁰ It is precisely this displacement-caused *loss* that must be corrected by restoring and improving people's livelihoods.

Indeed, these two distinct definitional elements have been, and probably for some time will still be, often confused. In practice, imposed deprivation of assets

The policy also covers the loss of income sources or means of livelihood, whether or not the affected persons must move to another location can take place and often does take place *in situ*, without the physical removal of inhabitants. Therefore, this time the policy warns against such confusion. Explicitly, it specifies that, similar to situations of actual "taking of land", in restricted access situations the policy also covers the

"loss of income sources or means of livelihood, whether or not the affected persons must move to another location"; OP 4.12, and 3a11).

Beyond the World Bank itself, the international response from other major development agencies to the definition of restriction of access as displacement has been rapid and consensual. Inter-agency consultations and replication followed shortly. For Africa, the region where a long history of abuses has marred the creation of many parks and other pro-

tected areas, the African Development Bank has included in its 2003 policy on involuntary resettlement a new clear statement, absent in the prior (1995) policy version. The revised AfDB 2003 policy states:

"This policy covers economic and social impacts associated with Bank financed projects involving loss of assets or involuntary restriction of access to assets including national parks, protected areas or of national resources; or loss of income sources or means of livelihood as a result of projects, whether or not the affected persons are required to move." (AfDB 2003, para 3.4)

The African Development Bank places the new provisions on PAs in the context of its stand against the impoverishment risks induced by displacement. It emphasizes the obligation of operationally identifying in each project the impoverishment processes inherent in displacement, listing them verbatim, and the need for applying counter-risk reconstruction strategies. The policy states:

"...the above lessons highlight the need for improvements in the planning and implementation of resettlement components (and) for identifying the key impoverishment processes entailed in the displacement of persons arising from these projects. These are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and community dislocation. Therefore, the key to a development-oriented resettlement scheme is to identify the impoverishment risks of a project and attempt to counteract them by adopting a program with a people-centered focus rather than a property-compensation approach, e.g. by addressing landlessness with land-based schemes; joblessness with employment schemes;

homelessness with home reconstruction schemes; community disarticulation with community reconstruction schemes, etc.” (AfDB, 2003, para 2.3.6).

The AfDB policy also correctly notes that the additional costs of not applying a good policy in displacement

“almost invariably outweigh the investments that would have been needed to plan and execute an acceptable resettlement program.”

In turn, the Asian Development Bank extended in 2003 its involuntary resettlement policy to also explicitly address the

“social and economic impacts that are permanent or temporary and are caused by... change in the use of land or restrictions imposed on land as a result of an ADB operation.” (ADB, 2003 para. 3).

“An initial poverty and social assessment (IPSA) is required for every development project and should be undertaken as early as possible in the project cycle... It quantifies any land acquisition, land changes, or restrictions that will necessitate involuntary resettlement planning” (ADB 2003, para 23-24, added emphasis)

Surely, the chain consensus of the multilateral development banks is more than just inter-agency replication: it reflects a self-critical reconsideration of their previous position and the intent to close a loophole that allowed dispossession without planned resettlement to occur under internationally financed projects. Beyond this correction, it institutionalizes positive changes materially able to optimise the governance of the protected areas, thus becoming part of what is seen as a broader set of governance changes in this domain.¹¹ The policy change by the multilateral banks also recognizes and

validates the long and increasing resistance of indigenous people and their NGOs, in all continents, against the social injustices and impoverishment inflicted upon them during the creation of many protected areas. The policy of the World Bank applies also to all GEF projects executed by the Bank, as well as to projects by private sector entities that are co-financed by IFC, the World Bank’s group arm for private sector projects.

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The policy changes adopted by the World Bank and the regional multilateral Banks are setting a model to follow for private sector foundations concerned with conservation. Commercial corporations or private foundations from developed countries which undertake park management roles need to be, in their turn, ethically compelled to support and apply the same moral and economic safeguard standards protecting the livelihood of people as those embodied in the policy provisions described above. Such organizations, often funded also by OECD governments or by donations from the civil society, can not escape the moral and political responsibility for the destructions and impoverishing displacement carried out by local governments, when such displacements are in fact the preliminaries for those organizations’ projects to establish a new park or to commercially manage a park.¹² Fairness to resident populations, as well as basic ethics and respect of human rights, requires making sure that any displacement, physical or economic, does not leave the affected people worse off, even if technically it occurs “prior” to

the foundations' formal involvement in the management of a given park.



Picture 2. In 2005, this is how a deserted village appears within Lopé National Park (Gabon). People from this village were evicted in 2002. (Courtesy Kai Schmidt-Soltau)

The economic rationale underpinning the policy change

The policy reassessment has not occurred lightly. It is the result of considerable analysis of factual evidence and of dialogue between conservation and social specialists. It is also grounded in the fundamentals of environmental economics. David Pearce, one of the founders of environmental economics and among the very few economic scholars analysing population displacement issues, argued that in conservation as well as in development projects

"the first rule is that all parties to the project should be better off with the intervention than without it. The fundamental justification for this rule is that if any party is made worse off by the intervention, they are likely to act in such a way that the success of the project will be jeopardized. Clear examples exist in the conservation policy area where protected area might restrict access to local communities who previously used the area of various ecosystem services and products – the

so-called 'evictions from Eden'. Unless the local community is compensated in some way, restricted access will generate losses and resentment, and this may result in what then becomes illegal activity, threatening the project... Each party must have an incentive to 'sign up' to the project, which in turn means that the benefits of the project to them must exceed the costs of the project to them." (Pearce, 2005)

From the economic viewpoint, therefore, the strategy conclusion is that the economic displacement caused by access-restrictions – even "displacement in situ", inside the protected area – must (a) be help generate benefits that exceed the costs incurred by the affected people and (b) the benefits need to be channelled back to the affected people. These channelled-back benefits may take the form of a package of entitlements, combining compensation, incentives and added investments to cover losses and incremental costs.

It is sometimes pointed out that a protected area, by preserving biodiversity resources, may ultimately generate biodiversity benefits shared in by the affected people as well. This is indeed true, but it is crystal clear that the negative impoverishment impacts on the locals, poor to begin with and made poorer by displacement, are immediately livelihood wrecking, long before any ultimate benefits may be felt.

Conservation is undertaken in the name of global interests, and this brings into discussion the relationships between benefits at global and local levels. Economic analysis has demonstrated convincingly that the *benefits* of biodiversity conservation through protected areas or parks tend to be highest at the global and national levels and lowest at the level of local communities.¹³ In the same vein,

economic research has concluded that:

"when analysing costs, they are (found to be) highest at the local level and lowest at the national and international levels... At the local level, net benefits may be negative, indicating that there is no local incentive to undertake land conservation. This suggests that not only must the local community be involved in conservation efforts, but that they should also be able to appropriate a fair share of the under values of conservation." (Brown, Pearce et al., 1993).

The benefits from protected areas accrue primarily to stakeholders and groups which are far away, are developed, and by far much better off than the local resident poor populations. In other words, costs of conservation are externalized, imposed upon, and are born by those less able to afford them.¹⁴ The substantial opportunity costs/losses incurred by PAs residents are not compensated to those unwittingly bearing them. The ethical failure is obvious. In this case, a known syndrome is at work: "some get the gains, while others get the pains."

Social analysis, in turn, has demonstrated that displacement and loss of access to common natural resources is closely associated with social disarticulation, loss of income-generating occupation and identity, increased morbidity and mortality, marginalisation¹⁵ – in short, with most of the basic risks identified by the general model of impoverishment risks and reconstruction (IRR) that applies to development-caused displacement/resettlement in other sectors as well.¹⁶ The vastly documented body of findings about these impoverishment risks in Africa¹⁷ raises issues of social justice and equity in conservation strategies too. The general rationale of the IRR framework, when tailored analytically to the case of parks and protected areas, is congruent

with the classic rationale about the economic harm and moral injustice of development-induced displacements in all sectors, which must be reversed by organized reconstruction.

Significantly, awareness about these unacceptable social, economic and cultural effects is also increasing within the conservation community, as a recent paper critical of western environmentalists' biases has stated. Because

"protected areas have often increased poverty amongst the poorest of the poor, there is now emerging recognition of both an ethical and practical imperative to why we must consider the linkages between protected areas and poverty. Ethically, western environmentalists, no matter how well-meaning, have no right to run roughshod over local needs and rights." (McShane, 2003)

Economic analysis has demonstrated convincingly that the benefits of biodiversity conservation through protected areas tend to be highest at the global and national levels and lowest at the level of local communities. The substantial opportunity costs & losses incurred by PAs residents are not compensated to those unwittingly bearing them

Although this position is not yet generally embraced, and direct reference to forced displacements is still not made, the 2003 World Parks Congress and the 2004 IUCN Congress in Bangkok adopted the recommendation that areas protected for biodiversity conservation should under no circumstance exacerbate poverty.¹⁸ The big conservation organizations still have to issue "how to" self-binding prescriptions on how to actually accomplish impoverishment prevention in protected areas and to formally commit themselves to avoid and oppose displacements that

ruin livelihoods.

From policy to implementation

How will the multilateral agencies' new policy definition be implemented? The short answer is: it will face substantial difficulties, at least initially. However promising it is for both protection and social equity, consistent implementation of the new policy will have to confront

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serious obstacles: a wide range of interests vested in repeating old approaches to PAs; shortage of institutional capacity for enforcing the new approach; technical difficulties in measuring costs and allocations; and entrenched biases ready to exploit all these difficulties for subverting the new approach.

Yet implementation success is of highest interest, both to the affected people AND to the conservation supporters. Both groups gain important new means for promoting sustainable and equitable protection. It is therefore indispensable that Governments, major international conservation organizations like IUCN and WWF, and country-based NGOs, genuinely join forces in implementing the new policy approach.

Two decisive premises for implementing this policy will be (a) increased financial resources, and (b) more detailed socio-economic planning work. To be noted, the World Bank has not simply revised concepts and policies without securing means for making them stick. It also prescribed new procedures, project tools and resources. Among these is an improved process of project preparation tailored to protected areas, supported by access to certain financing options previously not available.

By supporting a better equipped approach to establishing PAs, the new policy's implementation will not endorse the proclamation of protected areas without the financial backing necessary, is these are simply predicated on the dispossession of resident populations under the cover of conservation-correct rhetorical discourse. The multilateral agencies have learned the hard way – from their own and others' experiences – that such past approaches have produced fake protection and compounded social misery. Instead, the new policy's implementation is bound to place an incomparably more solid financial platform under the establishment of enduring PAs. This way, it is apt to increase and improve effective protection. It will secure genuine global environmental goods more effectively, because it will compel the provision of a more fair and equitable, that means higher, restitution of costs imposed on locals, through entitlements to the kind of measures and resources granted in recognized development-caused displacements.

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A new policy is always more credible when it contains self-obligations and prescribes means correlated with ends. Through its new policy, the World Bank has committed itself to a sequence of "required measures" tailored to the needs of the affected populations. Governments asking for Bank assistance and Bank staff members are now required to prepare a "process framework" for all "projects involving restriction of access to legally designated parks and protected areas" (OP 4.12, para. 7), since the type of resettlement action plan (RAP) required usually when populations are physically relocated¹⁹ would not apply in this case.

What is called "the process framework" is a formal project document which spells out the steps needed to implement the policy in ways germane to specific protected areas. The purpose of this framework is to institute genuine involvement and consultation, through which members of potentially affected communities would participate in designing the

A process of jointly identifying those activities which may be continued sustainably, as distinct from those which must be restricted for protection and replaced with alternative income generating activities.

project's components. These consultations are explicitly not only about measures for biodiversity sustainability but also about measures for the sustainability of people's livelihoods. The framework will lay the founda-

tions of a resource management plan, which can be, in time, improved gradually through a process of jointly identifying²⁰ those activities which may be continued sustainably as distinct from those which must be restricted for protection and replaced with other income generating activities.

The degree of detail in the policy's exacting demands regarding the interactions between project sponsors and affected population is well reflected in the following, rather long but significant, excerpt:

"A process framework is prepared when Bank-supported projects may cause restrictions in access to natural resources in legally designated parks and protected areas. The purpose of the process framework is to establish a process by which members of potentially affected communities participate in design of project components, in determination of measures necessary to achieve resettlement policy objectives, and in implementation and monitoring of relevant activities... The

document should briefly describe the project and components or activities that may involve new or more stringent restrictions on natural resource use. It should also describe the process by which potentially displaced persons participate in project design... The document should establish that potentially affected communities will be involved in identifying any adverse impacts, assessing of the significance of impacts, and establishing of the criteria for eligibility of any mitigating or compensating measures necessary.

Measures to assist affected persons in their efforts to improve their livelihoods or restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels, while maintaining the sustainability of the park or protected area will be identified. The (process framework) document should describe the process for resolving disputes relating to resource use restrictions... and grievances that may arise from members of communities who are dissatisfied with the eligibility criteria, community planning measures, or actual implementation." (OP 4.12, Annex A, para. 26, 27, added emphasis)

The content of this statement is particularly significant as it establishes the requirement of pursuing "double sustainability", for both biodiversity and livelihoods. It breaks with the chronic de-linking of the vital interests of "park people" from biodiversity conservation. The new revisions to policy do not mean, however, that the policy prohibits physical relocation in all conditions, if at the limit it is unavoidable to relocate some groups as the only way to save a unique resource from further risks. Such situations may occur, for instance, when recent encroachers move in large numbers purposefully to exploit the wealth of a rare and precious biodiversity resource – an old

forest, an area of unique vegetation, etc. – threatening their survival. Distinctions must always be made between natives and newcomers of various sorts. The point is that relocation, if unavoidable, is not a punishment tool but a last-resort tool for safeguarding the enduring survival of the resource, while also materially enabling the area's native inhabitants and

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their children to achieve an alternative sustainable livelihood.

Pursuing constantly the "double sustainability" is the just compass for conservation activities.²¹ Of course, once the policy position is established, what matters ultimately are not just the

statements in the policy documents but whether resources, both financial and human, are provided for on-the-ground implementation.

Additional financing for genuine co-management

The redefinition of restricted access as displacement changes the prior landscape of conservation work in some important ways, apt to prevent inducing impoverishment. It offers those affected, even when they are not being forced to physically move, access to the entitlements provided under multilateral agencies policies for those who are physically relocated. Like the World Bank, in turn, the Asian Development Bank policy similarly prescribes that

"affected people will be provided with certain resettlement entitlements, duly as land and asset compensation and transfer allowances, prior to their displacement, dispossession, or re-

stricted access" (ADB 2003, para. 38)

Even in the recent past, the establishment of protected areas has chronically suffered – even in projects supported by major donors or international NGOs – from insufficient financing. This has diminished the effectiveness of the restrictions themselves by not supplying the incremental resources needed for alternative income-generating productive activities. In turn, promoters of protected areas (including governments of the countries where PAs were created) explained-away the non-payment of just compensation to affected people by "lack of resources" to cover the costs, thus tacitly recognizing that the costs of creating protected areas were partly or fully externalized on the local populations.

Past situations therefore teach us that the recent change in definition will have no practical effects unless it is backed up on the ground by the delivery of material entitlements which the resettlement policies of the development banks grant to those targeted by the restrictions. This policy revision is NOT just a matter of shifting definitional labels: it is a matter of shifting resources. Because resources are shifted in the first place away from those restricted, therefore other resources must be shifted back to them. The means of livelihood subtracted from the affected must be replaced with access to alternative and sustainable means of livelihood (and not just with a one-time, soon-evaporating "compensation"). This material safeguard is the ultimate meaning of the change in the international definitions and policies.

How will this be accomplished – including the use of fair valuation procedures, the calculation of amounts, and the design for alternative productive activities? Not an easy task, certainly. Multilateral development banks are now expected to

show practically (in the feasibility reports for PAs and project appraisal reports prescribing restricted access) how the restrictions' costs are realistically calculated and quantified financially. In turn, international conservation organizations can not, morally, apply lower feasibility standards in their projects.

This policy revision is not just a matter of shifting definitional labels: it is a matter of shifting resources ... The means of livelihood subtracted from those affected must be replaced with access to alternative and sustainable means of livelihood.

Only terminology changes in artfully written feasibility reports would not change anything in the absence of transparent economic analyses, of explicit resource-allocation, and of instituted new NRM patterns, co-management included. In some cases, such artful descriptions depict imposed relocation as voluntary relocation, while in fact the material and cultural prerequisites for such change in the nature of relocation are far from being met. The mechanisms for channelling the incremental resources needed for establishing PAs and protecting livelihoods should be transparent, to ascertain that they truly reach the members of the affected communities and are not siphoned off for other uses at intermediate national, regional or local levels.

Details on these entitlements and other compensation and mitigating measures are given throughout the OP/BP 4.12 policy on involuntary resettlement and in ADB's policies.²² In practice, the international agencies, as well as the local agency or NGO responsible for the PA, need to describe realistically and supply

"the arrangements for funding resettlement, including the preparation and review of cost estimates, the flow of funds, and contingency arrangements"

(OP/BP 4.12 Annex A, para. 24).

That this is not just discourse language is already suggested by another significant decision. In April 2004, the World Bank has also adopted a new land financing policy, which for the first time allows the use of financing by IDA (International Development Association) and the Bank for land acquisition, within Bank-supported projects²³. Prior to 2004, the World Bank did not allow its credits to be used to purchase lands, with only case-by-case exceptions. Any land acquisition had to be financed with government counterparts funds. Recently, this barrier was lifted, in the effort to facilitate realistic ways to preempt impoverishment.

Thus, the new policy represents a multisided change and does include added financial backing. Previously, a series of proposals to this respect inside the same institution, including recommendations of a special task force that was convened to examine the World Bank's financing of land acquisition in support of better resettlement, had been rejected along the year.²⁴ On this background, the recent changes are even more significant.

The increased flexibility for using Bank and IDA financing towards land purchase in displacement situations will also help increase capacity for establishing co-management arrangements over natural resources. Despite their intrinsic promise, such co-management patterns have often failed because of lack of material means. The unfavorable cost-benefits ratios for

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the local communities made the rhetorical calls "to co-manage" sound vacuous, and alienated the local actors from co-managing.

Further, park promoters often promised local resident groups high alternative revenues from eco-tourism, in exchange of restriction-induced losses. But such promises have been hugely over inflated. They were employed sometimes as a smoke-screen to justify and hide the welfare losses caused by eliminating past income-streams. An important GEF study²⁵ on the global-versus-local benefits in GEF-financed projects found that eco-tourism benefits were unwarrantedly exaggerated in feasibility studies, and that local communities typically did not get the promised benefits. Hopefully, the new funding mechanisms for PAs with restricted access, due to the recent change in World Bank policy create new options and incentives for innovative co-management patterns.

In turn, the traditional agricultural knowledge possessed by local communities may also be more effective while they remain *in situ*, helping to balance restriction of access with sustainable use of other resources for personal consumption.

One step that must not be underestimated in future PAs planning is the analytical difficulty of calculating accurate estimates of the costs (losses) to be incurred by residents because of restrictions. This will require perceptive socio-economic work on the ground in preparing new PA projects, using adequate economic tool-kits. The more accurate the cost identification and coverage, the better the protection of the natural resources, and the higher the chances of creating PAs without making local population worse off.

In sum, realistic economic and financial premises are indispensable for securing people's interested cooperation in genuine co-management. The World Bank's "process framework" explicitly requires that such cost-assessments be done not by outside conservation specialists alone, but with the direct participation of the local communities. The combination of local knowledge with outside expert knowledge, plus fairness in negotiating agreed estimates and in assessing incremental costs,²⁶ are the desirable, in fact the indispensable, mechanisms for preparing sound and sustainable conservation initiatives.

Realistic economic and financial premises are indispensable for securing people's interested cooperation in genuine co-management

Focused research on restricted areas and poverty

The international conservation community is increasingly concerned with researching and analysing a fundamental question: "Can Protected Areas Contribute to Poverty Reduction?"²⁷ In turn, to analyse further its own past and ongoing experiences with restricted access in more depth, and to derive lessons useful in implementing the new policies, the World Bank initiated in 2004 a project portfolio review and identified a large number of projects – over 100 – supporting parks and access-restricted areas, out of which 48 projects were selected for detailed study.

Among its main preliminary findings, this study notes self-critically a lack of proper balance: namely, that in the reviewed World Bank projects, prior to the revision of the resettlement policy, the "restrictions of access were thought of mainly in term of how to achieve conservation objectives, not in terms of impact on live-

lihood". Also, in those projects the
"mitigation strategies in feasibility analysis were more of an optimistic menu of potential options, rather than the results of thorough feasibility analysis: even when feasible, many strategies were inadequately supported by other elements of the designed projects" (van Wicklin III, 2005).

This study recommends, among other operational measures, both the strengthening of technical analyses and more material support to setting up protected areas with sustainable strategies in the World Bank- and GEF-assisted projects. The review, in progress when this paper goes to print, will likely be a valuable knowledge source about alternative approaches to restriction of access, apt to protect both the biodiversity and the needs of the resident native people.

At the 2004 IUCN World Conservation Congress, several research projects on these issues were announced and planned by CARE, by branches of IUCN, WWF and African Wildlife Federation, in partnerships with academic researchers. These revolve around "the social and economic costs and benefits of protected areas in East Africa", and their defined objective is "promoting social justice in conservation."²⁸ A large scale, world wide synthesis study was initiated on the "social impacts of protected areas."²⁹

Much of the credit for the current new policy definition of PAs, restricted access, and displacement adopted by development agencies should go to the efforts over long years of many researchers of the classic theme "people and parks". In more than one way, this policy emerged not "from the outside", but from this kind of long, patient and candid field research. It is this work that has gathered the empirical evidence revealing the risks and destitution inflicted on vulnerable indig-

enous populations by physical displacement or restricted access.

Some of these studies³⁰ went farther and made important policy recommendations, based upon the incontrovertible evidence (produced by many researchers) about additional impoverishment caused to people physically displaced out of parks and protected areas: namely, the policy recommendations to discontinue physical displacements and to formally rule them out as a mainstream park-creation strategy, unless the full complement of titled replacement land, just compensation, productive alternatives and civil rights protection is provided to the relocated populations.³¹ The debate continues around this recommendation, since the supporters of forced displacements are reluctant to embrace it, while they remain unable to disprove the facts that led to it or to meet the requirements of livelihood protection.

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The ability to derive strategy/policy recommendations from such in depth field studies and evaluations shows why this kind of research needs to be continued and expanded. Most probably, the changes in the policies for creating PAs, described above, could benefit from research on how the new definition of "restricted access" is translated in projects, and from highlighting positive experiences, successes, difficulties.

Overall, the sustainable governance of biodiversity resources, the need for accountability in conservation interventions for the social consequences they trigger,

the relationships between poverty reduction and conservation work, the risks of impoverishment and the counter-risk response measures – re-emerge with increased immediacy as critical areas of priority research, to be converted in knowledge-guidance for on-the-ground activities.

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Notes

- 1 IUCN, 3d World Conservation Congress, Bangkok, 2004.
- 2 The World Bank's initial policy on involuntary population resettlement was issued in 1980, at which time it was the first policy ever adopted by any international organization for regulating project-caused processes of displacement and resettlement. The early adoption of this policy positioned the World Bank at the forefront of international efforts for improving the norms and practices of forced population resettlement, but also opened up a period of recurrent tensions and criticism, both inside the Bank and between the Bank and its borrowers, resulting from various instances of inconsistency between policy principles and projects' implementation. During the difficult uphill battles that followed after 1980, the initial resettlement policy was revised, gradually strengthened, and expanded in several successive stages in 1986, 1988, 1990, 1994 (for a history of this policy and its impacts, see Cernea, 2005a.) The revised policy (OP/BP 4.12) that broadens the previous policy's coverage as described in the present article was adopted by the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors in November 2001 and became effective in January 1, 2002.
- 3 World Bank, 1990.
- 4 Geisler, 2003.
- 5 Kaimowitz, Faune and Mendoza, 2003.
- 6 Feeney, 1998; Turton, 2002; Chatty and Colchester, 2003; Brechin *et al.*, 2003; Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003 and 2005; Ghimire and Pimbert, 2004; Rudd, 2004; Brockington and Igoe, in press, 2006.
- 7 Some of these responses were so insensitive to the social and moral issues, and so deeply immersed in denial, that they hardly deserve consideration. For instance, one of such responses argued that resettlement is a "political matter", and poverty reduction is a moral goal, while conservation is a "scientific matter" and science-based conservation should not be mixed or "compromised" with social considerations.
- 8 One case in point, subject to recent articles and discussions, illustrates well the complexities of such situations. This is the case of the Mursi, whose territory lies within and between the Omo and Mago National Parks in southwestern Ethiopia (Turton, 1987; 2002). The Mursi depend for about 75 per cent of their subsistence needs on land lying within the park boundaries - agricultural land in the Omo Park and dry-season grazing land in the Mago Park. Although these parks were set up, in a practical sense, over thirty years ago, it was only in early 2005 that the Ethiopian government began taking effective steps to have their boundaries legally established. This was in connection with a proposal from a Netherlands-based organization, African Parks Foundation, to run the parks in a public-private partnership with the government. The implications of this for the customary land rights of the Mursi are not yet fully evident, but could be disastrous. Once the park boundaries have become a legal 'fact', the Mursi will face the likelihood of permanent restricted access to subsistence resources within the parks which they need to sustain their economy, without receiving alternative livelihood options from the foundation that would manage the park commercially. The authorities, meanwhile, would be able to claim that, in denying such access, they would not be 'evicting' the Mursi physically from their territory and would not, therefore, be obliged to provide alternative livelihood opportunities. (Turton, 2005) An even more dramatic case was reported by Feeney from Uganda a few years ago: the sudden and brutal relocation of inhabitants from the Kibale game corridor (Feeney, 1998). Physical displacement from other PAs, after years of residence endorsed by authorities, are also known.
- 9 Cernea, 1999.
- 10 Cernea, 2005.
- 11 Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004.
- 12 Pearce, 2005; see also the case in Southeastern Ethiopia described in detail in footnote 8.
- 13 Wells, 1992.
- 14 Daly, 2004.
- 15 Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003.
- 16 Cernea, 2000.
- 17 Cernea, 2005b.
- 18 IUCN 3dWorld Conservation Congress, Bangkok, 2004.
- 19 For those situations, projects must include a distinct "Resettlement Action Plan" (RAP).
- 20 *e.g.* through accepted forms of co-management of the restricted access areas.
- 21 The argument for "double sustainability" was developed by the author in more detail in other papers as well; see Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau,

- 2003 and 2003/2005.
- 22 The reader may consult, in addition to the OP/BP 4.12, the "Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook" recently published by the World Bank, arguably the most complete technical manual in existence about how to carry out displacement and resettlement consistent with Bank policy (see World Bank, 2004).
- 23 World Bank OP/BP 6.00, *Bank Financing*, 2004 (Note: OP and BP 6.00 are based on Eligibility of Expenditure in World Bank Lending: A New Policy Framework (R2004-0026/1), approved by the Board of Executive Directors on April 13, 2004).
- 24 I served on such a task force on financing land a decade ago, in mid 1990s. Yet the context was insufficiently favorable then and despite a sharp battle of arguments, the task force's initial proposals to this respect were at that time derailed.
- 25 Todd *et al.*, 2005.
- 26 To be covered by projects aiming to institute protected areas.
- 27 Scherl *et al.*, 2004.
- 28 Franks, 2004.
- 29 Brockington and Schmidt-Soltau, 2004.
- 30 *e.g.*, Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003 and 2005.
- 31 Studies recommending such de-mainstreaming of forced physical displacements were presented at the Durban World Parks Congress (2003) and at the Bangkok IUCN World Conservation Congress (2004); see also Cernea-Schmidt-Soltau 2003 and 2005.
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The “guilty” are not the poor!

Jacques Weber

Abstract. Since the early 1970s, the poor have been accused of being the main culprits of the degradation of the environment. As a matter of fact, the poor affect only their immediate environment. The ecological impact of the rich, who depend heavily on the renewable and non renewable resources of the whole planet, is much more significant. A good definition of poverty would have to do with deprivation of rights.

Winter after winter, the *Restaurants du Coeur*¹ receive a growing number of customers. At the onset of the last century, Jehan Rictus² used to sing: “*Les bourgeois plaignent les pauvres, le soir, au coin des rues*” (the bourgeois pity the poor, at night, on the street corners)”. His songs are just as relevant today. Thanks to technical progress, the bourgeois now pity the poor in front of their TV sets. Poverty endures, spreads, travels. It is not specific to the poorest countries. It has common characteristics everywhere... starting with that identified by Georg Simmel in his pioneering work³: “...poverty cannot be defined in a substantial way, since it represents a social construction based on a relationship of ‘assistance’. It is not a lack of means that makes someone poor. In sociological terms, a poor person is an individual who receives assistance because of this lack of means”.

Poverty and the environment

The issue of poverty is immense and I will only examine it in this article from a very specific point of view, namely that of the relationship among poverty, development and the environment. As such, I will not deal with the literature focusing on poverty and inequality, which is particularly strong in France. Anyone wishing to improve her/his knowledge of the subject should, however, get immersed in the semi-

nal works of Robert Castel (1995 and 2003) and Serge Paugam (2000 and 2005). While Castel looks at poverty in terms of “social insecurity” and Paugam in terms of “social disqualification”, neither has dwelt on the links between poverty and the environment.



Picture 1. The children of the poor: a blessing of a problem? Kids in a *favela* of Salvador da Bahia (Brazil). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Discussing the links between poverty and the environment comes from perspectives significantly distant from the scientific literature on poverty. Since the Stockholm Conference of 1972, many respected voices have backed the claim that the poor are the main culprits in the degradation of ecosystems. The World Bank formalised this accusation in 1993 under the title of "Environmental Nexus", which can be understood as "environmental connection". The publication claimed that demographics were "soaring", with the numbers of the poor increasing more than the number of the rich. As a result of their insecurity, the poor were said to be directly dependent on renewable natural resources, which they overexploited based on the logic of the "tragedy of commons", from the title of the article published by the biologist Garrett Hardin in 1968. This was said to be the cause of an accelerated degradation of ecosystems. The survival of the planet, according to the advocates of this basic Malthusian philosophy, hinged on us being able to bring the population back down to a level compatible with the "carrying capacity of the planet", estimated at 500 to 600 million inhabitants (to be compared with the 6 billion alive now). The solution, according to G. Hardin, was to block international migration and sterilise poor women after their second child.

Even if these ideas have been subject to radical and very powerful criticisms⁴, they continue to spread and legitimise the closing of spaces and the displacement of poor populations under the pretext of protecting nature. And yet, the "soaring demographics" and the "demographic bomb" theses have been smelling for some time. In 1995, Amartya Sen published against these theses in the review *Esprit*. The relation

between demographics and the environment seems to be based on a U-shaped curve: low density population, with a low level of capital, translates into the degradation of the environment. However, when a certain level of degradation is reached, and provided that the population has not emigrated or disappeared, the trend reverses and any population growth translates into an improvement of the environment.⁵

What can we say today? The Bruntland report⁶, which officially defines "sustainable development"⁷ stresses that an unfair world cannot be sustainable. However, the number of the poor has increased, and their misery has grown since the new independent states were born in the 1960s. For the World Bank, poverty can be defined by a daily income less than or equal to one US dollar: based on this concept, it affects some 1.3 billion individuals. For its part, the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) pointed out in 1999 that the richest 20% possess 86% of the world's resources. It also reminded us that the richest 20% represent 93% of Internet users, while the poorest 20% represent only the 0.2% of those users. Over the last 35 years, the income disparity between the five richest countries and the five poorest countries in the world has more than doubled.

The culture of poverty ... tends to perpetuate itself from one generation to the next, as a result of the effect that it has on children

How some social scientists understand poverty

In order to understand the relationship among development, poverty and the environment, it is useful to examine how thinking has been evolving in the social sciences. This could fill a book on its own, so my historical review will

necessarily be partial and caricature-like, but I hope the reader will find the time and the desire to refer to the texts I will mention.

In his famous book *Asian Drama*, Gunnar Myrdal analysed poverty in India and came up in 1968 with a theory about the “vicious cycles” of poverty. Little access to natural resources, poor training and little available capital generate poverty, which in turn translates into a low savings capacity, implying a low level of investments and incapacity to access training. Poverty appears as a mechanical consequence of the cards being dealt unfairly at the outset. The solution aims at transforming such vicious cycles into virtuous cycles by injecting capital and developing training.

The economist John Kenneth Galbraith, who was also marked by India where he worked as an ambassador, put forward the “theory of mass poverty”. Quite close to Myrdal in his assessment of the causes of poverty, he moves away from him in his original analysis of what causes poverty to persist. For him, there is a culture of “accommodation” to poverty, so pervasive that the poor do not even envisage that there may be possibilities to escape from it. Reinforced by social norms, this accommodation is the basis for the existence of what he calls a “balance of poverty”. Getting out of poverty is not possible through economic growth alone. The culture of accommodation needs to be attacked through training and by fostering changes in social norms.

The work of the economist Galbraith is in a similar vein to that of the sociologist Arthur Lewis, who invented the term “culture of poverty”. Paugam summarised this concept brilliantly when he said: “The culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction

by the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individualistic and capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with the feelings of despair that arise when the poor understand to what extent they are unlikely to achieve success as it is conceived on the basis of the values and objectives of the society in which they live”. And he adds: “(...) the culture of poverty is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions for society as a whole. Once it exists, it tends to perpetuate itself from one generation to the next, as a result of the effect that it has on children. When children from the slums reach the age of six or seven, they have generally assimilated the fundamental values and customs of their subculture and are not psychologically equipped to make the most of any development or progress that may occur during their lives”.

Some time after Lewis, Pierre Bourdieu drew up an uncompromising inventory of the “misery of the world”. Based on numerous interviews, his research team offers a highly qualified analysis still relevant today. The role of the state, the elites, the media and various ideologies are analysed by them with the same meticulous attention devoted to the economic and social factors that create their context.

Some crucial understandings

Partha Dasgupta and Amartya Sen are behind a major shift in the way in which poverty and its origins are conceived. Indeed, both of them define poverty above all as a deprivation of rights. Dasgupta talks about “destitution” and “disentitlement” and of people being deprived of the capacity to decide. For many, however, the major progress in the understanding of poverty and the means of affect-

ing it stems from the writings of Sen (who actually got a Nobel Prize for them) and from the subsequent work UNDP. The UNDP took up his concepts, notably that of "capability", *i.e.* the potential that may be achieved by an individual, which amounts to very little in a context of poverty. For Sen and for the UNDP, poverty is first of all the effect of a lack of rights and the presence of various forms of insecurity.

Economic insecurity in a context of globalisation and structural adjustment, brings about reduced spending on health and education and condemn large numbers of people to unemployment, as shown by the crises in Asia and Argentina. Globalisation generates local instability in the system, the first victims of which are the poor. Global competition leads states to reduce job security and increase flexibility. Insecurity of access to public goods such as health, education, justice and administration reinforce poverty. The poor are likely to benefit from public or private actions of a charitable nature, but this does not detract from their uncertain access to the basic services associated with citizenship. In countries that have "benefited" from structural adjustments, the market-pricing system for health services, education or justice has made these public goods inaccessible to the poorer sectors of the population. To measure poverty and wealth on the same non-monetary scale, Sen and the UNDP developed the Human Development Index (HDI), which is between zero and one and depends on income but also on health, education and life expectancy. Such an index clearly shows that poverty is not just a consequence of limited state income. Kerala, a very poor state in India, has a HDI close to that of France (approximately 0.8, ranked 11th worldwide, whereas

India is ranked 132nd).

Dasgupta has also developed an economic analysis of the links between poverty, the economy and the environment. Exposing the futility of views that put forward economic growth as the remedy for poverty, he speci-

A major shift in the way in which poverty and its origins are conceived ... defines poverty above all as a deprivation of rights.

ifies that, in addition to the produced capital, knowledge and skills, "wealth" also includes ecosystems. The position of the environment when analysing poverty is clearly defined here. "The natural assets available locally are of the utmost importance for the poor (...). For them, there are no alternative sources for the basic livelihood needs than the local natural resources. For rich ecotourists, on the other hand, there are always "alternatives" in some other places... The gap between need and luxury is enormous.". Unlike many economists, and notably Hardin, Dasgupta highlights the links between the nature of institutions, the means of appropriation and poverty. He underlines the devastating effects of the loss of the commons upon the livelihoods of the poor and notes that this is often due to the action of states and international organisations. Karl Marx's analysis of the consequences of "enclosures of the commons" in the north of England in the 16th century is still valid today: the enclosure of the spaces and the eviction from land that was until then under common property continue to produce misery, exodus and conflicts.

Poverty, renewable natural resources and globalisation

The poor are dependent on the renewable resources available to them, while

the rich are dependent on the renewable (and non renewable) resources of the entire planet. The impact of the poor on the environment can be observed directly, while that of the rich is mediated through international trade. And yet, it is no less important since recent calculations show that the ecological impact (or ecological footprint) grows exponentially in relation to income.

All around the world, we can see conflicts surrounding access to and use of natural resources, renewable and non renewable. These disputes even go as far as wars, as evidenced by the situation in the Gulf and in Iraq. The analysis of real life leads us to think that the role of demographics, which exists, remains relatively minor in comparison with that of bad governance, and of unclear and unjust systems of appropriation, access and control over natural resources. Conflicts are generally broken down into several types: community-related (or ethnic-related), religious or political. However, if you look closely at a map of conflicts around the world, it is easy to see that this typology concerns the means of expression of conflicts, not their nature. Two out of three conflicts (at least!) can be traced back to problems of access to and use of natural resources. In other words, two out of three conflicts are environmental conflicts, including problems relating to access and benefit sharing related to genetic resources. Unfortunately, the African continent alone well illustrates this, from southern Africa to Sierra Leone, from the Casamance to the banks of the river Senegal. In turn, the conflicts for resources lead to exodus, misery, uprooting, pain, and civil and military unrest. Many of the

migrants crossing the Mediterranean at the risk of their own lives start as ecological refugees.

The weakening and even the destruction of access and use rights mostly hit the countryside. And yet, according to the UN, poverty is already strongest in rural areas. "Although it is difficult to establish a comparison between poverty in rural areas and poverty in urban areas, it is estimated that approximately 75% of the world's poor live in the countryside of developing countries. In many of these countries, the recent economic growth and reduction in poverty have primarily concerned urban areas, further widening the economic gap between rural and urban environments. The urbanisation phenomenon increases the proportion of poor people living in urban environments but it is expected that, by 2025,

Dasgupta underlines the devastating effects of the loss of the commons upon the livelihoods of the poor and notes that this is often due to the action of states and international organisations.



Picture 2. Land is the most precious asset for the poor. A woman cultivates cassava in the flanks of Mount Cameroon (Cameroon). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

60% of the world's disadvantaged population will still be living in rural areas".

Securing access rights to resources represents the key factor to enable the poor to take back control over their present. And, without control over their present, how would it be possible for them to even conceive the future ("sustainability")?

We can now attempt to define poverty in line with the definition of sustainable development. Poverty is the absence of control over one's present, that is to say, the absence of a chance to influence one's own future. In a poverty situation, people say that they "no longer belong to themselves".

This absence of control over one's own present is the other face of a series of insecurities: economic, social and

Securing access rights to resources represents the key factor to enable the poor to take back control over their present sometimes physical, including insecurity of access to public goods, health care, justice and education. And, for rural populations, the key insecurity

is the one of rights to access and use renewable resources, including land. These many insecurities generate a permanent anxiety (which is often neglected by theories) that further weakens the ones who are already weak.

Social bond and mutual debt

To face up to these insecurities and this anxiety, the poor tend to create a social bond, inserting themselves into networks of solidarity founded on mutual debt. Research carried out by the Léon-Walras Centre of the University of Lyon has shown that the French people that receive the RMI⁸ tend to spend resourc-

es in ways that allow them to continue to be part of a group. Already in 1546, in his "third book", Rabelais considered debt to be the basis for social ties, the "sympathetic force" that binds all social aspects together. Mutual debt, which is more than reciprocity, results in a form of mutual insurance: I can do nothing else but come to the aid of he who has helped me. The poor are without insurance, while the majority of us are unable to think of a world without insurance. The non-poor are completely insured; from dawn to dusk and even while they are sleeping. Social classes are overlapped by insurance classes.

This notion of mutual debt (or mutual dependence), so dear to Rabelais, is also important to qualify the relationship between people and the environment or, more specifically, the living world. There can hardly be a separation between humans and the rest of the living world: we are an integral part of it, we evolve daily, without realising it, in a close and vital interaction with other living organisms that provide us with food, clothes, tools, medicine, but also with our own digestive process and the health of our skin. Reciprocally, we create living conditions (or dying conditions) for other living species in this great interplay of interactions between organisms that represents the living planet.

Fighting against poverty means restoring (and not "giving") to the poor the elements of control over their present and their future. To do this, we need to move away from approaches based on "aid", which actually strengthen the condition of being poor as defined by G. Simmel, towards new approaches based on citizenship. In the developed world, Philippe Van Parijs proposed already two decades ago to institute a "basic citizen income", which would

replace all social services and would be distributed to all country's citizens, regardless of resources, age or status. Equity would be injected in the system through the income tax. The most frequent criticisms are moralistic, claiming that such an income by birth right

would be an incentive not to work. Incidentally, the critics speak of an "allocation" and not of an "income"—and it is interesting to note that an "allocation" fits the aid mentality while an "income" refers to a right.

Who are the "environmental refugees"?

by Christophe Rymarski

According to the World Bank, some 25 million people should be considered "environmental refugees". In 1995, the Red Cross announced 500 million of "ecological refugees". A category introduced for the first time in 1985 in a report published by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), ecological refugees flee typhoons, volcanoes, flooding, earthquakes and other natural disasters. Nature, however, is not the only culprit of their distress. Man is contributing in both indirect ways (e.g. through deforestation, which encourages surface water run-off and flooding) and direct ways (e.g., by environmental degradation because of industrial "developments", wars, etc.).

As an example, the official report on the Chernobyl disaster gives a total of 31 dead, but fails to mention the 110,000 people evacuated. A 1996 report by the World Bank put the number of people forced out of their homes due to infrastructural projects (dams, mining, transport programmes, etc.) from 1986 to 1995 at between 80 and 90 millions!

States can also displace ethnic minorities or opponents under the pretext of degradation of the environment. At times states that benefit from international aid to implement environmental policies unceremoniously displace populations to make room for protected areas. "Evictions have always been authoritarian, often violent, and sometimes dramatic. As reported by Rossi in 2000, in Togo the extension of the Kéran Park in the early 1980s involved the intervention of the army, which destroyed villages with grenades and flamethrowers, and led to the displacement of nearly 10,000 people.

When such atrocities or natural disasters result in migrations across country borders, this raises a problem for the status of refugees. So-called ecological refugees do not fulfil the criteria defined in the Geneva Convention signed in 1951, which qualifies as a refugee any person who has fled his country through fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, or identification with a social group or political opinion.

In 2005, Worldwatch reported that the UN Refugees Agency, which classified some 17 million people in "worrying conditions" in 2003, has been opposed to the extension of the Geneva Convention's field of action and the inclusion of the environment as a legitimate reason for fleeing a country. This has been on account of the scarcity of its financial resources. Various international seminars, however, have been seeking to define a legal status for ecological refugees.

During the first half of the 19th century, a very important debate, lasting almost half a century, took place with regard to the so-called "subsistence salary". Two positions clashed. The first claimed that workers spend their income on alcohol and their free time on generating children, thereby swelling the ranks of

the destitute. Accordingly, it is necessary to maintain the salaries as low as possible, also because hunger is an "incentive to work". The opponents replied that only decently fed and paid workers, with the prospect of improving the fate of their children, are truly productive. Until now, the latter point of

view seems to have prevailed. Yet, the debate is sadly still open and reflected

...a "basic citizen income" ... would replace all social services and would be distributed to all country's citizens, regardless of resources, age or status.

"the mother of disciplined thinking". An African representative responded with

in the discussion on the basic citizen income. I have heard a representative from a major OECD country plead against financial support for Sahelian communities because hunger is

a Sahelian proverb: "Only he who has known famine knows the taste of food".

The persistence and growth of poverty among humans makes us wonder about the extent to which the rich still need the poor, the extent to which we understand that our wealth is dependent on the poverty of others.⁹ The film "Darwin's Nightmare" enables us to see the ties between social misery and ecosystem destruction as well as the complex relationships among local resources, local communities, global markets and regional wars.

The Darwinian Nightmare

A film by Hubert Sauper, 2005

In Tanzania, the Nile perch, a ferocious predator, was introduced into Lake Victoria in the 1960s. This was meant as a "scientific experiment", but the experiment went out of control. The Nile perch has, since then, decimated all the endogenous fish populations of the lake. And the perch itself is now overexploited with the help of European subsidies. This ecological catastrophe is well combined with the exploitation of the local peoples in a context of acute poverty, disease and corruption. Fishermen have lost their fish, which fed them for centuries, and can now find work only in the fish factory... where they spend their days cutting up fillets they will never have a chance to eat. What is left to them is only fish heads and bones.

But this is hardly all. On their return journeys, the planes that transport the best parts of the fish to Europe take stopovers in areas of conflict, to leave behind the weapons that fuel and perpetuate injustice and violence.

Perhaps more than ever before in history, today's poverty and the overexploitation of ecosystems are the direct product of wealth. Shortages, disease and violence are the direct product of opulence. But, if this is really the case, solutions are possible. An example from poor countries comes from Madagascar. Since November 1996, a law about securing local management of natural resources ("lois GELOSE") makes possible the transfer of control over access and use of natural resources to village communities through voluntary contracts between these communities and the state. More or less well implemented, a source of

greed and challenges, this law can secure community rights to resources and give back some local control over the ecological conditions of life. The World Conservation Union (IUCN), which was behind the "global strategy for the conservation of nature", insisted as early as 1982 on the interdependence between conservation and decent living conditions for local communities. The IUCN has been supporting numerous projects that, as they developed, tended to recognise the need to restore local rights, in other words, the "entitlements" so dear to A. Sen.

But we should not delude ourselves; poverty and misery have a bright future, despite the claims of the programmes established to eradicate them. As long as the interdependence between opulence and misery is not clearly exposed, as long as the poor will not become a “credible threat” or a “solvent buyer”, it will not be possible to be optimistic.

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Notes

- 1 A typical French soup kitchen.
- 2 A French singer of the early 20th Century.
- 3 Sociology, first published in 1908.
- 4 By Hervé Le Bras (1996), among others.
- 5 “Population : delusion and reality”, 1994 (traduit en français dans *Esprit*, novembre 1995, «La bombe démographique, vrai ou faux débat?») : http://finance.commerce.ubc.ca/~bhatta/Articles-ByAmartyaSen/amartya_sen_on_population.html
- 6 <http://users.aber.ac.uk/dll3/brundtlandreport.htm>
- 7 « Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present generation while preserving the possibility of future generations to satisfy their needs ».
- 8 Introduced in 1988, the RMI is an income allowance designed to support the poorest members of French society so that they would be brought above the poverty line and also given rights of access to other allowances and social security benefits.
- 9 Sachs (1996); Sachs (2002).



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Eradicating "poverty" or the poor?

Majid Rahnema

"Poverty": are we all talking about the same thing? Is there only one form of poverty or a multitude of "poverties", different from one another? If the latter, is it proper to postulate, without any precision, that "poverty" is a shame, a scourge, or even a violation of human rights that should be eradicated? Or, if history and anthropology would teach us that poverty has been - and still remains - a mode of life that has *protected* the poor from falling into destitution, should we not, on the contrary, seek to respect or even to regenerate it?

For most of the world's economic experts and doctors in poverty, the answer to the question "Who are the poor?" seems rather clear and simple. The poor are people who live on less than one or two US dollars a day. The dominant discourse on poverty seems

to have equally adopted that definition, considering it both relevant and useful to its purposes. Ms. Deepa Narayan, the author of the impressive 2001 Report of the World Bank, has adopted it. For, regardless of the fact that her team's interviews with some 60,000 poor have led her to recognize that poverty represents something different for each one of them, she uses only one criterion when she estimates that 56% - or almost two third of the world population - are poor: 1,2 billion of them live on less than one dollar a day, 2,8 billion live on less than two dollars.¹

It is the first time in history that such an overwhelming number of people, belonging to highly diverse cultures and environments, are arbitrarily labelled "poor" for the only reason that their daily income does not exceed a given universal standard, expressed in the currency of the "richest" economic

power in the world. The definition totally neglects the fact that the overwhelming majority of the world population still meets (as it had done in the past) most of its vital needs with little or no recourse to money.

The definition [of poverty] totally neglects the fact that the overwhelming majority of the world population still meets (as it had done in the past) most of its vital needs with little or no recourse to money.

Historically, every human being had his or her own personal idea of who the poor were. In general, people lived with a few

possessions of their own and shared with others, according to established customs and traditions, whatever was produced by their subsistence economy. There was always a group of "rich" and powerful who constituted an exception to the rule. But the others had generally "enough" for meeting what was culturally defined as necessary to their livelihood. When they did not have that, they learned how to live with higher levels of self-constraint, while others shared whatever they had with the less fortunate. Similar to all living creatures, people felt endowed with what Spinoza would call *potentia*, a form of "power of acting", or might, specific to their constitution. This represented their most reliable form of wealth, a source of life energy on which they could always count in difficult times. Thus, for thousands of years, people kept coping with their needs without having to consider their predicament as a shame or a scourge. It is in this very sense that, in the words of Marshall Sahlins, poverty was unknown to man in the Stone Ages. Much later, he argues, poverty was "invented" by civilization.²

In another context, all humans and



Picture 1. Collecting banana leaves in Tanzania. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

their social groupings were rich in something and poor in something else. The "poor" as a substantive or a noun are said to have appeared in Israel in the 10th century B.C., when a number of rich hoarders of food forced the peasants to sell their lands.³ It is equally significant that in Europe and many other countries, the *pauper* was opposed to the *potens*, not to the rich. In the 9th century, the pauper was considered a free man whose freedom was imperilled only by the *potentes*. And, in general, the poor were respectable and respected persons who had only lost, or stood in the danger of losing, their "berth".

It is only after the expansion of the mercantile economy, as the processes of urbanization started to cause the disintegration of subsistence economies and the monetization of societies, that the poor were also perceived in terms of their earning of money. As such, they started being viewed as a lower class of humans, lacking what the people in command thought as symbols of power and wealth, namely, the money

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and the possessions necessary for the latter to meet their particular types of needs.

A common denominator of the different perceptions of poverty has rather constantly been

that of "lack of something" or unsatisfied "needs". This notion alone reflects the basic relativity of the concept. For no human being could be found who would be free from a "lack of something", be that material, psychological or otherwise. And when the poor are defined as lacking in things necessary to life, the question still remains: what is necessary for whom and for what kind of a life? And who is qualified to define all that? In smaller communities, where people are less of a stranger to one another and possessions are easier to compare, such questions are already difficult to answer. The answer becomes nearly impossible in a world where the old familiar horizons and communally defined bases of comparison are destroyed by the dominant and homogeneous standards of "lacks" and "needs" set out by the market. Everyone could think of oneself as poor when the necessities of life are defined by the TV set in the mud hut, the screen

conveying to all the same de-cultured models of consumption...

Up to the Industrial Revolution, to possess just a few things and to live modestly with whatever was available was possible thanks to a subsistence economy that was still producing for the household and the community. That is why poverty has been, to quote the French philosopher Joseph Proudhon, "the normal condition of humankind in civilization". It was a mode of living based on conviviality, sharing and reciprocity, a mode of relating to others and to oneself, respectful both of others and of the larger social and natural environment. It represented an ethics of living together and building relations, an ethics of defining one's needs according to what one's community could produce at a particular time. The unalterable riches of the poor lied in their regenerative ability, trying to make the best out of whatever they could have, share or master in life.

Quite different was instead the condition called destitution (*miseria* or misery in Latin and other European languages), a condition well expressed by the original meaning of the Arab-Perisian words of *faqir* and *faqir*, a person whose spinal column is broken. As long as the poor could rely on their *potentia*, as long as they could still lie on what Ivan Illich has called their "cultural hummock", it was their poverty "bed" that protected them from falling into the murky mud below, into the pitiless world of misery and destitution. This dreaded world has always represented for the poor the breakdown, the corruption and the loss of one's *potentia*.

Three categories of poverty should thus be recognized that, in my view, are qualitatively different from each other: the convivial, the voluntary and the

modernized. *Convivial poverty*, proper to vernacular societies, is the one that I just described. *Voluntary poverty* is the predicament of the few exceptional men and women who voluntarily choose poverty as a means of liberation from dependency-creating needs. Finally, *modernized poverty* is a corrupted form of poverty that was generated after the Industrial Revolution. It could

...misery is a condition well expressed by the original meaning of the Arab-Persian words of faqr and faqir, a person whose spinal column is broken. [But] the poor could rely on their potentia, they could lie on what Ivan Illich has called their "cultural hummock"... [they can show] a highly elaborated art of living in coping with necessities...

be seen as a break from all the previous forms of poverty, where a kind of "voluntary servitude" (in the sense used by Étienne de la Boétie⁴) starts to tie the existence of its victims to new socially fabricated needs. In this totally new type of poverty, the "lacks of something" felt by the individual are systematically produced and reproduced by an economy whose prosper-

ity depends on a regular increase in the number of its addicted consumers. Meanwhile that economy cannot, by definition, do anything to provide the newly addicted with the means necessary to meet their new consumption needs. The fate of the modernized poor has been rightly compared to that of Tantalus, the mythical king condemned to live in a semi-paradise where he was surrounded by anything he desired. But whenever he wanted to reach the objects of his desire, those would withdraw from his reach.⁵

The few semantic, historical, cultural

and other factors that I just mentioned are sufficient to show that the recent reinvention of poverty in its globalized form is a preposterous oversimplification of the highly complex realities it hides. This simplification may suit the institutions in charge, but it represents not only a conceptual aberration but also a subliminal and dangerous threat to the very *potentia* of the poor. For it reduces them to nothing but an object, an "income" they have to earn under conditions imposed on them by the very institutions that have dispossessed them from their means of subsistence. At the same time, this simplified view of poverty says nothing about the highly elaborated *art of living* proper to the poor in coping with necessity. It only suggests that, having lost their chance of joining the bandwagon of progress, their salvation is in the hands of a new market economy that no longer produces for the people who need it, but only to meet its own "needs" of profit and those of its few privileged consumers. No other choice seems to be left to the pauperised and the economy's drop-outs but to accept the rules of the new predatory economy, hoping to receive the minimum income that should "provide them for their living".

The more one enters into the highly complex universe of poverty, the better one realizes the dangers of using the word in general, abstract and un-historical manner. Poverty is a too large, too ambivalent, too relative, too general and too contextual and culture-specific concept to be defined on a universal basis.⁶ Attempts to find improved general definitions lead to nowhere. They can only show that *all* attempts at defining poverty are arbitrary: they reveal more about the "namer" than the "named". Hence, the wisdom of abandoning the very

idea of defining poverty with a view to focusing on the great variety of "poverties", historically defined by societies and the people who live their specific predicaments. After we have taken such an approach we may be ready to find out some deeper commonalities. For instance, we could explore or rediscover the close relations that these "poverties" often entertain with



Picture 2. Dry walls keep animals far from gardens in Socotra island (Yemen). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

non-economic issues such as power, justice, autonomy, domination, governance, ecology, etc. Few of these subjects, and indeed even a redefinition of wealth, ever find their place in the official programmes aimed at helping the poor.

How do the poor look at their problems? They usually know what they suffer from, and what they need to develop convivial and joyful relations with their neighbours, their communities and the natural milieu from which they have always derived their sustenance. Life has taught them to distrust the various princes, merchants and other established holders of power who pretend to protect or help them. They usually know how to avoid useless

confrontation and violence, and how to use their own traditions of wisdom and resistance to fight destitution.

In this sense, the Narayan's report mentioned above clearly indicates that, for the overwhelming majority of the poor, the major problems are NOT the ones addressed by the World Bank and by other self-proclaimed saviours. If there is one aspiration common to most of the people who actually live with one or two dollars a day, it is to prevent the destruction of their convivial environment and of their subsistence economy and, hence, the possible crippling of their *potentia*, or their particular *art of living*. This does not mean that they are not in need of cash to meet some of their new induced needs. That remains often indispensable, particularly to persons driven out of their vernacular surroundings and forced to live in shantytowns where their whole art of living is reduced to finding cash to insure their bare survival. But this does not imply, as the World Bank wants us to believe, that they have now accepted to trade off their convivial poverty against an uncertain daily income that is only decided by the state of the market. That is not true. For they are quite aware that - once the foundations of their convivial mode of life and subsistence economy are shattered - their last true and living riches would also be lost. They would then be transmogrified into sub-human commodities on a soulless and anonymous market that not only dispossesses them of their tools for survival, but also systematically destroys their capacity to resist and to build for themselves a

...the World Bank and similar organizations ... will continue thinking that an economy in expansion cannot be wrong for anyone.

different future.

For the billions who have thus been driven out of their cultural, natural and social “niches” and have been dispossessed of their means of self-defence by the new market economy, the problems are therefore NOT where the World Bank and similar organizations say they are, or want them to be. For sure, the certainties held by these institutions are such that they will continue thinking that an economy in expansion cannot be wrong for anyone. They are all convinced that, under modern conditions, problems as food and nutrition, shelter, health care, education

For the four or more billions of “poor” people who live on less than one or two dollars a day, the major problem [...] is the very way in which the new market operates and sets up the social, political and human conditions that define their lives.

and modernization can no longer be left in the hands of the poor. Under no circumstances are they ready to recognize any good in letting the “poor” defend their “unproductive” and “obsolete” subsistence economies.

This brings me to what I think is the core of

the poverty question. For the four or more billions of “poor” people who live on less than one or two dollars a day, the major problem is not the lack of a greater share of whatever the market produces for its own needs. The major problem is the very way in which the new market operates and sets up the social, political and human conditions that define their lives. In other words, it is not by doubling or tripling cash incomes that the present trend of increasing pauperisation can be stopped. The basic problem is that the measures against pauperisation emanate from

institutions that are the main producers of the scarcities responsible for the globalization of mass destitution. For such institutions, stopping pauperisation would be tantamount to a suicide, at least as long as they refuse being “re-embedded” in the societies from which they “freed” themselves. In this perspective, the problems of the poor are the problems of ALL the inhabitants of our planet. We all are threatened by the nature of the dominant economic system: a Janus like institution that actually *produces* as much mass destitution as it produces different types of material wealth!

A genuine dialogue on poverty should start by questioning the new myth of an unbridled economic growth in totally new terms. Are the lacks imputed to the present poor of the world the result of their way of living and their “poor” economies, or could it be the opposite? In other words, are not the scarcities of which they suffer the unavoidable effects of the more productive, modern economy that claims to save them from their “poverty”? If the question is posed in this fashion, we may even begin to rethink the cake syndrome. The cake syndrome is a sort of *sine qua non* axiom for meeting the growing needs of a growing population: before anything else you must increase the size of the cake! We could shatter that by showing that the already fabulous size of the supercake produced by the world economy has resulted in dispossessing the poor of the ways and means they had of preparing the cakes and breads of their own choice. Furthermore, the poor and their friends could also argue that unbridled growth has become not only a threat to their lives, but also a threat to the lives of the planet’s privileged few.

All the present movements of protest

and resistance to unconditional growth (the Zapatistas, the Via Campesinas and the hundreds of smaller and less known ones) express the manifest will of the economy's victims and dropouts to have their own view of the "cake": its replacement by a multitude of smaller cakes to be cooked for those who need them according to their own ideas of their size and content. They all reject the unique supercake designed and cooked by the holy alliance of the major stockholders of the world market and the governments they help to put in place.

As hunger and malnutrition are often assimilated to poverty, I would like to mention the specific question of food production as an example of the irrelevance of the mythical global cake to the needs of the people suffering from hunger and malnutrition. There is enough statistical evidence to submit that the world economy produces enough food now to feed some 9 billion people, i.e., one and a half times the present world population. The overall production of food is therefore capable not only to feed every individual on earth, but actually to over-feed them to the extent that it could cause globalized obesity. The fact remains, however, that despite this unprecedented level of production, more than 900 million people all over the world are still suffering from hunger or malnutrition.

This paradoxical situation could help us see how the answer to the many questions related to the so-called food scarcity is not in a sheer increase in food production. As the myth of unbridled growth has colonized the people's imagination, the many real and more precise questions that need to be put out are often ignored. Amongst these are concrete questions such as: *who, for whom, how, and under what types of*

production and governance are things produced? An impressive number of studies have lately appeared on these questions. Among those, I would like to pay a special tribute to the work of Lakshman Yapa of PennState University. Yapa not only analyses how modern systems of food production have been unable to remove food scarcity; he also shows how that system actually leads all of us, directly or indirectly, to participate in the production of scarcities responsible for the irrelevance of present forms of production to the real needs of the people.⁷

As the myth of unbridled growth has colonized the people's imagination [...] many precise questions are often ignored... these are concrete questions, such as: who, for whom, how, and under what types of production and governance are things produced?

For thousands of years, each community used its subsistence economy to produce the food it needed. A very complex set of natural, environmental, social, cultural and human factors interacted to create the proportions, balances and equilibriums needed to preserve a sustainable food production for the members of that community. Subsistence economies were not as productive as the industrial economy, but whatever the hundreds of millions of farmers and peasants all over the world have been producing has served not only to feed the communities concerned, but also to provide them with the means necessary to meet their culturally defined needs. The Industrial Revolution placed a time bomb in the midst of this set of interactions, a phenomenon that produced its most disastrous effects with the globalization of the market economy.

One of the offshoots of the policies aimed at increasing food production



Picture 3. A community-run nursery in the Ecuadorian Andes. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

has been the granting of impressive subsidies, by the governments of the North, to their farmers (mainly agricultural industrialists and producers). The subsidies aim at helping farmers to introduce the most advanced technologies, machines and fertilizers, with a

view to multiplying their productive capacities. This will allow meeting the needs of the local markets, but also exporting crops, often at a much cheaper price than what the same products would cost to local farmers and peasants in the receiving countries. Since the Johannesburg World Conference of 2000, we all know that these subsidies are of the order of 360 billion US dollar a year, i.e., one billion dollars a day! The subsidies have indeed been highly instrumental to increase the overall production of food. At the same time, they are rightly seen as one of the major blows to the hundreds of millions of peasants and farmers who have, in the past, kept producing food for majority of people in the South. For many of them, these subsidies are nothing but a disguised form of genocide.

The irrelevance of meeting the needs of the poor only through modern forms

of production and living can also be seen in another case. In the 1980s, millions of people in the Horn of Africa suffered a drought that was much publicized because of the unprecedented number of its victims. Yet, it was found out that, at the same time, Somalia and Egypt were exporting food for European dogs and cats. The “modernization” of their economy and their need for foreign currency (possibly to buy agricultural machines and pesticides) had led them to shift the focus of their production on export activities.

In a few words, the system seems to act as a two-face Janus who provides a few with the means to rule over the others while producing the scarcities responsible for the destitution of two third of the world population. In this sense, the market economy is the real cause of the tragedy facing the uprooted and alienated victims of “growth”. The answer to their plight cannot be in the strengthening of the machinery that produced their destitution, but in new types of individual and collective endeavors that go against the grain of that machinery.

What I said earlier indicates that the proposals offered by the experts, the “authorities” and the institutions in power dealing with the “poverty” issues are made from a self-centred and interested perspective, from the view-

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point of people who are more or less benefiting from the dominant market economy. Their own addiction to the new "needs", the comforts and material privileges created for them by this economy lead them to look at the world from a perspective very different from that of the drop-outs and victims of that same economy. The "poverty" of the people they claim to save is perceived mainly in terms of their own "needs" and of their ways of meeting them. It comes seldom to their mind that such a self-centered projection further leads them to participate directly or indirectly in the production of the socially and economically generated scarcities that strengthen the processes of modern pauperisation.

To conclude, the perception that our self-protective society has of the predicament of the hundreds of millions of the world's "poor" can be described, following Milan Kundera, as a "non-thought of received ideas". What we call "poverty" is only a reflection of our self-centered perception of the "other". As such, we are not in a position to give the poor lessons of conduct or to submit them to "aid" programmes. The best we can do is to refrain from further participating in the creation of scarcities that affect them. By contrast, if we look at poverty free from such self-centred perspective, we can discover neighbours desiring to share in their art of living. We can break the deadlock of present "aid" programmes by working together with the "poor-in heart" for new or regenerated forms of voluntary simplicity, true to the spirit of convivial or voluntary poverties.

A world to be rebuilt by simple human beings, using their unique potentials for living together and redefining their common riches may look like a utopian dream. It may seem contrary to all the practices that prevail in our environ-

ment of conflicting and dehumanizing interests. Yet, the eternal threat of aging and death that has accompanied all forms of life has never prevented the blossoming of love, creativity and great common endeavors in all human societies.

The Gandhian call to "get off the poor's back" can still be used to achieve new and useful policies in favor of the poor.

Even in the present times, while stupid violence and unprecedented forms of life destruction are plaguing human societies, equally unprecedented forms of resistance are also appearing in places and under conditions that could have never been imagined. Contrary to what appears at the surface, and while addiction to socially created needs and individualistic trends keep prompting modern forms of pauperization, much else is also happening in the opposite direction, in less visible parts of the world societies.

The poor and their friends, regardless of the societies to which they belong, can indeed do a lot to change their fate. This kind of co-action does not need to go through grandiose "poverty alleviation" plans that generally promote very different results. A constant and unceasing pressure by everyone, on various instances of power, can be used, instead, to take advantage of all the cracks appearing in the systems of domination. The Gandhian call to "get off the poor's back" can still be used to achieve new and useful policies in favor of the poor.

What the Mahatma said long ago expressed the intuition of a man of wisdom on the needs and aspirations of the poor. It meant, on the one hand, that an end should be put to policies and practices that lure or force them

into submitting themselves to the new rules of a world market controlled by others. But it also expressed the need to trust the poor in the use of their own creative capacities for self-defense and regeneration. What Gandhi meant by his famous injunction was that the poor should be protected from policies that, in the name of helping them, seek to systematically weaken and corrupt their "*potentia*". What he meant was that they should not be dispossessed from their own means of production and adaptation to technological changes. He trusted them enough to want them to build a better world for themselves and for others, according to their own aspirations. He never meant that the poor should disappear from our sight. Nor he ever meant that the institutions and the individuals responsible for the propagation of destitution and pauperism should be left in peace by their victims, and their victims' friends.

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Freedom from Want!

Response statement to the report and outcome document of the UN Summit to review progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), New York, September 2005

Grassroots, local and indigenous communities from 44 countries gathered at the Community Commons at Fordham University in New York from 15 to 18 June 2005 and spent their time sharing, learning and exchanging

knowledge on how community-led initiatives deliver sustainable development. The following statement and recommendations are based on the Community Commons Declaration. The statement was presented by Gladman Chibememe. The writing team

included Gladman Chibememe, Donato Bumacas, Benson Venegas, Esther Mwaura-Muiru, Patrick Muraguri and Claire Rhodes.

We appreciate and recognize the critical role that the United Nations and Member States have played in promoting the participation of grassroots and indigenous communities in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the broader development agenda. This is indeed important as the world is beginning to recognize that grassroots and indigenous communities are primary custodians of the majority of the world's natural resources. We all welcome the concern for evolving a shared vision as reflected in the Secretary General's Report "In larger freedom" as well as the Draft Outcome Document. However, we note with great concern that there is lack of connectivity between international policy issues being addressed in the Draft Outcome Document and community action on the ground.

We are calling for a shift in investment and resources towards community-led initiatives to deliver the MDGs!

At the same time, we are calling upon the United Nations, its member states, multilateral organizations and other stakehold-

ers to adopt the principles of inclusion, consultation and subsidiarity in the implementation of all Millennium Development Goals and to empower grassroots and indigenous communities to take control of their own development processes.

Development, conservation and livelihood security will only be achieved if grassroots, local and indigenous communities are central to the planning, implementation and monitoring of development strategies. Local and grass-

roots indigenous knowledge, systems and skills are very often the foundation for sustainable development.

We are therefore calling for a shift in investment and resources towards community-led initiatives to deliver the MDGs – realizing that communities have already demonstrated significant capacity and innovative solutions towards achieving the MDGs in a holistic and integrated manner.

We are also seeking commitment from national governments and development agencies for long-term partnership directly with the local, grassroots and indigenous community-based organizations.

We therefore recommend that:

1. **Communities play a leading role in the planning and implementation of strategies to deliver the MDGs.** This can be achieved by creating **community task forces** at the global, national and grassroots levels to plan, review and monitor progress towards the MDGs while ensuring a strong gender balance.
2. The United Nations, Members States and development agencies **enhance the quality and impact of their aid by directly allocating at least 25% of all resources** targeted to achieving the MDGs to community based organizations, with special attention to women and youth.
3. A **Global Community Learning Fund** be established to replicate and upscale 'local-level' innovative practices that are already contributing to delivering the MDGs.
4. Communities commit themselves to re-educating development agencies and policy makers on effective strategies to partner with communities in

order to achieve the MDGs.



Picture 1. Grassroots leaders from Kenya sing traditional Maasai songs during a gala reception held in honour of the Community Commons in New York. (Courtesy Equator Initiative)

We demand that national and international policy priorities address the following key issues:

- That our lives, livelihoods and the eradication of poverty fundamentally depend on the sustainable management of our biodiversity and other natural resources.
- We support the commitments made by Member States to implement global environmental conventions. However, while they are necessary, they are not sufficient to ensure the sustainable management of natural resources. All the Millennium Development Goals need to be implemented within the framework of environmental sustainability.
- National development strategies must pay particular attention to the social and economic benefits that can be achieved through sound natural resources management. **Sustainable approaches to agriculture, forestry and fisheries** are critical for economic development and ru-

ral livelihoods – yet these key economic sectors are **not adequately addressed in the UN Outcome Document.**

- **Enabling communities to sustainably manage their natural resources**, including in Protected Areas particularly Transfrontier/ Transboundary Parks, requires the protection of intellectual property rights; the legalization of community land tenure; equitable Access and Benefit Sharing (ABS) mechanisms and ensuring that Free Prior Informed Consent is obtained from communities before any development initiative is undertaken. It is vital that there be Mutual Agreed Terms (MAT) on how resources showed be shared among local partners with communities playing a central role.
- Recognize and restore **ecosystem-specific traditional and indigenous knowledge systems** on health, agriculture, biodiversity conservation and other practices. Ensure that proper laws and policies are put in place to enable local and indigenous communities to benefit meaningfully from any commercial uses of traditional knowledge, practices and innovations important for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.
- **HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis** are globally recognized as development priorities. **25% of the Global Fund to fight AIDS should be committed to community-driven solutions and responses,**

We call upon all stakeholders to pave the way for greater involvement of communities in creating a global world of peace, harmony and dignity.

particularly in prevention, care and support.

- Recognize the **critical role that women play in community development**. We call for greater investment in capacity building for grassroots and indigenous women to effectively participate in decision making, and also call for at least 30% representation of women in national and local decision making bodies.
- National governments and the international agencies need to support **community-led efforts to build adequate and decent housing, and basic infrastructure** in poor urban communities.
- **Community-led resilience initiatives that prevent and respond to disaster and conflict resolution need to be up-scaled**. Evidence shows that community involvement in disaster reconstruction is most efficient, cost-effective and sustainable.

On meeting Africa's special needs, we support:

- Unconditional 100% debt cancellation for countries struggling to get out of extreme poverty.

- Increase in scope for fair trade relations for African countries to participate in the Global Economy.
- Augmentation in quality and quantity of development aid to Africa.
- Action to facilitate participation of local grassroots communities in the African led initiatives including NEPAD and others within the framework of African Union,

We therefore call upon all stakeholders, especially the United Nations, its member states and other multi-lateral organizations to take forward our recommendations and pave the way for greater involvement of communities in creating a global world of peace, harmony and dignity.

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For more information on the Community Commons, and to view the Community Declaration, please visit: <http://www.undp.org/equatorinitiative/>

Poverty and biodiversity conservation

Bob Fisher

Abstract. There has been a great deal of discussion recently in conservation fields about the relationships between biodiversity conservation, livelihoods and poverty reduction and specifically about whether poverty reduction should be an objective of conservation. This paper argues against attempts to make simplistic and universally-

valid causal generalisations about relationships between poverty and conservation (such as “population pressure and poverty lead to environmental degradation”). Changes to institutional arrangements can often lead to completely different poverty reduction and conservation outcomes from those expected and previously obtained in specific contexts. There is an ethical responsibility to address poverty when conservation activities themselves contribute to increased poverty, but this is a minimum standard. Beyond this, activities should build on synergies when they do exist and should adopt a creative strategy approach towards new opportunities.

The relationships between biodiversity conservation, livelihoods and poverty reduction are a major topic of discussion in contemporary conservation. Discussion revolves around a number of themes including whether conservation can or should try to contribute to poverty reduction and to what extent it can contribute. The increasing presence of poverty on the conservation agenda has partly developed as a result of concerns within the conservation movement about the need to take more account of poverty for ethical reasons, practical reasons, or for both. It is also partly a result of the fact that donor agencies have become less interested in funding conservation unless it can be clearly linked with poverty reduction, which is high on the contemporary international aid agenda.

Concern with the links between poverty and conservation is not, of course, new in itself. Various approaches to linking human needs with conservation have been evident for many years, especially in the form of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). However, the intensity of the debate is something of a recent development, particularly evident in two recent international conservation congresses: the IUCN Vth World Parks Congress “Benefits Beyond Boundaries” (Durban, 8-17 September 2003) and the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress “People and Nature – Only One World” (Bangkok, 17-25 November 2004).

The key issues of debate can conveniently be grouped under two broad areas: (1) debates about whether biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction objectives can be realistically dealt with jointly without sacrificing one or the other; and (2) debates about whether there is an ethical imperative for conservation to address poverty issues.

This paper will give a brief overview of various aspects of the debate. It will go on to suggest that, while the sometimes alleged synergies between conservation and “development” are often overestimated, there is often nothing essentially contradictory or synergistic about the relationships. Rather, there are mediating (or transforming) structures which can often alter causal relationships. Too much emphasis has been placed on finding essential causal connections (such as “poverty causes loss of biodiversity” or “conservation is only possible if local peoples’ needs are met”) rather than trying to alter contextual and institutional factors that can change outcomes.

Pragmatic and ethical arguments for and against linking poverty reduction and conservation

The pragmatic argument in favour of conservation addressing the development or poverty reduction needs of people generally assumes that the exploitative use of biodiversity by poor people leads to degradation

of biodiversity and that stopping this degradation requires providing incentives or alternatives to change this behaviour. It is sometimes asserted that getting people involved in conservation and meeting their needs is essential to achieving conservation outcomes.

Although the integrated approach has become entrenched in the policies of many conservation agencies (sometimes more in rhetoric than in practice), some conservationists have always rejected the approach. One particularly strong critic is John Oates¹ who argues that attempts to base conservation on an integrated approach are leading to the failure of conservation strategies and that attempts to address conservation through economic development are essentially flawed. He argues that there are cases where conservation has worked without attempting to meet local needs. Dan Brockington, an anthropologist, agrees that conservation is possible without meeting the needs of the poor, but only if coercive approaches are used and if local people are further disadvantaged.² It could be argued that, while coercive conservation might be possible in the short term, the long term costs, both financial and political, are likely to be so great that biodiversity conservation could only be maintained if the needs of the local poor are met. This argument does not assume that win-win outcomes for conservation and development are always possible, but rather that trade-offs will lead to better outcomes than are otherwise likely. Further, it does not assume that poverty reduction will necessarily involve sustainable consumptive use in every case, but rather that the costs of conservation to local people must be covered by the provision of genuine (rather than token) alternatives and choices.

This brings us more explicitly to the ethical argument for conservation addressing poverty. It is sometimes argued that conservation must address poverty simply because it is a serious human issue. Some conservationists respond that poverty reduction is important, but that conservation should not be expected to address an issue that world governments have been unable to solve and which themselves have often caused or contributed to by "bad policy". This is a legitimate observation, but it does miss the point that nobody has argued that conservation is solely responsible for addressing poverty, but rather that it should contribute when it can. Further, it ignores the suggestion that there is an ethical responsibility to address poverty when it results directly from conservation activities (as in the case of exclusion of people from protected areas).

Opportunism and creativity

The above discussion is not an attempt to resolve the practical or ethical issues, but rather to summarise some of the debates. A recent IUCN book³ *Poverty and Conservation: Landscapes, People and Power* argues that conservation does involve an ethical responsibility to address poverty when conservation activities themselves contribute to increased poverty, but this is a minimum standard. The book argues that activities should build on synergies when they do exist and suggests that synergies can sometimes be created. The suggested strategy is to be both opportunistic and creative.

Too much of the debate about poverty and conservation has revolved around the alleged causal connections between poverty and conservation: poverty is alleged to cause degradation of biodiversity; elsewhere, dependence of the poor on natural biodiversity is claimed to be a cause of conservation-oriented

behaviour; development activities are claimed to provide incentives for reduced exploitation of biodiversity; elsewhere development activities around protected areas are claimed to create increased pressure by attracting immigration with resultant increase in pressure.

All of these claims may be true in certain cases, but none of them is universally or necessarily true and attempts to resolve them as general propositions are pointless. The causes operate in quite specific contexts (including economic contexts) and are mediated by policies, laws and other institutional factors, which may lead to similar initial conditions having quite different results. The DFID livelihoods framework talks about “transforming structures and processes” which convert contexts and various types of capital (natural, financial, physical, human, social) into different livelihood systems.⁴

In Shinyanga, Tanzania, in an area where forest cover had been very severely reduced as a result of land clearing (largely resulting from well-intentioned but inappropriate government policies) a government project began to encourage local people to re-establish traditional forest enclosures called *ngitils* with the result that as between 300,000 and 500,000 ha of forest was restored, along with significant improvements in biodiversity and an estimated income of USD 1,000 per family per year.⁵ The changes required minimal investment and were largely the result of policy changes which allowed people to keep the production from communal and individual *ngitili*. Despite population increases, there was no necessary causal connection between population pressure and human use and deforestation. Under one set of policies the results were deforestation and increased poverty; under another

set the results were poverty reduction and improved biodiversity. (The biodiversity outcomes are not perfect, but they are immensely better than under the earlier policies or any realistic alternative management regime.) Local people were not motivated by biodiversity conservation per se. Their interest was in the availability of a diverse range of products for use and sale. This happened to be consistent with biodiversity conservation.

In the case of the IUCN Non Timber Forest Products Project in the Lao PDR, building of social capital in the form of a village level marketing group greatly increased the villagers’ share of income available from bitter bamboo. The establishment of a rice bank contributed to food security, which, although “only related indirectly to NTFP conservation... built trust in the conservation project, freed up villagers’ time for conservation activities, and reduced the threat of over-harvesting in the forest.”⁶

What is clear in both these cases is that there is no magic bullet, no formula which will apply everywhere, but creative solutions can sometimes (perhaps often) be found in each specific case.

Strategic directions

There are a few strategic directions that can help to make efforts to combine conservation and poverty reduction more effective.

1. Disaggregate the category “poor”. People are poor for different reasons and in different ways in different situations. In Attapeu in Laos, for example, food security is often seen as being essentially an issue of the availability of rice. However this ignores the fact that rural livelihoods depend very heavily on aquatic resources from ponds and other freshwater sources for food security.⁷ Policies that ignore these aquatic re-

sources and focus on promoting improved rice production fail to impact on food security and also ignore the value of conservation to food security.

2. Look for mediating institutional factors that may change the relationships between causes and effects.
3. Consider that both environmental and poverty problems are often caused at physically remote locations or at institutional levels beyond the local. There is little point in expecting site level projects to solve problems when the causes are elsewhere. Working at multiple scales and multiple institutional levels is often essential.
4. Use landscape-level solutions as well as or instead of site-based solutions. Seek ways to meet objectives in different parts of the wider landscape rather than trying to address them all in a single site, such as a protected area.

Conclusions

While the connections between poverty and biodiversity loss are complex and cannot be reduced to universal causal propositions, there are many cases where synergies can be used or created. In the sense that poor people often depend on diverse natural resources, conservation is essential to rural livelihoods and to livelihood security and it does provide real opportunities for poverty reduction. On the other hand, addressing livelihood and poverty is-

sues will often lead to better conservation outcomes than could be expected under other realistic scenarios. There is no necessary universal synergy, but there are good reasons for trying to create new synergies.



Picture 1. Women selling wood collected from their *ngitili* of Shinyanga (Tanzania). (Courtesy Ed Barrow)

Notes

- 1 Oates, 1999.
- 2 Brockington, 2003.
- 3 Fisher *et al.*, 2005.
- 4 Chambers and Conway, 1992.
- 5 Barrow and Mlengi, 2005.
- 6 Morris and Ketpanh, 2005, p 74.
- 7 Fisher *et al.* op cit

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Pro-poor conservation: the elusive win-win for conservation and poverty reduction?

Dilys Roe and Joanna Elliott

Abstract. Biodiversity plays a major and very often critical role in the livelihoods of a high proportion of the world's population. And yet, development agencies have often undervalued the potential role that biodiversity conservation can play in poverty reduction, while conservation organisations have generally viewed poverty concerns as outside their core business. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) recently conducted an examination of the linkages between wildlife and poverty and reviewed the scope for reducing poverty through wildlife-based interventions. Four themes are addressed: community based wildlife management, pro-poor wildlife tourism, sustainable 'bushmeat'¹ management and pro-poor conservation. This paper summarises the key findings of that study and then explores in depth one of the ways forward identified by the study - "pro-poor conservation" - and the issues and challenges it raises.

Linking conservation and poverty reduction

Conservation and poverty reduction— a growing divide?

Biodiversity plays a major and very often critical role in the livelihoods of a high proportion of the world's population: 1.6 billion people rely on forest resources for all or part of their livelihoods² while 150 million poor people count wildlife as a valuable livelihood asset.³ It is an unfortunate fact however, that some traditional approaches to conservation have exacerbated poverty.⁴ In particular, the protected area approach, while generating significant social, economic and environmental benefits at the national and international level, has in many cases had a negative impact on the food security, livelihoods and cultures of local people.⁵ Designation of many protected areas has been associated with forced displacement and loss of access to natural resources for the people living in and around them, with no or inadequate compensation.⁶ Moreover, conservation activities have, in the large part, reflected Northern priorities

towards rare or endangered species and habitats rather than species that are valued by local people for food, medicines or cultural significance. Local values remain poorly documented and represented in the global political arena.⁷

The growing realisation of the limitations of state-run protected areas, the need to maintain 'connectivity' and corridors between protected areas, and the need to address local peoples' concerns and aspirations brought about a shift in international conservation policy during the 1980s and 90s towards community-based conservation. However, in recent years the conservation literature has documented a growing criticism of this approach and advocated a return to more traditional, protectionist approaches.⁸ It is clear that neither the protectionist approach, driven by global conservation values, nor the community-based approach, with its focus on local rights, is without its limitations – and its merits. Yet, two potentially useful tools for conservation are increasingly being presented in

terms of an ideology in which human rights are pitted against the rights of nature. Nature “loses out” when humans “win” and there are “pro-nature” and “pro-people” camps. More broadly, development agencies have often undervalued the potential role that biodiversity conservation can play in poverty reduction – as evidenced by the decreasing emphasis on environment in the project portfolios of many donors



Picture 1. Oyster fishermen in Konkouati-Douli National Park (Congo Brazzaville). (Courtesy Christian Chatelain)

and its limited integration into national poverty reduction strategies.⁹ On the other hand conservation organisations have generally viewed poverty concerns as outside their core business.

2. Why link conservation and poverty reduction?

There are both practical and moral arguments for addressing the conservation-development divide:

- **Investing in conservation can contribute to poverty reduction:** Biodiversity provides a wide range of *goods* (food, fuel, fodder, medicines, building materials etc) and *services* (watersheds, carbon sequestration,

soil fertility, spiritual and cultural well-being etc) as well as opportunities for income generation through *jobs* and small *enterprises* (e.g., in forestry, tourism, wildlife trade, traditional medicines and so on). Moreover, numerous studies have found that it is often the poorest people and households that are most dependent on these resources.¹⁰ Of the 1.2 billion people estimated to live on less than \$1/day, 70 per cent live in rural areas with a high dependence on natural resources for all or part of their livelihoods.¹¹ This means that the impacts arising from the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services fall most heavily upon them. The critical role of biodiversity was recognised at the World Summit on Sustainable Development and conservation is prioritised within the WSSD Plan of Implementation. However, while it is agreed that resource conservation is critical to poverty reduction, *how* that happens and *what* is conserved requires a complex set of trade-offs.

- **Addressing poverty concerns can result in increased support for conservation:** Poverty is multi-dimensional and includes a lack of power and rights as well as physical assets. While the close dependence of poor people on biodiversity brings with it a theoretically strong incentive to conserve natural resources, weak access and tenure rights of many poor people mean there is a strong potential for local over-exploitation.
- **Poverty reduction is an international imperative.** The United Nations Millennium Development Goals include a clear target of halving the number of people (currently 1.2 billion - or one-fifth of the world's population) living in absolute poverty by the year 2015. Achieving this target

requires concerted action by all sectors of society. Given the role that biodiversity plays in supporting the livelihoods of millions of poor people, the conservation community has a particular potential to contribute to this international goal.

3. *Scope of this paper*

In 2002, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) conducted an examination of the linkages between wildlife and poverty and reviewed the scope for reducing poverty through wildlife-based interventions. This paper summarises the key findings of that study and then explores in depth one of the ways forward identified by the study - "pro-poor conservation" - and the issues and challenges it raises.

Findings from the DFID Wildlife and Poverty Study

1. *What is the known extent of wildlife-poverty linkages?*

A significant number of poor people - as many as 150 million (one-eighth of the world's poorest) - depend on wildlife for livelihood and food security.¹²

We call upon all stakeholders to pave the way for greater involvement of communities in creating a global world of peace, harmony and dignity.

Poor people in remote, marginal or forested areas have limited livelihood opportunities. For many, a significant proportion of their food, medicines, fuel and building materials

is hunted or collected from the wild, particularly in times of stress, such as drought. This will continue to be the case even for those whose aspirations lie in creating and accessing opportunities to reduce their dependence on wild resources.

Poor people use wild resources to build and diversify their livelihoods, whether through trading (e.g. honey), supplying inputs (e.g. handicrafts to the tourism industry), or formal and informal employment (e.g. in the tourism industry). Wild resources are often key to local cultural values and tradition and contribute to local and wider environmental sustainability. But poor people also bear the brunt of the costs of living with wildlife, particularly in terms of threat to lives and livelihoods (e.g. through crop destruction, disease risks and livestock predation). Conservation initiatives, in delivering the "international public good" value of wildlife, also often come at the expense of poor peoples' livelihoods; both directly in terms of unfair distribution of net benefit flow from conservation and indirectly from the opportunity cost of land uses foregone.

The DFID study identifies four major challenges for those aiming to bring about both poverty reduction and sustainable wildlife use. These are to:

- ensure that the poor, as compared with government and the private sector, capture a fair share of the economic and livelihood benefits of wildlife, particularly those from tourism;
- ensure that where poor people depend on wild resources, these are not overexploited at the local level, given that wildlife is a common pool resource and requires collective action to ensure its sustainable management;
- address the role of wildlife as an international public good, where the challenges are to ensure that the costs of supplying wildlife as an international public good are not borne excessively by the poor, that it is not under-emphasised at national policy

level, and that the supranational governance and funding mechanisms are in place to ensure that it is not 'under-supplied';

- enable effective collective action, recognising that the creation of new civil society structures to enable effective collective management tends to be expensive, time consuming and difficult.

The DFID study explores the scope for wildlife-based approaches to contribute to poverty reduction through four themes:

- Pro-poor wildlife tourism,
- Community based wildlife management,
- Sustainable 'bushmeat' management, and
- Pro-poor conservation.

The lack of quantitative data makes it hard to estimate the scale of poverty impact through each of these four themes. From the findings, it is unlikely that the scale of potential impact would make wildlife-based interventions in general a priority over, say, those to support agriculture-based livelihoods. However, the scale of actual and potential impact is likely to be high enough to warrant intervention for specific groups of poor people, notably forest dwellers; people living adjacent to protected areas; those in remote wildlife-rich areas; and those in high tourism potential countries. The fact that wildlife is intimately linked into the livelihoods of millions of poor people, and that the potential for using wildlife-related approaches to enhance livelihoods appears to exist, should be reason enough to ensure that key policy processes, including participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) and poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), take wildlife into account.

2. Pro-poor wildlife tourism

Currently the scope for wildlife-based poverty reduction through growth and local economic development is underestimated. Donors and policy makers tend to assume that the only development option for the poor is to move as rapidly as possible away from dependence on wild resources. As wildlife scarcity increases globally, so the intrinsic and commercial value of remaining reserves increases, thus increasing the opportunities for the poor to build viable wildlife-based livelihood strategies.

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, and tourism in developing countries is growing twice as fast as that in the rest of the world.¹³ Wildlife tourism presents a major source of future comparative advantage for some poor countries, including many in southern and eastern Africa. However, with the exception of community-based tourism, the bulk of tourism still marginalises poor people. The challenge is to test and apply mechanisms for increasing the share of the poor in tourism value added through 'pro-poor tourism', particularly in terms of creating the incentives and opportunities for improved private sector participation contribution to poverty reduction.¹⁴ These approaches are fairly new, but the evidence to date indicates that they may offer significant potential for impact on poverty, and should be supported.¹⁵

Wildlife tourism presents a major source of future comparative advantage for some poor countries, including many in southern and eastern Africa.

Tourism also offers important insights into opportunities for increasing private sector contributions to poverty reduction.¹⁶ Voluntary codes of conduct, social labelling schemes and certification are

being pursued by tourism associations in several developing countries while the international tourism bodies and other stakeholders discuss the scope for improving international frameworks and standards for improved corporate responsibility in the tourism sector.

3. Community-Based Wildlife Management

The livelihood impact of many Community-Based Wildlife Management (CBWM) initiatives has been disappointing, particularly in terms of delivering economic benefits to the household level. One of the reasons for this is the fact that many CBWM initiatives have been led or funded by organizations primarily in pursuit of conservation objectives. There is evidence,

Wildlife tourism presents a major source of future comparative advantage for some poor countries, including many in southern and eastern Africa.

however, that CBWM has brought significant employment and income generating opportunities to some remote communities, notably

through wildlife tourism, for example at household level in Namibia and at district level in Zimbabwe.¹⁷ Evidence also shows that CBWM initiatives have delivered significant empowerment and governance impacts and improved well-being – communities place a high value on having control over their wildlife resources.¹⁸ By contrast there are few examples of successful community-based bushmeat management initiatives.

CBWM faces significant constraints, including high barriers to entry for communities and high transaction costs for donors. The extent to which development-led CBWM, designed to deliver livelihood benefits at household level, can help trigger broader rural develop-

ment, particularly for the remote poor, is not yet clear.¹⁹ This warrants further investigation, and is the subject of recent DFID-funded work in Namibia and Tanzania.

4. Sustainable 'bushmeat' management

The steady decline in wildlife populations appears to be increasing the vulnerability of poor people. Dependence on bushmeat increases in times of stress, such as famine, drought and economic hardship, and the declining availability of wild foods is increasing poor peoples' vulnerability to stress. Where wildlife is declining or access to wildlife is denied, poor people adapt, but often at a cost to their livelihoods in terms of reduced income, fewer livelihood diversification opportunities and increased vulnerability. Decline in access to wildlife resources is often associated with a decline in poor people's access to forest resources generally, and is often an indicator of additional stress.

The informal, and often illegal, nature of bushmeat harvesting and consumption means that the scale of the problem is neither understood at national level nor fed into the relevant policy processes. Bushmeat research has tended to approach the issues from

a perspective of species conservation rather than the needs of poor people. Research tends to be better at estimating levels of destruction of wildlife (such as the often-published figure of between

...effective tackling of the bushmeat trade requires a concerted attack on the root causes of illegal logging and bushmeat harvesting, i.e. corruption, weak governance and poverty.

one and five million tonnes of bushmeat harvested each year from the Congo Basin), than assessing the role

of the trade on the livelihoods of poor people.²⁰ Little is known of the relative importance of bushmeat as a livelihood strategy as compared with crops and livestock, both of which are known to be vital to the majority of the rural poor. Better understanding of the role that bushmeat plays in nutrition, food security and income is needed. Finally the impact of declining bushmeat supplies on poor people's livelihoods and the effectiveness of their coping strategies, such as substitution with alternative sources of protein, including fish where available, need to be assessed, as little is currently known.

From the evidence available, the bushmeat trade in West and Central Africa is best tackled by putting the policy and legislative framework into place to encourage responsible logging in production forests and community-based responses where appropriate. Where communities have the right to manage their own forest and wildlife resources, and are able to exclude outside hunters, within a context that encourages and enables them towards sustainable utilisation, experience suggests there is a win-win solution for wildlife and poverty reduction. However, where there is growing poverty, conflict, high mobility of human populations, weak tenure and an unstable political environment, the scope for successful intervention is low. But, above all, effective tackling of the bushmeat trade requires a concerted attack on the root causes of illegal logging and bushmeat harvesting i.e. corruption, weak governance and poverty.

5. Pro-poor conservation

Wildlife is an international public good. As a result, significant funds and effort are invested in conserving wildlife for its existence value. Yet, international public goods ought to genuinely benefit

all – including developing countries. The conservation of wildlife to preserve its existence or option values places considerable costs on poor people in rural areas of developing countries, where much of the world's biodiversity is located. It is important to ensure that poor people are able to access and benefit from wild resources; both to encourage sustainable use and to ensure wildlife-human conflict is contained. The rationale of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) acknowledges that the protection of wild resources as a international public good often places burdens on developing countries and their poorer citizens, who have to restrict their own development and livelihood options accordingly.



Picture 2. Gathering passion fruits in Uganda's forests. (Courtesy Purna Chhetri)

The DFID study highlights the need to ensure that poverty issues are integrated into the work of the leading conservation agencies to ensure "pro-poor conservation". The World Bank has built up a portfolio of conservation projects worth about \$2 billion over the past decade. The GEF has a portfolio of more than 400 biodiversity projects in 140 countries worth a total \$5.4 billion and is now embarking on a two-year assessment of the 'human

impacts' of this portfolio. The leading conservation NGOs spend tens of millions of dollars on conservation initiatives in developing countries each year. The DFID study concludes that the degree to which poverty issues have been mainstreamed and monitored within conservation institutions varies greatly, but is disappointingly low on average.

Why pro-poor conservation?

Pro-poor²¹ conservation rests on the often overlooked fact that conservation can be as important a tool for poverty reduction as it is for protecting endangered species and critical habitats. The case of 'bushmeat' is a good example. The over-harvesting of wild species, especially in tropical forests, is presented as a "crisis" by many conservation organisations because of the impact on endangered species, particularly primates. But this ignores the fact that a crisis is also looming in terms of local food security. If hunting for bushmeat is not managed in a sustainable way local people will be severely

Pro-poor conservation rests on the often overlooked fact that conservation can be as important a tool for poverty reduction as it is for protecting endangered species and critical habitats

affected. In this case, conservation of bushmeat species can both ensure the continued survival of those species and, at the same time, provide a continued source of local protein. Indeed, in many poor countries opportunities exist for wildlife to make a long-term contribution to national

and local development goals – through tourism (both inside and outside protected areas), wildlife trade, hunting and so on. These opportunities provide strong incentives for conservation but will be wasted unless they are seen to be fair to the poor.

- Pro-poor conservation is thus about **"harnessing" conservation in order to deliver on poverty reduction and social justice objectives.** Pro-poor conservation can thus be defined in a number of ways:
 - by **outcomes**: conservation that delivers net benefits to poor people;
 - by **process**: a progressive change in practice of conservation organisations – from using poverty reduction as a tool for better conservation through to using conservation in order to deliver on poverty reduction;
 - by **actions**: conservation strategies that are explicitly designed to address the challenge of poverty reduction and development strategies that recognise the role of biodiversity conservation;
 - by **drivers**: conservation that puts poor people and their priorities at the centre of decision-making.

Pro-poor conservation can clearly take a number of different forms and encompasses a spectrum of approaches that are summarised in Figure 1:

- **Community-based conservation** can deliver on poverty reduction objectives but it requires strong institutions, equitable benefit sharing mechanisms, government recognition and, in many cases, effective partnerships with the private sector for wildlife based enterprises.
- **Integrated conservation and development projects** with their dual objectives would appear to be

the ideal way forward but many have focussed on promoting "alternative" livelihoods as a diversion from wild-life use rather than using conservation in order to deliver development objectives. There is therefore a need to focus on the "I" in ICDP.

- **Direct payments** such as conservation concessions can be pro-poor as long as:
 - Social impact assessments and stakeholder analysis are carried out to ensure that the payments go to those who bear the costs – particularly challenging in the absence of clear property rights for poor people.
 - Payments are sufficient to cover the full cost of conservation (including opportunity costs).
 - Contracts are transparent and renegotiable and reflect the need for short-term flexibility to achieve sustainable livelihoods.
- **Traditional protected areas** also have pro-poor potential, particularly as cornerstones in the realisation of national comparative advantage in wildlife tourism in high tourism potential countries of southern and eastern Africa, but:
 - Their establishment must be based on the prior informed consent of indigenous peoples and local communities.
 - Thorough impact assessments must be undertaken with the full participation of indigenous people and local communities to identify potential negative impacts and provision made for full and fair compensation or mitigation where appropriate.
 - Marginalised groups – e.g., nomadic pastoralists, indigenous people
 - must be given recognition as well as those who are more powerful.
 - Mechanisms for including local values, based on utility, as well as


global values, based on intrinsic worth, are needed in determining conservation priorities

- Equitable sharing of rights, responsibilities, costs and benefits is required between all relevant actors – this implies mechanisms for enhancing North-South financial flows, balancing customary and formal norms and institutions and recognising historic tenure rights.

Conclusion: pro-poor conservation in practice

Pro-poor conservation is not an ideology. It is a pragmatic and moral way forward, centred on what has been learned from two decades of CBNRM and rooted in the new clear development focus on poverty reduction and the other Millennium Development Goals. Some conservation organisations have already begun to respond to this challenge. WWF-UK for example has a partnership agreement with DFID to, *inter alia*, mainstream poverty issues into its activities. IUCN is undergoing an internal scoping exercise to investigate how it might increase the poverty impact of its work. In 2003, a significant step forward was taken by the international conservation community: the IUCN World Parks Congress highlighted the need to address local people's concerns in international and national conservation policy producing a suite of recommendations on protected areas and poverty reduction, indigenous peoples, community conserved areas and governance. In 2004, the Conference of Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity agreed a programme of work on protected areas that includes a significant focus on governance, participation, equity and benefit sharing while poverty-conservation links were a major theme of IUCN World Conservation Congress.

Table 1. A Typology of Pro-Poor Conservation

	Approach	Description	Examples
	Poverty reduction as a tool for conservation	Recognition that poverty issues need to be addressed in order to deliver on conservation objectives. Poverty is a constraint to conservation.	Alternative income generating projects; many integrated conservation and development projects; many community-based conservation approaches
	Conservation that "does no harm" to poor people	Conservation agencies recognise that conservation can have negative impacts on the poor and seek to provide full compensation where these occur and/or to mitigate their effects	Social impact assessments prior to protected area designations; compensation for wildlife damage; provision of <i>locally acceptable</i> alternatives when access to resources (water, grazing, fuelwood etc) lost or reduced or compensation for opportunity cost of land foregone.
	Conservation that generates benefits for poor people	Conservation still seen as the overall objective but designed so that benefits for poor people are generated	Revenue sharing schemes around protected areas; employment of local people in conservation jobs; community conserved areas
	Conservation as a tool for poverty reduction	Poverty reduction and social justice issues are the overall objectives. Conservation is seen as a tool to deliver on these objectives.	Value of wildlife reflected in national poverty reduction strategies; wildlife based enterprise; pro-poor wildlife tourism

Some development organisations are also recognising the value of conservation as a mechanism to deliver on development objectives. Care International, for example, has a programme of activities on integrated conservation and development while UNDP launched the Equator Initiative in 2002 in order to raise awareness of initiatives that were successful in achieving the two goals of biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction.

Some initiatives that use conservation to deliver on poverty reduction have been in existence for many years – although not explicitly labelled as pro-poor conservation. The well-known CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe was established in order to deliver local economic development through wildlife conservation and in Ecuador, the Cofan Ecotourism initiative is a good example of pro-poor tourism. Many protected areas also exist – including community conserved areas,

sustainable development reserves and biosphere reserves - that generate net benefits for poor people through sustainable use and tourism.

To date, however, these disparate experiences have not been analysed through a pro-poor lens and synthesised to allow assessment of the breadth of experience. This analysis is urgently needed in order to re-view the lessons learned and to evaluate the implications for other forms of conservation – such as landscape level approaches – and the potential for transferability to other contexts. Can institutions really pursue the dual goals of conservation and poverty

...development organisations still need to be convinced of the value of biodiversity, while conservation organisations need to strengthen socio-economic objectives and to address the challenge of alternative approaches to large-scale land acquisition.

reduction - or are they just examples of internal divisions and conflicting priorities? Overall it would appear that development organisations still need to be convinced of the value of biodiversity while conservation organisations need to strengthen socio-economic objectives and to address the challenge of alternative approaches to large-scale land acquisition. Moreover far greater understanding is required of the linkages between conservation and poverty reduction and the mechanism for measuring and monitoring progress.

Maximising the pro-poor impact of wildlife conservation therefore requires attention to a number of **key issues**:

- How do different conservation narratives become dominant paradigms? What are the **channels of influence**, changing assumptions and lessons learned; what are the current politics and **constraints to institutional progress**?
- How can global biodiversity values (rare species and habitats) be reconciled with local values (useful species that provide food, medicine, materials and so on)? What **trade-offs** are required and under what circumstances can intrinsic and utility values be integrated?
- How coherent are national and local policies dealing with conservation and development? Has the **comparative advantage of wildlife-rich countries** been recognised in poverty reduction strategies?
- What are the policy and institutional requirements to **scale up** local level success stories, allow for **innovation** and move on from the context specific?
- How can the trend towards **increasing private sector involvement** in

conservation be used for the benefit of poor people – e.g., through private sector-community partnerships?

- How can the **benefits to poor people** from the sustainable use of wildlife be **enhanced** (e.g., through pro-poor wildlife trade chains)?
- What **strategies** can be employed in **different approaches** to conservation to maximise pro-poor impacts?

What are the **risks** of not addressing poverty concerns?

“Much conservation money is still invested with only limited consideration of poverty and livelihoods concerns, despite a growing consensus that poverty and weak governance are two of the most significant underlying threats to conservation.”

We do not suggest we have the answers. However, as the DFID Wildlife and Poverty study notes: “Much conservation money is still invested with only

limited consideration of poverty and livelihoods concerns, despite a growing consensus that poverty and weak governance are two of the most significant underlying threats to conservation”. Addressing poverty concerns is clearly key to achieving conservation success – not an optional extra.

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Notes

- 1 “Bushmeat” is meat from wild animals.

- 2 Mayers and Vermeulen, 2002.
- 3 DFID, 2002.
- 4 E.g., see McShane, 2003.
- 5 Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997.
- 6 Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003.
- 7 Vermeulen and Koziell, 2002.
- 8 E.g., see Spinage 1998; Terborgh, 1999.
- 9 E.g., see Bojo and Reddy, 2002.
- 10 E.g., see Prescott-Allen and Prescott-Allen, 1982; Scoones, Melnyk and Pretty 1992; Nasi and Cunningham, 2001.
- 11 DFID, 2002.
- 12 Evidence reviewed by the DFID study indicates significant dependence of poor people on wildlife for livelihood and food security. This is not surprising given that, of the estimated 1.2 billion people who live on less than the equivalent of one dollar a day, about 250 million live in agriculturally marginal areas, and a further 350 million live in or near forests, of whom an estimated 60 million are indigenous people living in forests (World Bank, 2001). The DFID study estimates that as many as 150 million poor people (one-eighth of the world poorest) perceive wildlife to be an important livelihood asset.
- 13 WTTC, 1999.
- 14 Goodwin *et al.*, 1998 ; Ashley *et al.*, 2001.
- 15 See for example work by the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership on www.propoortourism.org.uk
- 16 E.g., Ashley and Wolmer, 2002,
- 17 Hulme and Murphree, 2001.
- 18 Roe *et al.*, 2000.
- 19 Long, 2001.
- 20 Bowen Jones *et al.*, 2001.
- 21 The term “pro-poor” is one that is used in a variety of contexts and has, in some cases, caused much controversy and misunderstanding. We use it here simply to emphasise an approach that is locally driven, people-centred and rooted in goals of improved local livelihoods.

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Action towards effective people-centred conservation: six ways forward

Sonja Vermeulen

Abstract. International agencies are committed to conservation and development that shares costs, benefits and decision-making powers more equitably. People-centred conservation does not mean that poverty reduction or local development priorities should always override other social goals, but does mean that we need to work on practical solutions to reconcile conservation and development at local and global levels. This paper presents six areas where useful progress can be made:

- interrogation of “public good” notions of biodiversity value versus other views of nature;
- greater rigour in seeking local values and priorities;
- clarification of what “participation” is for;
- acknowledgement and tackling of power differences among stakeholders;
- recognition of synergies (not just clashes) between local and international conservation priorities; and
- development of legitimate frameworks for negotiation.

A new ascendancy for local priorities in conservation?

“People-centred conservation” is now – after decades of dispute – firmly at the centre of international environmental policy discourse. The 2003 World Parks Congress put forward the overarching principles that “Biodiversity should be conserved both for its value as a local livelihoods resource and as a national and global public good” and that “Equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of protected areas should be ensured at local, national and global levels”.¹ The Convention on Biological Diversity similarly calls for equitable benefit sharing, and has as its core mechanism the holistic “Ecosystem Approach”, which draws on multiple interest groups within society and relies on local management institutions as far as possible. Bilateral donors and finance agencies (OECD, World Bank, IMF, ADB) have jointly committed over the last decade to target development

spending towards reduction of poverty.² The first message from these international processes is that conservation must work for poverty alleviation. Allied to this is a second supporting message that being poor means more than lacking income: poverty has many facets and can be tackled through investments along a variety of routed towards development, particularly in healthcare and education. The range of targets and indicators of the MDGs reflect this broad understanding of poverty. Importantly, multi-dimensional approaches to poverty reduction recognise that being poor means not just fewer goods and services, but exclusion from social decision-making – in other words, lack of power. In recognition that poverty is as much about political as economic marginalisation, international environmental policy processes call for “Strengthening mechanisms for the poor to share actively in decision making...and to be empowered as conservators in their own right”³ and for

“freedom and choice” to be understood as a central component of human well-being and poverty reduction.⁴

All of these international processes – the CBD, MDGs and PRSPs, WSSD, WPC and MEA to name some of the major acronyms – provide a forceful and widely legitimised framework for a people-centred conservation in which the viewpoints and choices of poor people are taken seriously. People-centred conservation does not mean that the agendas of poor people must override the role of conservation in other key social aspirations such as environmental sustainability. But it does mean that the trade-offs and commonalities between local goals and global goals, between goals of conservation and goals of development, need to be given greater – and more incisive – attention than has been the case in the past. The purpose of this paper is to outline some of the key areas in which progress can be made to take up the practical challenges of reconciling global and local priorities for conservation and development.

Way Forward 1: Interrogate the dominance of global public good notions of biodiversity value.

In general usage, conservation of biodiversity means sustaining total biological variety for the global public good. But neither “conservation” nor “biodiversity” has a single agreed meaning.

A useful starting point in any questions about conservation is “conservation for whom?” The current international push for poverty alleviation suggests an answer of “for poor people” – bringing in both the global public good and local priorities. Local perceptions of biodiversity and priorities for conservation and development may differ substantially from the concepts used in international dialogue. Since local people are by default the direct managers of most biodiversity, the values that underlie their choices and practices are far more relevant than usually acknowledged.

Progress can be made to take up the practical challenges of reconciling global and local priorities for conservation and development.

Local understandings of ecosystems and values attached to biological diversity are by definition specific and unique – not just to ethnic groups or communities, but to individuals within those communities. Nonetheless it is useful to generalise some of the salient features of internationally dominant values compared with the kinds of values more likely to be shared by poor rural communities – but not often made explicit (Table 1). Reconciliation between global and local priorities will require reconciliation between these contrasting sets of values.

Table 1. Contrasts between global and local biodiversity perceptions and priorities⁵

Global biodiversity values	Local biodiversity values
Indirect-use (environmental services) and non-use values (option and bequest values) are primary concerns	Direct-use values (in providing a variety of foods, medicines and other uses) as, or more, important than indirect-use and non-use
Ideal of conservation, with or without sustainable use	Ideal of sustainable use, with or without conservation benefits

Benefits of and priorities for biodiversity management are shared by humankind generally	Biodiversity values have immediate ties to people's sense of place and culture, and specific groups have specific priorities
Endemics (species that occur locally only) and other rare species given high values	Global endemics no more important than other species
Focus on genotypes (genetic information)	Focus on phenotypes (observable qualities)
Wild and agricultural diversity treated separately	No clear boundary between wild and agricultural biodiversity
Focus on biodiversity in protected areas and wilderness	Focus on biodiversity in multi-use landscapes

Way Forward 2: Seek local opinions on, and priorities for, conservation.

Some aspects of local people's relationships with biodiversity are well documented – particularly local uses of, and local knowledge of, species and ecosystems. Other aspects have received far less attention – particularly the choices, preferences or priorities that people might have for biodiversity management. Much research into local biodiversity values has depended on observation of patterns of harvesting and use, without triangulating these results through interviews, discussions or other techniques that simply ask people what they want. Consequently, a lot of what is said about the possibilities for reconciliation between global

and local priorities for conservation and development is based on scant understanding of what local priorities might be in any given locale.

The key way forward here is to build the capacity of local interest groups to express their preferences effectively – and the capacity of external agencies to listen and to ask the right questions. The existing wide literature and well developed guidance on tools for participation and inclusion are relevant here to contexts where conservation meets development.⁷ A simple checklist (Table 2) can provide an appropriate framework to enable a more holistic understanding of local biodiversity values and act as a starting point in negotiating equitable sharing

Table 2. Checklist of possible local biodiversity issues⁶

Access	Non-use values
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local land rights: legal ownership of different land types, customary ownership, distribution among communities and among/within households Local resource access rights: bye-laws, rights of access (e.g. seasonal use of privately owned fields), formal or unspoken rules on use and management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Environmental services: perceived roles in microclimate regulation, air and water purification, regulation of water flows (both floods and dry season flows), nutrient cycling, pollination, dispersal, disease control Cultural, spiritual and future option values: sacred, heritage and social values associated with nature, landscape beauty, recreation, cultural events and significance of land types and species
Knowledge	Uses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taxonomic and ecological knowledge: species names and distribution patterns; habitat classification, detailed life-cycle and ecosystem knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uses of land types: residential land, agricultural land, forest land, range land, wetlands, rivers, sea

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-biological knowledge: knowledge of threats, rights, external policies and contexts and means to influence these 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses of species and sub-species varieties: crops, livestock, wild flora and fungi, wild fauna
Risks and costs	Choices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs: opportunity costs due to land allocation, labour and other costs associated with existing and proposed biodiversity management • Risks: level of dependency on biological resources, availability of alternatives, threats to resources and to access 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preferences for land use: stated preferences among alternative land-use and development options • Preferences for biodiversity management: stated preferences for various conservation and sustainable-use management approaches, identification of opportunities and challenges

of the costs and benefits of biodiversity management.⁸ Innovative field work has now produced a number of proven tools for assessing and communicating local understandings of and priorities for biodiversity.⁹

Way Forward 3: Achieve greater clarity on the reasons for local participation.

Much of the debate around synergies and trade-offs between conservation and local development is coloured by explicit or implicit assumptions as to whether local people’s participation in decision-making is a means or an end (Table 3). Both pro-conservation and

pro-development lobbies place emphasis on win-win outcomes between conservation for the global public good and development for the local good while avoiding politically uncomfortable positions as to which of these outcomes is their primary goal. But strategies and tools for global and local priorities for conservation and development will be more likely to succeed if different stakeholders are able to state clearly their ultimate aims and preferences in given trade-off scenarios – such as situations in which local people choose short-term economic gains over longer-term conservation.

Table 3. Summary of arguments for local participation in decision-making¹⁰

<p>Justifications for local participation can be divided into two classes of rationale:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The normative / ethical rationale is that social structures and processes should reflect moral norms. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decision-making processes should be legitimate and subject to democratic control (governance argument). - Costs and benefits of extraction and management should be distributed equitably (distribution argument). • The instrumental / pragmatic rationale is that participation can decrease conflict and increase acceptance of or trust in the management process. Opportunities occur as new interest groups are positively engaged in the process. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In worst-case scenarios, shared decision-making will reduce the negative impacts of local activities (mitigation argument). • In best-case scenarios, participation by diverse groups and individuals will provide essential information and insights about risks and consideration of the social, cultural and political values that will be as important as technical considerations in determining outcomes (synergy argument).
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Local interest groups in particular can benefit from a more transparent understanding of the


Local interest groups in particular can benefit from a more transparent understanding of the goals and motives of external agencies that become involved in local biodiversity management

goals and motives of external agencies that become involved in local biodiversity management ("local knowledge" in its broad sense includes this kind of understanding of external policies

– see Table 2). One useful tool to help navigate the jargon of conservation

and development projects and policies is a typology based on the continuum from "poverty reduction as a tool for conservation" to "conservation as a tool for poverty reduction" approaches (Table 4). Making the normative rationale for local participation in biodiversity decision-making more explicit can be a useful policy tool in itself, for example by legitimising assessments of integrated conservation and development projects in terms of outcomes to "good governance" (e.g. representation, accountability) rather than simply in terms of habitat or species preservation, or immediate local economic effects.

Table 4. A typology of pro-poor conservation¹¹

Type	Components	Examples	
Use poverty reduction as a tool for conservation	Recognition that poverty issues need to be addressed in order to deliver on conservation objectives. Poverty is a constraint to conservation.	Alternative income generating projects; many integrated conservation and development projects; many community-based conservation approaches.	approach becomes increasingly active 
Compensate fully, and mitigate, negative impacts of conservation on poor people, and make policy transparent	Conservation agencies recognise that conservation can have negative impacts on the poor and seek to provide full compensation where these occur and/or mitigate their effects.	Social impact assessments prior to protected area designations; compensation for wildlife damage; provision of locally acceptable alternatives when access to resources lost or reduced; compensation for land foregone.	
Adapt conservation to generate new benefits for poor people	Conservation still seen as the overall objective but designed so that benefits for poor people are generated.	Revenue sharing schemes around protected areas or wildlife tourism enterprises; employment of local people in conservation jobs.	
Use conservation as a tool for poverty reduction	Poverty reduction and social justice issues are the overall objectives. Conservation is seen as a tool to deliver these objectives.	Conservation of medicinal plants for healthcare, wild species as food supplies, sacred groves, pro-poor wildlife tourism.	

Way Forward 4: Make power dynamics explicit and develop tools to tackle them.

Well intentioned efforts to increase local involvement in decision-making are often built on simple models of round-

table multi-stakeholder dialogue. But less powerful groups are disadvantaged within such dialogue – to the extent that it may be in their best interests to take careful tactical stands within discussions, or not to participate at all.¹²

Processes to reconcile global and local priorities for conservation and development require recognition of the power differences among stakeholder groups – to develop specific mechanisms to overcome them. Stakeholders seeking pluralism need to build it actively, through developing capacity among disadvantaged groups as well as structuring the “roundtable” to limit the dominance of the powerful.

Tools for marginalised and disempowered groups (such as local biodiversity interest groups) to increase their positive impacts on relevant policy processes exist¹³, but they are not always recognised as “tools” or shared successfully through networks. Appropriate development of capacity building will build on local strengths in a variety of areas, such as:

- Social organisation (how to get local institutions right – with legitimised and workable representation)
- Defence of local preferences and conservation practices
- Information access and management
- Negotiation techniques to engage successfully with more powerful groups
- Practical management skills in both conservation and administration

More powerful groups can use identical or equivalent tools, such as the array of effective methods for stakeholder analysis, to analyse and mitigate their own influence (of course, such tools can also be used tactically to imbalance power further).

Way Forward 5: Recognise synergies between global and local conservation values.

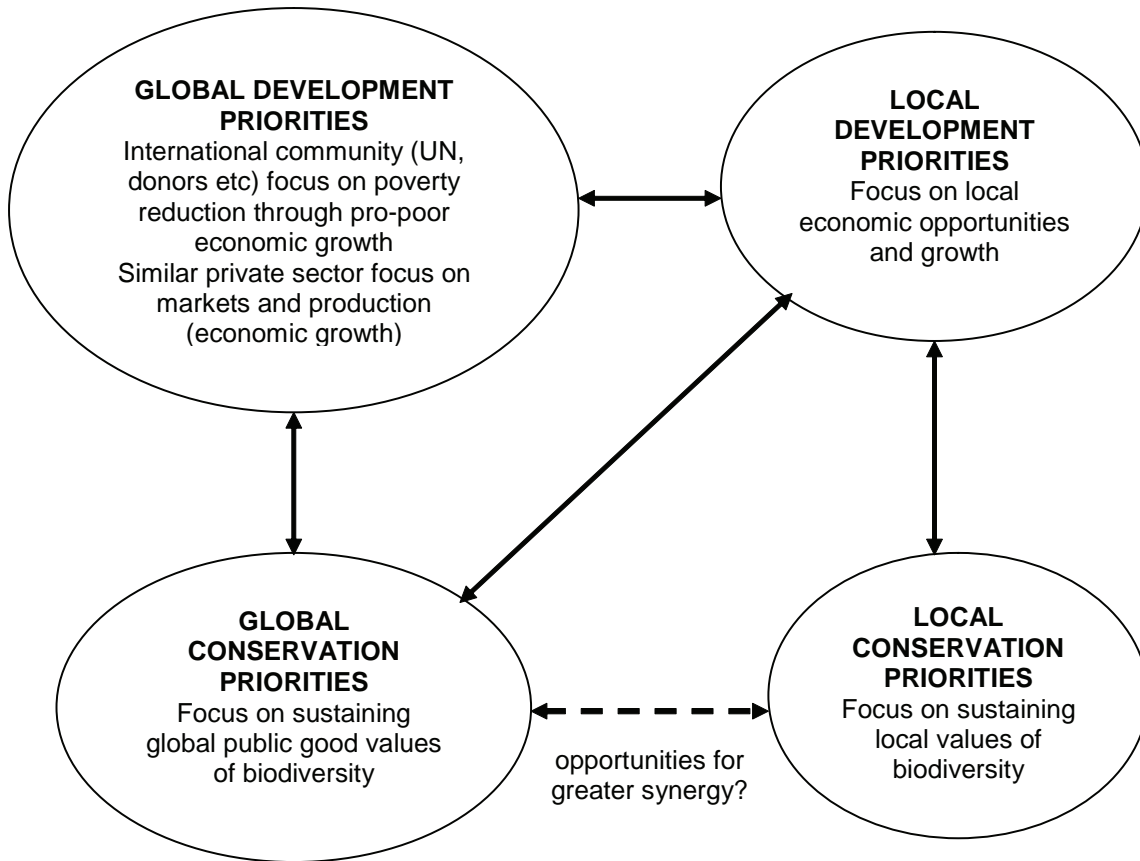
Conflicts between priorities for global conservation and local development are

the subject of constant heated debate. A promising alternative is to emphasise instead the scope for synergies between priorities for global conservation and local conservation (Diagram 1). Rather than incorporating local participation into external conservation projects, a better starting point might be to build on existing local technical and institutional strategies for resource management – to recognise local people in poor countries (not just those in wealthy countries) as an asset rather than a threat to conservation goals. Joint planning, action and monitoring between external and local partners have proved to be powerful means to reconcile differing viewpoints and develop a shared sense of purpose.¹⁴

...recognise local people in poor countries (not just those in wealthy countries) as an asset rather than a threat to conservation goals...

Partnerships between local and global conservation interests are able to unite legitimacy with policy-relevant networks to lobby for shared goals such as tackling the root causes of declining biodiversity: social inequity and global over-consumption.¹⁵ Effective global-local partnerships need to be highly tactical – avoiding broad project-driven approaches but instead making tactical alliances¹⁶ – in coalition with or opposition to other representative groups, governments or businesses. One of the main challenges for these alliances is to bring about redistribution of economic opportunities (e.g. downstream processing) and regulatory burdens (e.g. harvest or trade bans) that currently disadvantage poor communities relative to the large-scale agri-business, logging, plantation, mining or fisheries companies that are the drivers of biodiversity loss in many countries.

Diagram 1. Conservation and development priorities at global and local levels



Way Forward 6: Develop legitimate frameworks for negotiating conservation and development trade-offs.

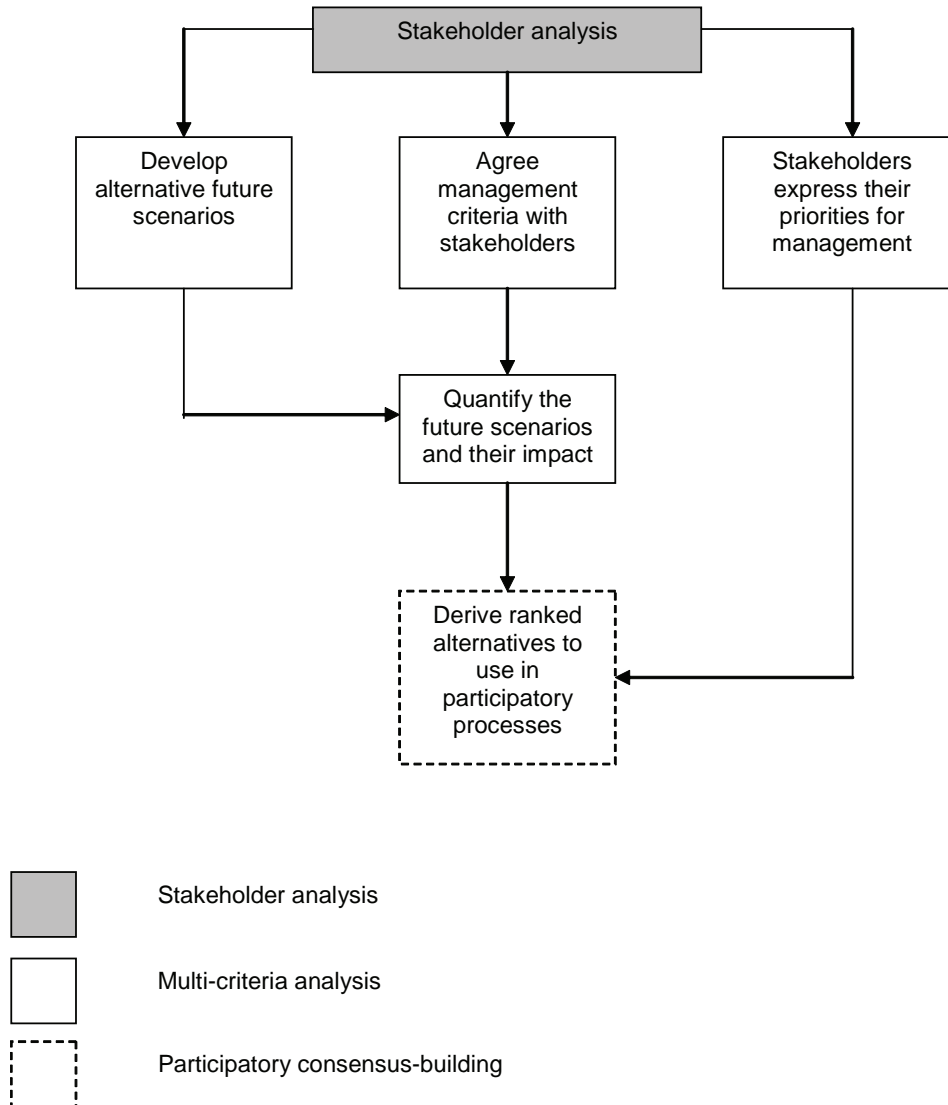
Arguments around integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) generally hinge on the promise of win-win outcomes for both global conservation priorities and local development. In reality, although synergies exist and should be maximised, trade-offs and how to negotiate them deserve more serious attention. Useful guidance comes from the coastal management sector of the Caribbean, where a formalised process for analysing and negotiating trade-offs among the conservation and development interests of various stakeholder groups has been developed successfully (Diagram 2). This multi-step process ena-

bles stakeholders to compare alternative scenarios and prioritise their own environmental, social and economic values to achieve a common quantitative language around which to agree



Picture 1. Thriving biodiversity in India. The neelgai is sacred to local people. (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)

Diagram 2. Stages in the trade-off analysis process¹⁷



compromises between conservation and development goals.

Transparent techniques like these can, if carefully facilitated, help to mitigate the power differences among interest groups. A great deal of practical advice on facilitation of conflict resolution and conflict management is now available.¹⁸ Differences in perceptions and priorities can be turned from being the problem into an asset. Where different groups have different aims and different conceptions of success, mutually agreeable outcomes are more likely. Universal

indicators, such as those used in the MDGs, and generalised value-systems, such as “good governance”, will mask variety – and as such must be used with care to avoid exacerbating conflicts.¹⁹

...tactical tools are of little value without higher-level strategies to strengthen governance, particularly at national levels

Tools, the focus of much of this paper, are not enough. Colchester (1997) notes that many conservation initiatives engage locally on “the assumption that they are dealing with local people

with legitimate rights to the ownership and control of their natural resources” – while in fact the broader frameworks that might legitimise those rights are entirely lacking. Thus tactical tools are of little value without higher-level strategies to strengthen governance, particularly at national levels. These are long-term goals: many who rally for equity in conservation decision-making would argue that solutions lie outside the “sector” in much bigger issues of how society can shape governments and markets. Commentators on conservation have made a powerful case that the true challenge in modern environmental governance is to move from “public opinion” to “public judgment”²⁰ or from “participation” to “deliberation”.²¹

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Notes

- 1 WPC, 2003.
- 2 OECD, 1996.
- 3 WPC, 2003.
- 4 MEA, 2003.
- 5 Expanded from Vermeulen and Koziell, 2002
- 6 Vermeulen, 2004.
- 7 Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997; CCC, 2003; Vermeulen, 2005.
- 8 Vermeulen, 2004.
- 9 Sheil *et al.*, 2002; Lawrence *et al.*, 2003.
- 10 Fiorino (1989) gives a related but different categorisation of rationales for public participation. He distinguishes normative (associated with what is right and wrong), substantive (associated with information needed for the decision) and instrumental (associated with achievement of other related goals) rationales.
- 11 PCWG, 2003.
- 12 Edmunds and Wollenberg, 2001.
- 13 Vermeulen, 2005.

- 14 Lawrence *et al.*, 2003; Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004.
- 15 Stedman-Edwards, 1998.
- 16 Hildyard *et al.*, 1998.
- 17 Brown *et al.*, 2002.
- 18 Potter 1996; Susskind *et al.*, 1999; Means and Josayma, 2002; Castro and Nielsen, 2003).
- 19 Roe, 2003.
- 20 Costanza, 2001.
- 21 Brown, 2003.

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Hacia el cumplimiento de los Objetivos del Milenio: conservación, biodiversidad y combate a la pobreza en América Latina

María Fernanda Espinosa y Aracely Pazmiño

Abstract. Today, poverty has a central place in international debates, agendas for cooperation, government policies and commitments of civil society. The discussion focuses on the causes of poverty, its structural characteristics and the ways to face it. This article takes a brief historical perspective upon poverty. We will move from the time of colonization to the present time when, in the heart of the hegemonic power of neo-liberalism, we see a frantic search for ways to cope with almost 1.2 billion people living in extreme poverty.

Poverty eradication is one of the Millennium Development Goals, a commitment signed by the countries of The United Nations in 2000. Five years later, the Millennium Ecosystem As-

assessment shows that much still has to be done to reconcile the problematic relation between environment and development. If the environmental problems will not be tackled in some systematic way, we will lose the benefits of ecological services. The fight against environmental degradation is thus a critical element to achieve the MDGs.

The problems of poverty in Latin America are not related to lack of material or natural resources, or to lack of human productive capacities. Rather, they have to do with strong social inequality tied to unsustainable models of growth, based on ever-enhancing environmental pressure and unequal access to space, resources and power. This is a governance crisis – a crisis of the relationship between the state and civil society. In turn, this leads to weak institutional capacities in terms of environment and conservation.

Fighting poverty in Latin America needs to go hand in hand with conservation and the sound use of natural resources, with social development and changes in production and consumption patterns, and with the adoption of principles and practices of environmental sustainability in public policy. Sustainable development cannot be conceived without overcoming poverty. Fighting poverty means accepting the responsibility of guaranteeing to people the rights to the material, economic, symbolic and political means necessary to a dignified life, according to one's own priorities, vision and culture.

La importancia y la necesidad de enfrentar la lucha contra la pobreza parecen ya no estar en discusión. Este tema ocupa hoy un lugar central en los debates y compromisos internacionales, en las agendas de la cooperación internacional, en las políticas y estrategias de los gobiernos del norte y del sur, y en el trabajo y compromisos de la sociedad civil y de las organizaciones no gubernamentales. Sin embargo lo que sí está en debate son los enfoques para entender las causas de la pobreza, sus vinculaciones estructurales y las formas de enfrentar este problema. A partir de estas consideraciones, el presente artículo busca ofrecer una mirada al contexto latinoamericano e invitar a la reflexión sobre los elementos claves

para la puesta en práctica de las estrategias de lucha contra la pobreza y sus vínculos con la temática ambiental y el manejo de los recursos naturales. Esto en una región que se caracteriza por la inequidad en la distribución del ingreso, del empleo y de los recursos naturales y está complejizada por sus condiciones de gobernabilidad, pero que a la vez posee una enorme riqueza natural y cultural.

¿Hay una historia de la pobreza?

La pobreza es un tema muy antiguo y ha servido de inspiración para poetas, escritores, profetas, científicos. Por ejemplo, siglos antes de Cristo, Platón ya habló de la riqueza y de su relación con la pobreza. Algunas de las religiones del mundo han hablado mucho de los pobres, y la pobreza ha sido un discurso permanente a sus seguidores: la religión Judeo Cristiana fue una de las primeras en hablar de los pobres desde una noción de caridad; el Catolicismo nos habla de las recompensas en la vida futura; el Islam nos dice que debemos ser bondadosos con los pobres porque son ellos los que están más cerca de Dios. De cualquier forma, el aspecto religioso de la pobreza refleja un orden social determinado del cual no son responsables los pobres, sino que su desafortunada condición está dada más allá de su control. "La prosperidad como la pobreza fueron atribuidos a la gracia de Dios, y deben

aceptar su suerte con humildad".¹



Foto 1. Mujer de los Andes Ecuatorianos. (Cortesía Rafael Reyna)

La pregunta que debemos plantearnos es qué provocó la pobreza, o cuál es su causa principal, y repensar la tradicional respuesta que culpabiliza a los pobres de su condición para reconocer que no es un fallo del individuo sino un problema del funcionamiento de los sistemas sociales y económicos y de las dinámicas de poder en la sociedad.² No se puede explicar la pobreza a través de una descripción lineal y una cronología simple. Para tomar un punto de partida, podemos sin embargo ubicarnos en el tiempo de la Colonización y por lo tanto de uno de los orígenes de la configuración de las relaciones Norte - Sur. Previa a la Colonización las sociedades eran fundamentalmente tradicionales, los recursos y los bienes eran comunes a todos, la pobreza no necesariamente mostraba su cara más profunda, a pesar de que se registraban formas particulares de acumulación y formas de organización social.

Posteriormente, durante los procesos

de modernización el empobrecimiento de las sociedades tradicionales se agudizó, y la pobreza y crecimiento urbanos empezaron a aparecer. Después de la crisis de la Segunda Guerra

Mundial, la modernización se abrió paso con el crecimiento económico a través de la industrialización.

¿Qué provocó la pobreza? ...un fallo del individuo o un problema del funcionamiento de los sistemas sociales y económicos y de las dinámicas de poder en la sociedad?

Después de la Guerra, el mundo se enfrentaba al debilitamiento del poder Europeo y el surgimiento de dos super-poderes: los Estados Unidos y Rusia, además de crisis económicas y procesos de descolonización de los países del Sur. Así, con la modernización, se producen varios cambios de la sociedad tradicional hacia una nueva sociedad más homogénea y urbana. Esta nueva sociedad está marcada por un modelo económico de acumulación, poder y relaciones inequitativas, en la búsqueda de máxima rentabilidad y máxima ganancia para el beneficio privado.

En los años 1970s, con el desencantamiento de los resultados del desarrollo, se da una atención especial a las condiciones humanas detrás de los fallidos procesos de crecimiento económico. Contribuciones como las de Amartya Sen³ señalan que la pobreza es producto de la inequidad económica y la falta de opciones sociales y se reconoce que las personas necesitan un mayor desarrollo humano; con estos elementos se construye un nuevo paradigma: el Desarrollo Humano.

Si asociamos esta reflexión a las estructuras políticas que sostienen el orden económico, vemos que el modelo

democrático vigente de las sociedades contemporáneas es la democracia liberal— la misma que se inspira en los *leitmotifs* de la Revolución Francesa en el siglo XVIII, es decir en los principios de igualdad, libertad y derechos individuales. Sin embargo estos principios no pueden ser ejercidos a plenitud en contextos de desigualdad social y exclusión. Ahora, la democracia liberal se fundamenta en un sistema de representación y delegación a través de mecanismos electorarios. La cultura que acompaña estos modelos políticos y económicos busca generar comportamientos centrados en el bienestar individual y la libre competencia en sus distintos niveles, no solo en la competencia relativa al mercado, sino también en las prácticas sociales cotidianas y en las formas de producción y consumo.

Este modelo político basado en la democracia liberal y el libre mercado requiere para su funcionamiento una serie de precondiciones que den soporte a un régimen de acumulación e intercambio internacionales. Entre estas condiciones se puede citar: materias primas a bajos costos, mano de obra barata, dependencia de tecnologías y comunicación, regulaciones sociales y ambientales débiles, y un andamiaje institucional que permite el funcionamiento del sistema. Estas condiciones varían entre países y regiones, determinan las condiciones más o menos competitivas de los mismos y los hacen más o menos funcionales al modelo.

Este modelo explica también algunos importantes cambios en las relaciones entre el Estado y la sociedad que se refleja por ejemplo en la crisis del Estado benefactor y en la necesidad de aplicar medidas de ajuste estructural. Estos elementos han conducido a que los Estados latinoamericanos se convi-

ertan en Estados replegados, sin recursos y cada vez con menos capacidad de respuesta a las necesidades de la sociedad. Esto le ha restado legitimidad política al Estado como agente de mediación entre las urgencias económicas, las necesidades de acumulación, el bienestar de las mayorías y la sustentabilidad ambiental.

A escala global, el régimen económico obliga a que los países productores de materias primas, con el fin de ser más competitivos, intensifiquen sus modelos y ritmos de producción para la exportación y que estén menos orientados al consumo interno y las necesidades locales y nacionales. El pago de la deuda externa y la solución del déficit fiscal se convierten en prioridades. Estos modelos conducen a economías de la contaminación

...economías de la contaminación basadas en una producción con altos costos ambientales y sociales, y pocos efectos redistributivos ... caracterizan las economías del petróleo y de los monocultivos para la exportación

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Se debe decir que el sistema económico y político vigente es un sistema que genera desigualdades, que tiene enormes contradicciones internas (no es un modelo estructurado y totalmente predecible) y que, por lo tanto, abre espacios y posibilidades de cambio. Las relaciones Estado – sociedad cambian, logran establecer mecanismos de participación y deliberación, generan espacios donde la sociedad civil organizada puede intervenir en la

conducción de las decisiones y de las políticas públicas. El rol de las organizaciones ambientalistas, las organizaciones indígenas, las organizaciones de mujeres es entonces clave para la construcción creativa de sociedades más justas y equitativas... sin desconocer las dificultades y los límites de una participación real y deliberativa de la sociedad civil y de los movimientos sociales.

Hoy, en plena hegemonía del neoliberalismo, a pesar de varias décadas de intentos vivimos en una búsqueda casi desesperada de elementos que nos permitan enfrentar las terribles condiciones de casi 1.2 billones de personas que viven en extrema pobreza.⁴



Foto 2. Hombre Huaorani. (Cortesía Eduardo Pichilingue)

La relación entre la pobreza y el medio ambiente

Por el carácter global de la problemática ambiental, las organizaciones y agencias de cooperación, especialmente las del Norte, han relacionado el tema de pobreza con el medio ambiente a través criterios de calidad ambiental como fundamentales en las intervenciones socioeconómicas de reducción de la pobreza. La relación en-

tre pobreza y medio ambiente es muy compleja y depende de los contextos particulares, pero es indiscutible que existe una relación directa entre el manejo del medio ambiente y los medios de vida, de salud, el acceso a los recursos y los servicios y el bienestar de la sociedad.

En Septiembre del año 2000, durante la Cumbre del Milenio, los países miembros de Naciones Unidas se comprometieron a cumplir los Objetivos de Desarrollo del

Milenio (*MDGs por sus siglas en inglés*) establecidos con el fin de aunar esfuerzos y tomar nuevas medidas para combatir la pobreza, el hambre, las enfermedades, el analfabetismo, la degradación del medio ambiente y la discriminación contra la mujeres. Así también, en la Cumbre Mundial sobre Desarrollo Sostenible de Johannesburgo, en el 2002, se reafirmó este compromiso mundial de poner en marcha acciones concretas para enfrentar los retos pendientes en cuanto a los temas de conservación y equidad social, y especialmente el de erradicación de la pobreza.

el crecimiento material se ha alcanzado en cambio de la progresiva degradación ambiental, del incremento de riesgos y de la exacerbación de la pobreza.

La información provista por la Evaluación de los Ecosistemas del Milenio (*Millenium Ecosystem Assessment*) en el 2005 brinda varios elementos de juicio para determinar que la sostenibilidad ambiental y el desarrollo aún tienen un largo camino que recorrer. Esta evaluación nos explica que en los últimos 50 años, la influencia de los seres humanos ha cambiado los ecosistemas mucho más que en ningún período de la historia de la humanidad,

..uno de los problemas fundamentales ha sido el tratamiento sectorial de la problemática ambiental y el débil relacionamiento político y operativo de la importancia de resolver los problemas ambientales para garantizar el mejoramiento de las condiciones generales de vida y el bienestar humano

lo que ha resultado en la mayor pérdida de biodiversidad que ha sufrido el planeta. Paradójicamente, en este período de gran deterioro ambiental, se ha registrado el incremento de ganancias, el crecimiento productivo y el desarrollo económico de ciertos grupos. Si hacemos un análisis simple, vemos que el crecimiento ma-

terial se ha alcanzado en cambio de la progresiva degradación ambiental, del incremento de riesgos y de la exacerbación de la pobreza.

Los problemas ambientales (como la deforestación, la pérdida de biodiversidad, el acceso y disponibilidad de agua dulce, etc.) a menos que sean enfrentados de manera efectiva, disminuirán substancialmente los beneficios que prestan los ecosistemas y se incrementarán convirtiéndose en la principal barrera para alcanzar los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio.

Al parecer uno de los problemas fundamentales ha sido el tratamiento sectorial de la problemática ambiental y el débil relacionamiento político y operativo de la importancia de resolver los problemas ambientales para garantizar el mejoramiento de las condiciones generales de vida y el bienestar humano. El Objetivo 7 sobre sustentabilidad ambiental debe contribuir de manera decisiva al cumplimiento de cada uno de los Objetivos propuestos ya que si no se toman acciones decididas para

evitar la degradación ambiental y el deterioro de los servicios ecosistémicos básicos, el bienestar de la sociedad sería imposible.

En este contexto es claro que a pesar de los compromisos reiterados de la comunidad internacional, es importante considerar que los procesos de deterioro ambiental son complejos y multi-causales. Por ejemplo, la pérdida de biodiversidad tiene muchas causas directas (deforestación, usos inadecuados del suelo, ampliación de la frontera agrícola, ganadería, explotación minera, proyectos de infraestructura sin consideraciones ambientales, introducción de especies de fauna y flora, contaminación de vertientes de agua, etc.) pero a su vez son resultantes de los complejos factores socioeconómicos subyacentes, muchas veces ligados a la globalización (entre otros las dinámicas demográficas, los patrones de consumo, fallas y distorsiones en los mercados, políticas públicas inadecuadas, la inequidad en la distribución del ingreso y del empleo).

Por lo tanto, es fundamental tomar en cuenta que la sustentabilidad ambiental es la base para el cumplimiento de todos los Objetivos del Milenio, ya que la degradación ambiental está estrechamente vinculada a los problemas de pobreza, hambre, salud e inequidad de género.

La pobreza y el ambiente en América Latina

De las seis regiones del mundo, América Latina, es la que presenta una distribución de ingreso más desigual en comparación con el resto del mundo. Los índices de pobreza establecidos por la CEPAL señalan que existen más de 200 millones de pobres, es decir el 44% de la población total de la región. Los problemas de esta región no se de-

ben a carencias en recursos materiales y naturales, o a pobres condiciones o capacidades humanas en la producción. Ellos pueden ser explicados a través de la acentuada desigualdad social y de los modelos de crecimiento insostenibles relacionados al incremento de la presión ambiental así como a una distribución desigual del espacio, de los recursos y del poder.

Los problemas de la migración, del desplazamiento, del empobrecimiento y del deterioro ambiental afectan de manera particular a los pueblos indígenas y las zonas rurales de la región. Los pobres están usualmente localizados en zonas rurales y son los que tienen una relación directa con los recursos naturales, de los que proviene la mayoría de los ingresos y medios de vida. La pérdida de bosques, la explotación petrolera o la construcción de embalses y represas tienen consecuencias devastadoras sobre los pueblos indígenas y las comunidades locales, ya que además de afectar su base productiva y de subsistencia, afectan sus formas de vida ancestrales y sus culturas.

Gobernabilidad, democracia y crisis ambiental en América Latina

Como se mencionó, las causas de la pobreza tienen una vinculación directa con los modelos económicos y políticos. Estos modelos se asientan en condiciones de gobernabilidad particulares, que incluyen estructuras institucionales, formas de representación, rendición de cuentas, etc. Varios coinciden en que justamente, uno de los factores claves que podrían explicar las condiciones de la región latinoamericana tiene que ver con la crisis de gobernabilidad.

Si bien cada país de América Latina presenta condiciones particulares de acuerdo a las situaciones históricas,

estructurales, socio - políticas y económicas, se puede sin embargo notar ciertos patrones y tendencias comunes. En el caso de los modelos de democracia, de la institucionalidad y de las condiciones de gobernabilidad en la región se debe señalar que luego de más de 25 años de regímenes democráticos y de un proceso lento de reorganización de las instituciones, de la política y del rol de los diversos actores sociales, las condiciones socio-ambientales en la región no han mejorado de manera visible.

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Frente a este panorama, es común que la crisis de gobernabilidad en América Latina se explique a través de una simplificación que apunta a la corrupción y a la falta de capacidades y de eficiencia administrativa como causas directas. Sin embargo, el problema de gobernabilidad es mucho más complejo, se traduce en una crisis en las relaciones Estado - sociedad marcadas por problemas de legitimidad sobre las acciones y decisiones gubernamentales, de debilidad en la conducción política de un país y, finalmente, en una crisis interna al Estado, es decir en la incapacidad creciente de gobernar, de representar los intereses y necesidades de los gobernados y de ofrecer alternativas claras de conducción y dirección.

En los países de América Latina, parecería que los problemas de gobernabilidad ya no radican solo en una inadecuación del aparato estatal



Foto 3. Niña Indígena. (Cortesía Rafael Reyna)

o en las nuevas condiciones políticas, sino que radican en la pérdida del lugar estructural entre Estado y sociedad y en las dificultades de entender y reconstituir la relación entre ambos. La actual inserción de la región en la economía mundial, las crisis fiscales y de legitimidad y el peso de los organismos multilaterales en las políticas de ajuste estructural han modificado sustancialmente el rol de los Estados en la región. Esta crisis tiene por supuesto efectos directos en el debilitamiento de la institucionalidad ambiental en la región y en la falta de consistencia y puesta en práctica de las políticas públicas ambientales.

Algunos elementos claves para la lucha contra la pobreza en América Latina

La Evaluación de los Ecosistemas del

Milenio establece que la sustentabilidad ambiental es la base fundamental sobre la cual se deben basar los esfuerzos de cumplimiento de las Metas del Milenio. Conservar y usar adecuadamente la base natural para el desarrollo social y el cambio de patrones de producción y consumo, son requisitos fundamentales para mejorar el bienestar y la salud humanas. Integrar principios y prácticas de sustentabilidad ambiental en las políticas públicas es clave para la reducción de la pobreza.

Partiendo de este marco, sugerimos a continuación algunos elementos para pensar en posibles opciones de política pública y acciones directas de combate a la pobreza y de construcción de sociedades sustentables.

- Una agenda latinoamericana de políticas para el alivio de la pobreza debe contener elementos interdisciplinarios que permitan comprender y abordar a la pobreza desde sus varios niveles y relaciones, considerando principalmente sus causas estructurales y el rol y responsabilidad de los diferentes actores sociales.
- Mirar a la pobreza desde un enfoque de derechos que permita comprender

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en qué medida y bajo qué mecanismos los costos y los beneficios de la conservación de la biodiversidad y los servicios ambientales y la sustentabilidad ambiental se podrán compartir de manera mas justa y equitativa, de acuerdo a consideraciones socio-económicas, de género, étnicas y generacionales. Se debe comprender cada vez mejor las relaciones entre el derecho a un ambiente sano y a una vida digna sin pobreza. Los derechos ambientales deben por lo tanto ser entendidos como derechos humanos fundamentales, de carácter colectivo.

- La interculturalidad en América latina debe ser planteada como un derecho político que apunte a una nueva forma de relacionamiento social basado en el establecimiento de condiciones políticas que permitan valorar y ejercer los derechos culturales de los pueblos indígenas, los pueblos afro-descendientes, los campesinos, y los mestizos. En el contexto actual, en el que se evidencian cambios en la estructura familiar y en los procesos de socialización y articulación a las economías y a la política formal de los pueblos indígenas, campesinos y afro-descendientes, uno de los retos importantes es revertir procesos de erosión de los conocimientos, saberes y prácticas tradicionales para fortalecer los procesos de afianzamiento de la identidad y la construcción de sociedades verdaderamente interculturales. La interculturalidad es un valor fundamental de la sustentabilidad y de la diversidad.
- Los límites del modelo político y económico vigente y de los modelos de gobierno y democracia son un verdadero reto para pensar en formas alternativas de construcción del poder, en función de nuevas alianzas, actores, instituciones y estilos de democracia. El desafío común a todos

los países de la región radica todavía en la necesidad de armonizar la democracia política con el crecimiento económico, la sustentabilidad ambiental y la equidad social.

- Lograr políticas y estrategias de conservación más efectivas y acotadas a las condiciones particulares, requiere que los roles, necesidades y estrategias de las comunidades locales se conviertan en un elemento clave que informe las iniciativas y prácticas de conservación en América Latina. La experiencia de muchas organizaciones de conservación y desarrollo, ha demostrado que la conservación es sobretodo un asunto social, ya que la degradación ambiental, así como las alternativas innovadoras de manejo ambiental, son el resultado de interacciones humanas y de la capacidad de modificar la naturaleza.

En síntesis, no se puede entender el desarrollo sustentable sin la superación de la pobreza. El combate a la pobreza debe ser entendido como la responsabilidad de garantizar el derecho de los pueblos a disponer de los medios materiales, económicos, simbólicos y políticos necesarios para tener una vida digna, de acuerdo a sus prioridades, visiones y culturas. Así mismo, como se había

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mencionado, los esfuerzos de erradicación de la pobreza deben pasar por el reconocimiento de los aportes directos que hacen los pueblos indígenas y las sociedades rurales al manejo

sostenible de los recursos naturales en la distribución justa y equitativa de los costos y beneficios de la conservación. El informe del 2004 de la Organización Forests Trends señala que 240 millones de indígenas y campesinos poseen y/o manejan 1/5 de los bosques tropicales del mundo e invierten alrededor de 2.6 billones de dólares anuales en conservación y manejo.⁵

El mantenimiento de los bienes y servicios de los ecosistemas como el agua, un aire libre de contaminación, la diversidad biológica relacionada a la seguridad alimentaria, la salud y la disponibilidad de materia primas a través de prácticas de manejo sostenible de recursos, de políticas públicas adecuadas, de estrategias multi-sectoriales que reconozcan los vínculos críticos entre el bienestar humano y la calidad ambiental son elementos centrales para el desarrollo humano sostenible.

El reto de construir sociedades sustentables pasa entonces no solo por voluntades políticas y un sentido ético de justicia y equidad sino también por un ejercicio de replanteamiento crítico de las relaciones naturaleza-cultura-economía-política que permita generar propuestas de cambio que vayan más allá de las reformas tecnocráticas y asistenciales.

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Las opiniones de este documento son responsabilidad de las autoras y no representan posiciones oficiales de UICN.

Notas

- 1 Hanson, 1997.
- 2 Hanson, 1997
- 3 Sen, 1995.
- 4 World Bank 2002 en Bojo y Chandra, 2003.
- 5 Molnar, *et al.*, 2004.

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Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and combating poverty in Southern Africa

Brian T. B. Jones

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) has been promoted by governments, NGOs and donors as a conservation and rural development strategy in southern Africa for more than a decade. The approach was developed originally as a conservation strategy and rests on the central hypothesis that if a resource is valuable and landholders have the exclusive rights to use, benefit from and manage the resource, then sustainable use is

...the notion of poverty needs to be expanded to include vulnerability, exposure to risk, voicelessness and powerlessness

likely to ensue.¹ The benefits from management must exceed the perceived costs and must be secure over time.² However increased involvement of donors with poverty reduction agendas has seen an increased emphasis on CBNRM as a means to combat poverty. It is increasingly being adopted as a means of poverty reduction in the national development strategies of southern African countries.³

Considerable debate has emerged surrounding CBNRM and the extent to which it meets conservation and poverty objectives. Several studies show that often the income generated from CBNRM activities is very small when divided up amongst households and question whether this income has much impact on poverty reduction or improved

natural resource management.⁴ Some donors (e.g. DFID) that have supported CBNRM in the past now question the contribution that CBNRM can make to addressing issues of poverty in rural areas and have largely withdrawn their support.⁵

However, the criticism of CBNRM has been based on a narrow understanding of the underlying causes of poverty and has failed to place CBNRM within broader contexts of rural livelihoods in southern Africa. Turner (2004) suggests that the dominant sense in which the concept "development" is used in CBNRM discourse is in terms of improved material and economic well-being only. However, over the past few years there have

The WDR places considerable emphasis on the need for community empowerment and the need to strengthen local community institutions.

been important shifts in thinking regarding the causes of poverty and the strategies needed to deal with poverty. A recent World Development Report (WDR)⁶ identified shortcomings in previous concepts of poverty that had emphasised material deprivation measured by income or consumption levels, and levels of access to education and good health. The WDR suggests that the notion of poverty needs to be expanded to include vulnerability, exposure to risk, voicelessness and powerlessness. According to the WDR, this

means that dealing with poverty must move beyond the promotion of general economic growth to adopt a broader agenda of action that includes providing targeted economic opportunities for the poor, building up the assets of poor people, facilitating their empowerment and reducing their vulnerability to various risks and shocks. The WDR places considerable emphasis on the need for community empowerment and the need to strengthen local community institutions.

Much of southern Africa, and particularly the communal areas of the region fall within areas classified as semi-arid or "drylands". Typically, these areas are characterised by low and erratic rainfall, frequent droughts and poor soils. Many such areas are unsuitable for rain-fed crop growing and suitable only for extensive livestock farming. One of the most common livelihood strategies adopted by people living in the drylands is diversification of economic activities. Research in southern African drylands⁷ suggests that rural poverty in semi-arid areas is the result of a "suite of social, economic and environmental components and processes operating at a range of scales". The measures for combating poverty in these circumstances include strengthening institutions and organisations that enable effective management of common pool resources and supporting the diversification of non-farm income. An important point is that no single strategy can deal with poverty alone and a suite of approaches including macro economic growth is required.

If CBNRM in southern Africa is reviewed against a multi-dimensional understanding of the causes of poverty and within the context of the constraints to sustainable rural livelihoods in drylands, a number of key conclusions

emerge.⁸ Generally, CBNRM programmes are generating income at the community level but only in a small number of cases do households benefit significantly in terms of increased incomes. Often the amount reaching households is small.⁹ The most significant household income usually comes from wages generated by jobs in the tourism industry associated with CBNRM programmes. In Namibia and Botswana in particular, communities have tended to put their income into bank accounts rather than opt for household 'dividends'. Where income is used for general community benefit, it is used for establishing or renovating infrastructure (e.g. grinding mills, school rooms), social welfare (e.g. food for the elderly, scholarships), and sometimes for setting up business (e.g. shops, campsites) with varying degrees of success.



Picture 1. Craft sales are an important source of income for women in Caprivi, Namibia. They are directly related to community-based natural resource management. (Courtesy John Ledger)

However, while the amounts of income earned by households are often small, they are often significant in terms of cash availability and timing is often important such as close to Christmas

or when school fees are due. In one CBNRM area in north west Botswana, the wildlife income from trophy hunting divided per household per month amounts to around 87% of the estimated average household income or 23% of the estimated Poverty Datum Line.¹⁰ According to Long (2004b) the pay out of N\$630 (approx. US\$63 at the then exchange rate) to each member of the Torra conservancy in 2003 in Namibia could cover basic grocery costs for a local household for three months, was almost equivalent to the average amount raised annually from the sale of live goats and is equivalent to 14% of the average annual income (N\$4 500) for individuals in the region and 8% of the average annual income of households (N\$8 000).

Further, CBNRM is creating jobs in remote areas where there are few other job opportunities.

In most countries in the region CBNRM institutions are the only bodies at community level that have income that they can use for community benefit.

In some countries such as Botswana, the poorest sections of the community have been disadvantaged by CBNRM (e.g. San people losing individual hunting rights),

but in others, poor people have been singled out for preferential treatment (e.g. pensioners in Namibia).

With regard to institutional development and governance issues, CBNRM performance has also been mixed. It has been successful in establishing community level institutions that can take on a range of development issues, not only wildlife and tourism. In some cases (e.g. Namibia) the wildlife conservancies being established, fill an institutional gap as there are no government institutions in communal areas

below that of regional government. In most countries in the region CBNRM institutions are the only bodies at community level that have income that they can use for community benefit. However accountability of committees to local residents remains weak in most cases, and governance issues require more attention. CBNRM institutions are, however, participating in national policy dialogue and have played an active part in lobbying on key issues affecting their interests. In Zimbabwe, despite political and economic instability, where fiscal devolution has taken place to the lowest levels, CBNRM institutions have shown considerable resilience.¹¹

In Namibia and Zimbabwe there is evidence to suggest that CBNRM has contributed to either increases in wildlife numbers or maintenance of existing populations.¹² In Botswana key stakeholders agree that poaching is low in CBNRM areas and seems to be decreasing (although there is no conclusive quantitative data to prove this). CBNRM would therefore appear to be contributing to maintaining, and in some cases increasing, a natural resource base (wildlife and associated habitats) that can continue to generate income and other benefits into the future.

At the same time it should be recognised that the impacts of CBNRM interventions can also bring costs to rural people including increased problem animal incidents where wildlife numbers increase and the amount of time taken up by CBNRM meetings and workshops. In some cases new employment opportunities created by CBNRM can mean less time available for other household activities such as herding or caring for family. Murphy and Roe (2004) show how tourism developments can impact livelihoods by denying residents access

to land that was formerly used for a number of purposes.

Despite some of the shortcomings indicated above and the costs to communities of CBNRM, the data from CBNRM interventions in Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe suggest that CBNRM can have positive impacts on livelihoods and does contribute to combating poverty. The positive impacts address key intervention areas such as empowerment, good governance, localised institutional development, strengthening common property resource management regimes, increasing assets, livelihood diversification, skills and capacity development, and maintaining and improving natural capital. Improved sustainable management of wildlife and associated habitats as part of local natural resource capital is in itself a significant impact.

A few other key points emerge from the data. CBNRM can have its highest impact in areas where there are few other development options and where wildlife is an appropriate land use.

CBNRM can have positive impacts on livelihoods and does contribute to combating poverty [...] but is not sufficient on its own. It has to be viewed as part of a package of inter-linked and complementary strategies to address poverty at different scales within a national framework

In these areas, the contribution of CBNRM programmes to combating poverty is currently more in terms of diversification of livelihoods, creating buffers against risk and shocks and empowering and giving a voice to local communities than in terms of income generation. In many cases these contributions are

being overlooked because they have not been recognised and are not being measured.

Overall consideration of the impact of focused CBNRM interventions in the region suggests strongly that CBNRM is not sufficient on its own to combat poverty. It has to be viewed as one of a package of inter-linked and complementary strategies to address poverty at different scales within a national framework to combat poverty. Within such a national framework, CBNRM can play an important role as an *additional* strategy for supporting livelihoods in marginalised and marginal rural areas while governments give attention to issues such as job creation in urban areas and creating the macro-economic conditions for growth. CBNRM can lift a few people out of poverty (particularly through job creation), but probably contributes most to poverty *alleviation* rather than poverty reduction. But as Campbell et al (2002) point out few, if any, other interventions in the region's drylands are actually contributing significantly to poverty reduction.

Another important conclusion is that CBNRM in southern Africa started off as primarily aimed at promoting sustainable resource management, but has been claimed by various stakeholders as part of a broader poverty agenda. Yet the ways in which CBNRM impacts are measured have not evolved in line with these different expectations. Few data are being collected specifically to monitor the multifaceted way that CBNRM can contribute to combating poverty. There is an urgent need for targeted monitoring of:

- CBNRM contribution to household economic well-being
- CBNRM contribution to empowerment of people and institutions

- CBNRM contribution to improved infrastructure and social welfare schemes in local community areas
- The extent to which CBNRM contributes to diversification of income-generation opportunities
- The extent to which CBNRM contributes to improved resource management

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Notes

- 1 Jones, 2004.
- 2 see also Murphree, 1991; Steiner and Rihoy, 1995; Bond, 2001.
- 3 Jones, 2004.
- 4 e.g. Bond, 2001; DFID, 2002; Turner, 2004; Long, 2004a.
- 5 DFID, 2002.
- 6 World Bank, 2001.
- 7 Campbell *et al.*, 2002, page 133.
- 8 The data on which these conclusions are based can be found in recent reviews of CBNRM in the region: a summary of CBNRM impacts in southern Africa by Jones (2004); a review of CBNRM in Botswana by Arntzen *et al.* (2003); a review of livelihoods and CBNRM in Namibia edited by Long (2004a) and an evaluation of USAID support to the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe by Child *et al.* (2003).
- 9 see for example Bond, 2001 for data on Zimbabwe.
- 10 Arntzen, 2003.
- 11 Child *et al.*, 2003.
- 12 Child *et al.*, 2003; Jones and Weaver, 2003; LIFE, 2004.

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Social justice and human rights in conservation: ethical considerations for policy and actions

Lea M. Scherl

Abstract. Conservation and natural resource management should not worsen the lives of communities. Unfortunately, many conservation initiatives take place at the expense of the poor and have negative impacts on the livelihoods of local communities. The understanding of the social consequences of conservation initiatives— some of which may be rather subtle— needs to be improved and carefully documented. An action agenda focused on social justice and human rights would link conservation and sustainable natural resource management with the rights of local and indigenous communities and the most vulnerable groups of society. It would help them to maintain their livelihoods and cultural traditions. The fundamental principle is that conservation practices should *at least do no harm*. This does not detract from the main goal of nature conservation, but it does clarify that the goal of social justice is as important as protecting genes, species and habitats. This article recommends promoting respect for human rights as a premise for conservation; fostering social justice for the whole range of stakeholders involved in any given conservation initiative; developing mechanisms to articulate and reconcile conservation objectives and respect for human rights; and developing guidelines for the practice of social justice in conservation.

At a minimum, conservation and natural resource management should not worsen the living conditions of communities. For this to occur, a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of conservation needs to occur. Governance mechanisms need to be flexible and inclusive, and policies and planning frameworks need to be sup-

portive and address the links between conservation and the needs and aspirations of local and indigenous communities.

Unfortunately, many conservation initiatives - including the establishment and management of protected areas - take place at the expense of the poor. "Biodiversity conservation can be the

basis of sustainable livelihoods. However, it may also exclude the poor from using biological resources that support basic needs, creating a dichotomy between the use and conservation objectives".¹ Whilst at a global scale it is the wealthier people who use natural resources the most, it is the local poor that have a greatest dependency on them.²



Picture 1. Women of all ages collecting wood in Mozambique. (Courtesy Chico Carneiro)

Traditional approaches to conservation have diverse negative impacts on the livelihoods of local communities. This has happened through a loss of rights over resources, a loss of control over environmental decisions, lack of participation in decision-making related to management, or lack of appreciation and fair rewards for a stewardship role.³ One of the ethical considerations increasingly being voiced relates to forced displacement for conservation and the establishment of protected areas, which creates poverty and dispossession.⁴ Geisler (2003) refers to these people as "conservation refugees". For him,⁵ the establishment of protected areas is akin to any form of major development:

"Protected Area development is

about biodiversity stewardship, but it is also an "export" commodity attracting significant foreign exchange, infrastructure and investment that fit within the familiar paradigm of development. Displacement, a frequent component of development, is also a present and underestimated social cost of this variant of development. To the extent that international leaders and donors tie their resources to protected area development and displacement ensues, conservation might even be seen as green-tinted structural adjustment."

Biodiversity conservation as a development issue is also echoed elsewhere⁶ and many of the ethical and procedural considerations related to major development initiatives should also apply when biodiversity conservation is a land-use option. These include a rigorous impact assessment on a number of dimensions, such as environmental, social, cultural and economic. Yet, this is seldom done. Possibly, this is because biodiversity conservation is not a "visible eyesore" such as a large dam, a road or a plantation. Nevertheless, the understanding of the social consequences of conservation initiatives—some of which may be rather subtle—needs to be improved and carefully documented. This is especially true in light of past and current inequities caused by such initiatives. The social consequences can range from issues of rights, cultural importance, economic opportunities and compensation for loss of access, to issues of empowerment and participation. They should form part of specific Social Impact Assessments with associated mitigating and compensatory mechanisms, as laid out in environmental impact assessment procedures that are required in many countries. Notwithstanding the continued moral imperative of conserv-

ing biodiversity, conservation will not be sustainable without the support and the involvement of many constituencies and particularly local and indigenous communities.

Many of the problems that pit people against conservation initiatives are the result of the inability to deliver both conservation and improved community livelihoods. The legacy of integrated conservation and development initiatives has shown that this is far from simple to achieve.⁷ Pluralistic models and recent ideas on innovative governance models for conservation⁸ are gaining momentum as mechanisms to implement participatory conservation (which has been advocated for quite some time⁹) and contributing to a more inclusive conservation paradigm.¹⁰ Yet, 'win-win' scenarios that strike a balance between conservation and sustainable development at the local level are still rare. Conflicts between conservation and development interests are more often the norm, and trade-offs between people and conservation initiatives exist and should be explicitly acknowledged. And yet, acceptance of compromises may win more, in the long run. Conflict should be seen in a positive light, as it highlights the importance of natural resources to a variety of groups. But resources should be available to manage the conflicts appropriately.

An action agenda focused on social justice and human rights would link conservation and sustainable natural resource management with the rights of local and indigenous communities and the most vulnerable groups in society. It would help them to maintain their livelihoods and cultural traditions. The fundamental principle is that conservation practices should – *at the very least*— *do no harm*. In other words,

any effort to reduce or halt loss of biodiversity should promote no negative impact on the livelihoods and culture of local and indigenous communities and vulnerable groups that are dependent on that same biodiversity.¹¹

Social responsibility in conservation should be sought for both practical and ethical reasons. Biodiversity should be managed as an integral part of the rural landscape. The interests and rights of local and indigenous communities should be considered along with national and global interests. And more inclusive governance systems should enhance the control and authority of local communities. Ultimately, all this would help achieve a situation in which biodiversity conservation and local sustainable development can exist together.

The principle of "do no harm" to people implies a need for an increasing flow of resources from richer countries to finance trade-offs. The distribution of such resources should be as equitable as possible, help maintain biodiversity as a public good and meet the most pressing needs of poor people. The "do no harm" concept should also be broadly extended to the developing countries that harbour the conservation initiatives, via a careful understanding of the trade-offs between economic growth and biodiversity conservation. The crucial question is "who benefits and who bears the cost of conservation?" and this question should be asked at international, national and local level.¹²

It is more than time to recognize that we need to foster a better connection between biodiversity conservation and social justice and human rights. The concept of social and environmental justice (i.e. the equitable achieve-

ment of human and environmental rights) is evolving and is articulated in partnerships between environmental and development NGOs¹³ and by various authors.¹⁴ This approach does not detract from the main and central goal of nature conservation, but it does promote the goal of social justice to a higher level comparable to the one of protecting genes, species and habitats. It is also an approach that purposefully seeks to position the role of conservation initiatives more broadly within the sustainable development agenda. There is still much that needs to be understood about practicing social justice and addressing human rights in conservation. No doubt, ethical considerations and their practical implications will increasingly permeate future debates

surrounding nature conservation.

I will end with some final recommendations: *at the policy level* – we should promote respect for human rights as a premise upon which conservation practices takes place; *at the action level* – we should promote the concept of social justice in conservation to the range of stakeholders involved in any given conservation initiative; we should develop mechanisms to better articulate and reconcile conservation objectives and respect for human rights; and we should develop guidelines for the practice of social justice in conservation.

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Picture 2. Local artisan fishermen in Northeast Brazil get out to sea in a typical boat called *jangada*, built by the community with local wood. (Courtesy Lea M. Scherl)

Notes

- 1 Bojo and Reddy, 2003, p. 6.
- 2 See also Scherl *et al.*, 2004.
- 3 e.g. Brechin *et al.*, 2003; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997; Nelson and Hossack, 2003.
- 4 Geisler 2003; Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003.
- 5 Geisler, 2003, p. 72.
- 6 e.g. Mark Malloch Brown, administrator of the UNDP, cited in SciDev. Net 2003; Brockington, 2002.
- 7 McShane and Wells, 2004.
- 8 Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003.
- 9 e.g. West and Brechin, 1991; Western and Wright, 1994; Pimbert and Pretty, 1995; Jeanrenaud, 1999; Scherl, 1999.
- 10 Phillips, 2003.
- 11 see also World Parks Congress Recommendation 5.29.
- 12 Acknowledging a personal communication with Phil Franks.
- 13 CARE-WWF Social and Environmental Justice Initiative, 2002.
- 14 Brechin *et al.*, 2003; see also Scherl, 2005.

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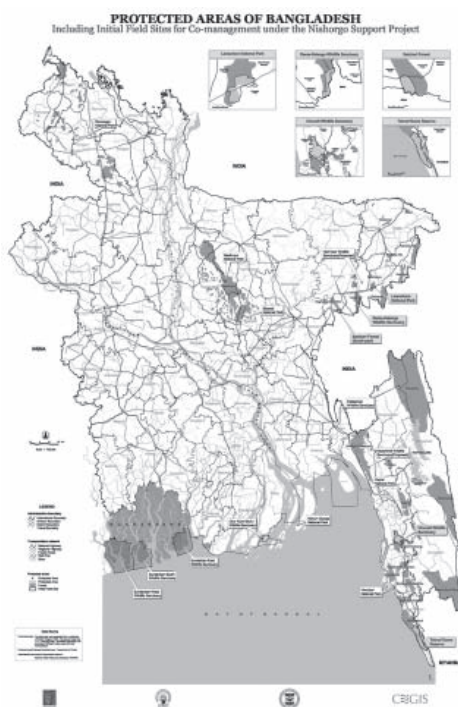
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Managing demand for protected areas in Bangladesh: poverty alleviation, illegal commercial use and nature recreation

Monoj K. Roy and Philip J. DeCosse

Abstract. Bangladesh's protected area system is small (0.5 percent of surface area) and its population density is high (893 persons per square kilometer). An economy that has grown at 4-6% per year for eight years is placing increasing demands on natural resources, including the timber that is found in protected areas. While economic growth has provided some relief, poverty levels remain high, with 23 percent of the country consuming less than 1805 calories per day. Protected areas are surrounded by poor households, many of them landless, who rely for day-to-day survival on produce from the forest. Policy-makers in Bangladesh would have it that provision of money or in-kind transfers to these poor is the secret to successful conservation. But this assumption — that the poor are the cause of protected area loss and that poverty reduction is the solution — ignores two other significant demands being placed on protected areas. The more rapid loss of protected areas has been due to illegal commercial demands placed on forest products, especially timber and fuel for brick fields. In both cases these commercial demands are highly organized and sometimes politically supported. The protected area conservation challenge, then, is to organize resources in a way that allows the local poor to benefit from conservation and to empower those poor, and other local interests, to counter the vested power and influence behind illegal commercial use. This short paper explores the process of balancing competing demands through a co-management framework.



Map 1. Map of protected areas in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh's protected area system is small (0.5 percent of surface area) and its population density is high (893 persons per square kilometer). An economy that has grown at 4-6% per year for eight years is placing increasing demands on natural resources, including the timber that is found in protected areas. While economic growth has provided some relief, poverty levels remain high, with 23 percent of the country consuming less than 1805 calories per day.¹ Protected areas are surrounded by poor households, many of them landless, who rely for day-to-day survival on produce from the forest. The combination of these forces is compounded by levels of corruption

that have led Transparency International to rank Bangladesh as the “Most Corrupt” country in the world for three consecutive years.²

In such difficult conditions, the protected areas of Bangladesh have been

In recent years, the Government has acted to increase the supply of protected areas, principally through the creation of Eco-Parks and Safari Parks on Reserve Forest Land, but these newly created areas are extremely small by comparison to other protected areas and are more urban parks than conservation areas.

under intense pressure for tree felling, fuel wood collection and land conversion. While exact figures are not available, the rate of loss is rapid and stark. The protected areas of the Hill Tracts have been heavily denuded. The Chunati Wildlife Sanctuary has gone from some 30 percent forest cover 10 years ago to nearly 1-2 percent tree cover now. Even the most intact forests in the protected

areas of the northeast of the country — Lawachara National Park and Rema Kalenga Wildlife Sanctuary— are suffering from intense demands for felling and conversion. The Forest Department estimates (in their *Vision 2010*³) that without rapid change in management approaches, even these protected areas will be cleared of mature trees within five years.

Policy-makers in Bangladesh would have it that provision of money or in-kind transfers to these poor is the secret to successful conservation. But this article will argue that the larger threat comes from organized and powerful interests that first cut the available timber illegally and then work to convert the protected area lands for

private use. An important, but often neglected, counterweight to this illegal commercial demand is emerging in Bangladesh from demand for nature recreation. This article will review various demands for conservation in Bangladesh, and discuss the implications for the country’s new Nishorgo Program for protected area management, managed by the Forest Department.

We begin with a brief quantitative and qualitative summary of poverty in the country, and at major protected areas. We then present the framework for the paper: the supply and demand for PA conservation. Finally, we briefly present the Nishorgo Program conception and contents, and discuss how it has been shaped by this need to turn the focus from a narrow one on poverty reduction to a broader one on sustainable economic growth.

The supply of protected areas

At present, there are a total of 22 protected areas in Bangladesh, of which 17 fall into the legally recognized class-



Picture 1. This man carrying a cut log near Chunati Wildlife Sanctuary illustrates the links between the poor wage laborers and commercial operators, who benefit on a relatively larger scale. (Courtesy M. Monirul H. Khan)

es of Wildlife Sanctuary, National Park or Game Reserve. In recent years, the Government has acted to increase the supply of protected areas, principally through the creation of Eco-Parks and Safari Parks on Reserve Forest land, but these newly created areas are extremely small by comparison to other protected areas and are more urban parks than conservation areas.

At an estimated 0.5 percent of the country's surface area, the protected area network in Bangladesh is the smallest in Asia, in both percent of surface area and area per capita.⁴ Neighboring Sri Lanka has over 10 percent of its surface area in protection, while India has an estimated 5.1 percent of total surface area in protection.

Table 1. The protected areas of Bangladesh

No.	Name of the Protected Area	Declared Status	Area in ha	Year of Notification (Year of establishment in parenthesis)
1.	Sundarbans East	Wildlife Sanctuary	31227	1996
2.	Sundarbans South	Wildlife Sanctuary	36970	1996
3.	Sundarbans West	Wildlife Sanctuary	71502	1996
4.	Chunati	Wildlife Sanctuary	7761	1986
5.	Pablakhali	Wildlife Sanctuary	42087	1983
6.	Rema-Kalenga	Wildlife Sanctuary	1795	1981
7.	Char Kukri Mukri	Wildlife Sanctuary	40	1981
8.	Bhawal	National Park	5022	1982
9.	Madhupur	National Park	8436	1982
10.	Himchari	National Park	1729	1980
11.	Ramsagar	National Park	28	2001
12.	Nijhum Dweep	National Park	16352	2001
13.	Kaptai	National Park	5464	1999
14.	Lawachara	National Park	1250	1996
15.	Medhakachchapia	National Park	396	2004
16.	Satchari (proposed)	National Park	240	proposed
17.	Teknaf	Game Reserve	11615	1983
18.	Dulhazara	Safari Park	600	(1999)
19.	Bashkali	Eco-Park	n/a-	(2003)
20.	Madhupkunda	Eco-Park	125	(2001)
21.	Sitakunda	Bot. Garden & Eco-Park	1000	(2000)
22.	Mirpur	Bot. Garden	84	(1961)

The demand for protected areas in Bangladesh

Demand for this protected area network in Bangladesh can be divided into

demand for consumption of the produce inside protected area boundaries and demand for conservation or sustained management of those resources.

At present, the two principal sources of demand for consumption of protected

By most estimates, Bangladesh has witnessed a modest poverty reduction rate of around one percentage point a year since the early 1990s.

area resources include the neighboring poor, on the one hand, and those commercial operations that desire to consume PA resources on the other. These two

areas of demand are reviewed below as two of the major demands that need to be managed in order to achieve conservation goals in Bangladesh. Areas of potential demand for conservation or sustained management of PA resources stem from the Bangladeshi public, with their desire to visit nature sites, and also from other sources, such as multi-lateral (GEF) and bilateral (e.g., USAID) financing institutions, as well as private market mechanisms such as carbon markets. In addition, international conservation NGOs (BirdLife



Picture 2. This gentleman from near Rema Kalenga Wildlife Sanctuary voices his concerns about forest loss during open discussions sessions. (Courtesy Mehrin A. Mahbub)

International, WWF, Conservation International, IUCN, etc.) represent another important source of demand for conservation of PAs.

In the following three sections, we review the three principal demands in Bangladesh: poverty al-

leviation for those living in and around PAs; illegal commercial demands for produce from the forest for timber and brick kilns; and the demand for recreation by the Bangladeshi citizens.

Demands on protected areas from the poor

By most estimates, Bangladesh has witnessed a modest poverty reduction rate of around one percentage point a year since the early 1990s. Two alternative estimates based on the Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (HIES) of the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics show poverty declining from 58.8% in 1991/92 to 49.8% in 2000, and alternatively, from 49.7% in 1991/92 to 40.2% in 2000.⁵ Although these increases represent progress, the overall levels of poverty measured in different ways remain high. Those that were defined

by food intake measures as "extremely poor" (less than 1805 calories per day) totaled 23 percent of the country as a whole, while those "absolute poor" (less than 2122 calories per day) accounted for 49 percent of the country.

While the pressure placed on protected areas by the poor is pervasive and constant, the net effect of extraction of resources by the poor is modest compared to extraction by illegal commercial demand.

In the surroundings of protected areas, typically located far from urban centers, the poverty levels are more severe. Exact estimates of the value of benefits accruing to local households from protected area are being researched now. Evidence from field appraisals at five protected areas suggests that the total value is not high at any one time, but that the number of beneficiaries is large, probably in

the order of 30 percent of surrounding population. If one stands at any entry point to the PAs, one finds a constant stream throughout the day of women and men removing biomass from the forest. At the Bhawal National Park near Dhaka, the floor of much of the forest under the Sal Trees has been cleaned of leaves, all of them packed into bags by women for use in stoves.

And protected areas are often home to ethnic "tribal" populations, typically migrants brought to live in the Reserve Forests near the turn of the century. While not "indigenous" in the strict sense of the word, these ethnic groups are a minority in the country, and often face discrimination at field level by the broader population.

At present, access by the poor to many protected areas is regulated by local Forest Department Guards, who can



Picture 3. So great is the demand for fuel for brickfields that even timber such as this near Teknaf Game Reserve is felled cut and sold as energy for brick kilns. (Courtesy Nishorgo Support Project)

at times extract rents from the poor in the form of payments for permission to remove forest products. Payments for a load of firewood might be in the order of 10 Taka, or USD 0.15. These

fees, though small, represent a burden to local poor and an important source of "alternative income" to the Forest Guards, who can significantly increase their monthly salaries from such fees.

Demands from illegal commercial use and subsequent land conversion

While the pressure placed on protected areas by the poor is pervasive and constant, the net effect of extraction of resources by the poor is modest compared to extraction by illegal commercial demand. In the two largest protected areas of the south — Teknaf Game Reserve and Chunati Wildlife Sanctuary — brick "fields" (kilns) cause far more rapid loss of forests. Although the Brick Fields Act explicitly forbids it, many brickfields are located inside or next to protected areas, precisely because the fuel wood energy is considered free. Eight brick fields are located inside or immediately bordering the Teknaf Game Reserve, while six brick fields are located at Chunati Wildlife Sanctuary, of which four are directly inside Sanctuary boundaries. All of these brickfields are owned or protected by powerful local officials, sometimes with the backing of national figures.

In the northeastern protected areas of the country, remaining stands from hardwood plantations make these Areas target of organized and powerful logging interests. According to the Forest Department's register of illegal felling, the average annual number of trees illegally felled in Lawachara National Park in 1999 and 2000 was only 44. In the past two years, in this small Park of only 1250 hectares, the average number of trees illegally felled has risen by twenty seven times to an annual average of 1,188. The cumulative biomass loss and visual impact of such large-scale logging interests

is far greater than the removal by low income households of head loads of firewood and other non-timber forest products.

The dramatic impact of these two commercial demands is being followed by

Thus degradation of forests through commercial demand, in the minds of local elites, is a perfect prelude to laying claim on the land as degraded forest with which "something more productive can be done".

a third, and even more permanent threat: the organized encroachment of protected area land. In many of the Reserve Forests of the country, commercial felling of forests is undertaken with a view not only

to sell the wood products, but to claim that the degraded forest land should be proposed for conversion (or "declassification") from Reserve Forests (which are protected under the Forest Act) to *khas* lands, which are managed locally and can be used for leasing. Thus degradation of forests through commercial demand, in the minds of local elites, is a perfect prelude to laying claim on the land as degraded forest with which "something more productive can be done". While low income households are the ones that actually set up homesteads on these encroached areas, it is widely accepted that they are paid to do so by more powerful interests that hope to obtain eventual ownership or lease authority on the lands.

Demands for nature conservation and recreation

While the poor need PAs for their livelihoods and commercial and political interests use PAs for economic ends, the demand by common citizens for an experience of nature represents another significant area of demand in Ban-

gladesh. At present, there is no widely recognized system of protected areas or National Parks, as exist in many countries. Even the term "Protected Area" in Bangla carries little resonance. But available evidence makes it clear that when conservation sites are made available for citizens to visit, they do so in large numbers. The Dulhazara Safari Park is a case in point. The Safari Park began as a deer breeding area. Initially, in 2001, a wall was built to enclose some 100 hectares of forest. Since then, and especially in the past year, many other facilities have been added, including nature interpretation center, orchid house, elephants (in their own enclosure), lions and some 50 other species of animals, many of them in cages. The total area is now 600 hectares. While this Safari Park is more a zoo than a National Park, the numbers of visitors to it and other EcoParks is but one indication of the demand. Although it opened its doors for paying visitors only a year ago, the Park is already receiving some 3,500 visitors per day, all of them paying 10 Taka, and Dulhazara is not close to any urban centers. A similar dramatic increase in visitors occurred with some of the infrastructure improvements at the Sitakunda Eco Park north of Chittagong. Although the basic infrastructure was only completed to visit the EcoPark and botanical garden two years ago, the Park can receive as many as 25,000 visitors in a single weekend.

A recent economic analysis of the willingness to pay for the Bhawal National Park north of Dhaka indicates people's interest in paying for the nature experience. An estimated 100,000 visitors go to Bhawal each year, and pay 6 Taka for their entry fee. Even without any improvements, the study estimates that 76 percent of visitors would be



Picture 4. Brickfields such as this located within 50 meters of the border of Teknaf Game Reserve do more damage to the Reserve than do the poor households of the area (Courtesy Philip J. DeCosse)

willing to pay an additional 4-9 Taka per visit, and with minimal improvements to the Park, 92 percent said they would be willing to pay more than double the current fee.⁶

Although these scattered cases of increased expenditures by households on nature recreation can be identified, the overall awareness level about protected areas in the general public is extremely low. Surveys conducted in Dhaka and Rajshahi in 2004 asked respondents to name three protected areas in the country. While more than 90 percent could identify the Sunderbans as one, an estimated 5 percent could name Bhawal National Park and close to zero percent could identify any other. Even

the Bangla translation of "Protected Area" has none of the connotations or emotional resonance of "National Park System" in an American or Canadian context or "Aires Protégées" in places like Madagascar or France. In effect, the general public in the country has a strong desire to experience nature, and even the income to undertake those visits, but there is almost no infrastructure or visitor services at existing sites, nor any awareness that such sites might even exist.

The Nishorgo program for protected area management

Recognizing the need to manage these three areas of demand, the Forest Department created a new protected areas management Program entitled Nishorgo in 2004. The focus of the Program is on building partnerships with local, national and international stakeholders interested in the conservation of protected areas. At the heart of Nishorgo is an emphasis on development of viable models for co-management of protected areas in ways that provide poverty alleviation incentives to poor households around PAs while stopping the illegal commercial extraction that is now so rampant. One of the critical countervailing forces that are to be engaged to ensure success is the wide interest and demand of the public in ensuring conservation.

Bangladesh's Nishorgo Program for PA Management

The specific expected outputs of the Nishorgo Program are the following:

- A marked slowing of biodiversity loss in targeted Protected Areas;
- Active and formalized participation of local communities dependent on forest resources;
- An increase in the number of Protected Area sites and the capacity to receive visitors;
- Formalization of a Protected Area management system;
- Strengthening of local economy and betterment of living standard of local stakeholder.

Activities of Nishorgo include the following, among others:

- Development of co-management models at five specific Protected Areas;

- Sharing of economic benefits from protected areas with local participating stakeholders;
- Formalization of processes for reducing local conflicts over protected areas;
- Making PAs more visitor-friendly (while ensuring conservation goals are met);
- Refinement of the policy framework for protected areas management;
- Facilitation of eco-friendly private sector investment;
- Support to ecosystem rehabilitation and regeneration.

The Program is managed by the Forest Department, and receives support from USAID in the form of a Project focusing specifically on developing co-management models for five pilot PAs (called the Nishorgo Support Project). The Program also receives indirect support from the ADB Forestry Sector Project, which includes a component focusing on improving social forestry around seven Protected Areas.

Since the launch of the Program in February 2004, a number of notable milestones have been reached, including the following:

- Multiple levels of Government have accepted the principle of co-management, and a general governing structure including Council and Committee, for the Protected Areas;
- Initial Council meetings and awareness raising have taken place at all five initial sites to inform participants of their rights and opportunities to take a more active role in PA management;
- Baseline surveys have been undertaken, including participatory monitoring by communities using eight recognized and known species of birds;
- A new name, imagine and logo for the Protected Areas activities at the Forest Department has been developed, with the name "Nishorgo" itself being proposed by a student after a national competition;
- Fifteen hiking trails have been identified in an initial five Protected Areas;
- Developed a public-private partnerships program — called the Nishorgo Conservation Partnerships Program — in support of Protected Area conservation, including one with the Bangladesh Scouts and another with the Radisson Water Garden Hotel;
- A Vision of Protected Areas Management in 2010 has been developed by the Forest Department and presented to multiple parties, including the Prime Minister;
- Mechanisms for local participant benefits sharing in PA conservation have been developed for all PAs. These include social forestry in buffer zones, nursery enterprises, ecotourism enterprises and other activities.

Further information about the Nishorgo Program can be found at www.nishorgo.org

Discussion

While the challenges to the Nishorgo Program are many, the heart of the Program can be understood as an effort to manage competing demands for the protected areas, and in particular the three demands reviewed here, in a way that contributes to conservation, poverty reduction and local economic growth. It is true, as Ministers and other policy-makers are quick to point out, that the needs of the poor must be met. But it isn't enough. The Nishorgo Program has levers at its disposal to ensure that the poor households next

to protected areas receive a sufficient stream of benefits from limited off take inside the PA boundaries and from economic activities in the interface landscape.

Ensuring that the poor receive alternative income opportunities is the easy part of the equation. The more challenging piece is the process of giving them a voice and rights with which they, and other actors, can work to halt the illegal commercial extraction that is the more important cause of forest loss. Effectively, the

Nishorgo Program seeks to do this by empowering the local stakeholders,

Ensuring that the poor receive alternative income opportunities is the easy part... more challenging is... giving them a voice and rights with which they, and other actors, can work to halt the illegal commercial extraction that is the more important cause of forest loss.

including the local poor, in the context of a representative Co-Management Council at each protected area, and a Co-Management Committee. If they are to be effective in giving a voice to the aspirations of local poor to secure their future and livelihoods, then

these Councils and Committees must give practical and tangible rights and benefits to local stakeholders while ensuring conservation. And this is the more complex challenge.

In order to meet this challenge, the Program is taking the approach of working to capture the latent demand for the middle and upper classes to experience nature, and the interest of the private sector to project a green image through contributions to conservation causes. The nature-tourism industry is being engaged, and visitor services along with hiking trails are being established in pilot protected areas. The Program will work to see that an effective policy of "pro-poor tourism" is adhered to, one that capitalizes not only on the interest of the poor to have better livelihood opportunities, but also on the desire for tourists to have the extra "benefit" of feeling that they have supported poverty reduction and "charity" in their tourism experience.



Picture 5. With so little land in conservation, the demand for a nature experience is great. Here, newly trained Guides lead a group of Imams through Lawachara National Park. (Courtesy Nasim Aziz)

Conclusions

In many countries of the world, it is argued that conservation of protected areas represents a net loss to low income households. The poor need the forest for survival, the argument goes, so keeping them from it by strict conservation may end up causing them more harm than good. Bangladesh's unique context suggests that this general approach does not hold. Yes, the poor benefit from what is left of the very small protected area system, but the rapid destruction of the forests in the system are due to more wealthy and powerful economic interests. If these powerful economic interests are not stopped, the few remaining areas of forests will soon be fundamentally

The only sustainable means for the local poor to benefit is by a process of empowerment and taking control of these forests from the current network of local economic and political interests.... capitalizing upon the market and non-market values of the few remaining protected areas ...

converted to grasslands, as has already happened in many of the protected areas. And after that, the pressure will come for encroachment of the land and permanent conversion to other forms of tenure. Within a short time, what the poor are now taking from protected areas will no longer be available, and the land may be converted to leases on which the poor will need to pay for access.

The only sustainable means for the local poor to benefit is by a process of empowerment and taking control of these forests from the current network of local economic and political interests. As that wresting of power proceeds, it will be necessary to provide replacement income to the poor in ways that allow for conservation. Improved conservation will have ancillary benefits on the local economy via an increased number of visitors. Without a stronger and better-organized constituency for conservation, and particularly for nature-tourism, it is unlikely that sufficient counterweight to the local commercial interests can be achieved. The Forest Department has recognized that just this shift of power relations will be required, and it has established the Nishorgo Program as an effort to to capitalize upon the market and non-market values of the

few remaining protected areas in ways that can support poverty reduction and conservation goals. We hope that this value can be realized before it is too late, while the small protected area system of Bangladesh is still in place.

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Notes

- 1 Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, *Analysis of Basic Needs Dimension of Poverty*, August 1998, page 108.
- 2 Transparency International, *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2004* and previous years.
- 3 Forest Department / Ministry of Environment and Forests, *Nishorgo Von 2010: A Vision Statement Concerning Management of Protected Areas under the jurisdiction of Forest Department through the Year 2010*, February, 2005.
- 4 Data from the EarthTrends Database at <http://www.earthtrends.wri.org>, jointly funded by UNEP, UNDP, WRI and other donors. Figure includes data from IUCN Protected Area Categories I-V.
- 5 "Unlocking the Potential: National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction", General Economics Division, Planning Commission, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, December, 2004
- 6 Salma Khan, "Estimates of Willingness to Pay for Bhawal National Park", Thesis for BS in Environmental Studies, North South University, 2004.

“No capital needed!”— De facto open access to common pool resources, poverty and conservation in the Kafue Flats, Zambia

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Abstract. This article makes the point that poverty and conservation issues are centrally linked with access rights to common pool resources. The case of the Kafue Flats illustrates how local groups are rendered poor and vulnerable because of the changed situation of common pool resources, which used to be managed by customary common property institutions. As the Zambian state took control of these resources under conservation agencies and dismantled the customary use rules, the common pool resources became “open access” because the state was too poor to manage them as it wanted. This coincided with a large increase in the number of users, as many Zambians from urban and peri-urban areas or former miners who recently lost their jobs found relatively easy to exploit common pool resources such as the fish and wildlife in Kafue Flats. These people argue that, as citizens of Zambia and as owners of government licences, they have a right to exploit the natural resources. As they are usually more powerful than local people, these outsiders succeed in undermining local access and end up impoverishing local residents. To escape poverty, the latter have started making a commercial use of common pool resources, which amounts to an erosion of local rules, especially those defining access rights between men and women and between individuals and the community. In this light, conservation has a chance to succeed only if traditional resource rights will be re-established in a co-management setting. Some participatory processes aiming at just that have recently been initiated



Picture 1. Utama, the fishing monitor (*utamba*) of one tributary sector, Chiefdom Nalubamba. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

After a promising economic start due to its copper industries, Zambia is today one of the least developed and poorest coun-

tries in the world. Since independence in 1964 the government followed the double strategy of trying to develop the country industrially and to conserve nature in national parks. Under the first President, Kenneth Kaunda, conservation was particularly important, but Kaunda was also very much behind the copper industry, supposed to deliver the basis of the industrialisation of the country, with the aim of import substitution.¹ After the copper price dropped and oil prices rose up, this strategy became increasingly problematic and generated a massive debt for the country. The country's economy further suffered because of the fight against the

apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. Progressively fewer revenues from the state were available for different sectors, including conservation and the rural economy, which were heavily subsidised. Especially after Kaunda lost power, structural adjustment programmes lead to decentralisation and privatisation processes, which contributed to institutional changes in rural regions such as the Kafue Flats, in particular regarding common pool resources such as the fishing and hunting sector.

The Kafue Flats are a floodplain of 6500 km², of which between 3000 and 5000 km² are seasonally inundated. This makes the area rich in natural resources and an attractive place in a semi-arid region. After the floods recede, you find there rich pastures, fishing grounds and abundant wildlife.² The first inhabitants to use the natural resources under common pool tenure,³ were the indigenous Batwa.⁴ The Batwa are a fishing and hunting people, settled on elevations at the shore of the Kafue river itself. Today they are a minority. The Batwa developed regulations for the fisheries in the Kafue river rooted in their religious belief that ancestral spirits control the local fisheries, and especially the breeding grounds of breams in the area. There, they forbade fishing during the rainy season. The Batwa controlled river sections where fishing was allowed only by member of the local communities and outsiders who had asked and received their permission. These common property institutions were already regulating access to the fisheries at the time when the Ila and Balundwe pastoralists came into the area.⁵ They used the rich pastures of the floodplain in a transhumant way. Until recently, the Ila were known as the richest cattle owning people of Central Africa.⁶ Their

economy is based on cattle but it also includes agriculture and fishing in the tributaries of the Kafue river, ponds and oxbows, as well as individual and collective hunting. These activities made them prosperous, and their wealth attracted powerful groups such as the Lozi from the northwest, who raided the Ila. Despite being defeated several times, the Ila and Balundwe became known as fierce fighters and defenders of their area.⁷



Map 1. the Kafue flats and their inhabitants.

In each territory with one or more villages, the local leaders managed common pool resources as common property and local institutions regulated access

In Kafue Flats [...] after the floods recede, you find rich pastures, fishing grounds and abundant wildlife...

and the sharing of gains. Similarly to the Batwa, with whom they were intermarrying, the Ila and Balundwe crafted strict rules governing access to pasture, fish and wildlife. These rules prescribed fishing gear, permitted weapons and the timing of their use as well as inclusion/exclusion mechanisms— all adapted to the seasonal cycle of the floodplain. For instance, fishing was

always prohibited in the breeding areas in the main river. In addition, collective fishing in ponds in the dry season

Similarly to the Batwa, with whom they were inter-marrying, the Ila and Balundwe crafted strict rules governing access to pasture, fish and wildlife.

was only possible after the performing of ritual activities by ritual masters called *utamba*. Fishing before these rituals and announcements was believed to evoke supernatural

sanctions by ancestral spirits, who would have attached the fishermen in the form of crocodiles and hippos. The *matamba* (plural of *utamba*) working under village headmen monitored the river and tributary sections and had a group of young men helping them with enforcing the laws. Based on our research we know of some incidents in the past where free riders would be fined with the payment of cattle and people using the wrong gear, such as baskets not allowed at a certain time in the season, had their gear confiscated and destroyed. Similarly, if not drastically, traditional collective hunting (called *chila*) of the endemic lechwe antelope was announced by a co-ordinator representing a local group controlling a specific part of the Kafue Flats. Hunting before and after the announcement of the collective hunting time was repressed by serious sanctions. We know of at least one story, in which a poacher was reportedly killed by the supervising group for having hunted before the collective hunting time was announced.⁸

The Kafue Flats as region of seasonal immigration

Today several other groups have migrated into the area, some of them seasonally and others permanently. This already began in colonial times

when the authorities regarded the Kafue Flats, and especially the fisheries, as "underused". After "pacification" they invited the Lozi, the former enemies of the local people, to step in and use the fish in the area. This step undermined the power of the indigenous Batwa people, who were not numerous enough to take action against these immigrants.⁹ The Lozi fishermen installed permanent settlements in the area and introduced new fishing techniques, including nets. In the late 1950s the area attracted many commercial fishermen and traders from all over Zambia, but especially Bemba people from the Copperbelt. As catches went down the state took measures to set up formal fishery institutions by issuing licences, closing times and mini-



Picture 2. Ila waiting at a pond for the fish monitor (*utamba*) to perform the collective fishing ritual. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

mum gear for fishing nets.¹⁰ After independence, most of these rules were kept and the state could provide the financial means to monitor the fisheries and to sanction misuse. But the local people had to accept the new migrants and their local rules and access rights were effectively dismantled. Hunting regulations underwent a similar process. Collective hunting techniques and traditional institutions, especially the collective hunt (*chila*) on the endemic lechwe antelopes, were restricted by the government in the end of 1950s and then completely abolished in the 1960s. Hunting licences had to be bought, but those were difficult to obtain for local people and this made them feel that their access rights had been taken away.¹¹

Another central aspect of government policy was the setting up of national parks and game management areas by the Kaunda government, with the objective of protecting wildlife. Three national parks were established in the Kafue Flats: the Kafue National Park, which is the largest of the three, the Blue Lagoon Park and the Lochinvar Park, the latter being a former ranch of a white settler. The two smaller parks lay within Game Management Areas (GMA) 11, managed from the wildlife department that operates from Lochinvar Park.

After the decline in copper prices in 1975 Zambia moved into an economic crisis and people from urban and peri-urban areas began looking for alternative sources of income. Researchers working in the area at the time as well as local informants indicate that the fisheries became one of the most important informal sectors of the country.¹² The Kafue fisheries experienced waves of massive immigration. This led to a decline of catches, and consequently less immigration, but sea-

sonal immigration remained extremely high.¹³ Today one can find seasonal fishing camps of 900 households or more in the Kafue Flats. It is mostly young men attracted by the fast money in the commercial fisheries as well as in fish trade. But also women are engaged in fish trade and

...the relative closeness of the Kafue Flats to the capital Lusaka (250 km) makes the area attractive for seasonal immigrants who do not have a long-term interest in the resource base.

go to the flats for this. The climate in these camps is rough and aggressive. Men can be found drunk already in the afternoon, garbage lies around and the sanitation is inadequate, generating health problems. Observers agree that "law and order" here is completely out of hand. Most of the fishermen from these camps fish with illegal methods, including nets with extremely small mesh size or even mosquito nets and shade-cloth normally used for agriculture (to protect the vegetables from the sun). Other methods include large nets set without boats or driving fish into small meshed nets by beating upon the water. In addition, the fishing closed times between December and February (breeding times) are not respected.

What makes the area so attractive? On the one hand, the poorer segments of the society have to find their means to earn a livelihood. Fish and wildlife still catch good prices compared to other sectors such as maize (which is no longer subsidised). Another contributing factor is the relative closeness of the Kafue Flats to the capital Lusaka (250 km), which makes the area more attractive for seasonal immigrants who do not have a long-term interest in the resource base. In addition, the protected areas and two dams constructed for

hydropower generation have had important effects to the area. Because of the roads that have been built for these initiatives – even if they are poorly maintained road – the area is easily accessible from urban centres and the accessibility is further made easier by the dams because the area is less severely inundated than it used to be, especially in the rainy season.¹⁴ The exploitation of common pool resources such as fish and wildlife in the Kafue Flats thus became an important livelihood strategy for many people who lost their jobs or were badly paid. In interviews conducted by us an often mentioned argument by commercial fishermen and traders for being engaged in fishing business was that: “No capital (is) needed here!”. Because of that, and because of weak formal monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms, a relatively easy access, a good price that can be obtained for fish on the urban markets and the relatively little cost of gear and transportation, the fisheries became attractive to many. These occasional extractors from the common pool resources include former Copperbelt workers but also bank employees and business women from town. The Kafue Flats fisheries have become a *de facto* “open access” common pool resource. Locals do not have the right to uphold their customary rules. Seasonal immigrants argue that they are Zambians and have a right to access the Zambian resources managed by the state. However, due to lack of financial means, the fisheries are not effectively managed by the state, and not even monitored. Only two fishery officers are responsible for the monitoring of a river section of about 80 km, and often there is no money for transportation, cars and motorbikes do not operate and cannot be repaired, or fuel is lacking. Under such conditions it is clear that misuse of gear and fishing in closed times is rarely sanctioned by

the state. Fisheries officers cannot fulfil their role and local rules are no longer in place.



Picture 3. Ila women with baskets at a collective fishing event. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

The situation of wildlife is very similar to the one of fisheries. Hunting is relatively easy for urban people, who can get a licence with less travel and financial constraints compared to rural people.¹⁵ According to local informants it is easy for commercial hunters to bribe local scouts in order to be able to shoot more animals than the licence allows. The harsh

Seasonal immigrants argue that they are Zambians and have a right to access the Zambian resources managed by the state. However, due to lack of financial means, the fisheries are not effectively managed by the state, and not even monitored...

restructuring conditions since the time of structural adjustments and the cuts in the state budget, meant that less money is available for wildlife conservation, and underpaid game scouts are weaker in resisting corruption. The government attempted to cope with a partial privatisation of the Zambian Wildlife Authority (ZAWA). It has also revamped a programme called Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE), already initiated during Kaunda's times, which uses participatory approaches and seeks to involve local communities in Community Resource Boards.



Picture 4. Basket fishing is often a collective event. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

Poverty and conservation problems due to loss of local access to resources

The current main perception of the local people is that wealthy individuals from the city take away all the fish and game. A negative attitude towards new migrants is a relatively new phenomenon because especially in Ila and Balundwe societies a headman can strengthen his power by incorporating new groups as followers. This, however, has now changed for the Ila and Balundwe but also for the Batwa, a minority who has seen its own influence plummeting. Their rules are nowhere

respected. Among the very few remaining means against this loss of control are witchcraft and magic. In some instances, members of the Batwa claimed to be the ones controlling the numerous and dangerous hippos. But new migrants also have their techniques for magical protection and for luck in fishing.¹⁶

Among the very few remaining means against this loss of control are witchcraft and magic.

The Batwa— too few in number and stigmatised as being backward— are again disempowered. As a matter of fact, the Batwa possess all the classical features of an “indigenous people”, and their situation is worsened by the management of the Lochinvar Park. The park boundaries cover a large part of the former territory of the Batwa from Nyimba, the largest Batwa settlement. The Batwa complain that the park scouts harass them when they go into the park, that they do not allow them to fish in the park or to hunt in the GMA, meaning that the Batwa are no longer able to use the natural resources that they regard as their own. In their eyes, hunger and poverty are linked to the installation of the national park.

The Ila and Balundwe have also realised that they are losing common pool resources to the new migrants. Fish and wildlife have not been of commercial interest to them; they had been relying on it for subsistence. Their main interest was in cattle, and because of cattle they perceived themselves as rich, owning about 13 animals per male head in the 1960s.¹⁷ But, since then, the Ila have faced severe impoverishment due to major changes in their livelihood encompassing changing conditions about fish, game, crops and cattle. The first blow came with the state control of the fishing and hunt-



Picture 5. Men are now taking up women's baskets for fishing. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

ing sectors, which took away fishing and hunting rights. In the beginning this was a relatively minor problem as fishing in the tributaries was still possible for the Ila and Balundwe, who thus compensated the loss of game meat. Game meat used to be more important than beef, because traditionally the Ila and Balundwe only consumed beef at special occasions, such as funerals. The bulk of meat eaten in olden days was game meat.¹⁸ Also to obtain cash, the Ila used to rarely sell cattle because cattle was seen as a bank of security, used for marriage, milk consumption and for political reasons¹⁹ and ownership of cattle often involved more than just one person.²⁰

During the times of Kaunda the agricultural sector was subsidised and the Ila made maize production their basic source of cash income.²¹ Today maize is still an important cash crop but has lost its significance because of the cut of subsidies in the agricultural sector. Seed and fertilisers are no longer provided by the state. Inputs are getting expensive and trade is no longer based on fixed state controlled prices. People now depend on traders who buy right after harvest when the price is low. In addition, the area faced severe droughts in the last years leading se-

vere food crises. But what made many Ila and Balundwe unable to cope with these crises was a major cattle disease known as East Coast Fever or *denkete* (theileriosis). People lost about 80% of their cattle in the end of the 1980s and early 1990s and were only able to restock their herds slowly. Based on a survey conducted by the authors in five villages in Chief Nalubamba's area (Namwala District) households have only about 50% of the average number of cattle they had before. There are large differences between rich and poor households as the poorer households lost their livelihood basis.²² At the very time when agriculture and cattle husbandry went into crisis, access to wildlife was already restricted and fish was getting scarcer due to high demand.

Due to the changes in the environmental and institutional setting it is now getting difficult for local people to even imagine alternatives. It is in this respect that local Batwa, Ila and Balundwe seek a better and safer access to the common pool resources they were controlling in former times. In the wildlife sector they see that people from outside get all the game, which makes some of the young men opt for the poaching strategy hoping to be able to sell some dried

antelope meat. The access to fish from the Flats has become very difficult. In times of scarcity fish goes to wealthy traders or to female fish traders getting fish for sex

...the local rules are not respected by the new migrants, who do not want to be controlled by locals and threaten to use violence to free themselves from their rules.

(a full range of relationships has been observed, from prostitution to having a regular boyfriend among the fishermen). Another problem for local people is that the local rules are not respected by the new migrants, who do not want

to be controlled by locals and threaten to use violence to free themselves from their rules. With the absence of the Department of Fisheries the only option for local people would be to organise and use physical force to get their rules respected, which could lead to ethnic conflicts.

The use of fisheries in the tributaries has also increased, and even there the institutional setting has changed. As fish is becoming increasingly valuable, even local people get interested in fish as a resource for cash. There is an in-

Men - who used to fish with spears - are taking up fishing with baskets, the technique reserved for the women. [...] young men have taken up fishing with nets in ponds long before the collective fishing is announced, leaving the rest of the community, men and women alike, with next to nothing.

stitutional change happening regarding gear. Men - who used to fish with spears - are taking up fishing with baskets, the technique reserved for the women. The men then sell the fish and keep the money for their personal use and not for the household. Similarly, young men have taken up fishing with nets in ponds long before

the collective fishing is announced, leaving the rest of the community, men and women alike, with next to nothing. The local supervisors called *utamba* seem powerless to maintain control. The young men then invest their money, for example into grocery stores, while the women who used to fish for family subsistence end up losing one of the last sources of animal protein for their households. Poor households cannot compensate this loss with any other income generating activity.

During the rainy season, markets develop close to bridges of tributaries attracting more and more commercial fishermen and traders from town, who benefit from small fish travelling upstream to breed. Last but not least, traditional weirs controlled by men called *buyeelo* have increased and are set without accepting former regulations such as getting the permission from local headmen. These men therefore also violate the women's right to fish because women are not allowed to fish once a *buyeelo* is set.

Most of these changes contribute to inequalities within the local people as only

few can profit from them, while poverty increases for those who are no longer entitled to use the resources. Meanwhile the state is unable to provide adequate means for sustainable use and for conservation. As a



Picture 7. An Ila herdsman. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

matter of fact, conservation itself is part of the problem because it excludes local people from their right to manage the resources and undermines their locally devised institutions. There are now attempts to get back to co-management systems in wildlife and in the fisheries. In wildlife management so

called Community Resource Boards are introduced locally. Results are mixed

Most of these changes contribute to inequalities within the local people as only few can profit from them, while poverty increases for those who are no longer entitled to use the resources

because information about potential incentives, such as profit from the park and from a camp site inside the park, is not well known, and local people hardly know where the money from the Lochinvar Park

paid to local Chiefs go. Money might go to help set up school or health facilities but these are collective gains and not individual ones.²³ Another problem is that the tourism revenues are too small to provide a financial incentive to each household to be willing to participate in conservation of wildlife, especially if

compared with the costs related to problems with herd mobility to the pastures in the Flats or to the loss of game and fish within the park boundaries and within the GMA.²⁴

A possibly more successful approach has been initiated by the local Department of

Fisheries, which started a discussion of locally developed by-laws supplementary to the national fishery laws. This attempt is currently being supported by

the WorldFish Centre through an eighteen-month pilot project covering the Southern part of the Kafue Flats. It is a promising step because without recognising access and management rights by the state, no sustainable use and no conservation measure can be taken successfully. It involves a real participatory process, in which all stakeholders are able to discuss their views on how to structure access rights. Once the process is concluded, it will be legally recognised by the state in a co-management system. Especially promising, the process is based on local initiatives and demands and it incorporates mechanisms to include women's voice by partially gender separated local debates on such by-laws. Such methods make sure that women are not just present at meetings without speaking up. The initiative also implies clear and trustworthy regulations of when the state (and which department of the state) will need to step in to support decisions taken by all the stakeholders, and especially of women. Only by these means, poverty in the Kafue Flats can be reduced and the natural resources will have a chance of being used in a sustainable way.

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Picture 6. A fishtrader at Chunga Lagoon. (Courtesy T. Haller and S. Merten)

Notes

- 1 Gibson, 1999; Andersson, Bigsten and Persson, 2000.
- 2 See Handlos, 1977; Ellenbroek, 1987; Chabwela, 1992; Chooye and Drijver, 1995.
- 3 Becker and Ostrom, 1995.
- 4 Lehmann, 1977.
- 5 This is a result of our own research. We collected data about this during two research periods of six

- month each in Mbeza (Ila Chiefdom Nalubamba and surrounding chiefdoms) between 2002 and 2004. Methods used were participant observation, qualitative and quantitative interviews, focus groups discussions, biographies and oral history.
- 6 Our own research; Fielder 1973.
 - 7 See the diaries of Emile Holub and others; Cutshall 1980.
 - 8 Smith and Dale, 1920; Fielder, 1973; Colson, 1970; Cutshall, 1980; and our own research.
 - 9 Lehmann, 1977.
 - 10 Mortimer, 1965.
 - 11 Chabwela, 1992; Gibson, 1999; our own research.
 - 12 Scudder, personal communication, 2003
 - 13 See Mortimer, 1965; Muyanga and Chipungu, 1982; Subramaniam, 1992; our own research.
 - 14 Our own research; Chooye and Drijver, 1995.
 - 15 See also Chabwela, 1992.
 - 16 See La Munière, 1969; our own research.
 - 17 Fielder, 1973.
 - 18 Smith and Dale, 1920 and 1968; Cutshall, 1980; Fielder, 1973; our own research.
 - 19 Fielder, 1973, Rennie, 1982.
 - 20 Tuden 1968; Fielder 1973.
 - 21 see also Cutshall 1980.
 - 22 own research.
 - 23 See also Gibson, 1999.
 - 24 Our own research; see also Gibson, 1999.

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Does resettlement contribute to conservation? The case of Ikundu-Kundu, Korup National Park, Cameroon

Anne-Marie Tiani and Chimere Diaw

Résumé. Deux hypothèses ont été à la base du recasement des populations du parc national de Korup (KNP) au Cameroun. Le déplacement devrait entraîner l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations recasées et éliminer ou réduire la pression des activités paysannes sur la faune du Parc National. Cet article examine la validité de ces hypothèses dans le cas des populations déplacées du village d'Ikundu-Kundu (IKK), le seul village du KNP déplacé dans le cadre de ce programme. L'article contribue ainsi à l'étude des impacts pluridimensionnels du recasement sur les populations et sur la biodiversité. L'analyse s'appuie sur les recherches effectuées par les auteurs à IKK en 2003, ainsi que sur les enseignements tirés d'une riche littérature sur le Parc National de Korup. Elle montre que le recasement induit de profonds changements dans les activités de subsistance des paysans recasés. D'agriculteurs-chasseurs-cueilleurs, certains sont en train de se transformer en agriculteurs 'tout court'. Si, à court terme, cette situation peut avoir des avantages sur la biodiversité faunique du parc, elle est désastreuse pour l'ensemble du couvert forestier de la région et elle induit chez les recasés des stress et des perturbations socioculturelles importantes. Par ailleurs, il y a une combinaison de facteurs qui font que—malgré la délocalisation— la chasse se pratique encore dans le parc par les jeunes recasés, autour du village abandonné. En définitive, le bilan du recasement d'IKK est plutôt très mitigé après 3 années - d'autant que la durabilité des impacts socio-économiques positifs enregistrés est largement tributaire d'un encadrement et d'un suivi permanent des populations recasées.

The confrontation of dominant Western representations of Nature with African local realities is at the root of the present impasse in the management of protected areas (PAs) in tropical African humid regions. Myths and conjectures, particularly the myth of "wilderness" and "pristine forests",¹ have shaped conservation policies in Africa in ways

strangely unhindered by historical accuracy. The general weakness of biological monitoring² in conservation projects defined in reference to the "human threat" to biological diversity is a glaring manifestation of this paradox.

The myth of the African wilderness found a strong ally in the legal fiction of the "vacant lands without master",



Picture 1. A depart for the source... women going to fetch water in the Cameroon rainforest. (Courtesy Patrick Nyemeck)

the cornerstone of the colonial land doctrine in Africa. Starting in the late 19th century, this had made possible the transfer of large tracts of community forests into "crown lands";³ it also made easier the top-down creation of protected areas on community lands, particularly after WWII and the African independences in the 1960s.

Local communities' tenure systems and their rights to forest resources have been seriously weakened by these processes;⁴ and so were the communities' capacity to influence conservation policy decisions. In the case of the Korup National Park (KNP), the subject of this paper, wilderness myths strongly interlaced with policies to clash with community rights during the process of park creation in the 1980s and 1990s. The result is a 25-year old resettlement stalemate, still unresolved to this day.⁵ Through the case of the KNP, this paper addresses one aspect of the troubled relationship between conservation, resettlement policies, and human welfare. It does so by comparing the assumptions behind the KNP official resettlement policy with the reality of the one "success" claimed by this

policy: the resettlement of the Ikundu Kundu village in 2000. As such, it is a contribution to studies on the multidimensional impacts of protected areas on local populations and biodiversity. It also carries out a critical analysis of exclusionary protected area policies, still practiced in African forest regions.

Our paper is based on data and information from research carried out in May 2003 in the KNP area. It does not look at all the aspects of the Korup Integrated Conservation Development Project (ICDP), nor does it examine

the broader implications of its resettlement.⁶ The moves actually left five villages - out of the six initially targeted - inside the park, with no legal status; but this is not the main subject here. Rather, by discussing the case of Ikundu-Kundu (IKK), the only village "successfully" resettled from the KNP, our aim is to

critically examine the conservation-development assumptions of the resettlement policy under the most favourable light: a place where a community was resettled with significant project funding. Our main question is: what can be said from this case about the cumulative impacts of resettlement on the conservation of the KNP biodiversity and on the livelihoods of the resettled populations?

One can rightly object that it may still be early, three years only after the IKK resettlement, to identify all its conse-

In the case of the Korup National Park (KNP) wilderness myths strongly interlaced with policies to clash with community rights during the process of park creation in the 1980s and 1990s. The result is a 25-year old resettlement stalemate, still unresolved to this day...

quences. We believe, however, that pertinent indicators of the evolution of these outcomes already exist and can be discussed. After reviewing the socio-economic changes induced by the IKK resettlement and its complementary steps, we will discuss the sustainability of these changes in relation to the conservation of forest ecosystems in the KNP area. These twin development and conservation objectives were the main justifications for the creation of the KNP.

Changes induced by resettlement—observations and plausible forecasts

The alleged incompatibility between protected areas and human communities is the basic theoretical foundation of protected areas resettlement policies. In the case of the KNP, which, at the turn of the century, was the only protected area of the Central African humid forest region with an active resettlement compensation program,⁷ this policy was based on a simple trade-off. Local people were to give up their traditional lands to make way for a people-free park; in return, they would be offered housing, as well as material and financial support to join the broader flow of modernity next to modern infrastructures and amenities, and away from the bush.⁸ The “need” to relocate the KNP resident population was further justified by the perceived conflict between biodiversity conservation and the people’s way of life. The prevailing view among KNP managers and scientists was that hunting was the main source of cash income and the only source of animal protein for the people in Korup;⁹ hence, the very presence of people in Korup had a negative impact on biodiversity. Resettlement appeared to be the precondition for achieving the twin aims of the Korup ICDP: reduce the local pressure on

wildlife and the particularly rich forest habitats, and support the development outside the KNP of the local population.¹⁰

Within that basic framework, it was assumed that relocation, coupled with local development support, would bring about important modifications and improvements in the socio-economic activities of the displaced populations. They would invest more in agriculture, and less in foraging activities. As a result, pressure on wildlife would be reduced, and development achieved. In the former villages, cleared forests would gradually grow back to restore the original wilderness.

It was planned that various facilities would be made available to the resettled population, including housing and means of communication. Particular support for agriculture was planned in order to improve the communities’ livelihoods, increase their incomes and facilitate the transition from a hunting-gathering lifestyle to sedentary agriculture.

It appears in retrospect, that the ethno-political and financial implications of this process were never fully apprehended.¹¹ In the case of IKK, the social costs, risks and impacts, which could also jeopardize the success of resettlement as a viable conservation option, largely remained unquestioned.

....a simple trade-off: local people were to give up their traditional lands to make way for a people-free park; in return, they would be offered housing, as well as material and financial support next to modern infrastructures and amenities, and away from the bush.

Changes in Ikundu-Kundu

Ikundu-Kundu (IKK) is one of the 7 villages that were proposed for resettlement in 1981, when a long process of negotiations¹² was launched. Five years later, in 1986, the KNP was created. When the village was resettled in 1999, there were about 189 persons in IKK and 23 households.¹³ IKK is the only resettled village to date. The name of the former village was maintained. The IKK resettlement process was completed in the year 2000.

One can speculate on the quality or the sustainability of the complementary steps applied.¹⁴ However, in the case of the resettlement of the IKK population, some facilities were granted to them. For example, a house was given to each household and each adult man older than 18 years; community infrastructure such as a school, a community meeting hall, an *Ekpe* house,¹⁵ a motorable road, streets inside the village and water supply¹⁶ were provided. Moreover, each household received financial assistance for agricultural clearing, farm equipment, planting stock and inputs for plantations.¹⁷ These actions brought about some socio-cultural, economic, and institutional changes in the communities, which we will characterize and assess later.

The multidimensional character of change in the daily lives of the resettled populations is difficult to determine, as it is the result of the evolution of various factors. However, the evaluation of the variation of certain significant indicators (given that they provide information on others) can provide insight into the direction and the extent of ongoing change. Thus, with the help of discussions in focus group meetings and participatory research methods such as "pebble games"¹⁸ it was possible to estimate the evolution over time

of various variables relating to socio-economic (e.g., types of activities; time invested in each activity; incomes generated by each activity), socio-ecological (e.g. perception of the importance of each ecosystem), and institutional change (e.g., importance of traditional institutions) between the old and the new village.

Change in economic activities

We assessed the evolution of the following socio-economic variables between the old and the new village:

- types of activities;
- time invested in each activity;
- income generated by each activity.

After listing the various types of community activities carried out in the old and new village, the participants used pebbles¹⁹ to determine the relative importance of each activity in each site, in relation to time invested or incomes generated.

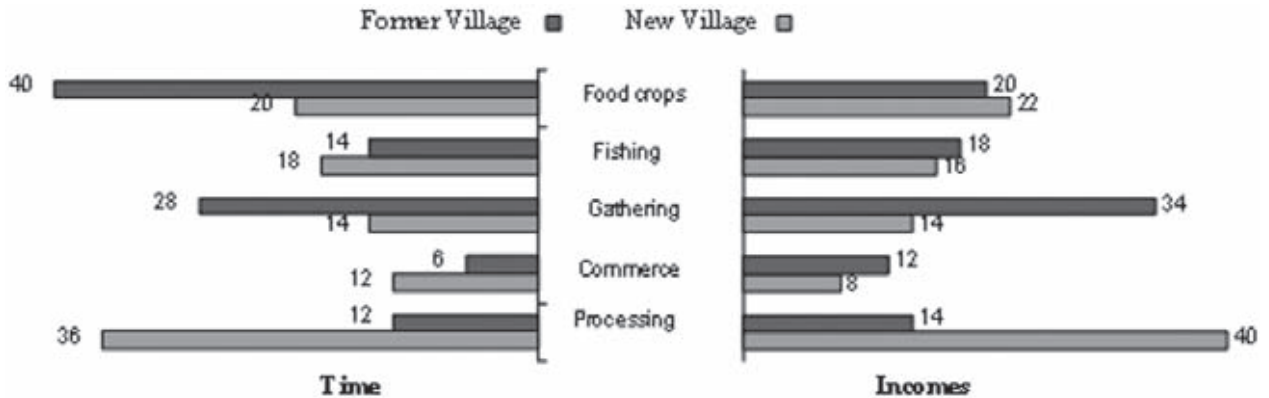
The results from this exercise show that, regarding women (fig. 1), the time invested and the incomes from the gathering of non timber forest products (NTFPs) were considerably reduced after the resettlement; the women invested about half the time in these activities (from 28 to 14%), and their related income dropped from 34 to 14%. In return, cassava processing became the main activity of the women in the new site, taking three times more of their time (from 12 to 36%), and becoming their main source of income (from 14 to 40%). The time they invested in farming also dropped by half, without significant effect on the proportional income they derived from food crops.

...the data show that farmers in IKK invest more in farming since they settled in the new site...

All things remaining equal, this may probably indicate a better access to markets and more rewarding prices for food crops in the new site.

Regarding men (fig.2), activities are more diversified. In addition to activities carried out by women, namely farming, fishing, gathering, cassava

Figure 1. Comparison of incomes and time invested in each activity between the former and the new village. A sample of 8 Women in IKK, May 2003.



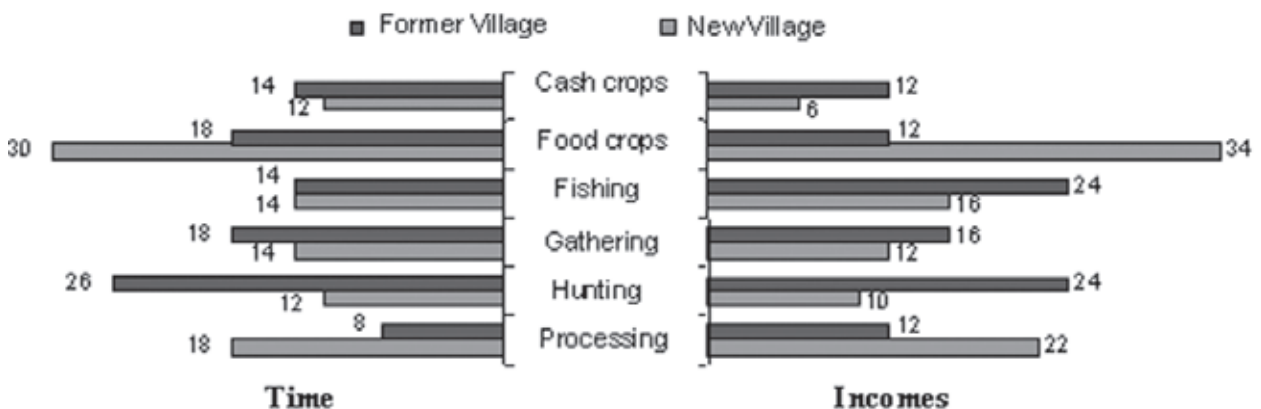
processing, men are involved in plantation agriculture, hunting and trapping. The time they invest farming in the new village is 60%, as against 40% in the old village. What has changed is the greater importance of food crops (as opposed to cocoa plantations, for instance) and cassava processing (*garrri*), in terms of time invested and, particularly of income (56 % of the new income basket, against 24 % previously). This shift to food crops farming by men, a trend already noted by Schmidt Soltau in 1999, has become a reality. On the other hand, the time invested

in hunting and trapping fell from 26% to 12%, while the overall contribution of foraging to men's incomes dropped 26 points. These data show that farmers in IKK invest more in farming since they settled in the new site. Ultimately, three years after settlement in the new site, the farmer-hunters of IKK became farmers.

The evolution of income

There are three noticeable curves that correspond to three distinct actor-groups:

Figure 2. Comparison of time invested, and incomes from each activity, between the former and the new village. A sample of 12 Men in IKK, May 2003.



- Women state that their incomes have risen from 10.000 - 15.000 CFA francs each month (120,000 - 180,000 CFA per year²⁰) in the former village to 30,000 , even 50,000 CFA per month (360,000 to 600,000 CFA per year) in the new village.
- On the other hand, men and the youth state that their incomes have dropped from 500,000 CFA per year for each adult in the former site, to 300,000 CFA in the new site. However, they believe that this situation is temporary, because at the moment the only source of income is cassava processing and the 'garri' trade. In 5 years, orchards, palm-tree plantations and cacao-trees will start bearing and new plantations will be created, this will result in an increase of incomes for men.
- A group of hunters, mainly made up of young people, mentioned that there is a very low presence of wildlife in the new site, and as such they are forced to return to their former site or to the territory belonging to their ethnic group for hunting.

Socio-cultural and institutional change

- *Enhanced perception of the value of money.* Resettlement close to the city has created a link to the outside world. It is logical to expect that the facilitation of communication and access to the media (radio, television) will accelerate the rate of change of value systems. Purchasing power and money will gain more importance in the community, and will take on an increasingly important place in social relationships, to the detriment of local institutions and customs, which will gradually give way. The pull of the city could be sufficiently strong to induce massive rural exodus in the long run, and consequently lead to the decline of the village.
- *Weakening of cultural values.* Local institutions and secret societies (*Ekpe*) play an important role with regards to social cohesion. In particular, with regards to the development of the code of conduct, law enforcement and conflict resolution. This cultural heritage is quickly falling apart as a result of the transfer to the new site. A survey carried out by Schmidt Soltau (2000) shows that in the old site, 57% of respondents were willing to go to the chief in order to resolve their conflicts, 33% to elders, 5% to the government and 5% to the Korup Project, as against 13% to the chief, 4% to elders, 13% to the government and 70% to the Korup project in the new site.
- *Weakening of the community structure.* Tiani *et al.* (2003) noticed a gradual detachment between the holders of ancestral traditions (elders) and the youth; the latter are increasingly attracted by modernism in the city that is now nearby. Jum and Diaw (2003:17) also noted the harmful effects of resettlement on the social structure of communities, particularly on existing friendships, associations, marriages or trade networks.
- *Conflicts with host villages.* Ituka and Fabé, the two host villages, are ethnic Korup communities tied by kinship to the population of IKK; these ties were instrumental in facilitating the resettlement of IKK in the Ituka-Fabe territory. In that

This cultural heritage is quickly falling apart as a result of the transfer to the new site.

process, however, the two host villages expected to benefit from the same facilities as the ones granted to the IKK population. As it came to be, the populations of Ituka did not receive anything from the project. Fabé did get some support, which they considered negligible, whereas the complementary steps taken for the IKK people were very significant. In view of a growing dissatis-

... the settlers are asking the government to issue them land titles in order to secure their new tenure ... a move that can increase the growing unease between the resettled and the host community ... [Moreover] absentee right-holders were excluded from the process and not allocated any land. This situation is likely to be brewing conflict...

faction and resentment within the host population, existing relations between the latter and the settlers are at risk of going sour. Perceiving this risk, and a reluctance of their hosts to recognize them as legitimate right-holders, the settlers are asking the government to issue them land titles in order to secure their new tenure; given

the long-standing conflict between customary and statutory law across the region (e.g. Diaw, 2005), this move can only increase the growing unease between the two communities.

- *Exclusion of natives living outside the park.* The method used by various consultants for the census of the residents took into account only people found in IKK at the time of the study. A census carried out by Diaw *et al.* (2003) in Bareka Batanga, one of the other villages located inside the Korup National Park, shows that rural exodus is very high

in the area: the census staff found in the village only 20 persons out of 255 right-holders that could be otherwise identified, that is only 8% of the total population was present at the time of the census. In general, emigrants hold on firmly to rights over their ancestral heritage, their social status, land and forests in particular; just as those left behind in the village. External elites play a key part in local policy, and keep very close links with the village. However at the time of resettlement, only residents and their property were taken into account. Absentee right-holders that constitute the most part of the population were excluded from the process. These were not allocated any land. This situation is likely to be brewing conflict, given that the bond with ancestral lands and culture is a solid base of social identity among the forest people.

The resettled populations' perception of change

The table below²¹ outlines issues on community experience and the perception of resettlement discussed with a group of 12 men and another group of 8 sampled women.

The advantages listed by IKK inhabitants are socio-economic facilities: a market, road, houses, plantations, communication, etc. - all facilities that complemented resettlement. These advantages are largely matched with a range of social costs and risks such as freedom for fishing and hunting, loss of cultural values, and land insecurity. However the most significant disadvantages and losses are socio-ecological: they have to do with less abundant fish, wildlife, certain NTFPs, palm nuts, drinking water, etc.

Table 1. opinions of women and men in the resettled village

<i>What advantages and goods existing in the former village did you meet here?</i>	
<p><u>Women:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wild mangoes • Food and land fertility • Other people have plums (<i>Dacryodes edulis</i>), palm oil and coconut trees but they are not yet producing. 	
<i>What are the advantages that you have here and which did not exist in the former site?</i>	
<p><u>Women:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to market • Good roads infrastructure • Access to health care and hospitals units • More development. 	<p><u>Men:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern houses • Ekpe traditional house • Community house • Good toilets • Proximity to hospitals • Easier fishing
<i>What have you lost in coming to settle here?</i>	
	<p><u>Men:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The availability of land • Free hunting, trapping and fishing. • Some cultural practices • The availability of palm trees for the extraction of palm wine.
<i>What are the disadvantages of resettlement?</i>	
<p><u>Women</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are no shrimps here. The eco-guards remove our shrimp traps from the river (Mana river); • We don't have cars to go to town; • Some NTFP such as bush onion and Djanang (<i>Ricinodendron heudelotti</i>) and Eru (<i>Gnetum SPP</i>) are not found here; • The tiles of the roofs are breaking and falling, and our houses are leaking. Weevils are eating the beams and the wooden pillars; the bricks are breaking and leave holes on the walls. 	
<i>What do you lack?</i>	
<p><u>Women:</u></p> <p>Sources of loans, community forest, land certificate, house maintenance, drinking water, electricity, a health centre, scholarship for our children, activities that generate income and a monthly compensation of 40.000 FCFA.</p>	<p><u>Men</u></p> <p>We go back to our former village to hunt because there is no game here. We don't need authorization to hunt in the forest that belongs to Ekon 1, Ekon 2, Ekk 1 and Ekk 2 since we are of the same ethnic group. But the other ethnic group must ask the chief permission to hunt.</p>

An overall look at the situation

What are the changes that can be attributed to resettlement, and what are those induced by local development

support? Can the same results be obtained using one or the other initiative?

It is difficult to separate both factors, as they are very much intertwined.

However, one can mentally visualize both scenarios: local development support in the old village on the one hand, and resettlement of the populations without any assistance on the other hand.



Picture 2. Scooping water from one of the myriad streamlets of the Cameroon rainforest. (Courtesy Joachim Nguiebouri)

Social facilities benefiting the settlers in the new site stem from direct external investment in their livelihood and economic environment (see table 1). The improvement of livelihoods is mainly a result of the improvement of roads and better access to the urban market. It can actually be argued that similar results would have been obtained if the same investments were made in the former site. The question therefore is not about livelihood improvement resulting from this type of investment. The question rather comes back to the older debate on the effect of people and roads on national parks. This debate is far from closed, with strong arguments entertained on both sides. The most fundamental arguments against roads in national parks can be found among authors (e.g. Soule and Terbog, 1999) who oppose the necessity of large-scale natural connectivity

of wild habitats to what they perceive as the innately destructive nature of social connectivity (e.g. roads) and economic development on wild environments. This perception of an inherent conflict between roads and natural parks in Africa, though not the official KNP discourse, has certainly influenced the KNP resettlement policy.

Many authors²² and local actors, on the other hand, question the validity of this "negative connection" on the basis of practical, rather than philosophical, arguments. They argue that the impact of roads on wildlife differs according to the type of roads (e.g. logging vs. service or tourism) and the people who use them. They claim that the lack of roads in a Park such as Korup, for instance, is more a hindrance to the trade of (heavier) agricultural produces than to poaching and the bushmeat trade.²³ Hunting tracks, and tracks for the transportation and trade of game are not by the road. Poaching, as a matter of fact, is a clandestine activity that persists notwithstanding the absence of roads.

The question raised by Dounias in 1999: "will the absence of a road resolve conservation problems?" can well apply to the KNP context. According to Bouly de Leslain (1999), the link between road and development is an inciting factor for people adhesion to conservation projects. It can equally be argued that, with the same support for agriculture, the IKK population could have developed farming in its former site, and that pressure on wildlife could have been reduced. Significant risks with regards to the degradation of forest cover would have remained (particularly if farming were not guided and monitored) but, from a larger landscape perspective, these risks are the same in the new site. The difference between the two scenarios

lies in the type of forest converted for farming. While only primary forests are transformed into plantations and food crop farms in the new site, in the former site, it would have been mainly fallows and secondary forests. In addition, the very uncertainty that has surrounded the Korup resettlement project since the turn of the 90s has been a key driver of a deforestation push in the park by local people seeking to maximize their compensations or their bargaining position in the advent of resettlement.²⁴ This push was also found among IKK settlers who needed to secure as much land as possible for themselves or their households through clearing.

To sum up, development support— in particular the creation of a motorable road and farming support— led populations to focus more on agriculture to the detriment of other activities. At the same time, resettlement induced deforestation and unsettling social effects on park villages and the resettled populations.

Likely impacts of resettlements on biodiversity conservation

The IKK resettlement will benefit the park's vegetation insofar as the abandoned site will soon be re-colonized by the forest. Animals such as buffalos and elephants, which have a liking for secondary forests, are likely to find there a habitat particularly rich for their nutrition. The area could therefore re-grow to form a single block of forest, 'all in one piece', as prescribed by the 1994 forestry legislation. Poaching could decrease – under the condition that special efforts are made to discourage Nigerian hunters or to divert the resettled population from hunting. Moreover, the conversion of farmer-hunter-gatherers into farmers is likely to reduce some of the pres-

sure on the wildlife.

On the other hand, if one considers the current spatial layout of the villages, deforestation can be harmful to ecological balance in the area. Our study has shown that the 5 villages remaining inside the park have colonized some 100 km² for agricultural activities. These villages have not been and are not likely to be relocated.²⁵ In addition, the resettlement of a village such as IKK entails clearing of important forest spaces outside the park. From this viewpoint, resettlement may be simply a transfer of pressure from the interior to the exterior, at least in the absence of well thought-out alternatives. In addition, it is not certain that abandoned villages will be secured or that poaching will disappear as a result.

This is compounded by the fact that the establishment of the national park followed by resettlement seriously weakened the traditional control and regulation system. In the traditional system, the territories of the Bakoko, Batanga and Korup tribal groups in the current KNP area were recognized by these people among themselves, and by their neighbors. Farming, hunting, gathering, fishing and other activities were mainly practiced through lineage affiliation within each territory. To access the land for hunting and other activities, external

The IKK resettlement will benefit the park's vegetation insofar as the abandoned site will soon be re-colonized by the forest. ... [but]... the resettlement seriously weakened the traditional control and regulation system. ... areas formerly under the control of customary rules and institutions may [now] become free access zones...

users had to be granted permission by elders and other rights-holders within the community. There were also by-rules limiting the freedom of movement and the quantity of wildmeat that could be taken out.²⁶ With the creation of the park, the territorial legitimacy of local communities started being questioned (though not in any way decisively) by outsiders, claiming that the land had become state land and was no longer community territory. In the unique case of IKK, the resettlement may have removed the last physical and social barrier to this external challenge. Areas formerly under the control of customary rules and institutions may become free access zones, causing an influx of strangers, determined and better armed than park guards. The villagers say, "Nigerians will take our place in our forest." The forest administration²⁷ validates this assertion, when it mentions that eco-guards are very few, poorly trained and ill equipped.²⁸

Resettlement: is it necessary for conservation?

The discourse presenting the presence of human settlements within the KNP as a paramount threat to biodiversity is based on a number of presumptions. The first relates to the characterization of the KNP peasantry as predominantly hunters and gatherers,²⁹ which contradicts scientific and historical evidence pointing to the contrary. The people of the Korup area inhabit this region since at least the 15th century when they were part of a flourishing trade network³⁰. As early as 1923, Carr mentions that "Farming was [their] only source of income next to hunting and gathering". Cattle (1925) is even clearer when he states, in connection to the Bakoko and Batanga, that these "people were basi-

cally farmers."

Our own surveys, coupled with *in situ* inspection of the spatial deployment of agricultural activities in the 5 park villages³¹ and in IKK, confirmed the dominant position of farming within a diverse portfolio of activities and resources. They unequivocally show that, all in all, the communities presently living in the KNP are traditional swidden cultivators, as seen in other parts of the Cameroonian rainforest.

It is not certain, either, whether the populations depend exclusively on game for animal protein requirements. Malleson (2000) studied the contribution of forest products in the nutrition of populations in the Korup area. Results are significant, as they show that fisheries seemed to be the principal source of proteins in the area, and that the consumption of game was moderate.³²

The second important presumption concerns the correlation between the human presence in the park and a "declining wildlife".³³ Data collected by Okon and Dunn (2003) show the opposite: mammalian wildlife, (of major interest to poachers) was not decreasing in the park, at least not in its southern part, the only one that had ever benefited from biological monitoring in the history of the park. Even more striking, the growth of the local wildlife observed by the authors was taking place in an area surrounded by fairly large communities, such as Pamol (~ 4000 inhabitants) and Erat (500-1000 inhabitants) next to Ikon-do-Kondo (~ 200). This is not unrelated to the priorities of this population of plantation workers (Pamol) and rural farmers, predominantly preoccupied with expanding their own private farms and processing activities (e.g. Erat). It

must be stressed that the lack of reliable monitoring data was criticized by the 2002 mid-term evaluation of the Korup project, and that other sources³⁴ indicated a possible increase of wildlife in and outside the Korup National Park.

Ultimately, it appears that the benefits of resettlement for biodiversity are far from clear; and that, in the absence of systematic monitoring, the idea that local communities constitute a threat to wildlife in the park is unproved and can be contested. Yet the risks of longer term damage to biodiversity are real in a context where traditional authority in the park villages has been weakened, and can be made even more ineffective by its delocalization from the park area.

Conclusion

The idea of the human threat to biodiversity in Korup National Park was based on assumptions rather than on proven facts. The scientific claims behind those assumptions described the indigenous population as hunter-gatherers relying on game "poaching" as their "unique source" of animal protein. Such assertions, construed by the advocates of resettlement³⁵ made possible the development of a radical policy of exclusion. This interlinked with further restrictions in the Cameroon law³⁶ to close up community options, as well as the policy options of the managers themselves.

The early "scientific" claims have not been necessarily confirmed today. Our field data show that residents of Korup National Park are primarily farmers; they are hunters, gatherers or fishers only in a secondary and complementary fashion. Their sources of income are very diverse. The major threat is the one of degradation of the forest cover as a result of clearance for agriculture,

but also as a possible sign of revolt against the management policy of the park.

In the absence of a system to monitor the evolution of resources and the effectiveness of park management, the communities' descriptions of their environment, activities, and livelihood offer strong basis for understanding the real change dynamics involved.

Recent monitoring data seems to indicate that mammal wildlife is not decreasing in the park, thus contributing to weakening the claims supporting the relocation policy.

...in the absence of systematic monitoring, the idea that local communities constitute a threat to wildlife in the park is unproved and can be contested.

In this light, the necessity and urgency of resettlement should be revisited. Other solutions should in fact be explored, including arrangements that would maintain communities inside the park³⁷ with development support. Such arrangements should also be based on the recognition of traditional institutions and their regulatory role in resource management and conservation. An adapted program for environmental education could build the capacity of communities to develop their livelihood options, while self-monitoring their ecological impacts. Eliminating political taboos and scientific biases from the making of park policies will certainly help create a context favourable to social cooperation and to the people's engagement in long term conservation.

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Notes

- 1 Neumann, 1995; Malleson, 2001
- 2 See for instance Brandon and Wells (1992)
- 3 Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1982; Tjouen, 1982.
- 4 Diaw, 2005; Wilson, 2003.
- 5 Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming (2006).
- 6 See e.g., Diaw and Tiani (forthcoming 2006). for those aspects, and Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau (2003a, 2003b) for an analysis of resettlement policies in the Central African region.
- 7 Cernea and Schmidt Soltau, 2003; Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming (2006).
- 8 Malleson, 2001; Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming (2006).
- 9 Gartlan, 1984:71; Infield, 1988; Republic of Cameroon, 1989 and 2002.
- 10 Gartland and Macleod, 1986.
- 11 Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming (2006).
- 12 This negotiation was in fact a foolish bargain. One can summarize it in these terms: "if you give us your village, we will develop it. Henceforth, cease all activities of development in order to show your good will". To clear out all doubts, local representatives were made to visit other savannah national parks in Cameroon, Kenya and Uganda, so that they see, *with their own eyes*, what a national park should look like, and also see the development of the resettled people. From 1981 to 1999, the villages sunk into an advanced state of decline, yet promises were not fulfilled (see Diaw *et al.*, 2003).
- 13 Schmidt-Soltau, 2000.
- 14 A mid-term evaluation carried out in 1997 by five international consultants, has this to say about the resettlement of IKK: "the infrastructures that have been built on the relocation site are expensive, and are not likely to cause conflicts with neighboring communities" see République du Cameroun, 1997.
- 15 Ekpe: A house where magical and religious ceremonies are carried out.
- 16 This had not been well functioning for several months when we visited the village in 2003.
- 17 Nijborg, 2000; Schmidt-Soltau, 2000.
- 18 A social science method for assessing human well-being developed by CIFOR (Colfer *et al.*, 1999a and 1999b)
- 19 100 pebbles representing the total quantity of incomes from activities or time invested in production activities are shared into as many dishes as activities mentioned by farmers, in proportion to time invested in or incomes generated by each activity. Firstly, the present (2003) situation is obtained; secondly, we recapitulate the past (at least 3 years back) in the former site. Figures correspond to the percentage of time or to the percentage of income generated by each activity in the former or new site.
- 20 200 USD to 300 USD per year in the former village, as against 600 USD to 1000 USD per year in the new village.
- 21 This is an extract from Tiani, Nguiebouri and Diaw, 2003.
- 22 Dounias, 1999; Nasi, Tiani and Nguiebouri, 2002; Ngueguim and Ohanda, 2001.
- 23 This was one of the points made by KNP game guards that we interviewed. They claimed that roads actually facilitate their patrolling.
- 24 Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming
- 25 See Diaw and Tiani, *forthcoming* (2006).
- 26 According to the tribal leaders in Mundemba, in IKK as well as in Ikege, Erat and other park villages, Nigerian or any outsider coming to collect wood for tooth stick would typically be accompanied by young boys who will record his harvest. Similarly a hunter will have to leave part of his catch (hind legs or other body parts) to his host.
- 27 See KNP Management Plan, 2003-2007.
- 28 RoC (Republic of Cameroon), 2002.
- 29 See, for instance, Roe, 1989 and 2002.
- 30 Carr, 1923; Cante, 1925; Roschenthaler, 2000; Malleson, 2001.
- 31 See Diaw and Tiani, forthcoming (2006).
- 32 Out 662 meals indexed during 15 days in 67 households, 218 (33%) did not contain any animal protein; 221 (33%) included fish, locally fished; 130 (20%) included shellfish; 57 (9%) included game; 41 (6%) included snails; 30 (4%) included meat from domesticated animals/ breeding. The distribution of the consumption of game per household is even more significant: out of 67 households, there was no meal with game during 15 days in 38 households, only 1 meal for 14 households, 2 meals for 5 households, 3 for 2 households, 4 for 1 household, 5 for 3 households and 6 for one household.
- 33 See RoC, 1989 and 2002.
- 34 Vabi, 1999.
- 35 See for instance the critiques of Ruitenbeek (1989) and Malleson (2000).
- 36 See the 1981 and 1994 forestry legislation, by decree no. 95-466 of July 20, 1995.
- 37 Enclaves that existed since 1937 were actually legal until the transformation of the forest reserve into a National Park in 1986.

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El Plan Puebla Panamá ya está aquí, Petén está en venta

Ileana Valenzuela de Pisano

Petén es el departamento más septentrional de Guatemala, el más grande, con más bosques y con la mayor reserva de agua (en el Parque Nacional Laguna del Tigre, zona núcleo de la Reserva de Biosfera Maya (RBM) incluyendo la mayor área de reserva de biosfera de Centroamérica.¹ Petén fue el centro más importante de la civilización maya clásica (250-900 D.C.). En él se encuentran las ruinas del Mirador, la ciudad maya más grande y antigua, Tikal, y múltiples vestigios arqueológicos que constituyen actualmente una importante atracción turística. Actualmente, toda esta región está amenazada por el Plan Puebla Panamá (PPP). El propósito del PPP es integrar físicamente a la región mesoamericana con la construcción de megaproyectos de producción de energía y de corredores modernos de transporte

por tierra, aire y mar. El objetivo es de expandir el comercio y comunicar en forma más rentable y competitiva con los mercados internacionales de Norteamérica (Estados Unidos y Canadá) con Europa, Asia y América del Sur.

El PPP no fue sino un rumor en Petén hasta el año 2001, cuando varias organizaciones buscaron información y realizaron un foro-panel al que invitaron a representantes del gobierno, para que explicaran en qué consistía el plan, ya que estos no se habían tomado la molestia de informar ni consultar a la población petenera. Comunitarios, alcaldes, representantes de ONG y organizaciones de base asistieron al foro y, desde entonces, se manifestó una clara oposición a la construcción de megaproyectos que afectarían a la

RBM. En este foro-panel los representantes gubernamentales admitieron abiertamente que 3 carreteras estaban planificadas al interior de la RBM, así como la construcción de un gran número de hidroeléctricas en Centroamérica para abastecer la interconexión eléctrica de la región. Posteriormente, ante la oposición manifiesta de la población, los diferentes gobiernos cambiaron de estrategia. A parte de seguir sin informar ni consultar a la población, dicha estrategia

...sin informar ni consultar a la población, la estrategia del gobierno ha consistido en negar toda actividad del Plan Puebla Panama conectada con la reserva de biosfera Maya, en seguir trabajando "bajo la mesa" y, por último, en anunciar desfachatadamente que los proyectos ya han sido firmados por los presidentes de México y Guatemala y ya están listos para su ejecución.

ha consistido en negar toda actividad conectada con el PPP en la RBM, en seguir trabajando bajo la mesa la consecución de las infraestructuras contempladas en el plan y, por último, anunciar que los proyectos ya han sido firmados por los presidentes de México y Guatemala y ya están listos para su ejecución.²

Las últimas declaraciones de los dos presidentes muestran que el PPP se ha seguido fraguando durante todos estos años y que ya está aquí. Aunque no se habla abiertamente del PPP, los proyectos principales que el gobierno está impulsando actualmente corresponden exactamente a lo planificado y al modelo de "desarrollo" que el PPP quiere imponer en la región. El clima de inversión en el departamento se ha



Foto 1. Tikal, la ciudad maya más grande y antigua. (Cortesía Ileana Valenzuela)

incrementado y están surgiendo toda serie de negocios entre los cuales la concesión del embotellamiento de agua potable, el incentivo a un turismo de masas en nuevos sitios turísticos, la expansión de plantaciones de palma africana, de actividades petroleras y de la ganadería (estas últimas al interior de zona núcleo de la RBM), la construcción de una empaquetadora de carne y el incremento del comercio con México...

sin hablar del narcotráfico que es una de las actividades más florecientes. Las consecuencias serán graves para los comunitarios que se empobrecen más, venden sus tierras y se ven obligados a emigrar, mientras que los pequeños ganaderos y empresarios locales se ven desplazados por las grandes empresas.

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Ante esta situación la población se ha organizado y ha mostrado su oposición y resistencia, tanto al PPP como a los tratados de libre comercio (TLC) en la Alianza por la Vida y la Paz y el Frente Petenero contra las represas, mientras que durante cuatro años el Grupo Solidario de Acción y Propuesta (GSAPP)³

ha llevado a cabo, con un grupo de comunitarios, una reflexión sobre la definición de una estrategia global alternativa de desarrollo rural. En las distintas comunidades se quiere comenzar a formar comités agro-ecológicos de manera a conformar redes que definan e implanten una estrategia basada en las experiencias comunitarias en agricultura orgánica, ecoturismo, agroindustria y comercialización...

... conformar una red que define y implanta una estrategia de desarrollo rural alternativa basada en las experiencias comunitarias en agricultura orgánica, ecoturismo, agroindustria y comercialización...

sada en las experiencias comunitarias en agricultura orgánica, ecoturismo, agroindustria y comercialización. Desafortunadamente los recursos financieros son mínimos y el GSAPP avanza lentamente. De otro lado, gracias al Darrell Posey Fellowships for Ethnoecology and Traditional Resource Rights,⁴ el grupo ha recibido una pequeña suma para dos años. Este apoyo ha estimulado al grupo y esperamos que poco a poco se tome más conciencia de la necesidad de implantar a gran escala este tipo de trabajo en profundidad con las comunidades, menos espectacular tal vez que la protesta pero más eficaz a largo plazo.

La iniciativa de interconexión energética y las represas en el Usumacinta

Las represas en el Usumacinta (río fronterizo entre México y Guatemala) forman implícitamente parte de la iniciativa de integración energética del PPP. Aunque siempre han sido negadas por el gobierno guatemalteco, por los funcionarios del BID y por los representantes oficiales del PPP, del lado mexicano siempre han existido evidencias de que se construirán más de 14 represas en Chiapas de las cuales 4 entre Petén, Guatemala y Chiapas en el río

Usumacinta.⁵ Por ejemplo, la construcción de Boca del Cerro a 9.5 kilómetros al sureste de la ciudad de Tenosique, Tabasco, que contará con una represa de 135 metros de altura, formando un lago artificial de 19 550 millones de metros cúbicos de agua, afectando obviamente tanto a la población petenera como al territorio del Petén (42% del embalse se formará en territorio guatemalteco) y a importantes sitios arqueológicos como Piedras negras y Yaxchilán.

Aunque el objetivo enunciado para la construcción de estas obras es reducir los costos de energía en la región mesoamericana, ampliar la oferta de fuentes energéticas para los países participantes y mejorar la calidad de los servicios eléctricos, en realidad lo que se está buscando es proveer electricidad para la industria (maquiladoras) y plantaciones que se piensan implantar en el sur de México y Petén e incluso, según parece, la exportación de agua y energía a los Estados Unidos donde algunas regiones están sufriendo una grave crisis energética y una fuerte sequía.

Los impactos en Petén serían sumamente graves: desplazamiento de la población que, en gran parte, está constituida por personas que fueron ya desplazadas de sus tierras en tiempos del conflicto armado; inundación de sus tierras y de ricos vestigios arqueológicos con la pérdida consecuente de biodiversidad, impedimento de migraciones de las especies acuáticas y de la navegación por el río; y contaminación, calentamiento terrestre y efecto invernadero que causa toda hidroeléctrica de gran dimensión.⁶

El Frente petenero contra las represas (FPCR), organización comunitaria formada por 60 comunidades vecinas al

Usumacinta, al río Salinas y al río de la Pasión, se opone desde el principio a la realización de las represas, ha hecho un importante trabajo de información en las comunidades concernidas y ha conseguido apoyo tanto a nivel nacional como internacional.

La iniciativa de interconexión vial y las carreteras al interior de la RBM

La iniciativa de interconexión vial es una de las más importantes iniciativas oficiales presentadas por el PPP desde sus inicios y junto con la iniciativa de interconexión eléctrica absorberán más del 80% del presupuesto proyectado para el plan. Las carreteras y otras infraestructuras se construirían principalmente con financiamiento privado y por el BID. Algunas ya han comenzado a realizarse, sin que se haya informado ni consultado a la población. Las carreteras unirían a las ciudad de Puebla y Panamá y un complejo de puertos, hidroeléctricas y aeropuertos. Además la construcción de estas carreteras incrementará toda clase de tráfico ilegales que existen en la región.⁷

Por su parte, las organizaciones de base y los ambientalistas que se han opuesto a su realización y proponían a cambio la implantación de proyectos de turismo comunitario integrados no han tenido mucho peso ante la acometida de los políticos y la manipulación que se ha hecho en las comunidades para que se construyan las carreteras. El presidente Berger también habló de promocionar el proyecto Mundo Maya y buscar la conectividad a través de más vuelos, mejores tarifas y mejor conexión para todas las rutas, lo que implica no solamente la construcción de la carretera Río Azul-Uaxactún-Tikal sino la carretera al Mirador. A notar que ambas carreteras han sido siempre negadas, mismo cuando se acumulan indicios de

que los preparativos para su construcción están en marcha.⁸

La iniciativa turística

Los proyectos de carreteras dentro de la RBM están íntimamente ligados a los proyectos turísticos que se piensa implantar.

El proyecto propuesto por el Dr. Richard Hansen se sitúa en la cuenca del Mirador, donde se encuentran al menos 20 sitio arqueológicos mayores, 1000 años anteriores a Tikal, la pirámide más grande del mundo y el Proyecto Mundo Maya que incluye México, Guatema-

Los proyectos turísticos no están sustentados por estudios de impacto ambiental y violan las leyes de áreas protegidas porque proponen la construcción de carreteras e infraestructuras (incluso aeropuertos) en la zona núcleo de la reserva de biosfera.

la, Belice, Honduras y El Salvador. Estos proyectos no están sustentados por estudios de impacto ambiental y violan las leyes de áreas protegidas porque proponen la construcción de carreteras e infraestructuras (incluso aeropuertos) en la zona núcleo de la RBM.

Bajo el pretexto de sacar a las comunidades de la pobreza, lo que se busca es la creación de complejos turísticos más rentables que el circuito Cancún-Tikal que existe actualmente. Pues Tikal está muy degradado y los empresarios internacionales necesitan un nuevo atractivo. Necesitan también dinamizar la entrada de los turistas (y el paso de mercancías) con la construcción de varias carreteras que unan los centros turísticos mexicanos con los sitios peteneros y permitan la entrada masiva de turistas a Petén.⁹ Estos dos proyectos se están tratando de imponer a las poblaciones aledañas, Carmelita y Uaxactún, sin haberlas informado

adecuadamente y sin consultarlas e incluso haciéndoles creer que el interés de dichos proyectos es el de beneficiar a las comunidades. Algunos consultores han llegado y han hablado con algunas personas aisladas pero no con los representantes legalmente constituidos, tratando de identificar a las personas que tienen más poder económico en la comunidad y que están relacionadas con la actividad turística para proponerles proyectos y prestamos. Estas comunidades, sin embargo, no se han dejado engañar y en Uuxactún, por ejemplo, la comunidad apoyada por Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) ha manifestado su abierta oposición a la apertura de carreteras y a la construcción de infraestructuras propuestas por el PMM. Se conformó también un Consejo consultivo con los principales líderes para que analizaran estos problemas y los discutieran con el resto de la comunidad.

La iniciativa agrícola

La iniciativa agrícola no forma parte de las 8 iniciativas iniciales que forman parte oficialmente del PPP. Sin embargo, desde el año 2002, en Mérida Yucatán los presidentes de la región decidieron incluir una iniciativa agrícola en

se propone la implantación de „maquiladoras agrícolas“ que son empresas de monocultivos agrícolas y forestales que necesitan una gran cantidad de agroquímicos y productos transgénicos

el PPP, que nunca ha sido definida oficialmente. Sin embargo, se puede deducir lo que el PPP va a significar para la agricultura de la región si se analizan sus políticas y la aplicación que están teniendo en México.

La única producción que podría interesarles a las transnacionales en Centroamérica es la de productos agrícolas no tradicionales que no corresponden a la demanda local, ni a la competencia de los productores locales de subsist-

encia o que por razones climáticas no pueden producir.¹⁰ También se propone la implantación de “maquiladoras agrícolas” que son empresas de monocultivos agrícolas y forestales que necesitan una gran cantidad de agroquímicos y productos transgénicos.

Al incrementarse las importaciones de granos y hacer bajar los precios de los productos, al prohibir a los gobiernos que protejan al pequeño productor se está indirectamente logrando la descampenización del agro mesoamericano que el PPP propone como condición de la “industrialización” (léase expansión de las maquiladoras) y del “desarrollo”. En este sentido: “El plan propone construir una red de centros de integración rural, cuyo objetivo será impulsar regiones o zonas con infraestructura y servicios básicos para ir concentrando en ellos a las comunidades dispersas, logrando una más eficiente organización territorial y una relación más equitativa de su entorno. Estos centros asumirían el rol de espacios de atracción de la población rural para contener los procesos de emigración y de dispersión poblacional; así se constituirán también en factores de desarrollo productivo y sustentable de la región propiciando una mayor integración regional y de servicios”.¹¹

Por otra parte la eliminación de los pequeños y medianos agricultores y su concentración en zonas urbanas, la pérdida de sus tierras, de sus tradiciones y de sus conocimientos, el endeudamiento causado por el consumo de agroquímicos importados y la contaminación de las aguas y de los suelos que traerían estas políticas crearían una dependencia total en la que quedaría toda la región mesoamericana con respecto a las importaciones de alimentos extranjeros.¹²

La biodiversidad no solamente de-

La eliminación de los pequeños y medianos agricultores y su concentración en zonas urbanas, la pérdida de sus tierras, de sus tradiciones y de sus conocimientos, el endeudamiento causado por el consumo de agroquímicos importados y la contaminación de las aguas y de los suelos ... crearían una dependencia total de la región mesoamericana con respecto a las importaciones de alimentos extranjeros

pletamente con las semillas y variedades autóctonas.

Esto es sumamente grave, no solamente por la desaparición y empobrecimiento del campesinado y por la dependencia alimentaria en que quedaría Petén sino por los incendios propiciados intencionalmente por ganaderos (políticos, militares, narcotraficantes) al interior de la RBM, con el propósito de apropiarse de grandes extensiones de tierra y convertirlas en pastos. Estos incendios están acabando con áreas enteras de selva, incluso en las concesiones forestales comunitarias. Las medidas gubernamentales para impedirlos, tales como una Ley para la Laguna del Tigre o la formación de una Comisión del Congreso de la República para la Laguna del Tigre, o la expulsión de algunos pequeños campesinos no han sido más que cortinas de humo para ocultar la impunidad con la que

saparecería en gran medida sino que estaría concentrada en zonas privatizadas donde las grandes transnacionales químico farmacéuticas puedan apropiársela patentándola y desposeyendo a las comunidades de su derecho a utilizar sus recursos, mientras que al mismo tiempo estaría seriamente amenazada por la utilización de semillas mejoradas y transgénicas que seguirían atentando y acabarían com-

se está acabando con el bosque. De la misma forma, se está propiciando la venta de tierras, tanto al interior como al exterior de la reserva, con el fin de dedicarlas a plantaciones de palma africana y otros monocultivos.

Militarización

El PPP traspasa las líneas fronterizas iniciales y se conecta con el Plan Colombia a través del proyecto que anuncia el Sistema de Interconexión Eléctrica de los Países de América Central -SIEPAC- que conectaría el extremo panameño de la red de energía que enlazará Centroamérica y México con los países andinos financiado por el Banco Interamericano para el Desarrollo, BID. Según Robinson Salazar,¹³ el hecho de conectar el Plan Colombia con el Plan Puebla Panamá y la ampliación o regionalización del conflicto hasta llevarlo a las fronteras de Perú, Ecuador, Brasil y Venezuela, es la búsqueda de mantener

seguras las reservas de petróleo y otros recursos que existen en América Latina y El Caribe. Esta situación sería la de una alianza militar para controlar, privatizar o usurpar recursos estratégicos de la región, bajo el disfraz de lucha contra el terrorismo y lucha contra el narcotráfico. La construcción de los megaproyectos propuestos por el plan ocasionará también el desplazamiento de la población que será expulsada por el ejército por grupos paramilitares, como ha sucedido en México y Colombia.

El Plan Puebla Panamá ya está aquí, Petén está en venta, esto no es retórica, es la cruda realidad que aquí, como en tantas otras partes del mundo, se está viviendo actualmente.

Oposición, resistencia y alternativas

El Plan Puebla Panamá ya está aquí, Petén está en venta, esto no es retórica, es la cruda realidad que aquí, como

en tantas otras partes del mundo, se está viviendo actualmente. En este contexto el Grupo solidario de acción y propuesta (GSAPP) de Petén no puede quedar indiferente. En las discusiones y talleres que ha realizado se ha planteado claramente que para que los derechos humanos tengan validez, para erradicar la pobreza, para mejorar las condiciones de vida de la mayoría de la población, para hacer un uso sostenible de los recursos naturales y conservar la naturaleza es imprescindible salir del marco del sistema socio económico actual y conservar la naturaleza es imprescindible salir del marco del sistema socio económico actual. Esta posición nos obliga a imaginar y construir una sociedad diferente en la que los objetivos prioritarios sean la satisfacción de las necesidades de la población y la conservación de la naturaleza.



Foto 2. Una reunión de organización del GSAPP. (Cortesía Ileana Valenzuela)

GSAPP es fortalecer a los líderes comunitarios, técnicos, representantes de ONG y personas interesadas, dándoles los elementos necesarios para que participen a este análisis y a este proceso de construcción. El GSAPP trabaja con las comunidades directamente concernidas para definir estrategias alternativas al PPP y al TLC tanto de punto de vista de la producción como de la distribución de recursos, de la comercialización y del consumo. Tanto de punto de vista social como ambiental. El objetivo es también de luchar contra toda injusticia o desigualdad, valorizando el rol de la mujer y de los jóvenes, así como la diversidad cultural, priorizando las dimensiones sociales, culturales y ecológicas sobre la adquisición de bienes materiales, dando nuestro tiempo al proceso de construcción, educando a nuestros hijos con otros valores.

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Notas

- 1 Petén es también el departamento con menor densidad demográfica y con la más alta tasa de crecimiento total. Entre 1973 y 1994 la población se multiplicó de 2.5 con un crecimiento sostenido de alrededor 10% anual durante los últimos 15 años, 60% de este crecimiento proveniente del sur del país de gente llegando en búsqueda de tierras (Millian *et al.*, 2002). La tensión por la adquisición de tierras ha aumentado en el departamento desde mediados de los años 90 del siglo XX, generando ocupaciones de tierra al interior mismo de la Reserva de Biosfera Maya, provocando la destrucción de grandes extensiones de bosque, su conversión en pastos y haciendo desaparecer en gran parte el rico patrimonio arqueológico y ecológico de los guatemaltecos.
- 2 Es muy poca la información oficial transparente y verídica que se posee a este respecto y este artículo se basara principalmente en los monitoreos del PPP de la prensa internacional que Celia Davis envía periódicamente por Internet, algunas declaraciones hechas por el presidente Oscar Berger de Guatemala y en las percepciones que tienen algunos comunitarios sobre el avance del plan en sus diferentes regiones.
- 3 El GSAPP se está legalizando actualmente y se convertirá muy pronto en una asociación no lucrativa "Asociación solidaria de acción y propuesta de Petén" (ASAPP).

- 4 <http://ise.arts.ubc.ca/DarrellPosey/index.html>
- 5 Así como otras represas en Guatemala, Belice, Honduras, El Salvador y Costa Rica.
- 6 Tropico Verde, 2003.
- 7 Un gran número de traficantes en drogas, personas, madera clandestina, animales salvajes y vestigios arqueológicos, fuertemente armados utilizan varias rutas dentro de la reserva de biosfera Maya.
- 8 Diciéndose, por ejemplo, que del lado de México, la carretera a Río Azul ya se encontraba a 6 km. de la frontera guatemalteca.
- 9 Por otra parte, el incremento de turistas que se espera a motivado a la aerolínea estadounidense Continental Airlines a iniciar, desde el 18 de junio 2005, vuelos directos dos días a la semana desde Houston al aeropuerto Mundo Maya (recién cambio de nombre) en la ciudad de Santa Elena, en el departamento guatemalteco de Peten, fronterizo con Mexico y Belice. El gobierno guatemalteco invertirá 2.36 millones de dólares en la modernización del terminal aéreo. ("Continental Airlines hará vuelos directos de Houston al norte de Guatemala". (Celia Davis, abril 2005).
- 10 Valenzuela de Pisano, 1996.
- 11 Sandoval, 2002.
- 12 Los problemas de hambre y pobreza se intentan seguir resolviendo a través de la ayuda alimentaria internacional que inunda los mercados locales con comida barata (muchas veces comida chatarra), deteriorando aún más los precios internos de los granos e impidiendo a los productores locales vender su producto a un precio adecuado. En esta forma, la ayuda alimentaria para Centroamérica, donada por los estados Unidos bajo el PL480 paso de 140.4 toneladas métricas en los años 1980s del siglo pasado a 656.1 toneladas métricas en los años 1990s.

13 Salazar Pérez, 2004.

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Poverty, corruption and other challenges to Protected Area management: voices from the field in Bangladesh

Philip J. DeCosse and Khawja Shamsul Huda

Abstract. Bangladesh's challenges in ensuring conservation of protected areas are unique to the world. Its land allocated to protected areas is among the lowest in the world, while its population density and its levels of poverty are among the highest. In such circumstances, people, and especially the poor, are inextricably woven into the protected area management

challenge. Bangladesh's new Nishorgo Program for protected area management, an initiative of the Forest Department, is designed to develop a model for collaborative management of protected areas. In developing the approach, Nishorgo team members undertook a variety of information collection methods, one of which was Focus Group Discussions with key stakeholders in and around the five pilot protected areas. During these Discussions, transcriptions were made of many statements made by these stakeholders. The voices of these people, it has been found, have spoken louder in many ways than more formal analyses otherwise undertaken. This paper presents a selection of these "voices from the field" and discusses how these "voices" have had an impact on re-orienting the co-management effort.

Conceiving of protected areas (PAs) without people in and around them is difficult in Bangladesh. The country is notable for three characteristics that make PA management particularly challenging: its allocation of protected area land is the lowest in the world on a per capita basis and, at 0.5% of surface area, the second lowest. With an average of 893 people per square kilometer and high levels of both "absolutely poor" (49 percent of the population) and "extremely poor" (24 percent of the population), it simply is not conceivable to think of protected areas

the Forest Department has recognized that no protected area management improvements will succeed without formal participation of local stakeholders

without poor people living around and in them, and deriving benefits from them.

While the challenges to a successful protected area program are considerable, the Forest Department

has recognized that no protected area management improvements will succeed without formal participation of local stakeholders. To the end of developing functional pilot PA co-management examples, therefore, the Forest Department has embarked, with the financial assistance of USAID, on a PA co-management effort entitled the Nishorgo Support Project. "Nishorgo" is a Bangla word connoting idyllic na-

ture. The Project team works closely with the Forest Department to put in place PA co-management at an initial five National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries in the country. The Project's efforts are meant to support the new Nishorgo Program for PA Management of the Forest Department. (More information can be found at www.nishorgo.org about this Project and the Department's overall Nishorgo Program.)

Process and Purpose of Interviewing and Recording Local Stakeholders

In the process of planning for the co-management pilots at these five sites, information was collected from a variety of sources, including secondary data report summaries, participatory and rapid rural appraisal exercises, spatial data collection and others. Subsequent to these studies a final series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held at all sites, where the Groups were composed of different stakeholders. FGDs were held in October and November of 2004. The primary purpose of the FGDs was to complement earlier information with a direct perspective from key identified stakeholder groups. In short, the purpose was to hear directly from the stakeholders and in their own words, without any filtering from appraisal teams. At least one FGD at each site was composed of Forest Department local staff members, meaning

those Range Officers, Beat Officers and Forest Guards whose responsibility it is to protect the designated areas. Apart from this Group, other Groups were set in an attempt to bring together people from similar stakeholder groups and of similar places of residence and class. These steps were taken so as to provide a context for unrestrained expression by participants. The FGDs were facilitated by two persons from Nishorgo. Names of all persons quoted have been withheld.



Picture 1. Forest Guards carry rifles and are feared by the local population. But they say they are demoralized — they have little positive interaction with local people, their salaries are low and their weapons and equipment are outdated, especially when compared to illegal commercial fellers. (Courtesy Philip DeCosse)

Purpose and structure of this article

The outcome of these Focus Group Discussions — conveyed in the transcribed voices of the people of these areas — provides a compelling optic through which to observe the day-to-day lives of protected area stakeholders in a country context as difficult as Bangladesh. These “voices from the field” have proven to be an effective means of conveying to senior policy makers the complexity of field challenges,

particularly concerning the Forest Department’s problems with corruption. This brief article is prepared with two purposes: to communicate the content of these “voices” to readers from other countries and to highlight how such direct and candid observations from field level stakeholders have had an impact on the PA co-management approach being adopted by the Nishorgo Program.

The structure of this article is simple. We present the voices of Forest Department staff members first, and then highlight implications of these observations on the co-management pilot being undertaken. We then turn to the voices of villagers from the same areas, and follow that with implications of such perspectives for the co-management pilot initiatives. We close with a few observations on the role that such local perspectives can play in forming a PA co-management approach.

Statements by Members of the Local Forest Department

We begin with the perspectives of eight Foresters from the pilot protected areas. The Forest Department is responsible for managing Bangladesh’s protected areas:

“To tell you frankly, systems within the Forest Department are responsible for making staff corrupt. New entrants usually start their service career with a positive attitude and commitment. However, their mind set changes quickly and commitment diminishes as they are blamed of inefficiency and subjected to intense harassment by the Department for continued illegal felling. Their sincerity and dedication are questioned. Their hard work is seldom recognized and rewarded. Soon they realize that colluding with illegal fellers

is more rewarding — extra income, which they can use to please their higher ups to secure their job. We do not have any provision for reward for good work or punishment for negligence and corruption. So staff-members are not motivated to take additional but necessary steps to protect the forest. Frankly speaking, our staff members are now totally demoralized...”

“You see, we are always blamed by people for being corrupt. Our public image is very poor. Unfortunately, nobody knows that many of us are forced to get involved in illegal activities to raise money to meet unexpected and inconceivable demands of top level decision-makers....FD officials at different levels involved in this illegal process also make money...it is expected...and why not if the top makes money through such unfair means...?”

“Very powerful people having connections with the political elite and the administrative machinery are involved in plundering forest resources. Some corrupt officials of the Forest Department also assist them in the process and take a share.... ”

“Most field staff keep their families in urban centers to provide better education to their children. Demand for extra money to maintain two establishments, one at the work place and another in the urban center, forces many of the officials to get involved in corrupt practices...”.

“Well, the banks keep adequate armed guards and sophisticated technologies to protect your money. Yet, your money is taken sometimes by robbers and sometimes misappropriated by bank officials, who

forge documents... Now, think of our forest, we have lacs and lacs [thousands of dollars] worth of timber trees remaining unprotected in remote forest areas ...Why should they stay when people can easily chop them down and fetch easy money?”

“You talk about protection. We do not have enough people; even our arms are obsolete and can hardly match with the sophisticated arms used by illegal feller gangs... Many of us now strongly feel that it is not possible to protect such a huge area with only a few Beat Officers, Guards and gardeners. Even well-armed, increased manpower is also not going to improve the situation when the pressure on the forest is so intense; we need to involve the community to protect the forest more in the line of participatory forestry...”

“As a matter of fact, the check posts are the primary centers of corruption. Those officials at the check posts are suppose to check illegal timbers being transported but they make deals with timber pirates and allow them safe passage. If the people in the check posts were honest, 90 percent of illegal felling would stop...”

“Timber felling is one problem but the real problem is gradual encroachment of the forest land by a

“Very powerful people having connections with the political elite and the administrative machinery are involved in plundering forest resources. Some corrupt officials of the Forest Department also assist them in the process and take a share...”

section of the community, sometimes innocuously and sometimes forcibly...Despite their willingness Forest Department can not take harsh actions against them because of political interference. Once settled, they can hardly be evicted due to humanitarian and other considerations..."

A number of issues emerge from these candid observations of Forest Department staff. The major issues can be summarized as follows:

- Foresters themselves recognize and admit their own corruption, but also identify the context that leads to that corruption, which often includes political and institutional pressure, not to mention family pressure, which pushes them to be corrupt. They also highlight that new staff members are systematically "broken" so that they start being corrupt, after which it is difficult to change.
- Foresters recognize that illegal sale of wood products is significant, but that the more menacing threat to PA management is the silent and gradual encroachment of PA lands, usually supported by powerful local interests.
- Foresters work in a context of armed and powerful criminals in which the Forest Department is at a fundamental disadvantage. They have little mobility, few opportunities for communication, and their weapons are not as powerful as those used by the illegal loggers. The co-management effort, therefore, must take account of the organized nature of the opposition to conservation.
- Finally, it merits noting that only a single Forester interviewed referred

with any conviction to the potential role that collaboration with local populations might make in protecting the forests. The Forest Department is pervaded by a deep training under which they are expected to have absolute authority and directly manage the forests. Although Bangladesh's Forest Department has in fact made great progress in social forestry, field level

Foresters themselves recognize and admit their own corruption, but also identify the context that leads to that corruption, which often includes political and institutional pressure.

Foresters continue to think they must act on their own. It will take considerable training and orientation of local Foresters to reverse this perception.

Statements by village-level stakeholders

Following is a series of observations by community members from around the PAs.

"The Forest Department is primarily responsible for deforestation. If you control the Beat Officers and the Range Officers, the forest will remain intact. Sir, let me tell you something, if the Forest Department really becomes serious about forest protection, no one will be able to take out a bunch of sun grass from the forest, let alone trees."

"Timber is not something which you can carry in your pocket. It has no value in the forest, but value addition takes place only when you take it out and market it. Its removal involves felling, taking out of the forest and then trucking out to an appropriate place. All these activities

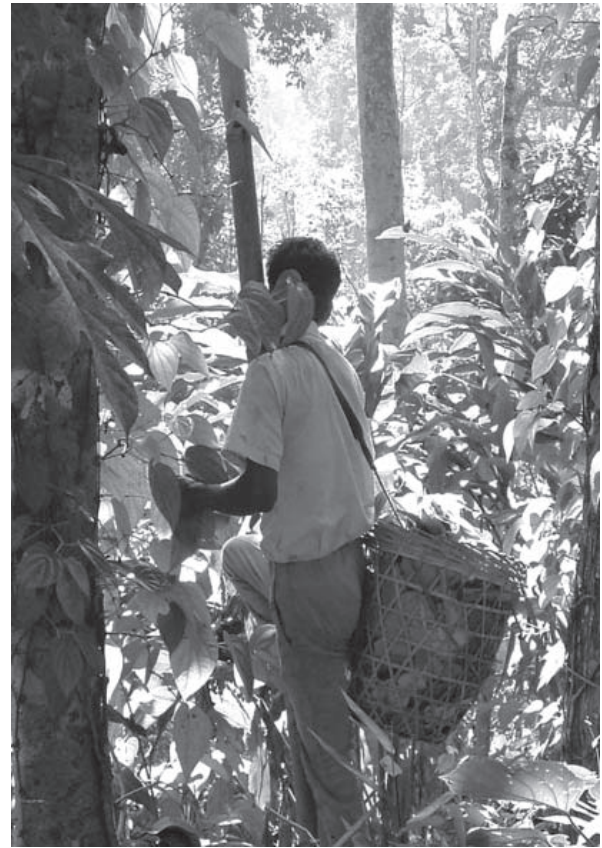
involve number of people and cannot be done without being noticed by the Forest Department staff. The fact is those fellers before getting involved in the act get approval from the local Forest Department officials through under-hand deals.... That's how they make money."

"Sir, let me tell you something, if the Forest Department really becomes serious about forest protection, no one will be able to take out a bunch of sun grass from the forest, let alone trees."

"...You are concerned about outside people being involved in timber felling and other resource extraction. Don't bother about that. No one will enter the forest if they do not get tacit or explicit approval from the Forest Department. Sir, nothing will work unless you control the local Forest Department officials. There is a saying: you give fence to protect the chilies, if the fence starts eating up the chilies, who can help?"

"Two groups of people are instrumental in forest depletion, one the 'mahalders' [businessmen] and the other the forest villagers who work as unofficial forest guards. You go to any beat office or range office you will find 'mahalders'. These mahaldars bid in auctions that Forest Department holds periodically...."

"Sir, there are villages at the periphery of the forest, which are inhabited by Bengali migrants. Local Forest Department officials hire these people unofficially as forest guards to work with them. Since they cannot pay money for their services, they ask them to take away timber as payments. Initially, they took small quantities, but now what they take is huge. Sir, they were thieves previously, but now they have become



Picture 2. Local people depend on the forest to meet basic needs. This man from the ethnic minority Khasia collects betel leaves inside the Lawachara National Park. (Courtesy Philip DeCosse)

full-fledged bandits. The Forest Department is behind them, they take money and issue pass for unhindered passage of the timber to a safe place.... They also have connection with the local police. The police give them 'tokens' to have free transit. How can you stop them?"

"...I did not ever cut a piece of wood from the forest. One day I saw a few villagers, so called forest guards, openly carrying loads of valuable timber. I challenged them and verbally abused them. The next day, to my utter surprise, I got arrested by the police for stealing timber.... Sir, I have 35 court cases against me [filed by the Forest Department], some even have 70 cases against

them. Now I extract timber from the forest and I will continue to do so to meet case expenses. Every time a case comes up for hearing I have to spend Taka 500; now calculate how much I have to pay for 35 cases. My family is poor; they will not be able to give such a huge amount every month. The Forest Department has made me a thief; I will steal from the forest as long as I have to attend to these cases...."

"Many people are now grabbing forest land. They would not dare to encroach if the Forest Department did not allow them to do so. You know, the Beat Officers and Range Officers are taking Taka 20,000 to 30,000 [~USD300-500] and granting land to those encroachers. They do not get official papers from the FD staffs but then what does it matter, once settled no one can evict".

"This is a poor area. People have no employment for most of the year. They have to survive and they do it through stealing timber from the forest. If you can provide some opportunities for income generation for these people they will not go to the forest taking risk of being shot at or getting arrested...."

These statements by local PA level citizens raise a number of central issues to be accounted for in the PA management effort. The major issues can be summarized as follows:

- Most notable from the discussions is the commonly held belief that if the Forest Department were honest, then the protected areas would be conserved. The community members recognition that the Forest Department is critical to conservation provides an important lesson

for the co-management effort, which is often perceived as a process of rolling back state authority around protected areas. Learning from such voices, the Nishorgo Program will work to enhance the role of the Forest Department rather than suppressing it, but will focus on a power that comes from consensus and cooperation with local citizens rather than control over them.

- The comments made here, and others like them, highlight the ethnic conflict in protected areas. Such visceral issues as resentment between one community and another often do not emerge from more formal studies, but they are plainly evident in these voices. When the one person speaks of "forest villagers", it is shorthand for the ethnic Khasia, Garo and other peoples of non-Bengali ethnic groups brought to the forests in the early
- Learning from such voices, the Nishorgo Program will work to enhance the role of the Forest Department rather than suppressing it, but will focus on a power that comes from consensus and cooperation with local citizens rather than control over them.*

1900s. Similar resentment emerges from forest villagers when referring to the "Bengali migrants" that are conniving to destroy the forest.

- The villagers, like the FD officials themselves, highlight the strong symbiosis of Forest Department officials and powerful local businessmen and elite. This cord of mutual self-interest and dependency must be broken if the co-management effort is to succeed. The Program will work to recruit new and young staff members (and has already done so) who

have not invested in these relationships already. The Program will also need include issues of responsible behavior in a "Code of Conduct" being developed for Forest Department staff members.

- The voices also make it clear that local stakeholders in Bangladesh live under a serious daily threat of violence, court cases, police action and other intimidation from powerful local actors. In asking communities to become more active in conserva-

...local stakeholders in Bangladesh live under a serious daily threat of violence, court cases, police action and other intimidation from powerful local actors...

tion of PAs, we are at the same time requesting them to put their security at risk, and this should not be taken lightly. One man spoke of having 35 court cases against him, and reiterated that he must keep taking wood from the forest to pay his fines, which

are themselves levied by the Forest Department. The people heard from here are caught in extremely difficult circumstances that the co-management process must address.

- Finally, these local voices reiterate a fundamental assumption — that the poor depend for their survival on products coming from these protected areas. The people here are on the margin of poverty, and require small amounts of fuel wood, medicinal plant products, fruits and wage labor income, all of which can be earned at present in the protected areas. Many people have nowhere else to go except to take produce from the forest. They must live, and their children must live, so they will continue going to the forest. As the co-management approach is refined,



Picture 3. The local poor stream constantly out of the Protected Areas. Here a man emerges from Lawachara National Park with a load of fuel wood. In most cases, these people have paid a fee to the Forest Guards for the right to take such products from the Forest. (Courtesy Philip DeCosse)

and management plans for the protected areas are finalized, we recognize this constant use of protected areas by the poor as an important opportunity. If illegal payments are removed and woody biomass extraction is focused in multiple use zones, these urgent needs of many community members can be met. As and when these basic needs are met through managed conservation, we expect local poor citizens to become more active partners in the conservation process.

Concluding observations

Direct transcription of the honest and forthright observations of local stakeholders has served the Nishorgo Program as a powerful means of both stimulating debate on the central challenges to protected area conservation and focusing attention on these key challenges. When the actual words of local stakeholders are captured and transcribed, their words allow perspec-

tives to be raised that would be much more difficult to state in an analytical report. We believe that these transcribed "voices" are a powerful means of conveying the challenges for PA co-management not only to the Nishorgo Program here, but to those working at addressing poverty and conservation issues around the world.

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Conservation: pride or prejudice? An analysis of the Protected Areas of India

Rupesh K. Bhomia and Daniel Brockington

Abstract. 'Biodiversity Conservation' is replete with conflicts and controversies, flooded with questions and questioned belief systems, and punctuated with prejudice and pain. This paper presents a study of the values behind the biodiversity conservation in India, which manifests itself widely through the national network of Protected Areas (PAs). We asked whether there was a bias towards setting up protected areas in particular regions such as hilly and tribal areas both for the current, and proposed protected area network. The results point towards a specific tendency in the establishment of PAs in tribal and hilly districts of India. This propensity will be more prominent if current the proposals are implemented and the complete network of PAs assumes full shape. Investigation of the influence of the state's wealth in these decisions reveals a higher propensity of protection in the tribal and hill districts in wealthy states than in poorer states. It cannot be deduced statistically whether more protection is results from states' wealth or vice versa as the detailed figures for each district's wealth are unavailable. Nevertheless, this stresses the need to understand the intricate relationship between the social, political and ecological dimensions of the conservation practice in this densely populated country. If the IUCN target of 10% of the nation in protected areas is to be achieved with attention to justice, the implications of protected areas on marginalized people must be understood.

As the protected area network expands it becomes ever more important to examine the social ramifications of

its growth. Here we look at the social and political patterns visible in the distribution of protected areas in India. Presently, more than 4.7% of the

total Geographical Area of India is protected for biodiversity conservation.¹ It is guided by the National Wildlife Action Plan (1983) put forward by Rodgers and Panwar (1988, p23), which sought to —

[Establish] a network of scientifically managed protected areas ... to cover representative and viable samples of all significant biogeographic sub-divisions within the country.

However, it could not be convincingly explained that PAs have followed these criteria. As forests became National Parks, Sanctuaries and the celebrated Tiger-reserves, traditional tribal peoples and other residents who resided there lost the usufruct rights they had had for

Our principal concern is to examine if there is any national bias towards establishing PAs in particular regions such as hilly and tribal areas ... [a fact that] I may contribute to, or indeed exacerbate, inequalities and social injustice

centuries. Our principal concern here is to examine if there is any national bias towards establishing PAs in particular regions such as hilly and tribal areas. We do this in order to see if there is a tendency to establish protected areas in places where affected groups are more likely to be marginal

politically. Our broader purpose is to examine the extent to which conservation policies may contribute to, or indeed exacerbate inequalities and social injustice. Some background information on the origins of conservation practices is required first.

The strategic, social and commercial importance of the Indian forests encouraged the British to control these natural resources. The need to declare the assets of former *Maharajas* (rulers) as state property resulted into elaborate administrative mechanisms and the creation of the Indian Forest De-

partment (1864 AD), with over a fifth of India's land area under its control² certainly formed an important part of this policy. The Forest Department provided a unified focus at national level for a major revolution in styles of land management,³ which marked a watershed in the colonial history of India.

British forest policy regarding tribal land use and hilly areas furthered this hegemony.⁴ Tribal areas were curbed to enforce plough agriculture and control shifting cultivation. Hills were acquired to clear the forest for timber as well as to deny refuge to tribes and rebels.⁵ Hilly areas were also rich in good quality timber, required for building sleepers for the railways that helped to expand internal markets, and to transport raw materials and troops. Thus the declaration and further categorisation into reserved or protected forests of the tribal and hilly areas such as 'Central Provinces' and the foothills of the Himalayas in Kumaun, Garhwal, Jaunsar could well be considered as an exemplar of a larger policy instrument at work⁶ that seems to have grown over time. This process of annexation of forests resulted into growth of the total area under the forest department while local people lost usufruct rights for resource utilization.

The accelerated harvesting of timber and the growth in population resulted in additional pressure on land, which caused clearing of vast tracts of hinterland for cultivation. Very soon the realisation of the limits of nature's ability to meet human needs gave birth to what Adams (2003) refers to as the 'colonial conservationism' and the terms 'conservancy' and 'conservation' began to be used for all practices that would increase tree cover.⁷

Wildlife preservation drew both on ancient practices by Indian princes

(hunting, princely hunting reserves and species introductions - of African lions)⁸ and on policies developing in Africa, where the philosophy of 'Conserving Eden' had taken shape in the form of Game reserves governed by game laws enforced via specific game departments.⁹ The Indian Forest Act of 1927 included provisions for hunting restrictions in 'Reserved' or 'Protected' forests and authorised the establishment of sanctuaries.¹⁰ Subsequently India saw her first National Parks Act in 1934¹¹ and the designation of the Hailey (now Corbett) National Park in 1936. By

A study conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration in 1989 found that 69% of the surveyed PAs had human population residing inside them.

1950s wildlife management became a part of five year planning of the Indian state and the central government created the Indian Board for Wildlife (IBWL) in 1952, largely with members of that *ancien regime* of hunting, who were searching

for a new role in public life.¹²

The Forest Department in the post-independent era assumed even greater importance. The obligation on the government to sustain these forests to maintain revenue for the state and preserve the diverse flora-fauna and many tribes that inhabits these forests has always been immense, which escalated with increasing population and as new international commitments for Biodiversity conservation came to force. Ironic though it may sound for the world's largest democracy, which had a long history of colonial domination, but the present scenario as Rangarajan (2000: xiv) describes, is far from satisfactory and points towards the skewed power relations that dominates resource sharing:

...[the] legacy of the control system did not vanish, and despite major changes in attitudes, it remain with us, often in glaring contrast with the values of democracy.

There is much potential for conservation to cause problems to the livelihoods of marginalized rural peoples in India. Out of 300 million people living below the poverty line in India, approximately 200 million have some dependence on forest resources for their livelihoods and among these are the 70 million tribal people.¹³ A study conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration way long in 1989 found that 69% of the surveyed PAs had human population residing inside them. While, however, we have individual case studies of the impact of conservation on marginal peoples,¹⁴ we do not yet have systematic studies. This paper offers a preliminary step to meeting that gap.

Methodology

The building blocks of our analysis are administrative and bio-geographic land divisions, and demographic classifications. Each requires some explanation.

Administratively, India is divided into 30 states and 6 union territories, which are further divided into 593 districts. Another classification based on topography, climate, latitude, altitude, and soil properties divides India into seven physiographic zones, which forms the basis of the forest survey in India. Biogeographically India is classified into 10 bio-geographic zones and 26 biotic provinces, on the basis of the distinctive physical and historical conditions. This classification being sufficiently robust within the 'distinctive hierarchy' of units forms the basis of the conservation planning at national and intra state levels in India.¹⁵

India is home to 16.7 per cent of the world population packed in 2.4 per cent of the world surface area of 135.79 million km² at a high density of 324 persons per km².¹⁶ 8.91 % of the total Indian population consists of scheduled tribes,¹⁷ which in India are generally considered to be 'Adivasis', literally meaning 'indigenous people' or 'original inhabitants'. According to the Indian Law, the constitution incorporates the recognition of tribal people through the notion of 'Scheduled Tribes'. Under article 342 of constitution of India, the President of India, subject to review and modification by Parliament, may designate any tribe or tribal community or group within any tribe or tribal community as Scheduled Tribe.¹⁸

The term 'Scheduled Tribes' is an administrative term used for purposes of 'administering' certain specific constitutional privileges, protection and benefits for specific sections of peoples considered historically disadvantaged and 'backward'. However, this administrative term does not exactly incorporate all the 'Adivasis'. Out of the 5653 distinct communities in India, 635 are considered to be 'tribes' or 'Adivasis'.¹⁹ For practical purposes, the United Nations and multilateral agencies generally consider the Scheduled Tribes as 'indigenous peoples'. With ST population making up 8.2% of the total population, India qualifies as the nation with the highest concentration of 'indigenous peoples' in the world.

The present study looks into those districts that have been classified as tribal districts under the tribal sub-plan of 1974. There are currently a total of 189 tribal districts all over the country. The total geographical area of these tribal districts is 1,103, 463 km², which forms 33.56% of total Geographic Area of the country.

The story of hilly areas is also similar. Hill people faced same plights and hardships as most of the tribal communities when the forests were leased to contractors for logging and the age-old source of livelihood was lost. In his monograph, 'Unquiet Woods', Guha (1989) presents an illustrative example of the hardships borne by the inhabitants of Garhwal Himalayas. Many instances of landslides and flash floods raised havoc in the life of people residing in denuded valleys, which were once clad with trees. These natural disasters acted as an eye opener for the government and in the National Forest Policy (1988) provisions were made to increase the forest cover in hills to at least two third of the area. This seemed necessary to check land degradation and prevent soil erosion to ensure maintenance of ecological balance and stability. Therefore the Forest Survey of India began assessing forest cover in the hill districts of the country from 1997.

Hill people faced same plights and hardships as most of the tribal communities when the forests were leased to contractors for logging and the age-old source of livelihood was lost. ... Many instances of landslides and flash floods raised havoc in the life of people residing in denuded valleys, which were once clad with trees.

To qualify for a hill district 50 percent of the geographic area of a district should fall in hill *talukas* (a division of districts). There are a total of 124 hill districts all over the country. The total geographical area of these hill districts is 707,747 km², which forms 21.52% of total geographic area of the country.

To explore patterns in protected area establishment we required information on the number, size, location (district) and the category of all the existing and the proposed PAs in the country was collected and their distribution in different bio-geographic zones and provinces was sought. Finally, the information on every district's status was collected to determine whether they fall in the tribal and/or hill district category.²⁰

The Wildlife Institute of India (WII) provided the data on the distribution of the existing and proposed PAs in different administrative districts as well as the bio-geographic provinces.²¹ In case of proposed PAs, only the assigned bio-geographic province was provided whereas the district location was not available. The status of districts as tribal or non-tribal was collected from the state of the forestry report published in 2001 by the Forest Survey of India. The forest survey, executed at district level, provides information on the forest cover of the country detailing tribal and hill districts. The geographi-

cal area of each district was provided by the census of India website.²²

The data thus gleaned had to be woven into a single fabric. We first calculated the proportion of districts under protection. Where a PA was found in more than one district we divided it equally between its districts. The allotment of districts to specific bio-geographic provinces was trickier. Since both system of classification runs independently, it was difficult to combine them. This problem was solved with the help of the information and maps provided by WII and the Census of India websites. The state level bio-geographic maps and the state administrative maps with district boundaries were compared manually. Where more than 50% of the district area appeared to be falling in one bio-geographic province then it was assigned that province. Thus in the example below, Nagaur was allocated to bio-geographic region 3A and Jhunjhunu to 4B.

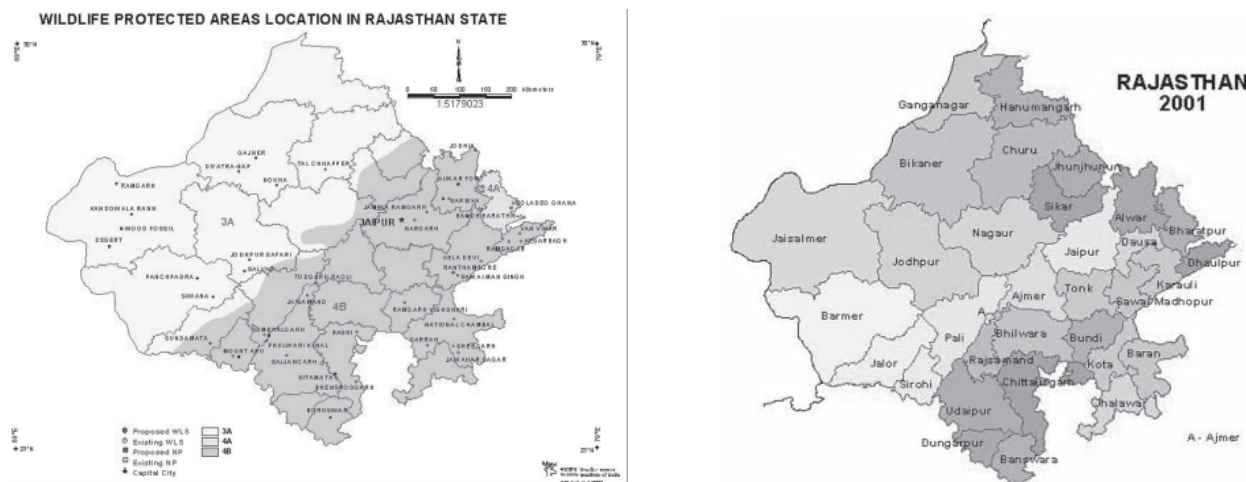


Figure 1. Maps showing two types of classification. The map on the left shows bio-geographic classification while the one on the right shows administrative setup.

The proportion of area protected in each district varies immensely, making parametric statistics inappropriate.

Therefore all the districts were ranked into four categories as shown in the **Table 1** given below:

Table 1. The categories used for the analysis of districts data.

Proportion of Protection	Category	Graph Label
Denotification of Area	-1	Series 4
0%	0	Series 1
Less than equal to 5%	1	Series 2
More than 5%	2	Series 3

To explore the relationship between the conservation and the economic status of various states we adopted a simple binary wealth classification. States, which have less Per Capita Net State Domestic Product than Per Capita Net National product, are categorised as *Poor*, otherwise *Rich*. This data was furnished by Central Statistical Organisation (see their website)²³. The Directorate of Economics and Statistics of respective states provided data for Per Capita Net State Domestic Product.

Results: existing Protected Area network

At a national level there are more tribal

and hilly districts with greater levels of protection than non-tribal and non-hilly districts respectively (Fig 2 and 3). These differences are statistically significant (tables 2 and 3). The average size of protected areas is greater in tribal and hilly districts (Figure 4 and 5), although only the latter difference is statistically significant ($t = 2.61$, $df = 591$, $p = 0.009$). We could not however identify any pattern in the distribution of protected areas at the state level, or within bio-geographic zones. The general national trend is not replicated at smaller scales.

Table 2. Cross-tabulation and Chi-Square Tests for Tribal districts.

	Category			Total
	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5%)	2 (More than 5%)	
Tribal	70	56	63	189
Non Tribal	207	107	90	404
Total	277	163	153	593
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	12.122 ^(a)	2	.002	

Table 3. Cross-tabulation and Chi-Square Tests for Hill districts.

	Category			Total
	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5%)	2 (More than 5%)	
Hill	45	29	50	124
Non-Hill	232	134	103	469
Total	277	163	153	593
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.418 ^(a)	2	.000	

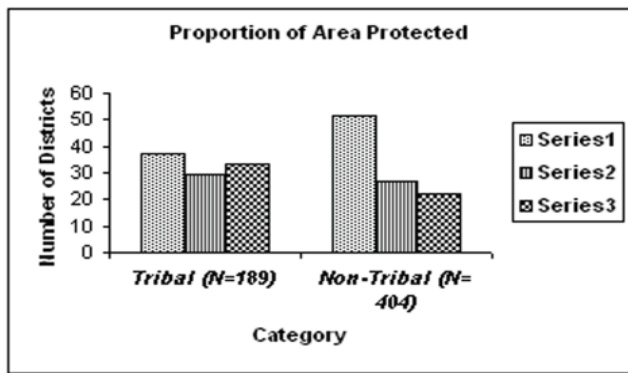


Figure 2. Number of Tribal & Non-Tribal districts in different categories.

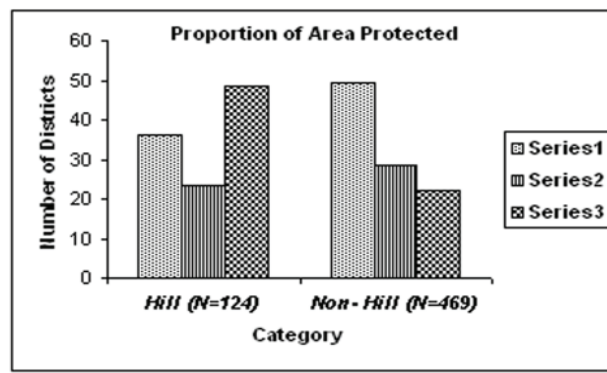


Figure 3. Number of Hill and Non-Hill districts in different categories.

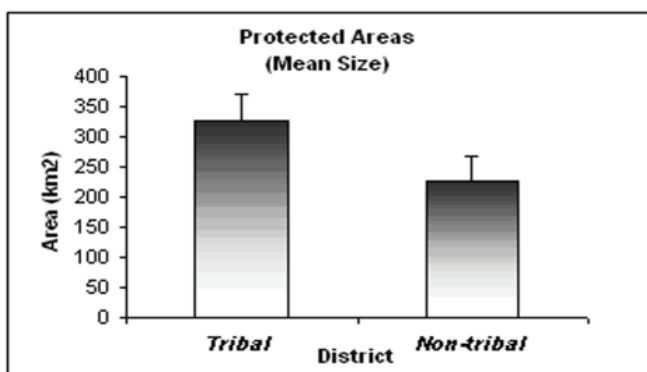


Figure 4. Average size of existing Protected Areas in Tribal and non-tribal districts.

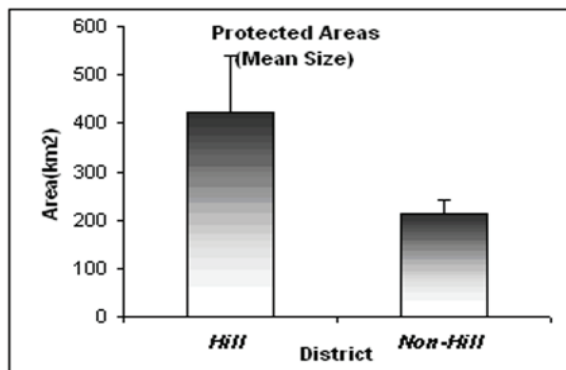


Figure 5. Average size of existing Protected Areas in Hill and non-hill districts.

Results: rich and poor districts

Cross-tabulation with tribal and non-tribal districts with three categories and the economic status of states showed some interesting results and differing patterns between rich and poor districts (Table 4). The crucial difference

is this. There are divergent trends in tribal and non-tribal districts from the wealthy states. Higher number of tribal districts from wealthy provinces have proportionally more PAs but non-tribal districts from the same states has fewer PAs.

Table 4. Cross tabulations & Chi-Square tests for Rich & Poor Tribal districts.

Econ. Status of states		Category total			Total
		0 (No change)	1 (< 5%)	2 (> 5%)	
Poor	Tribal	58	42	42	142
	Non Tribal	128	62	60	250
	Total	186	104	102	392
Rich	Tribal	12	14	21	47
	Non Tribal	79	45	30	154
	Total	91	59	51	201
		Value	Df	Asymp. Sig.	
Poor	Pearson Chi-Square	3.908(a)	2	.142	
Rich	Pearson Chi-Square	14.298(b)	2	.001	

This is clearly visible in the table which shows, in rich states, that *increasing* numbers (12-21) of tribal districts in rich states protecting greater proportions of land, but *decreasing* numbers (79-30) of non tribal districts as proportions of protected land increases. This pattern is not found in poor districts.

The same pattern is found in hill districts Table 5. As earlier, hill districts from wealthy provinces have proportionally more PAs but this is not the case for non-hill districts from the same states, which have fewer PAs.

Table 5. Cross tabulations & Chi-Square tests for Rich & Poor Hill districts.

Hill and Non-Hill * Category total * Economic Status* Poor & Rich States					
Economic Status of States		Category total			Total
		0 (No change)	1 (< 5%)	2 (> 5%)	
Poor	Hill	36	18	30	84
	Non-Hill	150	86	72	308
	Total	186	104	102	392
Rich	Hill	9	11	20	40
	Non-Hill	82	48	31	161
	Total	91	59	51	201
			Value	df	Asymp. Sig.
Poor	Pearson Chi-Square		5.385(a)	2	.068
Rich	Pearson Chi-Square		17.716(b)	2	.000

Proposed modifications to the Protected Area network

There are currently proposals to modify the protected area network which would see some expansion, as well as some denotification.²⁴ We repeated this analysis incorporating these modifications to explore what would happen to the current biases we have found in the existing network. Briefly, the results suggest the pattern will be continued, if not intensified.

The bias towards gazetting protected areas in tribal and hilly districts remains (Figures 6 and 7; Tables 6 and 7). The mean size of protected areas

is greater in tribal and hilly districts, as before, except that the difference is now statistically significant in both cases (Figures 8 and 9; Table 8).

Similarly the divergent trend of tribal and hilly districts in wealthy states from their non-tribal and non-hilly counterparts continues. The continue more frequently to contain higher proportions of protected area territory than non-tribal and non-hilly districts continues. However under the proposed changes this pattern is now also apparent in poor states as well. (Table 9 and 10).

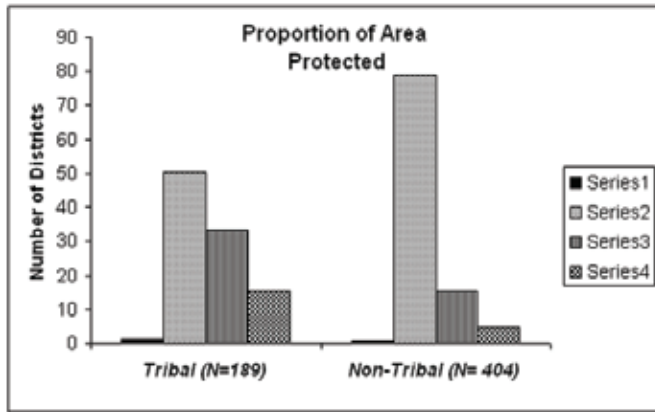


Figure 6. Number of Tribal and Non-Tribal districts in different categories after proposed changes.

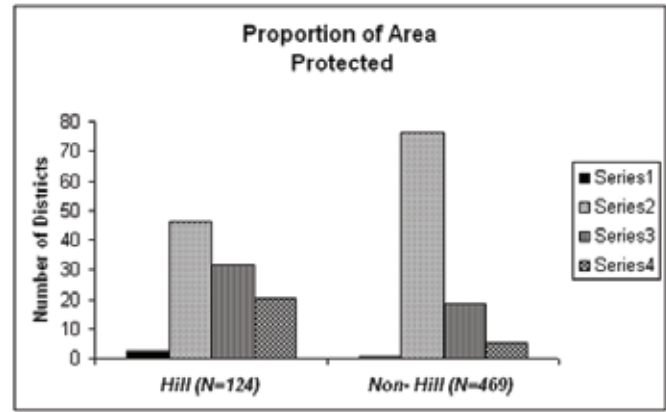


Figure 7. Number of Hill and Non-Hill districts in different categories as proposed.

Table 6. Cross tabulation and Chi-Square Tests for tribal districts after proposed changes.

	Category				Total
	-1 (Denotification)	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5%)	2 (More than 5%)	
Tribal	2	95	63	29	189
Non Tribal	3	319	62	20	404
Total	5	414	125	49	593
			Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square			51.935 ^(a)	3	.000

Table 7. Cross tabulation and Chi-Square Tests for hill districts after proposed changes.

	Category				Total
	-1 (Denotification)	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5%)	2 (More than 5%)	
Hill	3	57	39	25	124
Non-Hill	2	357	86	24	469
Total	5	414	125	49	593
			Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square			52.254 ^(a)	3	.000

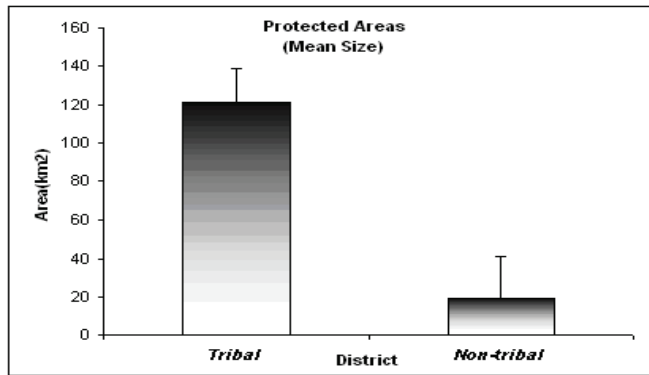


Figure 8. Average size of proposed Protected Areas in Tribal and non-tribal districts.

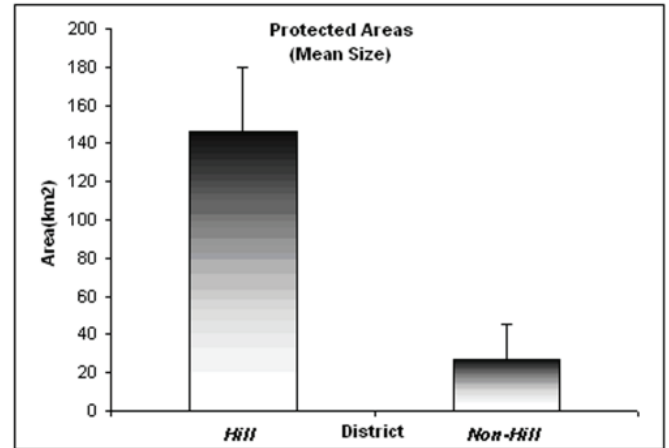


Figure 9. Average size of proposed Protected Areas in Hill and non-hill districts.

Table 8. Statistical tests on mean size of protected areas.

District	N	Mean	Df	Students T	Significance
Tribal	189	121.534	591	2.926	0.004
Non-Tribal	404	18.950			
Hilly	124	146.317	591	2.980	0.003
Non-hilly	469	26.615			

Table 9. Cross tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Rich and Poor Tribal districts.

Economic Status of States		Category total				Total
		-1 (Denotification)	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5 %)	2 (More than 5%)	
Poor	Tribal	1	70	50	21	142
	Non Tribal	0	202	38	10	250
	Total	1	272	88	31	392
Rich	Tribal	1	25	13	8	47
	Non Tribal	3	117	24	10	154
	Total	4	142	37	18	201
Economic Status of States		Value			df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Poor	Pearson Chi-Square	44.198(a)			3	.000
Rich	Pearson Chi-Square	9.961(b)			3	.019

Table 10. Cross tabulations and Chi-Square tests for Rich and Poor Hill districts.

Economic Status of States		Category total				Total
		-1 (Denotification)	0 (No change)	1 (Less than 5 %)	2 (More than 5%)	
Poor	Hill	1	40	26	17	84
	Non-Hill	0	232	62	14	308
	Total	1	272	88	31	392
Rich	Hill	2	17	13	8	40
	Non-Hill	2	125	24	10	161
	Total	4	142	37	18	201
Economic Status of States			Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Poor	Pearson Chi-Square		34.964(a)	3	.000	
Rich	Pearson Chi-Square		20.063(b)	3	.000	

Discussion

The analysis of the present and proposed network of protected areas in India brings to light some interesting results. There is a clear national level trend to gazetting more protected areas in tribal and hilly districts, and gazetting larger protected areas here. Yet, this pattern cannot be identified at the sub-national scale, in any individual state of bio-geographic province. It is therefore difficult, on the basis of this finding to suggest any ways forward to examine the politics of protected area establishment. These are dominated by state level machinations, but if no state level effect is visible, nothing can be recommended.

More productive conclusions are possible from the analysis based on wealth differences. We had not expected the pattern described above. Currently in wealthy states tribal and hilly districts behave in opposite ways from their non-tribal and non-hilly counterparts, gazetting a greater proportion of their land in protected areas. That pattern intensifies under the proposed changes with similar patterns becoming visible

in poor states.

Given the somewhat rough and ready categorisations that have underpinned this analysis we would not want to venture too much interpretation. Much more sophisticated analyses could be possible based on ordinal or interval data on wealth, or different indices of the same. The first step of any subsequent research would be to attempt to duplicate this pattern using more sensitive measures.

But we can also speculate as to the processes involved. Protected Area establishment here could be a consequence of the wealth of the states involved, reflecting their ability to act, else they could be a cause of that same wealth, providing revenue generation.²⁵ Alternatively the pattern may be fortuitous. What is needed here, if the pattern is robust, are careful analyses of the state-level politics of protected area establishment to determine whether it is the cause or consequence, or neither, of state level wealth. Whatever causal relationships are established within hilly and tribal districts, we must also

explain why they seem so clearly not to work in non-tribal and non-hilly districts

It is important to recall here that these districts are a part of a generally wealthy state but may not be wealthy themselves. It cannot be said with certainty that these patterns reflect the consequence of wealth within each district. Indeed they may be the result of relative poverty within a wealthy state.

Conclusions

This research is preliminary and somewhat theoretical but does suggest three clear conclusions with evident policy implications. The first, substantively, is the importance of understanding the politics of protected area gazettement in tribal and hilly areas. The last Forest Survey of India report (2001, p17) recorded that 59.8 percent of the total forest-cover of the country lies in the 187 tribal districts²⁶ whereas the geographic area of these tribal districts forms only 33.6 percent of the total geographic area of the country. The survey argued that this was important for two reasons:

"Firstly, it refutes the common pro-development argument that tribal people are primarily responsible for forest degradation through its exploitation in a non-scientific and unplanned manner.

Secondly, it provides strength to the idea that since two thirds of the remaining forests lie in tribal areas there might be some vested interests from different quarters of the society vying to control the access of these areas in the name of biological conservation."

A shift towards the involvement of local communities in the wildlife conserva-

tion is underway in India. Inclusion of two new categories of protected areas, Community Reserve and Conservation Reserve, in the Wild Life (Protection) Amendment Act, (2002) confirms the growing significance of local people in the issues of conservation and natural resources management. Interestingly, a draft bill, *The Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005*, has been prepared and ready to be debated in the parliament. This bill reaches out to the tribal communities and seeks to make them active protectors of the forest, while strengthening their livelihood possibilities. This qualifies for an unforeseen bold step in the recognition of the rights of tribal people in India.

In the light of present analysis one could easily imagine the enhanced role of tribal and hill people in near future.

This could reduce conflict in the long run. Rajaji National Park is the most recent example of a violent struggle when it was upgraded to NP status.

The second conclusion is a corollary of the first. Why is protected area establishment outside tribal districts so hard? Given that all bio-geographic zones need to be well represented perhaps the real challenge to conservation in India is how to conserve nature beyond the tribal and hilly areas.

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that systematic analyses of protected area networks can generate interesting hypotheses and insights into protected area politics (Upton and Adams, 2004, lead the way here). In addition to analysing the fit of protected areas with biodiversity and centres of endemism it is important to be alert to potential inequalities arising from their political allocation to land which is home to marginal groups. The availability of increasingly powerful databases of protected areas makes new forms of analysis possible that offer generalisable conclusions about the relationships of protected area establishment to poverty alleviation. Our ability to understand the relationships between conservation and poverty could well be enhanced by this approach.

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Notes

- 1 NWD, WII, 2004.
- 2 Guha, 2000.
- 3 Rangarajan, 1996.
- 4 Plumwood, 2003.
- 5 Rangarajan, 1996.
- 6 Rangarajan, 1996.
- 7 Rangarajan, 2001.
- 8 Rangarajan 2001.
- 9 MacKenzie, 1988.
- 10 MacKenzie, 1988.
- 11 SPFE, 1934.
- 12 Saberwal, Rangarajan and Kothari, 2000.
- 13 Sawheny and Engel, 2002.
- 14 E.g. Ganguly 2004.
- 15 Rodgers and Panwar, 1988.
- 16 Census of India, 2001.
- 17 Census of India, 2001.
- 18 Divan and Rosencranz, 2001.
- 19 Bijoy, 2002.
- 20 as per the FSI, 2001 report.
- 21 Rodgers, Panwar and Mathur, 2000.

- 22 <http://www.censusindia.net>
- 23 <http://indiaimage.nic.in/>
- 24 Rodgers, Panwar and Mathur, 2000.
- 25 Upton and Adams, 2004.
- 26 Districts identified as tribal districts under Tribal Sub-Plan, 1974-75 (Government of India). Total Number of Districts in India: 593.

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Protected areas and the reproduction of social inequality

Naya Sharma Paudel

Abstract. This paper assesses the impacts of conservation interventions on the existing social inequalities within local communities around the Royal Chitwan National Park (RCNP, also hereinafter 'the Park') in Nepal. Based on ethnographic data of two villages adjacent to the Park, this paper describes the social differentiation within the local communities and shows their specific interactions with the Park's resources. By identifying the costs of conservation and the benefits of Integrated Conservation and Development Programmes (ICDPs), such as the Park and People Programme (PPP) and Buffer Zone Management Programme (BZMP), as experienced by various social categories of people, this paper also examines distributional justice in the Park. It reveals that, contrary to the rhetoric, the participatory conservation interventions result in an unfair distribution of the costs and benefits in the Park and this has contributed to a widening of social inequalities among the local people. These are unintended consequences and the unequal relations of power and unfair distribution of costs and benefits are mutually reinforcing. This paper discusses how these distributional inequalities are utilised to garner "local support" for fortress conservation of the Park. Local elites' support to the Park is often confused with "local support", and it has resulted in continuation of the Park's protective regime, undermining poor people's livelihoods. The need to critically understand the micro-politics of participatory conservation in specific situations is demonstrated.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)¹ and several other international forums² have identified increasing global poverty and loss of biodiversity as the twin problems of our time. These problems are perceived to be mutually reinforcing where poverty is usually seen as both cause and consequence of biodiversity loss.³ However, in many cases conservation initiatives themselves have induced poverty. Conservation efforts such as creation and management of protected areas (PAs) exacerbate poverty by eviction, denying access to traditional resource use and loss of life, livestock and crop due to increased wildlife.⁴

Notwithstanding disagreements from some corners, there are increasing calls for conservation programmes to be more sensitive to local poverty. The



Picture 1. A village meeting in Laugain. (Courtesy Naya S Paudel)

commitment issued by the Vth Park Congress, "protected area management strives to reduce and in no way exacerbate poverty"⁵ shows the seriousness of the issue. Decentralisation and devolution in natural resource management and promotion of com-

munity based conservation are the outcomes of these shifting discourses on conservation and poverty. In the case of PAs, Integrated Conservation and Development Programmes (ICDPs) are widely adopted strategies to address the poverty of the neighbouring people and to seek local support.⁶ In several cases, however, ICDPs have produced contrary outcomes.⁷ Moreover, through unfair distribution of costs and benefits, ICDPs may have widened the social inequalities within local communities, and also between local people and external actors.⁸ We define the term "costs" here as specifically referring to the suffering caused by the restrictive measures of the Park in resources use and wildlife depredation. Similarly, the term "benefits" applies here to social and economic benefits accrued through

The link between the share of costs and benefits by specific categories and their relations of power is identified. ... these inequalities are utilised to garner local support for the Park [so that] continuation of the conventional agenda is justified.

the ICDPs. Although PAs cannot alone be blamed for these inequalities⁹ their impact on existing inequalities must be examined. Also, there is the potential danger of these inequalities being utilised, within the discourse of participatory conservation, to legitimise the continuation

of protective regime and to suppress local resistance against the conventional management of PAs.

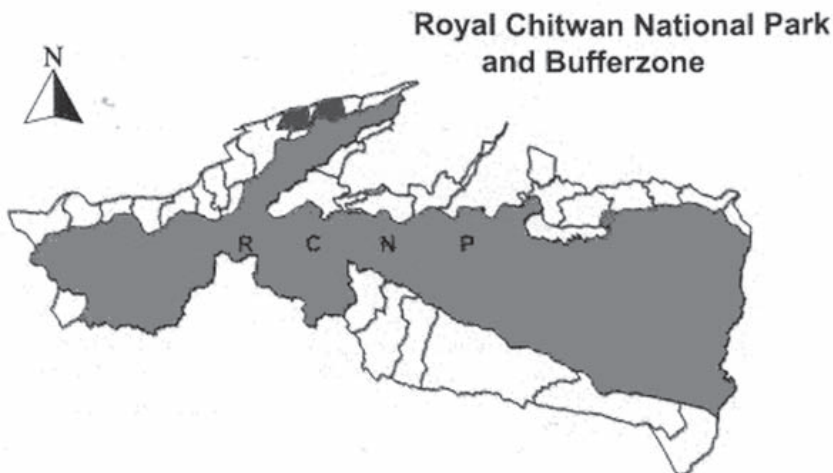
This paper examines the ICDPs role in maintaining/exacerbating distributional inequality and its impact on Park-People relations. It draws heavily on data gathered by the author during his PhD field work in 2002 in two villages (Rajahar and Laugain in Nawalparasi dis-

trict) adjacent to the Park. Based on ethnographic data, it introduces various social categories of people in the local society and describes their specific interactions with the local environmental resources. It then reveals the differential distribution of the costs and benefits of conservation among socially differentiated groups. The link between the share of costs and benefits by specific categories, and their relations of power is identified. Finally, it explores how these inequalities are utilised to garner local support for the Park and how continuation of the conventional agenda is justified.

The Royal Chitwan National Park and its surroundings

The Royal Chitwan National Park (RCNP) is located in the Chitwan valley in the inner *Terai* of central Nepal, bordering with India (see Map 1). The Narayani river flows through the centre of the valley, dividing it into Chitwan (eastern part) and Nawalparasi (western part) districts. While the northern part of the valley meets the foothills of the largely forested Mahabharat range, the central part is a plain settled mostly by peasant farmers. The Park lies in the southern part of the valley that extends up to the Churia hills and is covered by the dense subtropical and tropical forest. Ecologists have highlighted the biodiversity value of the RCNP as "rich and unique", appreciating its dense *Sal* (*Sohrea robusta*) and *Sisso* (*Dalbergia sisso*) forest, riverine grassland, variety of wild flowers, vines, creepers and parasites.¹⁰ The Park provides habitats for widely cherished mega fauna such as rhinos, tigers and crocodiles, and a very rich mix of mammals, reptiles, birds, and fishes.¹¹

The forests of Chitwan valley were kept intact as a natural barrier against the possible invasion of Nepal by Brit-



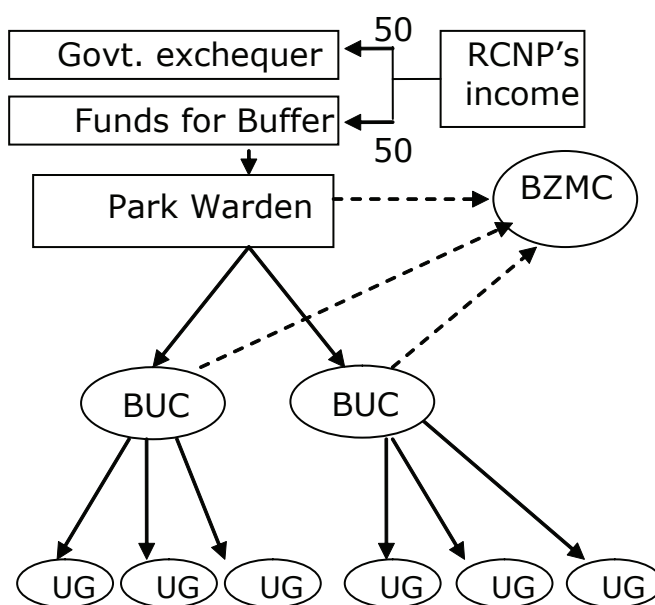
ish India, and later as a special hunting site for the royal family and ruling Ranas. After the fall of the Rana regime in 1950, part of it was opened up for resettlement. RCNP was established in the southern part of the valley as the first national Park in Nepal in 1973 and was listed in the World Heritage Site in 1984. During its establishment and consolidation, thousands of peasants were evicted, traditional and customary rights of resource access were denied and several ferry posts and commuter paths were closed.¹² The Royal Nepalese Army was deployed to increase surveillance and deter local resource users and poachers alike. The classical top-down approach in establishing and managing the RCNP prioritised the protection of rhinos/tigers and the promotion of tourism.¹³ As a result Park-dependent resource-poor and indigenous people's livelihoods suffered leading to increased Park-

people conflicts.¹⁴

In the backdrop of escalating local resistance and increasing policing costs, in 1994 the government started implementing the Park and People Programme (PPP) with UNDP assistance. In 1996, the government also introduced the Buffer Zone Management Programme (BZMP) as a new policy intervention. In principle, both these initiatives aimed at

reducing Park-People conflicts by enhancing the socio-economic condition of the local people and regenerating natural resources in the buffer zone to reduce pressure on the Park resources.¹⁵ BZMP has a provision of spending 50% of the Park's income for the development

...initiatives aimed at reducing Park-People conflicts by enhancing the socio-economic condition of the local people and regenerating natural resources in the buffer zone to reduce pressure on the Park resources



Here BZMC is an umbrella organisation represented by all Buffer Zone Use Committee (BUCs) chairpersons and the Park warden (shown with dotted arrows) to advise Park warden and to allocate the funds for individual BUCs out of total available funds. The Park warden administers the programme through BUCs and User Groups (UGs)(shown with complete arrows).

Figure 1. Structure of the BZMP. (From HMG/MoLJ, 1996)

of the buffer zone (Figure 1). The programme aims at enhancing livelihoods particularly for local indigenous people, landless and Dalits.¹⁶

This study is largely based on two villages Piprahar (127 households) and Laugain (210 households) in Nawalparasi district. These villages are situated along the bank of the Narayani River bordering with the RCNP. The two tier landscape throughout the area comprises the upper alluvial and safe land, and in a lower belt lies the sandy, less fertile and flood prone plain. People in these villages make their living through a subsistence economy with traditional integrated farming. Forests and rivers hold a quintessential part for the farming, but beside this they provide other livelihood opportunities through fishing, wild fruit and vegetables particularly for indigenous people.

Social inequalities in Piprahar and Laugain

The ecology and society of the Chitwan valley experienced a major change after its opening up for resettlement and development in the 1950s. Indigenous people such as Tharus, Botes and Musahars had developed specific interactions with the local environment which were usually regarded as harmonious and sustainable.¹⁷ However, the influx of hill migrants into the valley since the 1950s has resulted in a mixed society differentiated by class, caste, ethnicity, gender and spatiality. The existing inequality among the local people has become a crucial aspect in analysing poverty of the local areas. Moreover, the intra-community differentiation is very important in understanding the Park-people relation in the valley. Here only the wealth categories and ethnicity are discussed which poses a huge challenge for the Park authority to address the livelihoods concerns of local

people and establish a friendly relation with them.



Picture 2. Children playing in Narayani (RCNP across it). (Courtesy Naya S. Paudel)

Wealth categories

A household's (HH's) control over and access to productive capital assets such as land, livestock, houses, income and employment, determines their relative wealth. Based upon the villager's own perceptions and indicators of wealth, the households in these villages are divided into three distinct wealth categories: rich, medium and poor. Since agriculture is the major economic activity, size of landholding is the most important and distinguishing criterion determining rich and poor. Other distinguishing criteria such as size of houses, size of livestock, type of employment and scale of earning are also considered.

Rich category: About 20% HHs in Piprahar and 12% in Laugain are regarded as rich. Landed farmers, along with local businessmen, mainly hill migrants and a few Tharus, constitute this category. They command sufficient fertile and irrigated land, hire wage labourers for farming and gain income from surplus produce. They can afford tractors and chemical fertilizer; have well built

concrete houses and biogas plants and possess plenty of crop residues to feed their animal. Some of them run small businesses or are employed in teaching and other government and private offices. Thus, they depend least on the forest resources from the Park or buffer zone area.

Medium category: The second category includes mainly peasant farmers (about 30 % HHs in both villages), who eke out subsistence through traditional farming using their own family labour, traditional tools and farmyard manure. They rely heavily on oxen, manure, and need fodder, firewood and building materials from forests for subsistence. Unlike rich farmers, they depend largely upon the forest resources to feed their livestock and for building materials. Moreover, since they have smaller land holdings, if their crop is raided by rhino, they can lose a whole season's crop.

Poor category: Almost half of the people in Piprahar and three fifth in Laugain fall into this category because of their small landholdings (less than 0.33ha) or because they are landlessness. Many of them depend on fishing, collecting wild fruits and vegetables to supplement their food. They also exchange these products for grain or sell them at local market. Others depend on offering waged labour in agriculture, household work and occasionally construction-related works. All these activities demand for physically arduous labour and include a high level of risk, such as being arrested by the Park guards or attacked by a rhino or a tiger. Their location on the bank of Narayani river and their high dependence on the Park resources have made them highly vulnerable (Figure 2).

Diminishing opportunities of agricultur-

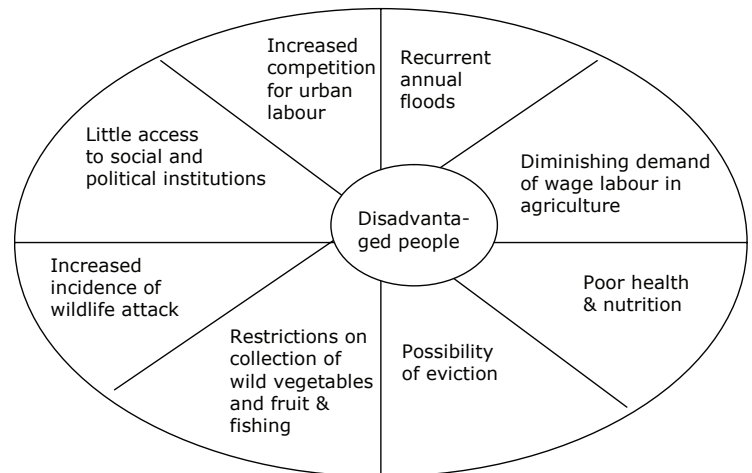


Figure 2. Disadvantaged people and vulnerability factors. (From Paudel, 2005)

al wage labour, increasing competition for urban labour, restrictions on forest resources, and recurrent floods of the Narayani river have been the major sources of vulnerability for these people. In order to meet their daily needs, they are often forced to engage in "illegal" resource use from the Park, migrate temporarily to the nearest urban centres or even to India, or send their children as household servants to the local landlords or rich urban people. Because of their heavy dependency on the common resources, their livelihoods are more sensitive to state policies and pose major challenges to the management of the Park.

Because of their heavy dependency on the common resources, the livelihoods [of the poor] are more sensitive to state policies and pose major challenges to the management of the Park.

Ethnicity/caste

In both villages, ethnicity is another important basis of social stratification because different ethnic groups interact in distinctly different ways with the local environmental resources for their livelihoods. In Piprahar and Laugain the local society is hierarchically structured

between different ethnic/caste groups, making it important to see how ethnicity/caste structure shapes their access to environmental resources.

Musahars and Botes: These are traditional fishing communities, living along the banks of the Narayani. Most of them have not got any land to farm and have limited access to secure sources of income. Historically, they had been eking out a living by fishing and ferrying. They used to collect a fixed annual fee from the local communities for transporting them across the rivers and used to barter their fish-catch for food grain. They also used to collect wild fruits and vegetables from the nearby forests. An old Musahar man from Piprahar said: "We cannot envisage life without the Narayani River and neighbouring forests".

Tharus: Tharus are the most numerous and oldest indigenous ethnic group in the Chitwan valley comprising of 41% of the HHs in Piprahar and 37% in Laugain. They practice subsistence farming and depend heavily upon the Park resources for fodder, grazing, fuelwood and thatch grass. Generally they are considered to be naïve and introvert in relation to the relatively clever upper caste hill migrants who have usually exploited them.¹⁸

Dalits (untouchables): The roots of discrimination and contempt against Dalits lie in their subordinate place in the Hindu religious and social hierarchy that ranks them lowest. They are relegated to traditional occupation such as blacksmith, tailors, and shoemakers. They are mostly landless, have no secured sources of income and are socially excluded. They rely mainly on waged labour, household servants or on temporary migration.

The upper castes: Brahmins and Chhetris, who are regarded as superior within the Hindu caste system, make up one third of the population in Piprahar and one quarter in Laugain. The Magars, Gurungs and Tamangs come next both in number and also in their relative influence. Most people from this category reside at the road heads with good quality farm land and thus benefit more from the social services and infrastructure there. They control most of the productive resources (land, employment opportunities and local shops) and local institutions such as Forest User Groups (FUGs) and Buffer Zone User Committees (BUCs) (see Table 1).



Picture 3. A fisherman repairing his fishing net in Laugain. (Courtesy Naya S. Paudel)

Royal Chitwan National Park and the distribution of its costs and benefits

The costs of conservation are unevenly borne by the different categories just described. The rich, upper caste people, who usually live along the road heads, tend to rely little on the Park resources and are therefore least affected. The peasant farmers rely on forest resources to keep up their farm and livestock and are relatively more affected by resource use restrictions. The

resource poor, Dalits, and indigenous people, to whom I have collectively used the term 'disadvantaged' in this paper, reside close to and rely most on the Park resources and therefore are worst affected by resource use restrictions and wildlife depredation. Disad-

The rich, upper caste people...tend to rely little on the Park resources and are least effected. The peasant farmers rely on forest resources to keep up their farm and livestock and are relatively more affected. The resource poor, Dalits, and indigenous people...reside close to and rely most on the Park resources and are worst affected by resource use restrictions and wildlife depredation

vantaged people in the buffer zone area are most affected by the floods in the Narayani due to their residence in marginal lands.¹⁹ On top of it, the conservation policies of the RCNP have further contributed to this process by evicting people from their traditional lands, forming an obstruction to giving them land titles, and excluding them from compensation schemes (Figure 1). The

summary of differential costs and benefits are summarised in Table 2 below.

As with the distribution of costs, RCNP's benefits - such as conservation

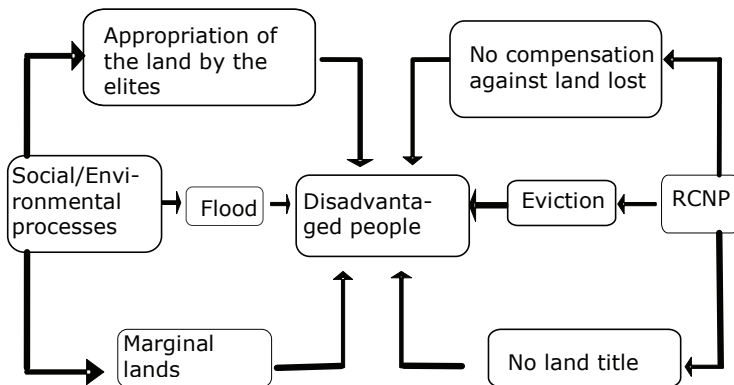


Figure 3. Reproduction of landlessness among the disadvantaged people. (Source: Paudel, 2005)

of biodiversity, opportunities for recreation, tourism based income and opportunities for employment - are unevenly distributed. While acknowledging the unfair distribution of benefits at the international, national and local levels, in this paper I largely concentrate on the unequal distribution of benefits within the local community. For the purpose of this paper, based on local people's perception, benefits are narrowly defined as those direct benefits available under PPP and BZMP. Benefits from these activities are distributed unequally among various groups of local people.

Representation of people from different categories in local institutions provides them opportunities to exercise power over others and to prioritise development and resource management agenda

Representation of people from different categories in local institutions provides them opportunities to exercise power over others and to prioritise development and resource management agenda. The Forest User's Group (FUGs) is one such institution. Table 1 shows over-representation of the rich category and upper caste groups in FUG committees.

The meeting of interests between these better off people and the Park officials has resulted in imposing protective regimes in the buffer zone forests; regimes that usually work against the disadvantaged. Here is an example. The Park generally opens once a year allowing local people to collect *Khar-Khada*²⁰ a widely used housing material. Many of the indigenous and poor people due to their small huts do not need all what they collect and therefore sell it to other villagers. However, BZMP rules and associated decision of Lau-

Table 1. Representation of various wealth categories on the FUGs Source: Paudel, 2005.

Wealth groups	Piprahar		Laugain	
	Number of HHs (%)	Committee members (%)	Number of HHs (%)	Committee members (%)
A (rich category)	19.6	45.5	12.3	55.6
B (middle category)	29.9	36.4	30.4	33.3
C (poor category)	50.4	18.1	57.1	11.1
Ethnic groups				
Brahmin/Chhetri	33.9	45.4	25.7	55.6
Magar/Gurung	8.7	18.2	8.6	11.1
Tharu	40.9	27.3	36.6	33.3
Botes/Musahars, Dalits	16.5	9.1	29.0	0.0

gain FUG (Box 1) restricts its sale only inside the buffer zone. As there are less potential buyers inside buffer zone, this results in a non-competitive price which benefiting the local rich farmers, who buy it at a bargain rate. In Laugain, the price of thatch grass reduced from Rs 4/bundle (US \$ 1 = Rs 70) to Rs 2 in 1999 due this restriction.

The meeting of interests between the better-off people and the Park officials has resulted in imposing protective regimes in the buffer zone forests—regimes that usually work against the disadvantaged...

Similarly, FUGs control over entry and movement in the buffer zone forests (Box 1) hinders the access of local people to the forests and consequently hampers the livelihoods of disadvantaged people. These people spend more time in forests collecting firewood, wild fruits and vegetables, and fishing, and therefore suffer more from these restrictions. The local elites, however, have the forest opened up for cutting green grass for most of the season and so have secured their interests.

Box 1. Decisions by the Laugain FUG committee against the disadvantaged people's interests. Source: KCFUG, 2002.

- Decision of the general meeting of Kumarvarti FUG (Laugain) on 55-02-16
1. Selling of any extra Khar-Khadai requires certification from Samiti
 2. One cannot enter, walk or stay inside the forest without permission of FUG
- Decision of Sishwar FUG (Piprahar) in its operational plan
- 1 Fishing is prohibited in buffer zone area (4.4 i)
 - 2 Boating within the buffer zone area is prohibited (5.1 c)

Despite discourses of participatory and people-oriented conservation, PPP and BZMP operate within the much centralised agenda of the Park authorities. These bodies are formed by

the general gathering of a few dozen invited by the Village Development Committees (VDCs) in the presence of Park officials. Legally and functionally they are accountable to the Park

warden for all decisions and operations including financial transactions. Their decisions and priorities are therefore highly influenced by their own vested interests and by the need to avoid any tussle with the Park administration. A high priority to infrastructure is the results of these compromises made by the BUC leaders. Figure 4 shows the spending pattern within the BZMP in Piprahar (Rajahar) which reflects the interests of the relatively better off people who can benefit from these activities. The disadvantaged people on the other hand have not benefited at all from this spending. The following expression from one adult Tharu male reflects the conflicts:

"They built culverts and gravelled roads to drive their motorbikes and carts. They built schools to teach their children and have constructed irrigation canals for their own fields. We have nothing to drive on the road, no land to irrigate and we cannot send our children to school. It is a pity that the government favours only the rich."

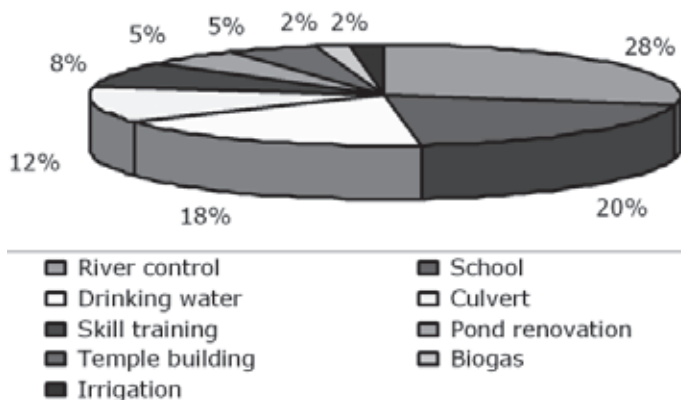


Figure 4. Pattern of spending by the Rajahar BUC under the BZMP in 1998. (Source: RCNP/BZMP, 2002)

Apart from the overemphasis on infrastructure that usually benefits the better off people, the spatial distribu-

tion of these programme activities also demands close scrutiny. Figure 5 shows the relative positions of the Park, river Narayani, the road head and the settlements in Piprahar (Rajahar). Although disadvantaged people usually reside in public lands close to the river and forest fringes and bear high costs of conservation, the development activities are concentrated on the road heads where the better off people, usually the upper caste hill migrants reside. The development activities benefit more those who are already in a better position and benefit less those who are historically poor and suffer most from the establishment of the Park.

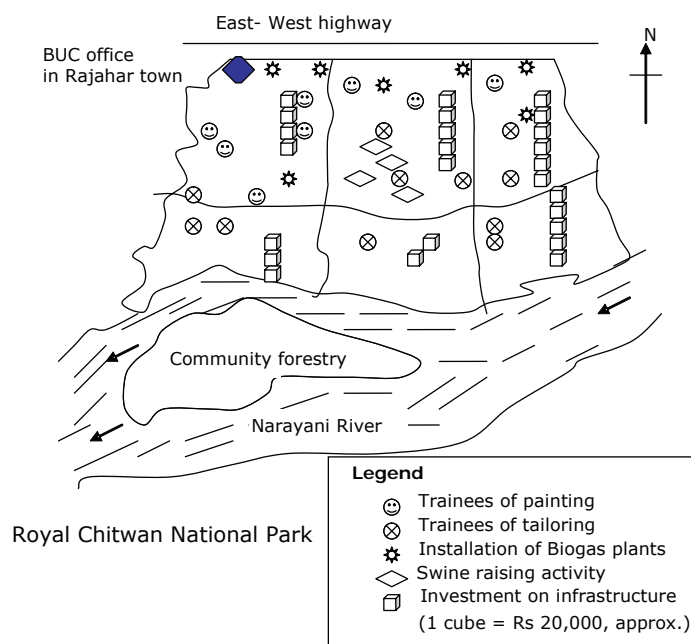


Figure 5. Distribution of development activities under the PPP and BZMP in Rajahar. (Source: Paudel, 2005)

The provision of a compensation scheme under the BZMP also favours the rich. Only privately registered lands are included in the compensation scheme and only if they are lost due to changes in the river course. Since only the better off people have got their lands registered they enjoy this benefit.

The Park administration has been discouraging land registration in the buffer zone so that disadvantaged people continue to be landless. The narrowly defined compensation scheme applies only to direct loss of crop or livestock. Poor people benefit least from these schemes as they neither have large numbers of livestock nor command sizable cropland. By excluding their traditional use of forest resources from the discourses of the compensation schemes, the real costs to them of con-

servation are left unaccounted.

Table 2 summarises the main features of the major social categories of people, and the additional costs and benefits to them due to the establishment and management of the Park. Despite a risk of over-generalisation, the table offers a clear picture of unequally positioned different social categories of people and their costs and benefits.

Table 2. Main features, costs and benefits of conservation to different groups of people.

Categories of people	Additional costs due to the Park	Additional benefits due to the Park
<i>Bote/Majhi, Dalits & other landless people</i> Have no or very small land holdings, rely on agriculture wage labour, Park resources (fishing, wild fruits and vegetables, fuelwood, grass) and temporary migration. Reside closer to the bank of Narayani/Park.	Access to resource base reduced due to closing of ferry posts, restrictions on fishing and collection of wild fruits and vegetables. Wildlife nuisance and floods of Narayani damage crops, livestock and human casualties.	Least benefited from the ICDP activities, do not meet criteria for participating in some project activities and cannot collect matching funds.
<i>Peasant farmers</i> Indigenous Tharus and many hill migrants, subsistence farming with traditional technologies, rely on the Park for fuelwood, fodder, grazing, building materials, and keep relatively few animals.	Suffered from the restriction in collection of fodder, firewood, building materials and grazing which affects integrated farming. Also affected by wildlife depredation - damage of crop, livestock and human causality.	Benefit from investment in infrastructure, training programmes, saving and credit schemes, and compensation schemes.
<i>Large farmers</i> Mostly hill migrants, enough land to produce for their household's needs and sometime a surplus to sell. Usually have alternative sources of income, reside away from the Park, less affected by wildlife.	Least affected by restrictions on forest resource use, or by wildlife depredation.	Benefit most from the ICDP activities such as improved infrastructure (roads, schools, tube-well irrigation) biogas plants installation, training opportunities, mobilising funds, compensation schemes.

Relations of power and distributional inequalities

The unequal relations of power between the different groups identified in previous section explain the unequal distribution of costs and benefits. Let us start with economically, socially and politically powerful local elites, the

landed hill migrants and other rich people, and those who have settled at road heads and own irrigated, fertile lands. Using their special link with the state bureaucrats through kinship, political lineage and common mutual interests, they expand their farm-land, usually unfairly transferred from indigenous or other peasant farmers as shows Figure

3.²¹ Due to their good quality, sizable land and alternative sources of income, they can cope better with the restrictions on forest resources imposed by the Park. Their ability to make use of modern inputs on their farms such as tractors, chemical fertilizers and manufactured animal feed help them cope easily with the restrictions.

With their dominant socio-economic stature in the society, and being able to afford time for meetings, they hold sway over the local institutions such as FUGs and BUCs. The local elite's interests in promotion of ecotourism in buffer zone forests, installing biogas plants, raising environmental awareness among the resource dependent poor met with the Park administration's interests in promoting conservation beyond the Park border. This sort of phenomenon where outcomes are premised on 'elitism' has very much shaped the priorities of BZMP activities so that it fails to incorporate the interest of the disadvantaged people. Overemphasis on infrastructure, higher education and biogas installations are but a few examples of the elites capture.

On the other hand, Botes, Musahars, Dalits and other landless people have weak social position and can exert little political influence in setting the local agenda on the governance of natural

Botes, Musahars, Dalits and other landless people have weak social position and can exert little political influence in setting the local agenda on the governance of natural resources. As a result investments are usually diverted to the construction of roads, irrigation canals, secondary schools and biogas plants from which disadvantaged people hardly benefit. They have not enough livestock to operate

biogas plants. Illiteracy among them usually restricts them from participating in many training programmes. Their inability to collect "match funds" restricts them from participating in many income generating schemes.

Reproduction of social inequalities

The above analysis shows that there are huge distributional inequalities in conservation programmes usually favouring the powerful, the rich, and hill migrants against powerless, poor, indigenous people. Consequently, the ICDPs, despite their pro-poor rhetoric have further contributed to existing inequalities through unfair distribution of development benefits. The benefits are distributed disproportionately, i.e. those bearing least costs accrue most benefits and those bearing high costs get few benefits. It is evident that the historically structured differential positions of various categories of people have differential capabilities to draw benefits from PPP and BZMP. Therefore, neither the programmes themselves nor the existing inequality can solely be blamed. The social differentiation on one hand and the poorly informed programmes on the other hand have jointly produced these outcomes that reproduce those existing inequalities.

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Now, we could ask: How do these outcomes affect the Park-people relations? Do these outcomes pose a threat to the Park or are the sources of sustain-

ability? How are these processes represented in conservation discourses?

While these unfair outcomes of conservation programmes are ethically and morally unacceptable, the distributional inequality has brought the local elites and the Park administration closer. Previously many of the local elites had little interest in the management of the Park. They were less dependent on the forest resources inside the Park and were least affected by the restrictions imposed by the Park. The introduction of PPP/BZMP however, provided them with a real opportunity to benefit materially and also politically by exercising power in the newly available social spaces. Now they control most of the local institutions, and formally represent local people through these institutions. Their participation in BZMP and support to the conservation agenda is confused with 'local participation' and 'local support'. Now the local politicians share the language of the Park that they are proud of RCNP as a World Heritage Site.²² In fact the support and participation by the local elites have formed the foundation of the success stories of the BZMP.²³

We can not ignore the fact that elite control of the rural development programme is a general phenomenon²⁴ and only ICDPs can not be expected to produce exceptional outcomes.²⁵ The point here, though, is the misinterpretation of elite support as "local support" and the capitalisation on this constructed truth to legitimise continuation of fortress conservation. It appears that many of these local leaders have apparently abandoned the issue of access to natural resources. Some have begun to ask the legitimacy of the fishermen's struggle for fishing rights.²⁶ Instead they feel more comfortable to discuss development issues such as

primary education and drinking water. It seems clear that the disadvantaged people benefit least from "participatory interventions" but have also had their livelihoods agenda even further marginalised.

Although elite capture in conservation programmes have been successful in garnering strategic "local support", in justifying conventional conservation it has compound the negative impacts on poor people's livelihoods. In fact, uncritical appreciation of the "local support" bears the risk of reinforcing fortress conservation and marginalising poor people's agenda. The constructed stories simply hide accounts of injustices and the suffering of the voiceless. Consequently, the strategic approach



Picture 4. Women carrying green grass from community forestry in Laugain. (Courtesy Naya S. Paudel)

to address the biodiversity issue has left the second agenda, i.e. poverty, unattended. It shows that the debate on whether "conservation and development go together" is irrelevant unless the dimension of distributional justice is considered. Although the sole focus on protection of flora and fauna can be justified from some corners, strategic use of the poverty agenda in order to achieve the same narrowly defined conservation goal is unjustifiable. This

strategic move can neither do justice to the gravity of the poverty agenda nor internalise the true essence of the discourses on conservation with development.

Conclusion

This study shows the RCNP's role in reproducing social inequality among its neighbouring communities. It identifies various wealth and ethnic categories among the local people, shows their differential interactions with the Park resources and the associated costs of conservation. It also examines the PPP and BZMP and shows their benefits to different categories. It reveals the disproportionate distribution of costs

the support and participation by the local elites have formed the foundation of the success stories of the BZMP [...]. Elite support has been misinterpreted as "local support" and capitalising on this constructed truth legitimises the continuation of fortress conservation.

and benefits and links the distributional inequality with the relations of power between these categories.

The conservation agenda of the Park however, has benefited from the support of the local elites who reap the benefits. Local elites represent the local people through various local institutions and

participate in various development and resource management. These supports are then interpreted as "local support" and used to legitimise the conventional conservation agenda of the Park. The critical issues for disadvantaged people, such as access to fodder, fuel wood, fish, wild fruits and vegetables, are neglected and disadvantaged people get further marginalised. Demands for "development" displace the demands for access to natural resources.

While the risk of elite capture is common to all rural development programmes, it is noticeable that it also has a rollover impact in conservation programmes. PAs benefit from it to garner support and to legitimise the continued use of protective, conventional approaches to conservation. Contrary to general assumptions,

Contrary to general assumptions, the reproduction of inequality, though morally and ethically unacceptable, becomes a source of stability for the PA participatory rhetoric.

the reproduction of inequality, though morally and ethically unacceptable, becomes a source of stability for the PAs. Misinterpretation of elites' support as "local support" simply gives legitimacy to the conventional conservation agenda in the foundations of participatory rhetoric. A more critical understanding of micro-politics in the ICDPs and their use in garnering local support would help in better informing the policy processes aimed at addressing poverty around the PAs.

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Notes

- 1 The Millenium Development Goals include 'Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger' (1st goal) and 'Ensure environmental sustainability' (7th goal) (UNDP, 2004).
- 2 While UNCED in 1992 (Hass *et al.*, 1992) and WSSD 2002, (United Nations, 2002) emphasis on sustainable development, the London, Vth World Park Congress, 2003 in Durban more concretely addressed the issue of poverty and protected areas.
- 3 Duraiappa, 1996.

- 4 Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997; Colchester, 2002; Roe and Elliott, 2004.
- 5 IUCN, 2003.
- 6 Wells and Brandon, 1992; Hughes and Flintan, 2001.
- 7 Wells and Brandon, 1992; Jeanrenaud, 2002; Wilshusen *et al.*, 2002.
- 8 Brockington, 2003 and 2004.
- 9 Sanderson and Redford, 2004.
- 10 MFSC/DNPWC, 2000.
- 11 MFSC/DNPWC, 2000.
- 12 Sharma, 1990; Nepal and Weber, 1995; Muller-Boker, 1999; McLean and Straedes, 2003.
- 13 Paudel, 2005.
- 14 Straede and Helles, 2000; Paudel, 2003, 2005.
- 15 Bajimaya, 2003; Budhathoki, 2004.
- 16 MFSC/DNPWC, 2000; Budhathoki, 2004.
- 17 Muller- Boker, 1999; Parajuli, 2001.
- 18 Guneratne, 1998; Muller-Boker, 1999.
- 19 Paudel, 2005.
- 20 A term collectively used to mean thatch grass and building material made up of cylindrika
- 21 Guneratne, 1998; Muller-Boker, 1999.
- 22 Chairperson of the District Development Committee of Nawalparasi in his speech during a local meeting in June 2000.
- 23 HMG/MFSC, 2002; Budhathoki, 2004.
- 24 Plateau, 2005.
- 25 Sanderson and Redford, 2004,
- 26 Some audience during a Martin Chautari discussion raised the issue whether asking for fishing rights in the 21st century is a legitimate demand.

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Conservation success, livelihoods failure? Community forestry in Nepal

Christopher Thoms

Abstract. Although touted as a great success, community forestry in Nepal is mostly successful at forest conservation rather than at improving the livelihoods of the poorest in rural Nepal. Most rural Nepalese depend on forest products for their livelihoods. Community forestry is supposed to be a way for local people to simultaneously protect and utilize forests. Frequently, however, community forest user groups are dominated by local elites who choose to close access to forestland for several years. While this action allows forest resources to regenerate, members of the poorest households, those who most depend on the "free" resources of community forestland, pay the highest price. Unequal power relations at the local level combine with a structural bias within the Department of Forests— supported by the assistance of bilateral donors that favors strict protection over active use— to constrain the livelihoods potential of most community forests. This paper introduces Nepal's community forestry program, presents data on forest resource dependency and power disparities among community forest users, and explores some of the institutional barriers limiting the livelihood contributions of community forestry.

In this paper I explore the livelihoods potential of community forestry and argue that the program is more suc-

cessful at forest conservation than at improving livelihoods. Community forestry in Nepal is often touted as a successful model for participatory,

community-based forest management in developing countries.¹ The preponderance of both anecdotal and more rigorously empirical evidence clearly indicates that community forestry is improving forest protection and regeneration.² Logically, improvements in forest resource availability should lead to improvements in the flow of those resources and thereby increased fulfillment of forest product subsistence needs. That is, if community forestry is improving forest conditions in Nepal, then it should be improving the livelihoods of those who are dependent on forest resources.

However, while community forestry has the potential for sustainably improving rural livelihoods,³

The livelihoods potential of community forestry appears to be constrained by unequal power relations at the local level

its actual contributions to improving the livelihoods of the poorest are so far limited.⁴ It appears that institutionalized, unequal power

relations at the local level combine with a structural bias within Nepal's Department of Forests that favors strict protection over active use to constrain the livelihoods potential of most community forests. Poorer households tend to pay the price of strict forest protection. Whether community forests can sustain higher levels of active use is another question requiring additional ecological research to answer.

The livelihoods potential of community forestry appears to be constrained by unequal power relations at the local level. These power disparities are not challenged, and may even be reinforced by the way community forestry is implemented and the way the government relates to community forest user groups. The poor practices of the

government forest bureaucracy are in turn supported and to some extent reinforced by the financial and technical assistance provided by bilateral donor projects in contrast to their stated intent of improving livelihoods through forestry.

Research methods

Data for this paper were collected from multiple sources using a variety of methods during six months of field research between October 2002 and April 2003. Micro-level data about user groups and livelihoods are from a baseline livelihoods study conducted by the UK community forestry project, the Livelihoods and Forestry Programme (LFP). The LFP baseline data are from 2871 household surveys and 28 case study reports of CFUGs in seven hill districts of Nepal.

At the meso-level, I used semi-structured interviews to collect data from LFP staff, Nepal government forest officials and technicians, and local NGOs contracted by LFP. I interviewed all LFP district-level program staff employed in Nepal at the time of my field work. At the macro-level, I used semi-structured



Picture 1. A community forest in Bhojpur district, Eastern Nepal. The land in the foreground is now being protected and will likely regenerate like the forest in the background. (Courtesy Christopher Thoms)

interviews with all of LFP's program/managing staff, as well as three officials each from the Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation and the Department of Forests, all of whom were highly placed and had some responsibility for community forestry.

Community forestry in Nepal

Community forests in Nepal are areas of nationally owned forest handed over to user groups for community-based protection and utilization, with the national government retaining ownership. Each user group develops its own constitution and forest operational plan when applying for community forest hand-over. This process involves identification of users and the creation of a formal forest association— called the Community Forest User Group (CFUG)— which is then fully responsible for protecting the forest (subject to District Forest Officer oversight) and permitted to generate income from forest products and small, forest-based industries. According to government policy, all actual users of a given forest should be included in the user group.

A typical community forest formation process proceeds as follows.⁵ Traditional users of a forest notify staff of the District Forest Office (DFO) that they want forestland formally handed over to them (often DFO staff, local elites or others are involved in prompting forest users to apply for handover). Local DFO staff are then sent to identify all forest users. In theory this should be a long process, in which many people are involved. In practice this is often truncated and cursory.⁶ After the initial request or prompting for forest handover, the DFO staff conduct small interest group meetings within a community to collect a variety of opinions about forest use and to generate consensus among users, which is in effect

a negotiation between the potential user group and the DFO.

During a general assembly of users, the user group committee, constitution, and Operational Plan are identified and/or developed. The CFUG committee administers the user group's normal operations. The Constitution lay out the rules and regulations of the CFUG as a formal association and the Operational Plan serves as a forest management plan that must be renewed/ revised every five years. These documents are submitted to the District Forest Officer who examines them for potential boundary conflicts or other problems. If there are problems with the documents they are sent back to the nascent user group, otherwise the District Forest Officer approves the document and issues an official certificate that formalizes the forest handover to the newly constituted CFUG. The government can dissolve the CFUG if there is evidence of serious environmental damage, but the forest must quickly be handed over again to a reconstituted user group.

In practice, most Community Forest User Groups close off their forest land to most uses for the first few years following handover

In practice, most CFUGs close off their forestland to most uses for the first few years following handover.⁷ However, poor forest users are heavily dependent on forest products, which they often derive from "free" communal forestlands. As a result, forest conditions improve visibly, but at the cost of the poorest households losing their primary source of vital forest resources.⁸ When the forest is 'opened' for use there are rules in place to control harvesting activities and sanctions to control rule infractions for most forest prod-

ucts. However, one notable shortcoming is in protection and management of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) for which there is almost no regulation or mention in most user group operational plans.⁹

Generally, each member household of the user group is allowed to harvest an equal amount of a given forest product regardless of household size or income. Those members who do not need the product often sell their surplus to other users or other people in nearby communities. Most CFUGs collect dues from their members and some sell minor forest products collectively. Collective funds are kept in a bank account and used for forest management activities (at least 25%) or community development activities.

Legally, user groups have access, use, management, and exclusion rights to community forestland. Ownership of handed over forestland remains with the government. CFUGs may select or elect the membership of the Forest User Group Committee, sell and set prices for forest products, and enforce use and access rules. However, these *de jure* rights are often curtailed in practice because of user uncertainty regarding their rights, local elite domination, or *de facto* control by District Forest Office staff, as I will explain below.

As originally conceived in Nepal's Forest Sector Master Plan of 1987, community forests were meant to meet the subsistence needs of a community. According to the Forest Act 1993, however, CFUGs are also to benefit financially from their management activities, i.e., the CFUGs can generate income from their community forest. Because these two policies lead, in some cases, to conflicting recommendations, there is ongoing debate about what ends com-

munity forests should meet: merely subsistence or also income generation? Regardless of the answer, it is clear that, from the perspective of Nepal's Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation and its Department of Forests (DoF), which are the agencies charged with conserving and maintaining forests, the primary goal of community forestry is forest protection, not improving livelihoods.

For the government forest bureaucracy, the potential livelihood benefits of community forestry are incidental and of secondary concern. This is just the opposite of many bilateral donor project goals, particularly those of the UK's Livelihoods and Forestry Programme, which seeks to improve livelihoods through community forestry. LFP supports community forestry in Nepal in part by providing financial and technical support to the Department of Forests, especially at the district level. Also in contrast to Nepal government foresters, I suspect forest users are primarily concerned with how healthy forests contribute to their own livelihoods.

Natural resource dependency & access

Most rural households in Nepal require forest products for their livelihoods, and community forests are supposed to help meet these basic needs. However, large majorities of the surveyed households report deficits between the amount of forest products they need and the amount that they receive from community forests. There are two possible causes for this, which are not mutually exclusive. On the one hand, many community forests do not have enough forestland to supply the number of households comprising their respective user groups regardless of how well they are managed. On the other

hand, many community forest user groups place serious limitations on the use of their forestland, perhaps more than is necessary for sustainable forest management.

Most rural households in Nepal require forest products for their livelihoods, and community forests are supposed to help meet these basic needs.

Table 1 lists the percentage of households stating they have at least some need for certain forest products, the percentage of all households taking at least some products from communi-

ty forests, and the percentage of needful households fulfilling at least some of their reported need through community forests. Note that the only forest product for which a majority of households are supplied through community forests is fuelwood. These numbers indicate that community forests are not meeting the forest product needs or even partially fulfilling the forest product needs of a majority of member households (except in the case of fuelwood). All 2871 households surveyed belong to CFUGs.

Table 1. Forest Products and Households (HH) Supplied by Community Forests.

Product	% HHs needing product	% Total HHs getting product from CF	% Needful HHs getting product from CF
Fuelwood	99.20	58.76	59.23
Grass	93.14	43.50	46.71
Fodder	84.50	23.75	28.11
Leaf Litter	65.83	30.79	46.77
Poles	19.02	5.57	29.30
Timber	12.09	3.45	28.53
Herbs	0.63	0.17	27.78

Table 2 shows the percentage of total households surveyed reporting a deficit¹⁰ for each forest product and the percentage of households being supplied by community forests that still have a deficit. This table shows that even for those households getting for-

est products from community forests, most are not getting all they need from community forests. This can put poorer households at a disadvantage if they cannot afford alternatives, such as private sources that require land to grow trees on.

Table 2. Percentage of Households (HH) Experiencing Forest Product Deficits.

Product	% Total HHs with a deficit	% HHs using CF still having deficit
Fuelwood	97.09	95.08
Grass	99.66	99.28
Fodder	96.91	89.00
Leaf Litter	83.12	63.91
Poles	84.62	47.50
Timber	82.42	38.38
Herbs	72.22	00.00

Power disparities

Most households in the LFP study (61%) are members of only one community forest user group, but 29% are members of two forest user groups, and 10% are

...wealthier households are significantly better represented on community forest user group committees than poorer households

members of three or more forest user groups. A significantly higher proportion of intermediate and wealthy households¹¹ than very poor and poor households

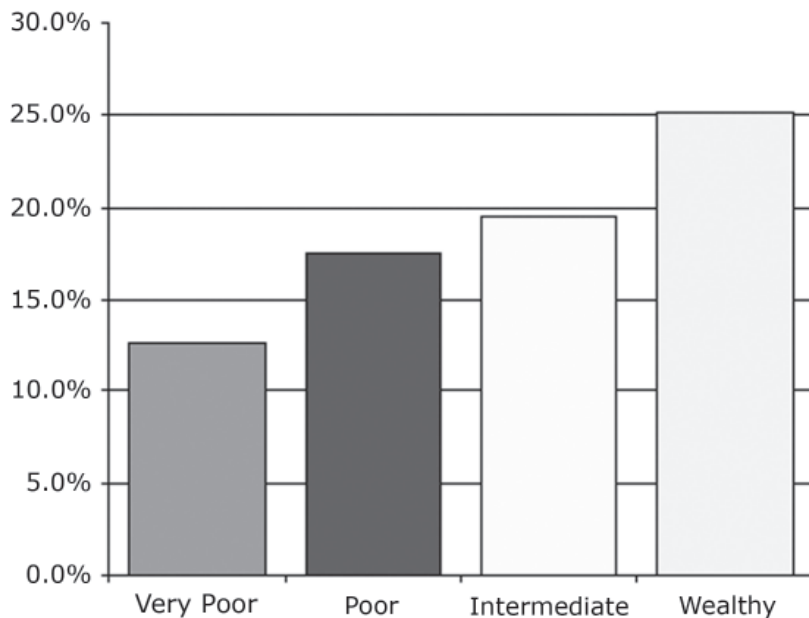
are members of multiple forest user groups. To the extent that belonging to multiple forest user groups yields more benefits to the household, this pattern of membership indicates a disadvantage for poorer households. Indicating an even greater disadvantage for poorer households, wealthier households

Most households in rural Nepal are quite poor, own little land or other assets, and are heavily dependent on forest resources. There are also huge disparities between households in terms of income and assets owned. These wealth disparities translate into power disparities that influence who can access what resources and under what conditions. Central to improving livelihoods is challenging such disparities in wealth and power, which can become institutionalized through social norms, policy, and the actions of those who can shape, for example, natural resource policy and practice.

Community forestry success and failure

In theory, community forestry can open up new livelihood opportunities for members, but benefit distribution, as mediated by institutions, is critical. In practice, community forest organizations and institutional arrangements are having both positive and negative impacts. For example, many, possibly most, CFUGs strictly protect and 'close' their newly handed over forests during the first five years of operation.¹² As a result of early closure, forest conditions do visibly improve. The suite of rights and responsibilities given during hand-over enables most user groups to effectively exclude potential rival forest users. Such exclusion coupled with internal rule enforcement and sanctioning translates into effective forest protection and improvement in forest conditions.

Figure 1. Membership in Forest User Group Executive Committee by Asset Category.



are significantly better represented on community forest user group committees than poorer households, as Figure 1 illustrates.

Although strict protection is effective in regenerating forests, it often comes at the cost of the poorest households losing their primary source of vital forest resources.¹³ Poor

households in rural Nepal depend on “free” access to forests more so than other households because they cannot afford the substitutes to these forest resources available on the market. For example, when a CFUG restricts grazing, poorer households may find that they can no longer keep livestock because they can’t afford to purchase the fodder needed for stall-feeding. Along with its livestock, the household loses a source of food and income, possibly deepening its level of poverty. Some user groups do make special provisions for the poorest households, but such arrangements are not universal.

In almost all the LFP qualitative baseline study sites, informants report that forest conditions are improving and

Although strict protection is effective in regenerating forests, it often comes at the cost of the poorest households losing their primary source of vital forest resources [...] some user groups do make special provisions for the poorest households, but such arrangements are not universal.

82% of household survey respondents stated that the quality of their community forest is improving.¹⁴ However, almost none of the LFP baseline case study user groups were actively managing and improving their forests. As a result, community forests are likely producing under their potential and are not contributing

to improving rural livelihoods to the extent that they could.

In many cases user groups are generating revenue that is used for community development and/or for micro-credit. Such micro-credit is a sword that cuts both ways for poor households. Loans can be important in times of crisis and as seed money to start an

income-generating activity, but user groups tend to charge interest at a rate of 24% annually, which can quickly bury a poor household in debt.

Although some user groups are generating revenue, at least two-thirds are not engaged in forest-based income generating activities. Almost all of the user groups in the study have good stocks of marketable non-timber forest products such as medicinal or aromatic herbs, resin, and cloth-grade fibers. However, very few CFUGs in the study area are exploiting the commercial potential of these resources, which means most are missing opportunities to generate income that could be used for community development and livelihoods improvement.

Finally, there is a mixed impact on empowerment of traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women, landless households, and members of occupational castes. In some cases these groups are participating in CFUG dis-



Picture 2. Representatives from CFUGs near Beni (Myagdi district, Western Nepal) attend a planning meeting hosted by the District Forest Office and the Livelihoods and Forestry Programme. Notice that almost all the CFUG representatives are men. (Courtesy Christopher Thoms)

cussions but they rarely have a say in decision-making. My analysis of the 28 case studies in the LFP baseline study suggests that as much as two-thirds of CFUGs experience low participation by women, lower caste groups, and poor households.

It appears that heavy involvement of government foresters in crafting user groups' constitutions and operational plans¹⁵ encourages strict protection and the closure of community forests. The culture of the forest bureaucracy in Nepal views forests as a resource that must be policed and protected. Such traditions, dating back to the beginning of Nepal's forest agencies,¹⁶ encourage a certain conservatism regarding forest utilization on the part of foresters who take a cautious approach when preparing a user group's forest management plan.

Anecdotal evidence combined with hard data suggests that the vast majority of CFUGs in Nepal practice only 'passive' management, rather than active, production-oriented management.¹⁷ That is, CFUGs focus on conserving and protecting forest resources rather than developing forest-based industries or manipulating forest conditions to improve the availability of especially useful or valuable products. Thus, meeting subsistence needs through community forestry may be less a supply problem than a management problem.

There are several causes of this management problem. Heavy involvement of government foresters biased toward traditional timber production and protection forestry lead CFUGs to believe that they can make only limited use of their forests. There is limited technical forest management knowledge and capacity even among government foresters, let alone villagers. The same is true regarding forest-based industry

development and marketing. Another cause of the management problem is that those most dependent on community forest resources and therefore most interested in their active utilization are the very same groups who tend to be excluded from decision-making.

My analysis corroborates many of the findings made by other research on community forestry in Nepal. For example, as Yadav *et al.* (2003) report that community forestry is improving the quality of forests to varying degrees, which in turn can and does lead to increased

benefit flows. However, improved forest resources may not benefit all members of a user group.¹⁸

The results presented above also confirm that CFUG committees and user

group decision-making are dominated by elites,¹⁹ and that "[g]enuinely inclusive decision-making exists only in a minority of . . . FUGs".²⁰ It would seem that community forestry in Nepal is not an unmitigated success. In terms of livelihood status of the poorest and traditionally most disadvantaged groups, community forestry may actually cause problems, as I explain next in my final section.

...those most dependent on community forest resources and therefore most interested in their active utilization are the very same groups who tend to be excluded from decision-making

Institutional barriers

Overall, there are at least three obstacles standing in the way of achieving the livelihoods potential of community forestry in Nepal. These three obstacles are: local elite domination, structural biases within the Department of Forests, and culpability on the part

of bilateral donors. In this final section, I discuss the role of these institutional barriers in limiting community forestry's livelihoods contributions, and briefly consider how the three barriers interact.

Decision-making within CFUGs is clearly dominated by local elites, especially men. Local elites are usually educated and have time available for activities other than farming. The nature of

Decision-making within CFUGs is clearly dominated by local elites, especially men.

community forestry makes the elite-marginalized relationship self-reinforcing. First, elites tend to make decisions

that benefit themselves, and they often place restrictions on forest use that actually harm the poorest. Those who are being excluded from CFUG decision-making, whether intentionally or not, are also those who are most dependent on forests for multiple needs including fuelwood, fodder, livestock grazing, leaf litter for compost, and construction wood. In such a situation, poorer, marginalized households may become more desperate and deeper in debt, which can lead to even less time and resources to devote to the CFUG and thus give elites even more power over them.

Second, government foresters reinforce these power relations because they tend to consult local elites first and most often when conducting the fieldwork phase of CFUG formation and later when providing services to a user group. The role played by government foresters in maintaining unequal power relations locally is a function of the hierarchical structure and traditional forest protection orientation of the forest bureaucracy in Nepal. Furthermore, the financial and technical support provided to the government by foreign

donors may be reinforcing rather than reorienting traditions of the forest bureaucracy.

The evidence indicates that most community forests are improving in terms of tree density and, to some extent, species richness. Given the effectiveness of CFUGs in protecting forests, it may be that elite domination and exclusion of marginalized groups is good for the environment, but it is important to remember that most community forests are improving because of limitations on resource extraction rather than active management. In other words, there may be potential for even greater forest quality in terms of improved forest product availability. Decisions to practice more active management are more likely to emerge from decision-making bodies that represent those who have a greater interest in improving resource availability through active management, that is, poor households, occupational castes, and women.

In terms of community forestry's contributions to improving rural livelihoods, these too are limited by conditions of unequal power. With forest handover, new institutions are created



Picture 3. Members of a CFUG in Bhojpur learn how to process nettle into cloth. This training was funded by the Livelihoods and Forestry Programme. (Courtesy Christopher Thoms)

that can serve as new social fora for local development planning, social support services, and social cohesion. However, in many cases the CFUG as social forum is not accessible, or not as accessible, to marginalized groups. Inequities in decision-making participation, power, and associated elite domination are thus constraining the potential for community forestry to improve livelihoods.

That community forests tend to be elite dominated has its roots in structural biases upheld and even in part created by the forest bureaucracy. Because the DoF is oriented towards traditional forestry, where it sees forest protection it sees success. The fact that forests are not being utilized to their full potential to improve livelihoods of the poorest and the fact that community forestry is dominated by local elites is incidental to the forest bureaucracy, because it is institutionally blind (or at least myopic) to goals other than forest protection.

Government foresters are heavily involved in shaping how community forests are utilized and governed during the process of community forest formation and handover. Government foresters rarely emphasize or otherwise authentically encourage consideration of livelihood issues within the community forestry context. Their protectionist biases thus directly inform the perceptions of CFUG members regarding how community forests may be used.

Because local elites tend to be better educated and are more flexible with their time, government foresters find it easier to work with local elites.²¹ Foresters tend to seek out the opinions of local elites first, and local elites are more likely than disadvantaged groups to seek out foresters for advice or assistance. Thus, the process government foresters use to form CFUGs and

to support them after formation sees foresters interacting mostly with local elites, and thereby reinforcing the position of local elites as gate-keepers in their communi-

ties. Nepal's Ministry and Department of Forests receives much of its budget from international aid through bilateral donor projects. For example, the UK Livelihoods and Forestry Programme provides direct financial support to government forest offices in

its operating districts, trains government foresters, and supports them in numerous small ways such as providing DFO staff places to hold meetings, stationary, use of photo copiers, computers, and so on. The support that donor projects provide district forest offices enables the DoF to exert control over forests, promote its traditional forestry agenda, and interact with CFUGs in a manner that maintains domination by local elites, which in turn limits the livelihoods improving potential of community forestry.

That community forests tend to be elite dominated has its roots in structural biases upheld and even in part created by the forest bureaucracy. [...] Government foresters rarely emphasize or otherwise authentically encourage consideration of livelihood issues within the community forestry context

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Notes

- 1 Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 1999; Mahapatra, 2000; Timsina, 2003.
- 2 Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 2001; Gautam *et al.*, 2002; Yadav *et al.*, 2003; Gautam *et al.*, 2004.
- 3 Dev *et al.*, 2003.

- 4 Edmonds, 2002; Malla *et al.*, 2003; Smith *et al.*, 2003; Timsina 2003,
- 5 see DoF, 1995a and 1995b; DoF, 2001,
- 6 Pokharel, 1997; Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 2001.
- 7 Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 2001; Edmonds, 2002.
- 8 for case study examples see Dev *et al.*, 2003.
- 9 Pandit and Thapa, 2004.
- 10 Deficit in this case is the difference between the amount of the product needed and the amount of the product that is supplied from community forests, and does not refer to total deficit.
- 11 By examining the frequency distribution of asset value among surveyed households, four wealth categories emerge as follows: "very poor" households have a total value of assets equal to or less than 1000 Nepali Rupees (less than US \$13.33); "poor" households asset value is between NRs. 1001 and 6790 (\$13.34 - \$90.53); "intermediate" households are between NRs. 6791 and 14,676 (\$90.54 - \$195.68); and "wealthy" households' assets value above NRs. 14,677 (greater than \$195.68).
- 12 Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 2001; Edmonds, 2002.
- 13 see also Dev *et al.*, 2003; see also Malla *et al.*, 2003; Adhikari *et al.*, 2004.
- 14 LFP *et al.*, 2003.
- 15 see Springate-Baginski *et al.*, 2003.
- 16 Pokharel, 1997.
- 17 for examples see Larsen *et al.*, 2000; Edmonds, 2002; Malla *et al.*, 2003; for examples see Yadav *et al.*, 2003; Pandit and Thapa, 2004.
- 18 Dougill *et al.*, 2001.
- 19 Dougill *et al.*, 2001; Malla *et al.*, 2003; Timsina, 2003.
- 20 Dev *et al.*, 2003, p. 75.
- 21 Pokharel, 1997.

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Gorillas in the garden—Human-wildlife conflict at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

Francine Madden

Abstract. Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in southwestern Uganda is home to as much as one-half of the world's surviving population of mountain gorillas. Protecting the gorillas and the biologically diverse habitat found in this World Heritage Site are global conservation priorities. The park's resident gorillas attract tourism revenues and the park itself provides benefits to local communities. At the same time, the gorillas also inflict significant costs on local people and their livelihoods. Over one-third of the Bwindi population of gorillas is believed to forage in the village plantations immediately surrounding the park, and a few gorillas have attacked humans. The result has been significant and continuing economic loss and personal injury to local people, most of whom are poor and subsist primarily on small-scale agriculture. In response, some local people in affected areas have threatened to retaliate against offending gorillas and have expressed hostility to the park and its management. Conservation efforts in Bwindi have suffered from a lack of innovative, direct and consistent response to human-wildlife conflict and its impact on local livelihoods. Based on the author's experience working in Bwindi and adjacent areas and the extensive research she conducted globally to design a conflict prevention and mitigation programme for Bwindi, the article outlines selected factors that significantly contribute to conflict— including habituation of gorillas for eco-tourism— and the inadequate policies addressing such conflict. The article offers management and policy recommendations to improve mitigation of conflict and thereby contribute to conservation efforts and the viable livelihoods of the local people. While they are tailored to the particular situation in Bwindi, these proposals should be of interest for those seeking to mitigate analogous conflicts between wildlife and the local poor in other protected areas in the same region and around the world.



Picture 1. Mountain gorillas just outside Bwindi Impenetrable National Park.

The context for conflict

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is an afro-montane forest surrounded entirely by a human-occupied and cultivated landscape. The small (331 km²) island-park has unusually high biological diversity, including, for example, over 200 tree species and 100 fern species.¹ Bwindi is home to about 300 mountain gorillas (*Gorilla gorilla beringei*), estimated to compose about one-half of the world's remaining population.² The park attracts tourism that provides revenues for national income, local development as well as other local benefits such as watershed protection. At first a forest reserve, Bwindi was

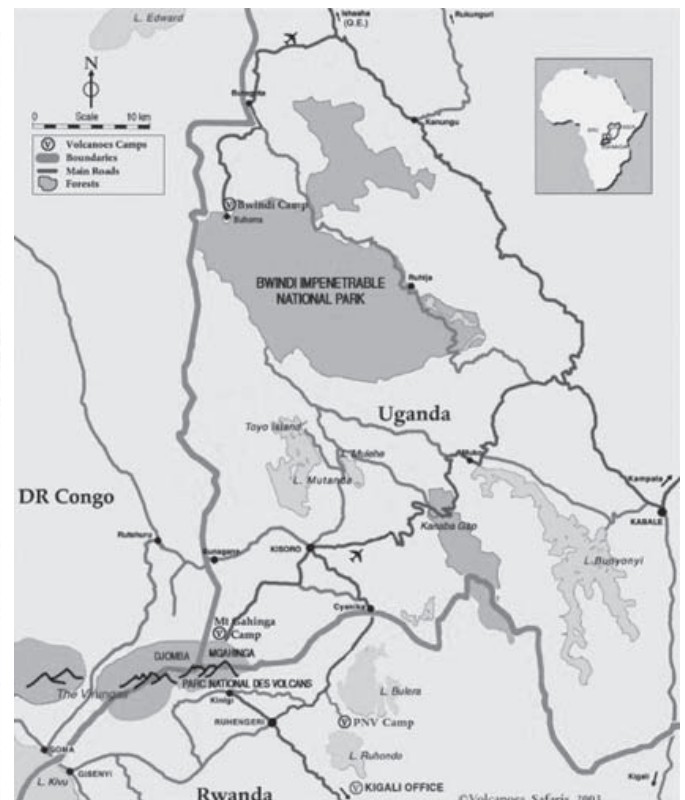
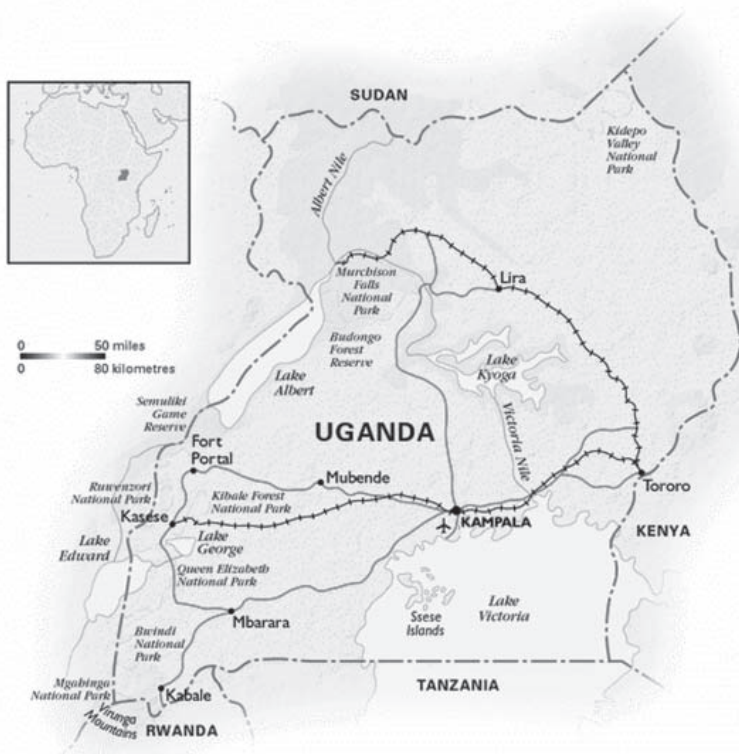
gazetted as a national park in 1991 and listed as a World Heritage Site in 1994.

The landscape surrounding Bwindi is a dense mosaic of steep hillsides covered in intensively cultivated fields, some scrub and secondary growth vegetation, and a few remnant forests. Over the last few decades much of the forested land immediately outside what is now known as Bwindi Impenetrable National Park has been increasingly populated, with the forest cut down and turned into cultivated fields. These forests, which were connected to forest within the park, previously provided important habitat for gorillas.

Assuming population growth continues, the land required to feed the population will necessarily increase each year and the natural buffer between gorillas and communities will continue to decline. Until recently, the portions of Mukono and Nteko parishes bordering the park—currently two of the most problematic areas for gorilla-human interaction—still contained large

spans of gorilla-inhabited forest and few human inhabitants. Villagers and rangers recollect that areas of Nteko once traversed by a single trail are now covered by a maze of interconnected paths and gardens. Today, the park boundary in many places is sharply and visibly defined by the edge between forest within the park and adjoining cultivation. According to government records and maps dating back to the late 1950s, there is a distinct loss in forest vegetation in precisely the areas where gorilla crop raiding is currently a problem.

In these areas of Uganda where people once boasted about the quantity of food and land available, farmers seeking to grow sufficient food for their families complain that they must abandon the practice of leaving bands of fallow land between cultivated bands on steep hillsides. Farms now suffer from frequent landslides that obliterate swathes of cultivation. There have even been requests made that Bwindi



management allow people into the park to cultivate crops between the trees.

Patterns of conflict

Crop Raiding

Over one third of Bwindi's gorillas are reported to forage in the village plantations immediately surrounding the park. There are two predominant "conflict" areas where gorillas most often tend to venture out of Bwindi.

Over one third of Bwindi's gorillas are reported to forage in the village plantations immediately surrounding the park

Both areas are near the southwestern section of the park, bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo. One area is on the northwest corner of the southern

sector of the park in a parish called Mukono, the other, Nteko, is in the southwest. As will be explained, it is no coincidence that these are also areas where mountain gorillas are habituated and used for tourism, and where human settlement is more recent.

In the time before Bwindi was gazetted as a national park, gorillas did not often venture out of the park. Some groups occasionally raided crops, but they usually visited small forest remnants, and generally only emerged during the rainy season. They were easily chased by local people and there were no reports of anyone getting hurt by gorillas. After the park was established, park authorities informed local people that they were no longer allowed to chase the gorillas.

Gorillas' tendencies to venture outside the park are influenced by both the content and structure of vegetation, in addition to the level of fear they have for humans and open spaces. When the vegetative structure of areas adjacent to the park is structurally similar

in density and height to gorilla habitat within the park, gorillas will continue their foraging expeditions through people's unkempt fields and other scrub vegetation until they find desirable food sources. Outside the protected area, gorillas navigate from one pocket of dense shrubbery to the next as if they were island hopping across a sea of cultivation. In some cases gorillas have wandered several kilometres outside park boundaries.

Both wild and cultivated areas may offer the vegetation structure that gorillas prefer. Overgrown cultivated areas provide a delectable food source for the gorillas, as well as concealment for them during their forage. The concealment is so effective that villagers often overlook gorillas eating their bananas until hours or days later. Monitoring gorilla crop-raiding is rendered more difficult by the fact that a single family's land is typically divided into several parcels scattered hundreds of metres or even several kilometres apart.

Furthermore, along ridges and in ravines where cultivation is difficult and usually unproductive, there are scrub trees and bushes that form attractive passageways for excursions to crops as far as several kilometres from the park boundary. Some of these ravines may also offer food sources, though gorillas seem to use them primarily as access routes.

Attacks on Humans

Gorillas venturing outside the park can be a threat to personal security as well as crops; in most cases the offending individuals have been habituated to human presence for the purposes of facilitating ecotourism (see below). During a two-year period (1996-98) in which the author was living and working in the area, there were four gorilla



Picture 2. The wife and mother of a local man attacked by a gorilla near their home. (Courtesy Francine Madden)

attacks on humans in one conflict area alone (Mukono Parish). The gorilla or gorillas that attacked were believed to be males that had split off from a larger group habituated to tourists. As a result they became semi-habituated, meaning: a) as they were no longer

As a result of these attacks, villagers have been afraid to plant or harvest crops, walk through the village, or go to work or school when the gorilla is known to be in the vicinity

people; resulting in, c) a charge that

tracked daily by softly approaching rangers and tourists, they subsequently lost some of their familiarity to and docility with people; b) they were occasionally surprised by, or a surprise to, local

sometimes led to an attack. The fear instilled in local people by these gorillas has periodically impeded the movement and activities of people to school, work, their plantations, or to health clinics.

In Nteko Parish, bordering Bwindi on the south, gorillas frequently enter local peoples' gardens to raid crops. One gorilla attacked and seriously injured two people in Nteko in 1996, and caused minor injury to a third. Rangers were sent out to Nteko to chase this gorilla back in the forest but this had to be repeated on numerous occasions as he never stayed in the forest for longer than one or two days at a time. In August 1998 another man was seriously injured by, it is suspected, the same gorilla. As a result of these attacks, villagers have been afraid to plant or harvest crops, walk through the village, or go to work or school when the gorilla is known to be in the vicinity. Already poor, the impact of crop raiding on their meagre incomes has meant that they are even less able to afford school fees and the graduated tax required by law.

Sometimes the interference with education is even more direct: for instance, one local school was closed for two months because a gorilla was staying in nearby banana plantations. Ironically, that school was built using funds from a tourism revenue sharing programme designed to provide a percentage of the revenue from tourism to fund community projects. The immediate economic effect of interference with education is difficult to measure, but the long-term social and economic effect on future generations could be severe.

Injuries from gorilla attacks can have severe consequences for the victim

and the victim's family. The frequent repetition and constant threat of gorillas' raids creates serious harm for local people. Attacks on individuals cause severe physical harm and loss for some individuals and families, and great insecurity and anxiety for the local people in general. In several cases victims of attacks spent months in hospital and remained unable to work for some time after release. The injured people were usually men, the head of their household and the sole earner of monetary income. Their families rely heavily on their ability to work, generate an income, guard crops, and make household repairs. Finally, the threat of attacks and raids is also a constant reminder to local people that they lack empowerment under existing government wildlife laws, and that many individuals and families are continually at risk of suffering harm due to gorillas that far outweighs any benefits they may receive from the park's community-oriented revenue sharing programme. In other words, many individuals feel they have little to gain and much to lose by sharing the land with gorillas.

For their part, the gorillas face two direct risks when they venture into a nearby village. First, they are in danger of being killed or injured by angry villagers. Second, the gorillas face an increased health risk associated with exposure to human diseases to which gorillas may have low or no immunity.³ Indirectly, gorilla conservation efforts, and conservation in the region in general, is continuously and increasingly jeopardized when local people are in conflict with the park over the costs of this human-gorilla conflict.

Conflict as an unintended consequence

During the mid- to late 1990s, a

number of externally-driven conservation and development initiatives

were initiated in and near Bwindi. Several of these projects had unexpected consequences that inadvertently contributed to human-gorilla conflict, undercutting overall project objectives. "Eco-

"Ecotourism" involving gorilla-watching proved lucrative to Bwindi and the national park system as a whole, but only to some extent to the surrounding communities

tourism" involving gorilla-watching proved lucrative to Bwindi and the national park system as a whole, but only to some extent to the surrounding communities – as it had the unintended consequence of facilitating an increase in gorilla conflict with humans which threatened already precarious local livelihoods. A land purchase programme with international sponsorship helped add land to the protected area, but failed to anticipate social and cultural conditions in the community that led to increased poverty, animosity and further hindered support for conservation. Another project to grow plantations for fuel wood - hence reducing the pressure on forest resources – led to community confusion and anger when gorillas developed a taste for eucalyptus and increased their excursions outside the park to savour this new treat. The response of Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to human-gorilla conflict has tend-

The response of Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to human-gorilla conflict has tended to focus more on policing people and less on controlling gorillas.

ed to focus more on policing people and less on controlling gorillas. There has been little attention to underlying contributing factors such as cultivation

patterns and topographic features that encourage gorilla raids. Inflexible and inappropriate national policies have hampered rather than facilitated local management's efforts to respond. Thus, the park's response to this conflict was perceived by villagers to be inconsistent and inadequate, fostering hostility toward park management and the gorillas.

The remainder of this article focuses on the development of tourism and the local response to conflict by park management operating within the constraints of inadequate national policies.⁴ It discusses problems that arose and suggests lessons learned that will be valuable for future efforts both in dealing with conflict at Bwindi and in analogous situations elsewhere.

Ecotourism and habituation: a double edged sword never looked so sharp

In the early 1990s, park management with international support successfully launched a programme to promote gorilla tourism in Bwindi. A revenue sharing programme was developed early on to bring direct benefits from tourism to the communities close to the park. A modest percentage of the sales of gorilla tracking permits were given to a committee of community leaders around Bwindi who voted on community-benefiting projects to receive the revenue. Schools, health clinics and other infrastructure have been built using this revenue. Tourism also provides job opportunities and several local people have been trained as rangers, guides, trackers and porters, earning revenue as a result of tourism. Revenue derived from gorilla viewing also provided and continues to provide a substantial portion of the funding for the entire national park system in Uganda.

Unfortunately, a costly side effect of the tourism programme soon arose. Four groups of gorillas were habituated to humans – in order to make them accessible to tourists. Because of this, the gorillas became less fearful of humans and less inhibited from venturing into open spaces near human habitation. They radically increased the number of destructive and brazen forays into people's fields. Mountain gorillas cause damage mostly to banana plantations, a major local cash crop, but also to coffee, maize and eucalyptus.

In Nteko, for instance, the habituated gorillas of the "Nkuringo" group began in 1997 to forage intermittently in gardens outside the park and have continued to do so⁵ inflicting significant crop losses. Park staff and the organization supporting the habituation process were understandably reluctant to interfere with the gorilla's behaviour, fearing that the gorillas would flee deep into the forest and be temporarily lost, thereby interrupting the habituation process. But as a result of this inaction, the gorillas' raiding habits became established, and local people became resentful. One park ranger expressed fear that community members might "behave negatively towards the gorillas



Picture 3. Local Community Meeting to discuss human-gorilla conflict around Bwindi (Courtesy Francine Madden)

in the parish" and even "kill gorillas in secret" if the animals were not controlled.⁶

Direct Management of Conflict Behavior

The initial response of park authorities to human-wildlife conflict was simply to prohibit local people from chasing, threatening or harming gorillas that took crops, or threatened or inflicted physical injury. While rangers on some occasions responded to villagers' complaints by chasing marauding gorillas back into the park, relatively little was done to police gorilla excursions out of the park.

As local pressure to address human-gorilla conflict increased, park management made additional efforts to respond. In Nteko Parish, for instance, the author worked with park staff to train community members in gorilla behaviour, monitoring and chasing, and prevention of disease transfer, and in late 1998 began a programme to chase gorillas that were raiding gardens near the edge of the park in Nteko Parish. Although the effort was beneficial and appreciated by the community, the success of these efforts was limited, and damage remained unacceptably high. Monitoring and chasing gorillas is difficult and labour-intensive. For example, there can be long time lags from the time gorillas start to feed until they are spotted, from when they are spotted until chase teams are alerted, and from when chase teams are alerted until they arrive on the scene. The same ravines and other topographic features that serve as corridors of cover for gorillas exiting the park also hinder park rangers' efforts to shepherd them back into the park. Gorillas navigate these topographical obstacle courses much better and faster than even the most athletic ranger.

Park and conservation officials were aware that local people needed to be motivated to support conservation, and needed to gain economic benefits from the park so as to have alternatives to expanding their farms into gorilla habitat. They were slower, however, to recognize that gorilla incursions on crops and gorilla attacks on humans undercut the benefits gained from tourism, contributed to poverty and engendered hostility toward the park and associated conservation efforts.

Inadequate policy

A number of park managers at Bwindi have been aware of the growing losses suffered by local people due to gorillas, and have strongly felt the need to respond, both as a matter of equity for those harmed and as a matter of policy to strengthen support for conservation. Unfortunately they found little help and significant hindrance in national policy. UWA imposed constraints on local management action, and provided no positive guidance as to how park management should respond to a pressing local problem.

Faced with a local community that is understandably upset, each manager has struggled to craft a response, attempting to balance his individual sense of fairness with the inflexible laws and policies that govern his actions from the top. The result is that successive managers sometimes ignored the conflict problem altogether, and then, when pushed, adopted widely varying responses to similar attack and crop raiding scenarios.

For instance, national policy prohibits compensation for damage due to wildlife, but local people were understandably upset that the park's tourism initiative had the side effect of worsening crop losses due to gorillas.

Some managers, at least, felt a duty to respond, particularly in cases involving physical injury, but without uniform guidance or principles to resort to, their ad hoc efforts tended to vary in ways that appeared inexplicable and unfair to affected villagers. The resulting inconsistencies left local citizens angry and frustrated, feeling that they were wholly at the mercy of the varying whims of a series of transient park administrations.

Gorilla incursions on crops and gorilla attacks on humans undercut the benefits gained from tourism, contributed to poverty and engendered hostility toward the park and associated conservation efforts.

At times UWA and park management devised policies for human-gorilla conflict that were completely misdirected. At one time, for example, translocation was formally offered as the sole policy solution for a problem gorilla.

This is inadequate for a number of reasons, including the small size of the park, the likelihood the gorilla would end up back where it came from, the health risk to the gorilla, and the enormous expense. Meanwhile, there was no considered policy response that took account of key underlying factors like the vegetation and cultivation patterns and topographic features discussed above. Park management struggled in the absence of a framework of sound policy, or even a framework that would enable them to develop sound policy through research, consultation, and experimentation.

Improving conflict mitigation

A full discussion of the range of options that could help mitigate human-gorilla conflict is beyond the scope of this brief article. However, several types of responses offer potential for significantly

improving the situation, and clearly warrant further investigation. One involves modification of the landscape immediately outside the park, creating new kinds of buffers and barriers to influence the gorillas' behaviour and discourage them from leaving the park. Such initiatives must be carried out in collaboration with local people if they are to succeed. Another response is training to improve personal safety by modifying human behaviour to reduce the chance of attacks when gorillas are encountered. In addition, the national policy framework should be reformed so as to support more realistic local responses to conflict. Finally, fiscal measures will be needed to finance activities such as landscape modification and training.

Natural buffers and barriers

It is not feasible to re-establish the band of natural vegetation that previously separated humans and gorillas, since human populations have grown and local people now rely on this area to grow crops for their families. Even if such a band were established, habituated gorillas would simply traverse it to raid crops in adjacent fields. But even habituated gorillas, prefer to stay under cover of relatively high, dense vegetation and avoid wide stretches of terrain (more than 500 m.) with low ground cover where they can be easily seen.

... modification of the landscape immediately outside the park can create new kinds of buffers and barriers to influence the gorillas' behaviour and discourage them from leaving the park...

The strong disinclination of gorillas to cross open ground argues for research into the feasibility of creating a new

kind of buffer zone along park boundaries in areas where human-gorilla conflict is acute. Park management and interested conservation and development groups should explore ways to encourage a shift in farming practices in this zone toward cultivation of alternative crops that provide neither food nor cover for gorillas, but instead provide sustainable income for local people. Since the gorilla-tempting crops (particularly bananas) are an integral part of local people's preferred diet and a major source of income, the farmers close to the conflict-prone park boundary would need incentives to make the change. Switching to a cash crop that is less appealing to gorillas would put profits in the pocket of the farmer while reducing the chance that gorillas would enter the farmer's garden. While a transition period in which farmers would receive payments would probably be necessary, in the longer run the economic benefits to the farmer would reduce the cost of the program. The benefit to gorillas would be a reduced risk of disease transmission and retaliatory attack.

Implementing an 800-1000m buffer zone on the edge of the park would require major changes in land use practices, as well as substantial human resources and time for a transition to new patterns of cultivation. Resource economies could and should be achieved, however, by concentrating effort on the relatively small high-conflict areas along the boundary in Nteko and Mukono. Some such effort must be undertaken if tourism is to continue and local people are to be persuaded to support the park.

For such an effort to succeed, it must be a cooperative process fully involving local people. Formal, open discussion and collaboration between local people

and the park authorities (and conservation groups) need to take place from the beginning throughout the development, implementation, maintenance, monitoring and evaluation phases. A mutually agreed upon system of co-management needs to be established with clear delineation of responsibilities of all parties. Patience and flexibility will need to be maintained on all sides, as research and testing of potential crops, barriers and deterrents will require time, labour, finances, humility, and a willingness to experiment.

The first step will be to research suitability of low-growing cash crops such as pyrethrum or tea. Pyrethrum is grown around mountain gorilla habitat in Rwanda, where gorillas show no interest in eating it, and prefer not to leave protected areas where they have to cross fields of this low growing crop. Tea, which is grown in other areas around Bwindi, also appears to be unappetizing to gorillas, although the author identified infrastructural and market obstacles to the use of tea as a cash crop in Nteko when researching alternative crops in 1998. Further research is needed on these and other



Picture 4. Local communities learn how to avoid a gorilla attack in a park training program designed by the author and her park staff colleagues. (Courtesy Francine Madden)

options.

Investigation is also warranted of the potential for placing appropriate fences or barriers at narrow "chokepoints" along ravines and other favoured gorilla passageways. Other deterrents to gorilla movement such as noisemakers or taste aversion techniques should be assessed.

Gorilla-friendly behaviour changes

One essential measure that needs to be implemented, which is complementary to all other initiatives, involves the education of local people as to how they should behave if they encounter a gorilla. The social structure of gorillas provides for stylized signals of dominance and submission that are highly and immediately influential in a gorilla's choice of whether to bluff charge or carry through with an attack. Some basic tips on body movement, eye contact and other behaviour can greatly reduce the chance that a gorilla will attack. The result of a tried and tested education programme on gorilla behaviour would likely be at least some reduction in fear and disruption in social movement, such that people may feel less uncomfortable sending their children to school, going to work, taking family members to the health clinic and tending their gardens, even when they suspect a gorilla to be in the general vicinity.

Supportive policy framework

Park staff in the field need more institutional support and management flexibility to deal with the human-gorilla conflict issues quickly, confidently, and judiciously. A management policy needs to be developed at national and local levels that would support and allow for realistic, innovative interventions in gorilla control.

Fiscal mechanisms

All these activities will require financing. There will need to be a mutually agreed upon financial incentive programme for farmers who volunteer to change crops, alter land use and who participate in the research and testing of deterrents and barriers. Part of the tourism revenues could be directed towards these programmes to help finance them. This could involve a levy

... a levy placed on gorilla permits that would directly support efforts to develop and implement the buffer zone, research buffer crops and barriers, and offset the costs of implementing the program ...

placed on gorilla permits that would directly support efforts to develop and implement the buffer zone, research buffer crops and barriers, and offset the costs of implementing the program. This levy would offer immediate as well as long term, sustainable funding for the prevention and mitigation of human-gorilla conflict. Since much of the conflict involving gorillas and humans stems from the habituation of gorilla groups for tourism, tourism revenue is the appropriate source for funding.

Conclusion

Human-gorilla conflict in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park undercuts efforts to conserve the endangered gorillas and improve livelihoods of local people. While some efforts have been made to provide benefits to communities from tourism oriented toward gorillas, there has been little done to mitigate the *individual* costs incurred by people who have been injured by gorillas, either physically or economically. Nor has enough been done to offset the severe costs of ecotourism that are being incurred locally by both people and gorillas. Several options for mitigating

conflict and reducing the harm suffered by both people and gorillas should be explored, including the creation of a new kind of buffer zones, education and training, financing for conflict mitigation, and a supportive policy framework.

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Notes

- 1 WCMC, 1997.
 - 2 McNeilage *et al.*, 1997, WCMC, 1997.
 - 3 Wallis, 1998.
 - 4 For additional discussion of these and other factors see Madden, forthcoming.
- 5 Madden, 1999; Plumtree, A., personal communication, 2003.
 - 6 Mihanda, E., personal communication, 1998.

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People, environment, development and powerlessness: Karrayu pastoralists facing Metahara Plantation Scheme and the Awash National Park

Buli Edjeta

Abstract. Land alienation by the Metahara Sugar Plantation Scheme and Awash National Park changed the relationship between the Karrayu and their environment and thereby led to environmental degradation. Before their marginalisation and the alienation of their land, the Karrayu had a self sufficient decision making system that allowed them to relate to the environment in a flexible and adaptive way. Their pastoral livelihood involved the periodic mobility of people and herds along different ecological zones. This was disrupted when the Karrayu lost their decision making power regarding resources use and were negated access to critical pasture and water points taken over by the Metahara Scheme and Awash National Park. The

recent expansion of a highly alkaline lake and the chemical emission from the factory aggravated the loss of pastoral land and the environmental problems. The flux of new migrants attracted by the Scheme and the development of local towns added to the environmental problems because of the indiscriminate use of resources by more and more people. If in the past the Karrayu were able to make a wise use of resources, today they are at the bottom of their resourcefulness and end up behaving like the newcomers. In the final analysis it seems that the root cause of local environmental problems is the powerlessness of the Karrayu pastoralists with respect to the successive Ethiopian governments, which actively disrupted their livelihoods and their sound relationship with the environment.

The Karrayu, who inhabit the Upper Awash Valley, Eastern Shoa Zone of Fantale district, are one of the pastoral groups of the Oromo. They are bounded by the Afar in the north, Arsi and Itu in the south and southeast, Jile and Chora Oromo in the west. Their country ranges in altitude from 780 to 1,500 meters above sea level, the climate is hot and water is scarce. Their livelihood largely depends on animal husbandry, mostly for cattle and camels. Individual livestock holding, however, is steadily dwindling due to the encroachment of two 'development' schemes: the Awash National Park and the Matahara Sugar Plantation Scheme.

The Awash National Park alone expropriated 80,000 hectares of their best dry seasons grazing areas and the Sugar Cane Plantation took over more than 10,000 hectares. As a result, the Karrayu had to leave the plain and now inhabit the surrounding dry hills.¹ The "development projects" severely affected Karrayu's access to the flood plain pastures and Awash River, and restricted their mobility. The communities and their herds were squeezed in a relatively small area, which led to overgrazing and livestock starvation followed by diminishing herds and human malnutrition.

In this paper I will try to illustrate the process by which the land alienation changed the relationship between the

Karrayu and their environment and thereby led to environmental degradation and human right abuses. This is part of broader socio-political and economic processes with large temporal and spatial dimensions. Rather than viewing the people-environment relationship only at the micro level, I will attempt to take into consideration the regional, national and international factors affecting pastoral production. In the final analysis, I will argue that both local environmental problems and human right abuses are the result of the disempowerment of the local people.



Picture 1. Before land alienation, the Karrayu enjoyed full rights over their pasture and water resources. (Courtesy Boku Tache)

Karrayu pastoral movement before land alienation

a. The three grazing zones

Before land alienation, the Karrayu enjoyed full rights over their pasture and water resources. They could easily

make decision on their movements in accordance with the existing ecological patterns. There were three differentiated pasture zones in Karrayu country: the *Ona Gannaa* (summer or wet season grazing zone) *Ona Bona* (winter or dry season grazing zone) and *Ona Birraa* (autumn, dry season grazing zone). Such ecological zones were differentiated by three basic components: the spatial and temporal movements of herd and men, rainfall regime and pasture and water availability.

Ona Gannaa is, according to the Karrayu ecological classification, that part of their country which surrounds the foothills of the Fantalle Mountain, up to the borderlands of Bulga River in the west and Gran Plain in the east. The area is rich in germinal family diversity, and could fall into Jacobs and Schloederis' classification² of open grassland area. *Ona Bona* is an area which has

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both shrubs and grass which vary in relative intensity from locality to locality. The area is located between the *ona gannaa* and *ona birraa*, i.e. in the transitional zone between the two. It covers an area from Muka Sara in the west to the Awash Sabet Kilo in the east including Summa

Plain (which is currently included in the Park). *Ona Birraa* covers an area along the River Awash. It is a long and wide strand of land on either side of the River. This zone has palatable undergrowth, and tall grasses³ and used to be a strategic place for human and livestock during the dry season. According

to Muderis⁴ the pods and leaves of this type of vegetation are palatable to all species of livestock.

b. Patterns of movement

Patterns of human and livestock movement along these three grazing areas have always been influenced by the availability of rainfall and pasture resources. Grazing in *ona gannaa* lasted for almost four months from June up to the middle of September. These months are the time when Karrayu country receives the highest amount of rainfall of the

year. During these months, grasses on open land grow to their maximum; water is available in ponds and surface water catchments and the herds do not need to trek.

During these same months the reproductive processes of the livestock are accelerated due to the availability of pasture and water. After mid September, the range has less pasture and water, the rain stop and the grass no longer grows. The temporary water sources like ponds and surface water catchments dry up. By now, the *onna gannaa* is exhausted and the herds are forced to move to another grazing area.

Along the Awash River, there used to be more than fifteen Malka sa'aa (water points for cattle). Each of them was strategically placed at certain reasonable distance from the other to avoid congestion when large number of livestock used water at each point. This was also meant to avoid overgrazing

By mid September, therefore, stocks directly head to *ona birraa* ecological zone by bypassing the *ona bonaa* grazing area. Bypassing this zone is stra-

telegically important. Stocks are more seriously in need of water than pasture, at this time, and they could not stay in *ona bonaa* grazing area, which is by now dry and has no water. Livestock can survive on dry pasture for short periods of time but not without water.⁵

Arriving at *ona birraa*, stocks graze on the fresh pasture that has been kept free from the grazing pressure over the last *gannaa* and enjoy water from the Awash River. Along the Awash River, there used to be more than fifteen *Malka sa'aa* (water points for cattle). Each of them was strategically placed at certain reasonable distance from the other to avoid congestion when large number of livestock used water at each point. This was also meant to avoid overgrazing.⁶

Before the land alienation, the Karrayu had full tenure and management right over their resources. They had a self-reliant system of regulated movement and resource use. The different grazing zones and the spatial and temporal movement between them was an adaptive strategy to their arid environment. The process of land alienation transformed the Karrayu's land rights, use and management.

Political marginalisation, land alienation and development schemes

a. Political marginalisation

Social organisation in pastoral society is characterised by diffused political authority, absence of hierarchy and virtual authority of the herd-managing unit, which in most cases is made up of an extended family or groups of families. Barth writes that the pastoral production system survives "without the benefit of institutions and services produced by the state."⁷ Khazanov ar-

gues that pastoral production processes are "guaranteed at the lowest levels of social organisation, the laws that typically exhibit political autonomy, hence the highly fractious political practice of pastoralist society."⁸ Dyson Hudson characterises such political and social organisations as "low investment politics."⁹ Such form of social or political organisation, writes Dyson Hudson, guarantees a form of adaptability and flexibility against the ever changing and poorly predictable external

situation. When the Ethiopian State structure imposed itself on Karrayu and other pastoral groups, such form of 'low investment politics' suffered, as their pastoral production system lost its key adaptive mechanisms, namely the institutional flexibility and autonomy.

During the second half of the nineteenth century northern Ethiopia expanded to become the Ethiopian Empire. It was during this time that the Oromo, and then the Karrayu, were brought under the new state structure.¹⁰ For many of the pastoralist of the Horn, such a process was a novel experience since such societies had never been subjected to a centralised authority....¹¹ The loss of autonomy due to incorporation by the colonial powers marked the onset of the long process of pastoral predicament. In

...pastoral society is characterised by diffused political authority, absence of hierarchy and virtual authority of the herd-managing unit... [which] guarantee adaptability and flexibility against the ever changing and poorly predictable external situation.... The loss of autonomy due to incorporation by the colonial powers marked the onset of a long process of pastoral predicament.

Ethiopia, the process dramatically affected the Karrayu system of land holding, a process later aggravated by the phenomenon of land privatisation.

The conquest of the Karrayu began with Menelik's invasion in 1880s. According to informants, the Karrayu severely suffered in the hands of the superior army of Menelik. From then onwards, they were subjected to pay a hundred heads of cattle each year as a tribute to Menelik and as a token of submission. Subsequently, they were placed under the administrative control of appointed officials called *balabats*. Two *balabats* ruled the Karrayu during the reign of Menelik, which repudiated the self-reliance of the indigenous political forms. The Ethiopian nobility, clergy and the civil and military personnel were rewarded with grants of *madaria* and *rist-gult*.

The coming to power of Haile Sellasie in 1930 heralded the further tightening of the new land holding system in the conquered regions. Three major developments must be mentioned. First among them was the centralisation and modernisation of government administrative machinery. With the help of the British, Haile Sellasie embarked on modernisation of the state machinery by establishing full control over the appointment of officials, a fiscal system with tax payment to the Ministry of Finance rather than to the nobility; the monetisation of taxes and tithes, the introduction of the ascending land tax based on size and fertility and the creation and maintenance of a central armed force. Through these policies, the pastoralists were subjected to a centralised authority.¹² With the reformation of the administration the Karrayu were first put under the governor of Harar, but later on moved to the Shewa *Tekelayi Gizat*. It was dur-

ing this time that Karrayu country was subjected to the *awuraja astadadari* (district administrator), *woreda astadadari* (sub-district administrator), and *mikitil woreda astadadari* (deputy sub-district administrator). The *balabat* system became tighter—for example the Baso branch of the Karrayu was administered by six successive *balabats*.¹³ With the development of a hierarchical government structure, the predicament of pastoralists, who did not get the chance to be represented in such a structure, became severe. Their traditional decision making system and self-sufficiency were entirely overruled.

During his time of imperial consolidation, Haile Sellasie continued Menelik's policy of transferring land to northern settlers. Haile Sellasie's 1931 constitution promulgated that all the pastoral areas were the domain of the state.¹⁴ And later it granted land concessions to foreign capital. The Awash Valley area and its resident pastoralists were handed-over to the pillage by the British, the Italian and the Dutch—to be sure under the guidance of the Haile Selasie's 'Development Plans.' The ground for land alienations by foreign capital and the Ethiopian Government was laid by the imperial conquest and the subtle and gradual process of change in the system of land holding in Ethiopia.

Haile Sellasie embarked on modernisation of the state machinery ... a fiscal system with tax payment ... the monetisation of taxes ... and the creation and maintenance of a central armed force... in 1931 [he] promulgated that all the pastoral areas were the domain of the state ... and later granted land concessions to foreign capital..

By the 1950s, the Karrayu had lost the ability to make decisions on their own affairs, especially issues related to land.

The Ethiopian civil Code of 1960 envisaged permanent settlement and regular payment of tax as a condition for land right, which stood as a pretext to usurp pastoralists' land. Because of that, in the 1950s and 1960s many pastoralists were evicted from their lands on the pretext of *gibratall* (failing to pay taxes for three consecutive years).¹⁵ In the case of the Karrayu, continuous state

The Ethiopian civil Code of 1960 envisaged permanent settlement and regular payment of tax as a condition for land right, which stood as a pretext to usurp pastoralists' land.

intervention and lack of access to political, legal and economic power appear as key factors responsible for destitution. The indigenous pastoralists were thus the victims of the changing land

holding system and government policies, while the landlords, the multi-national corporations and the government itself were the main beneficiaries.

b. The establishment of a commercial farm— Metahera Sugar Plantation Scheme

In 1950, Haile Selassie gave Karrayu land to two brothers of an aristocratic family, Bazabih Sileshi and Mesfin Sileshi. The former was given 200 *goshas* (8000 hectares) from Merti (beyond the Awash River) and Metahara (on the other side of the Awash River) while the later was given 100 *gashas* (4000 hectares). Ras Bazabih changed his system of profit extraction from the region from the collection of taxes to the development of an agro-industrial enterprise in partnership with four Greek investors. This enterprise

became known as P. Sarris-Bazzabih Sileshi S.C. Ltd. It was to produce various crops, fruits, and vegetables for the local markets and for export in conjunction with a distillery and a sugar refinery. After the establishment of the Company with an initial capital of 1,500,000 Birr, Dajazmatch Bazabih notified the government that he had changed his 'rist' land to Metahara Plantation.¹⁶ The company faced strong resistance from the Karrayu, so it rarely functioned peacefully.

After World War II, the Ethiopian government's bureaucratic structure was expanding rapidly as a result of administrative and military reforms. The size of the army was growing. The government badly needed money to finance such large institutions.¹⁷ On June 12, 1951, a concession leasing an area of 5,000 hectares for sugar factory was signed between HVA (Handles Vereeniging Amsterdam) and the Ethiopian government. The company was welcomed with immense advantages.¹⁸ The agreement led to the establishment of Wonji Sugar

...the Karrayu lost their ritual places along the riversides, which had enormous repercussion on their social and cultural life...

Estate, which resulted in the forceful eviction of the Jlle Oromo pastoralists. Within a short period, the Sugar Estate proved to be profitable, which, in turn, led to the establishment of another venture, Metahara Sugar Estate. The HVA expanded its tentacles with a new name: HVA- Metahara.

Accordingly, a new agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and HVA Metahara, in June 1965. The agreement granted to HVA Metahara a further 10,000 hectares of Karrayu land from both sides of the Awash

River. An initial capital of 50,000,000 Birr was deposited to begin the venture, out of which 49% was offered to Ethiopian shareholders. The lion's share of the Ethiopian side went to the aristocratic families and different government sectors. The interest of the local pastoralists was never taken in the least consideration.¹⁹

In 1965, the HVA Metahara commenced its work by preparing the land for sugar cane production. The land was meant for cane planting, establishment of a sugar factory and construction of residential quarters for workers. The construction of the factory was completed in 1968 and production began in 1969.²⁰ At the beginning, out of 10,000 hectares of land, 3000 hectares were put under cultivation with the factory's milling capacity of 17,000 quintals of sugar cane. In 1981/82 the plantation area grew to 8,363.8 hectares and in 1999/2000 it reached 10,000. The Karrayu were subjected to increasingly more severe land losses. Their best grazing land and watering points were gone. Moreover, the Karrayu lost their ritual places, which were situated along the riversides, which had enormous repercussion on their social and cultural life.

c. Awash National Park and land alienation

The Awash National Park was gazetted in 1969. From the very beginning, the park had the status of 'strict conservation area', which had a huge negative impact on the Karrayu pastoralists. "Strict conservation area" in Ethiopia is defined as "an area which excludes all kinds of human use, like settlement, exploitation of natural resources, grazing of livestock, mining, etc., except as required for the management of wildlife and conservation." (Jacobs and Shloedner 1993, emphasis added). Such a

starting point underpins the subsequent evacuation of the pastoralists, Karrayu and Afar, from their own traditional lands. The park was granted 75,600 hectares of land. From the total land claimed by the park, 70% (52,000 hectares) was important dry season grazing land. This is the area we refer to in this paper as *ona bonaa* and *ona birraa*. The remaining 30% (23,000 hectares) was wet season grazing area, which is referred to as *ona gannaa*. Even though the pastoralists reclaimed some of their lands in the wake of the drought of 1974/5 and 1984, the Park still holds strategic grazing areas and water points. The total land that the Park holds could maintain 30,240 "tropical livestock units", which could easily support 2,086 households or 13,976 people. This makes up 68% of the total current population of the area.²¹

d. The development of township and population pressure.

The development of two towns: Haro Adi (Addis Ketama) and Metahara is also related to the upsurge of commercial farming in the area, namely the development of Metahara Sugar Plantation. Before the plantation scheme, there was hardly any town in Karrayu country, except for small settlements of railway workers. As the scheme expanded, the number of employees

grew, which meant increased demand for consumer goods. This attracted businessmen and job seekers from every part of the country. Currently, the towns of Haro Adi and Metahara (a tentacle of Haro Adi) harbor about 14,116 inhabitants. They serve about 31,092 workers and families of the scheme. The towns have many shops, bars, hotels, dispensaries, churches, mosques, music shops, groceries, tea houses, schools, etc., which are largely in the service of the townsmen. All these services are owned by non-Karrayu, who flocked to the area attracted by the development of the scheme. As it had been done by the scheme itself, the town took over another extensive and important portion of the dry grazing land of the Karrayu, further limiting their freedom of movement.

"We know how to rear cattle and how to live with the wildlife. Our cattle are more familiar with the Saala (Oryx) than the cars of the government are to Saala. Our spear is less harmful than the guns of the government and the hunters. We are forbidden to live with the Saala while Haile Sellasie and the faranji (white men) are allowed to kill our Saala"

The ecological problems befalling the Karrayu are exacerbated by the population pressure due to the town. The vegetation cover around the towns is used for buildings and fuel consumption for the ever-growing urban population. In addition, many of the urban dwellers also raise livestock, which leads to local overgrazing. The region surrounding the towns is almost barren. In Galcha, for example, the workers' settlement at North Camp has a herd size larger than the one of the Karrayu in the same

place.

The natural growth rate of the people who live in arid and semi-arid lands, like the Borana and the Karrayu, tends to be lower than the one of the highland region. The former is about 2.5% per annum, while the latter is 3-4%.²² This seems to be an adaptive mechanism to the limited resource base of arid lands. The extent of population growth in Karrayu land is a function of the processes outlined above. The population influx over the past three decades is four times greater than the current total population of the Karrayu.²³ Most of these people, including the scheme workers, directly depend on the severely shrinking resources of the area. This has inevitably altered the pastoral adaptive strategy of keeping a balance between land, population and herd size and forced the Karrayu into destitution and sedentarization.

...the town took over another extensive and important portion of the dry grazing land of the Karrayu, further limiting their freedom of movement.

e. Land encroachment

Recently, absentee farmers who live and keep small shops in the towns are increasingly encroaching into Karrayu land and grazing area. A large tract of land is being put under *teff* cultivation in the suburbs of the towns. Again, this is limiting herd movement and, as it is found between the towns and the Fantalle hill, it blocks the narrow corridor from the east to the west of the town. On the eastern flank of

The woreda administration is entirely run by people from the highland with an "agricultural mentality" that view the pastoralists' life style as backward and the land held by them as wasted.

this farm area, a large tract of land is being incorporated by the Awash Park, including the hillside, which means further blockage of pastoral movement.²⁴

f. Basaka Lake: natural calamity or man made?

The Basaka Lake is located near Metahara town, adjacent to the irrigation scheme. It occupies a large portion of one of the traditional Karrayu grazing ground and ecological categories called *ona birraa*. According to my informants, 30 years ago, there was no lake of this size there, but a small pond. The pond was fed by surface floods during the wet season and by spring mineral water called *hora*. The informants say that this mineral water had a medicinal value for the herds and it healed various cattle diseases. It also fattened cattle. Above all, the *hora* had strong connection with the pastoral movement among the three ecological zones mentioned. The lake now engulfs the *hora* (mineral water), the *kiila*, which is a type of grass that fattens stocks, and a special type of soil called *boole*, which removes insects from camel's body when they roll over it.

The study made by Metahara Sugar Scheme shows that the Basaka Lake water and its spring contains a high salt and sodium concentration, which makes it unfit for crop growth. Its high fluorine content also renders it unsuitable for both human and animal use. Within the last 30 years, the surface of the lake has increased ten times— from 3.3 square km to 35 square km. From the Scheme's point of view such a dramatic increase in the surface of the lake is due to flooding from the surrounding catchments, especially during rainy periods, to the continuous accumulation of silt particles that increased the bed level of the lake, to excess water from hot springs, etc.

The Karrayu deny such assertion and argue that the surface of the lake increased after the beginning of the irrigation scheme. They say that more water from the Awash river has been brought closer to the lake and that underground leakage of water from the canals facilitated the unprecedented spring flow into the lake. Besides its overall effects on the water resources of the area, the lake is pernicious even in the dry season. Even when the water recedes, the chances of local grazing are lost as the alkalinity of the water kills all the grass.



Picture 2. The cumulative effect of the above processes has been a change in the Karrayu pastoral movement, which inevitably affected the performance of their production system. (Courtesy Boku Tache)

Changes in the pastoral production system

a. Change in the three grazing areas

The cumulative effect of the above processes has been a change in the Karrayu pastoral movement, which inevitably affected the performance of their production system. As mentioned, the Karrayu pastoral movement involved three ecologically specialized grazing zones. The extensive wet and green plain that used to harbor different varieties of grass and trees, as

ona birraa and *ona bonaa* have gone. The only grazing zone that remains is the *ona gannaa*. This zone began to serve two purposes at the same time: as *bakka teessuma* (dwelling place) and *bakka dheedaa* (grazing place). Change in the terminology itself indicates change in the performance of the pastoral way of life. The former three pairs of terminologies, *ona gannaa*, *ona birraa* and *ona bonaa* combines territorial (*ona*) and temporal (the three seasons, *gannaa*, *birraa* and *bonaa*) terms, which connotes from the Karrayu point of view, extensive and rich territory with culturally ritualized movement. In the latter terms, '*bakka*' indicates a 'small' and 'diminished space'. And *teessuma* implies limited movement and implicit connotation of sedentarization.

b. Digging of haro (ponds) by the government and the scheme

In response to the Karrayu's continuing resistance against the loss of Awash River, the government constructed six ponds. Though these ponds were constructed as a gesture to compensate for the lost water points, in reality,

...the construction of ponds further disturbed Karrayu traditional grazing systems

it was intended to distance the Karrayu from the Scheme and the Park. The ponds were dug in the former *ona gannaa*, the current

bakka tessuma and *bakka dheeda*, without taking into considerations the natural distribution of pasture and water and the dynamics of movement. They are excavated at points where there are good pastures in the wet season. During this season the Karrayu do not need ponds so much, since they could get water from wet season springs and surface waters. Moreover, such ponds are short lived as they

could only serve as long as there is rain and for a very short time after the rainy season ends. They rather create overgrazing in the wet season grazing area, thereby limiting or shortening the time the herd can remain there in the wet season, as pasture deplete quickly. The repercussion is that the construction of ponds further disturbed Karrayu traditional grazing systems. The traditional grazing division between Ona Dallacha and Ona Baso, which regulated equitable and even distribution of herds, also ceased as the diminishing grazing land could not allow the functioning of this division any longer.

c. Environmental pollution

The canals that take waste material from the sugar factory are extremely polluted. They carry chemicals, garbage and toilet wash from both the factory and the settlement camps of the workers, and accumulate them in pond-like canals in the Karrayu villages. The Karrayu claim that they have lost many cattle because they drank this polluted water. The same ponds are used for human consumption. People suffer from diarrhea, and other parasitic diseases. The ponds are a breeding place for mosquitoes and thus a cause of the spreading of malaria.

d. Loss of herd, diminishing productivity, and impoverishment

The cumulative effect of the dramatic cut in the size of grazing ground and loss of strategic pasture and water areas undoubtedly led to decrease in the size of individual household herd holdings. Karrayu informants assert that 30 years ago the richest household had more than 100-150 head of cattle, while the poorest had 15-20 head of cattle. In these days the richest household has 40-50 heads of cattle while the poorest has 0-4. This may be for two reasons. First, there is high de-

gree of animal death every year due to lack of pasture and water. Many households claim that they lose 1-3 heads of cattle every year. Secondly, animal reproduction depends on the existing pasture.²⁵ Whatever the mechanism, the result is destitution.

e. Charcoal burning

Herd loss has led to the abandonment of pastoralism or combination of with charcoal burning and selling. According to informants, charcoal selling is the

The involvement of the Karrayu in the business of charcoal burning and selling and their entering into share contracts with the townsmen is causing environmental degradation at an alarming rate in the region. The old traditional conservation practice of the Karrayu, which forbade the irrational cutting of trees, is no longer enforced.

most infamous activity. Informants assert: "When we had a country and when our country had trees, if we heard or saw any one cutting a tree or piercing a ground for no good cause, we would tell to the *damina* and the *damina* would call everybody to punish the perpetrator. Charcoal burning and selling was unknown to us. It was introduced to our country by the *duriye* from

the town". The involvement of the Karrayu in the business of charcoal burning and selling and their entering into share contracts with the townsmen is causing environmental degradation at an alarming rate in the region. The old traditional conservation practice of the Karrayu, which forbade the irrational cutting of trees, is no longer enforced. In Galcha, the land is progressively getting bare. Trees are being cut down for charcoal burning but also for building houses, for firewood, etc.

The current situation: more land alienation, more trampled rights

In the early 1980s, the Methara Sugar Plantation expanded to its fullest capacity engulfing the already planned 10,000 hectares of land. The move ignited a confrontation with the Karrayu. Partly to forestall this unprecedented move of the Plantation and partly to generate badly needed income, the Karrayu organized an association to take up agriculture as a joint effort. The association was named Akekke Development Association. The immediate aim of the association was to raise funds to buy agricultural instruments, delimit a ground where they could start their agricultural activity and build a small canal that would divert small amount of water from the Awash to the plain, or buy a pumping machine. Neither of these plans was allowed to come to fruit.²⁶

A flat territory bordering the Awash River from the south, Galcha Village from the west and the Awash National Park from the east was selected as a starting point. This area was named Akakke, and it was after it that the association derived its own name. Unfortunately, Akekke

... this sabotage is succeeding in creating deep internal divisions, which are likely to generate conflict and unrest capable of dwarfing any development endeavour meant for the Karrayu.

lied in the heart of the Plantation's areas of planned expansions for the 1990s and 2000s. Soon the Plantation authorities began sabotaging the association's activity, pushing out some active members and making false promises about helping the association to build the canal. In 2000 and 2001, the Association approached the Oromo Development Association (ODA)

and the then Oromia Water and Energy Bureau whose head was the current president of the Regional State of Oromia, Juneidi Sado. Both institutions made promises to offer help to build the irrigation canal and provide technical support. A group of experts made a visit to the area, but, for reasons yet unknown, the ODA and the Bureau soon stopped the cooperation. Coincidentally, when Juneidi became President of the Regional State, a group of Karrayu elders went to his office and presented their case hoping that with a new position and authority he could help them. Unfortunately, this is not what they managed to obtain. The elders were disappointed by the sudden change of position of the Regional President. In the following years, the bewildered Karrayus started to understand the reasons of such change of mind when they heard about the plans that the Plantation had to take over the Akekke plain. In 2003 they began a new appeal to the office of the president of the Oromia Regional State, and the answer they received was that the expansion of the Plantation Scheme was inevitable and already planned by the Federal Government. They were assured, however, that the regional state would stand by their side so that the Karrayu will get the most benefit from the expansion of the Plantation. The elders— who have been familiar for decades about such empty promises— told the President that by no means they were ready to accept yet another usurpation of their land.

Towards the end of 2003, the Karrayu were officially told about the inevitable expansion of the plantation. The Karrayu were forced to accept one among three possible scenarios. First, they could be offered financial compensation for the lost land. Second, they could be offered employment. Third,

the Plantation could prepare the land in which the Karrayu would be working and the Karrayu would sell their products to the Plantation at a price specified in advance. The Karrayu out rightly expressed their refusal of these three options and vowed to die rather than giving up another inch of their land. After that, however, the administration began to brainwash some of the Karrayu through the cadres they

had managed to infiltrate into the association. Some Kebele leaders from the ruling party membership had the task of convincing, or better said of forcing the Karrayu to accept the offered deal. The traditional Karrayu social organization, the Gada and Gosa, voiced their opinion. In 2004, the Woreda Administration began to claim that the Karrayu were willing to accept the offer. But the Karrayus who are said to have accepted are only those who live adjacent to the Plantation (these are very few in number and by no means represent the entire Karrayu²⁷) and are systematically “forced” to do so. The majority of the Karrayu are still against the move. The strategy of the plantation managers is to divide the Karrayu into those who seem to have “accepted” the deal and those who do not. Some Karrayu individuals are promised a fat salary. Systematic favouritism is being made in the sale of sugar by the plantation to those who are in the “project area”. Beyond the material loss on the part of the Karrayu, this sabotage is succeed-

Natural resources, including land, do not belong to a particular group but every portion of land belongs to the totality of the Karrayu. This implies that no individual or group among the Karrayu can claim ownership of a portion of land and thereby have a mandate to give it out to outsiders.

ing in creating deep internal divisions, which are likely to generate conflict and unrest capable of dwarfing any development endeavour meant for the Karrayu.

Recently the government has launched a new dam construction on the Bulga (Kesem) River, which runs on the border of the Afar and the Karrayu. The aim of the dam, according to some unconfirmed sources, is to irrigate Karrayu and Afar lands on either side. If this materializes, it is going to take huge grazing lands and the only remaining water sources after the loss of the Awash River. The Kesem grazing plain and water point is the life-saving resources that the Karrayu use during the dry season at the last resort.

Currently there is some indication that the Karrayu herders are facing shortages of water and pasture after the 2004 summer also had very limited amount of rain. The animals are thin and scraggy, milking cows are weak and the calves face an acute shortages of milk. Attention should be paid to these indicators so that appropriate measures may be taken.

Meanwhile, the Plantation is claiming that it will carry out the planned expansion with due regard to the Karrayu interests. It asserts that the whole task as to how to go about it is being studied by a consultancy firm. But the Karrayu elders say that the study being made is only about the technical aspect of the project. An elder affirms that "they have been digging grounds to test soil while no one is willing to talk to us. No one asked me how many cattle I am going to loose and how many

of my children are going to starve to death. No one has consulted us about how we can get alternative pasture and water for our cattle'. As it happened some 50 years ago, the human aspect of the expansion of the plantation is not yet on the agenda. Unfortunately, despite the intense rhetoric that is in the air about the rights of the pastoralists, the current condition of the Karrayu exemplifies a total disregard of such rights. Further loss of land for the Karrayu can only mean loss of lives and destitution of communities. There needs to be urgent actors by international agencies and donors to halt the expansion of the sugar plantation.



Picture 3. Are the Karrayu pastoralists responsible for the environmental problems of today? (Courtesy Chachu Ganya)

Conclusion

Are the Karrayu pastoralists responsible for the environmental problems of today? Since Hardin's theory of the tragedy of the commons, pastoralists have been the scapegoat for the environmental degradation that befalls third world countries. The communal ownership of land and pasture resources and the individual ownership of livestock

...despite the intense rhetoric that is in the air about the rights of the pastoralists, the current condition of the Karrayu exemplifies a total disregard of such rights.

have been hooked into the axiomatic assumption of a negative correlation between private profit (PP) and common property (CP). It has been argued that individual livestock owners increase the number of their herds at the expense of the communal pasture and that they do not care for the resources that are communally owned. This relates to the argument that the pastoral mode of livestock production, coupled with demographic growth, endangers the environment as its rate of use of renewable resource exceeds the rate of its regeneration.

All these negative predictions have never become reality in pastoral production systems due to intrinsic dynamics, relationships with other forms of production or issues pertinent to natural phenomena, including drought and famine. An important exemplary evidence for this argument is provided by Gunnar Haaland,²⁸ who developed measurable indicators for the limits of sustainable resources exploitation. This is in reference to the production system of one of the pastoral groups of the Sudan, the Beja. According to Haaland, there are two indicators for this process: Beja resources management system and demographic trends. The Beja demographic trend indeed shows a substantial increase. With such an increase— Haaland argues— one expects substantial increase in the number of household herd holdings that, under normal conditions, would lead to the over exploitation of natural resources. In other words, one would expect an offshoot of the rate of exploitation of pasture resources with respect to the rate of its regeneration. As Haaland shows, however, this does not happen. To begin with, the Beja have a system of resources management that forbids the reckless cutting of trees (commercial charcoal production is sac-

rificed in favour of the growth of fodder). Second, the households which are below sustainability level are pushed out of pastoral adaptations either by out migration or death by starvation, which largely occur in the drought and famine periods.

Thus pastoral production is capable of adapting through in-built mechanism that regulates movement and popula-

tion density and allow a flexible use of natural resources. This is just the best form of livelihood adaptation to arid and semi arid environments.²⁹

As I have tried to show, before their marginalisation and the alienation of their land, the Karrayu had their own self sufficient and adaptive system of decision making. Their pastoral livelihood was based on the periodic movements of herds along different ecological zones and on a flexible use of natural resources. This highly adaptive form of livelihood has been disrupted by the loss of decision making power over the use of resources and by the physical loss of critical pasture and water points. The processes that ensued, including the labour migration into the Plantation Scheme and the development of towns, impinge upon the natural resources of the area and are major factors in causing environmental problems. The most worrying element, however, is the destitution of the Karrayu pastoralists, which is pushing them to join the newcomers in using natural resources in unsustainable ways.

pastoral production is capable of adapting through in-built mechanism that regulates movement and population density and allow a flexible use of natural resources

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Notes

- 1 Raggasa, 1993, page 37; Asefa, 2000.
- 2 Jacobs and Schloederis, 1993.
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 Muderis, 1998, page 53.
- 5 Water in such arid land depletes faster than pasture & livestock needs immediate source of water. Second, *ona bonaa* vegetation, as indicated above, is dominated by shrubs and few grasses. Considering the long dry season ahead, this scarce pasture depletes quickly if herds are allowed to graze on it at that time. Besides, if pasture in this zone are grazed at the time when the stocks have another sources of reliable pasture in *ona birraa* (that ecological portion located on the riverside), still ahead, stock would not have pasture on their way back to the *ona gannaa*. Therefore pasture in *ona bonaa* should be saved for future grazing. Third, *ona birraa* is an area where water is available and humidity and temperature are high. This means there is high grass and vegetation growth that they should be used before they dry and fall down by the approaching dry season. Thus stocks should get into this area as soon as possible. Fourth, *ona bonaa* is again strategically important to hedge against the uncertainty of the rain that may or may not come in December and June. It, should therefore, be bypassed. Last, but more important is the religious and ritual factor. The Birraa season in Karrayu/Oromo traditional religion is a time of thanksgiving and many ritual performances. These rituals are held in most cases around big rivers and *Oda* (sycamore) tree. As such there are many venerated ritual places or holy grounds along the river Awash. Thus, immediate movement from *ona gannaa* to *ona birraa* by bypassing the *ona bonaa* is largely instigated by this ritual factor.
- 6 There were many ritual places along the Awash River in which the ritual performance are related to the pastoral movement (Buli 2001; see Rappaport, 1979, for the main tenets of this idea).
- 7 Barth, 1961, page 12.
- 8 Khazanov, 1983, page 14.
- 9 Hudson, 1985, page 167.
- 10 This process is clearly elaborated by authorities like Mohammed, 1990; Holcomb and Ibsa, 1991; Ta'a, 1980; Asefa, 1991; and otherwise described by Bahru, 2000.
- 11 Markakis, 1993.
- 12 According to Markakis (1993), the development of the military in the post-war Ethiopia was largely meant for the control of the valuable pastoral areas. Troops were encamped for the close surveillance of the pastoralists.
- 13 The monetization of tax payment also subjected the Karrayu to the payment of 1 birr for each head of cattle, 0.75 birr for camel, 0.50 for donkey, mule and horse, with heavy tax on every animal sold on the market. This was called '*zalan gibir*' – 'pastoral head tax'. Here we are interested more on what the payment of tax purports to imply. For the government it is a token of ruling and administration. For the Karrayu it is a sign of submission to a new state structure.
- 14 This constitution heralded the legal means by which the pastoralists were alienated from their land right (Yacob, 2000). The land proclamation of the Derg did nothing to change the *status quo*. It only nationalised the big farms and agro-industries. The same could be said about the 1994 constitution. Even though it denounces the eviction of the pastoralists from their land without their will, in practice the state-sponsored investors are still taking pastoralists' land. Between 1940 and 1972, Haile Sellasie granted approximately 4.8 million hectares of land as freehold (Cohen, 1973). According to the 1972 estimate, out of the Empire's total size of 1221 million hectares, 57 million hectares of land belonged to the state and its entourages (*ibid.*).
- 15 Raggasa, 1993.
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 Bahru, 1984; Herbson, 1978; Gamaldin, 1993.
- 18 The lease was for a period of 60 years with an option of renewal for a further period of 30 years. The company was to pay a rent of ET Birr 1 per *gasha* (40 hectares). The agreement further gave the company a monopoly of sugar production within a radius of 100 miles. Besides, the company was given a five year income tax holiday, duty free imported capital goods and an annual remittance of 10% of invested capital and 51% of the profit (Bahiru, 1984).
- 19 According to the concession, the 10,000 hectares engulfed the land and plantation that had been registered by Metahara Plantation, P. Sarris-Bazabih Silleshi S.C. Ltd. The Government had therefore to buy the land and properties on it. The price of the purchase of land for Daj. Bazabih Sillashi is 1,314,065,00 Birr; the price of the purchase of properties on the land as the result of the Plantation is 1,135,349.82 Birr. Additional payment for Dej. Bazabih amount to 1,500,000.00 Birr. In total, the payment for Daj. Bazabih is of 3,949,414.82 Birr. Such money was amassed by Daj Bazabih at the expense of the Karrayu, since, it was they who lost the land but somebody else got paid for it. (Source :The History of Establishment of Metahara Sugar Factory, MSF, written by the Scheme).
- 20 Raggasa, 1993.
- 21 Muderis, 1998. Development of the pastoral areas has been viewed as a problematic process in Africa, especially in East Africa where the pastoral mode of life is predominant. But, the problem is not simply one of integrating the pastoralists into the national economy, since land can be put under more "useful" use with the creation of reserves and national parks for wildlife. The removal of the pastoralists' natural rights in favour of wildlife brings up a serious question about "people versus animals" in engineering African wildlife policy (Collet, 1987). To the dismay of the pastoralists, every policy and practice in Africa disfavoured them.

They were forcibly removed from protected areas imposed top-down, excluding the possibility of harmony between man and wildlife. The promulgation of orders by Ethiopian authorities— advised by the UNESCO team— to evacuate the Karrayu and the proposal to separate the Karrayu and wildlife springs from this perception. The conservationists disregarded the right of the local people up to the denying their very existence. The Karrayu view of nature and wildlife seems to be harmonious. They assert that their cattle and the wildlife used to graze together. The number of wildlife decreased as soon as the Park came into existence. As a Karrayu informant put it: "We know how to rear cattle and how to live with the wildlife. Our cattle are more familiar with the *Saala* (Oryx) than the cars of the government are to *Saala*. Our spear is less harmful than the guns of the government and the hunters. We are forbidden to live with the *Saala* while Haile Sellasie and the *faranji* (white men) are allowed to kill our *Saala*". (Informant: Qasaro Jilo). But the Karrayus are forcefully denied access to their land. In the beginning of the establishments of the parks they staged resistance. They were severely treated by the military: they were tortured, put into military camps, denied access to food and drinks, their villages were burnt into ashes, their leaders were humiliated, etc.

22 Muderis, 1998.

23 Muderis (1998) made an important calculation about the natural growth of Karrayu population within the last 30 years. According to him, with growth rate of pastoral people of 2.5% per annum, the population size of the Karrayu before 30 years was 5,665, which is a little more than half of the current figure 11,993.

24 Currently, the encroachment is exacerbated due to change in local power structure, which further alienated the mass of the Karrayu from direct decision making. The institution of the *kebele*, introduced by the EPRDF, after the downfall of *Derg* led to the further marginalization of the traditional power structure. The traditional power structure works in such a way that every individual is responsible for group interest, and group consensus is the source of power for *gosa* leaders. No exclusive individual decision making is ever contemplated. If this happens, the entire group does not accept it or implement it. The power vested on the *gosa* leaders, like the *damina*, springs from the general consensus of the society. On the contrary, the *kebele* institution came into existence to serve the interest of an external force, the government. Therefore the power and authority of the *kebele* leaders is derived not from the people, but from the government. They are responsible to effect government decisions. They function outside Karrayu norms and values that every Karrayu resent. Here the exercise of individual power is possible. This institutional change gave "land-hungers" the chance to gain more land by bribing *kebele* leaders. Nowadays, Karrayu land is steadily falling in the hands of farmers who come from the highlands where land is steadily getting scarce. The *woreda* administration is entirely run by people from the highland with an "agricultural mentality" that view the pastoralists' life style as backward and the

land held by them as wasted. It is clear that the *woreda* administrators favours the land encroachers, as only land put under cultivation is productive in their view. The Amharic derogatory terms "zelan" (wonderers) and "ye kabti chira yermikatau" (those who follow the tail of their cattle)- with their cultural connotation linger in the minds of these administrators. In response, the Karrayus, on their part, fenced off a large tract of land for 'ranching' to forestall further land encroachment. Those Karrayu who even do not have a single cow are taking this action. This, in turn, creates resource competition that further leads to more shrinkage of the pastoral resource base.

25 See Almagor and Turton, 1991.

26 The paradox is that, very recently, while the ODA gave a pumping machine to the association, the Plantation and the Woreda administration were pushing the Karrayu to accept eviction.

27 Natural resources, including land, do not belong to a particular group but every portion of land belongs to the totality of the Karrayu. This implies that no individual or group among the Karrayu can claim ownership of a portion of land and thereby have a mandate to give it out to outsiders.

28 Haaland, 1978.

29 Scoones, 1991; Baxter with Hogg, 1990.

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Gestion communautaire des forêts naturelles et lutte contre la pauvreté en milieu rural au Burkina Faso— cas de l'exploitation du bois énergie

Jacques Somda, Aimé J. Nianogo et Clarisse Honadia-Kambou

Résumé. La dégradation accélérée de ressources naturelles à la base de la production alimentaire et de l'approvisionnement en énergie et l'augmentation de la pauvreté dans les zones rurales constituent des préoccupations majeures au Burkina Faso. Des aménagements forestiers ont été initiés dans un double objectif de préservation des forêts naturelles par les communautés rurales et de réduction de la pauvreté. L'objectif de cet article est d'illustrer les effets socioéconomiques de ces aménagements. Des données sur les aspects monétaires et sociaux de la pauvreté ont été collectées dans deux régions impliquées dans la gestion forestière. Des statistiques descriptives et la méthode de « budget partiel » ont servi à l'analyse de ces données. Les résultats montrent que les aménagements forestiers ont contribué à la diversification de revenus de 16% à 23% des populations. Leur contribution au revenu varie entre 22% et 33%, et les taux de rentabilité marginale des investissements induits sont évalués à entre 7% et 224%. Des effets sociaux en terme de création d'emplois ont également été notés. Il apparaît donc que les aménagements forestiers ont joué un rôle important dans la lutte contre la pauvreté en milieu rural.

Abstract. Our paper illustrates the results of an empirical testing of the hypothesis that improved management of woodlands can contribute to poverty alleviation. We used data from surveys described by Ouédraogo (2004) conducted at 437-farm households level in centre-western and centre-northern regions of Burkina Faso, which include socio-economic characteristics, production activities (including firewood), resources endowment, income and its sources. All this was supplemented by information from a case study based on purposive sampling of 102 and 60 farm households in the centre-western and centre-northern regions, respectively. Descriptive statistic and the "partial budgeting" methods were applied. The results from the descriptive analysis indicate that participatory forest management provided incentives to 25% of the overall sampled people to become involved in firewood production, whose contribution to the farm household's income ranged from 7% to 24% in the centre-northern region and from 0% to 33% in the centre-western region. The estimated marginal rates of return from the partial budgeting are of a minimum of 6.99 and a maximum of 62.59 depending on the region and the gender of firewood producer. Community-based forest management also contributed to reducing rural exodus by 14% to 69% and creating temporary rural employment of a range of 1 to 3. We conclude that community-based forest management can contribute to rural poverty alleviation through at least three avenues: (1) income diversification; (2) income generation; and (3) the creation of rural employment. The approach has great potential to reconcile the objectives of preserving natural resources and fostering economic development in rural areas.

Le Burkina Faso est un pays enclavé, ayant une superficie de 274 000 km²

et une population estimée à plus de 12 millions d'habitants.¹ La dégradation de ses ressources naturelles renouvelables



Photo 1. Boucheron avec son bois coupé.
(Courtoisie Aimé J. Nianogo)

est préoccupante face à une forte demande provenant des besoins vitaux de la population tant en milieu urbain que rural. En zones rurales, l'agriculture et l'élevage demeurent les principales activités économiques. Dans les grands centres urbains comme Ouagadougou et Bobo-Dioulasso, la demande de ressources naturelles porte surtout sur le bois qui assure l'essentiel des besoins en énergie.²

Pendant longtemps, les réformes dans le domaine forestier national ont simplement restreint l'accès aux forêts des

Dans la perspective de réconcilier la préservation des ressources et le développement économique des populations, les autorités burkinabé ont opté pour l'implication des populations riveraines dans la gestion participative des ressources forestières.

populations rurales,³ sur la base de la perception que les populations rurales sont à l'origine de la dégradation de ces ressources. De telles politiques ont placé ces populations dans un cercle vicieux de pratiques dégradantes des ressources naturelles et de pauvreté. Le risque d'extension de la désertification et de la pauvreté apparaît alors très préoccupant,⁴ particulièrement en milieu rural.

Dans la perspective de réconcilier la préservation des ressources et le développement économique des populations, les autorités burkinabé ont opté pour l'implication des populations riveraines dans la gestion participative des ressources forestières. En effet, la stratégie de développement⁵ vise, entre autres, la généralisation et le renforcement de la gestion durable des ressources naturelles par les communautés rurales. Il s'agit d'un programme national d'aménagement des forêts naturelles conçu pour lutter contre la pauvreté et mis en œuvre depuis plus de quinze ans. La question est de savoir à quel point les options mises en œuvre contribuent effectivement à la lutte contre la pauvreté.

L'objectif général de cette étude était de tester formellement l'hypothèse selon laquelle une gestion rationnelle des ressources naturelles permet de lutter contre la pauvreté en milieu rural au Burkina Faso. De façon spécifique, il s'agit (1) d'analyser l'effet des aménagements forestiers sur la structure de l'économie rurale, (2) d'évaluer sa contribution au revenu des ménages ruraux et (3) d'évaluer l'impact de l'exploitation de bois énergie dans les aménagements forestiers sur la profitabilité économique.

Historique des aménagements forestiers au Burkina Faso

Les aménagements forestiers sont proposés pour une application générale dans le code forestier.⁶ Ceci a abouti à la création de domaines forestiers et la contractualisation de l'exploitation sur la base de plans d'aménagement.⁷ Ces codes autorisent la création de groupement de gestion forestière par les populations rurales. Appartenir à un tel groupement signifie l'adoption des techniques d'exploitation rationnelle de bois-énergie. Les services forestiers

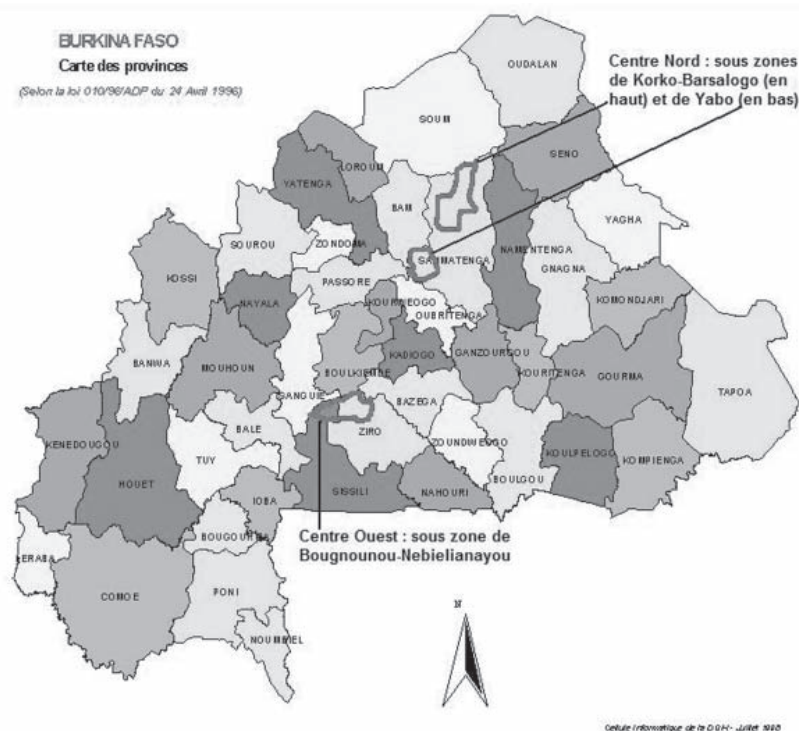
accompagnent les populations rurales dans l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre des plans d'aménagement forestier. Ils assurent également le renforcement des capacités techniques (coupe de bois, collecte de semences forestières, semis directs, etc.), organisationnelles et de gestion des groupements. Cependant des auteurs comme Ribot (1998) considèrent que dans les pays sahé-liens l'application du dispositif sur le terrain serait ambiguë, et que la participation des communautés rurales se résumerait souvent à la fourniture de la force de travail pour l'exploitation du bois.

Pourtant, au Burkina Faso, les chantiers d'aménagement forestier sont officiellement autonomes et les décisions techniques et de gestion sont prises par les groupements de gestion forestière avec l'appui/ conseil des services forestiers. Il faut également noter que ce type d'exploitation du bois co-existe avec un type dit traditionnel qui se pratique généralement en dehors des forêts aménagées, où les exploitants dits traditionnels n'appartiennent à aucun groupement de gestion forestière et ne reçoivent aucune formation technique.

Présentation de la zone d'étude

L'étude a été conduite dans deux régions du Burkina Faso (voir la Carte 1) impliquées dans le RPTES (*Regional Program for the Traditional Energy Sector*). La région du Centre-Ouest abrite le chantier de Bougnounou-Nébiélianayou où le premier groupement de gestion forestière a été mis en place en 1989. Ce chantier comprend 11 unités dont les superficies varient entre 1092 ha et 3600 ha. Chaque unité compte 15 parcelles de 100 à 300 ha dont le fonctionnement est décrit

par Honadia-Kambou et al. (2005). La région Centre-Nord a une expérience plus récente (1999-2000) en aménagements forestiers. Elle couvre les chantiers de Korko-Barsalogo (26 202 ha) et Yabo (5 020 ha) localisés respectivement au Nord et au sud de Kaya, à environ 160 km de Ouagadougou. Les tailles des unités d'aménagement varient entre 32 ha et 6 496 ha.



Approche méthodologique

Cadre conceptuel et sources de données

Le cadre conceptuel de cette évaluation d'impact socio-économique repose sur le suivi de la translation de l'organisation de la production et commercialisation du bois-énergie sur le revenu des exploitants dans le cadre des aménagements forestiers. Un échantillon de 437 ménages ruraux de la zone d'intervention du RPTES a été enquêté par Ouédraogo (2004) pour collecter des informations sur leurs caractéristiques socio-démographiques et économiques (ressources et revenu) et leurs activités

de production et de création de revenus. Ceci a permis d'élaborer les profils des activités et de revenus des producteurs ruraux avec en exergue la contribution du bois-énergie. La limite de ce type de données est qu'elle ne permet pas d'apprécier les changements de revenu imputables aux aménagements forestiers.

Pour relier les changements de revenu aux aménagements forestiers, une étude de cas a été conduite. La méthode d'évaluation « sans » et « avec » intervention a été préférée à la méthode « avant » et « après » intervention du fait de l'absence de données de référence dont la reconstitution s'avérait très complexe dans cette étude. En effet, au minimum 6 ans se sont écoulés depuis la mise en œuvre du programme. La situation « sans » intervention correspond aux exploitants n'appartenant pas à un groupement de gestion forestière (GGF), et la situation « avec » aux membres de GGF. Un échantillon raisonné a été retenu avec pour critères l'exploitation de bois-énergie et le genre de l'exploitant. Ainsi, l'échantillon dans la région Centre-Ouest comprend 102 exploitants : 37 hommes et 15 femmes membres de GGF, 35 hommes et 15 femmes non-membres. Dans la région Centre-Nord, l'échantillon se compose de 20 hommes et 10 femmes membres de GGF, 20 hommes et 10 femmes non-membres. Les données collectées concernent les coûts de production et les recettes du bois-énergie, le flux migratoire des membres du ménage, la création d'emplois, etc.

Méthodes d'analyse

Quatre types de producteurs ont été formés sur la base de la région d'origine du répondant (Centre-Ouest ou Centre-Nord), de son genre (homme ou femme) et de son appartenance ou non

à un Groupement de Gestion Forestière (GGF). Ainsi, dans la région du Centre-Nord, on a : NH0 : homme non-membre d'un GGF ; NH1 : Homme membre d'un GGF ; NF0 : Femme non-membre d'un GGF ; NF1 : Femme membre d'un GGF. Dans la région Centre-Ouest, quatre types de producteurs ont été également constitués : OH0 : Homme non-membre d'un GGF ; OH1 : Homme membre d'un GGF ; OF0 : Femme non-membre de GGF ; et OF1 : Femme membre d'un GGF. Des statistiques descriptives ont été appliquées aux données de la première enquête pour analyser la diversification des activités économiques dans les zones d'étude, estimer et comparer les revenus et les dépenses des ménages des individus enquêtés en relation avec la typologie ci-dessus décrite. Un accent particulier a été accordé à la contribution du bois-énergie dans le revenu total des ménages.

Puis une analyse dite du « budget partiel »⁸ a été utilisée pour évaluer l'impact économique de l'introduction des aménagements forestiers en tant que technique d'exploitation rationnelle du bois énergie. Cette méthode d'analyse est adaptée aux situations où les changements proposés ne concernent qu'une partie de l'entreprise. Le groupe de contrôle ici correspond aux exploitants de bois non-membres de GGF. Les éléments d'évaluation sont (1) *le revenu additionnel* qui mesure la valeur de l'accroissement de la quantité de bois produite entre les producteurs membres de GGF et ceux non-membres ; (2) *la réduction des coûts* qui valorise la réduction de la main d'œuvre due aux formations techniques reçues par les membres de GGF, et la réduction de l'amortissement des équipements de coupe de bois du fait de meilleure technique de coupe ; (3) *la réduction de revenus* qui valorise les

effets négatifs sur le revenu tiré du bois-énergie à la suite de l'introduction des aménagements forestiers ; et (4) *l'augmentation des coûts* qui mesure la valeur des nouveaux coûts souvent associés aux aménagements forestiers tels que les taxes d'exploitation du bois-énergie et/ou les investissements supplémentaires. Le revenu additionnel et la réduction des coûts ont un effet positif sur le revenu des producteurs, alors que la réduction des revenus et l'augmentation des coûts ont un effet

négatif sur le revenu.

Résultats

Profil des activités économiques pratiquées dans la zone d'étude

Les principales activités économiques de la zone d'étude sont essentiellement liées à l'exploitation des ressources naturelles pour l'agriculture, l'élevage et la production du bois-énergie (Tableau 1). Les activités de commerce sont marginalement développées dans les villages enquêtés.

Tableau 1. Fréquence des activités économiques dans la zone d'étude. Source : Estimation des auteurs à partir de Ouédraogo (2004).

Activités/Régions	Centre-Nord	Centre-Ouest	Total échantillon
Activités principales (nombre de personnes impliquées)			
Agriculture	228	167	395
Elevage	3	7	10
Exploitation bois-énergie	5	1	6
Commerce	9	3	12
Autres (p.ex., maraîchage, pêche, artisanat, mécanique)	5	6	11
Activités secondaires (nombre de personnes impliquées)			
Agriculture	17	15	32
Elevage	108	54	162
Exploitation bois-énergie	32	72	104
Commerce	20	18	38
Autres	65	17	82

L'agriculture reste la première activité principale de part l'importance des personnes qui y sont engagées (91% dans le Centre-Nord et le Centre-Ouest). L'élevage représente l'activité secondaire la plus importante et occupe 45% des personnes enquêtées au Centre-Nord, alors que l'exploitation de bois représente l'activité secondaire la plus importante avec 41% des enquêtés au Centre-Ouest. Enfin, sur l'ensemble de deux régions, l'agriculture demeure l'activité principale pour environ 91% des enquêtés, suivi de l'élevage et l'exploitation de

bois pour respectivement 39% et 25% des personnes enquêtées.

Profil de revenu des ménages de la zone d'étude

Le profil des revenus des ménages dans les zones d'intervention du RP-TES (*Regional Programme for the Traditional Energy Sector*) reflète la diversité des activités économiques des populations rurales du Centre-Nord (Tableau 2). La contribution de l'exploitation de bois-énergie au revenu annuel est de 21%, 22 %, 7% et

24%, respectivement pour les ménages de types NH0, NH1, NF0 et NF1. En considérant l'ensemble de la population des sites de l'étude, on peut dire toute chose égale par ailleurs, que l'exploitation de bois-énergie dans le cadre des aménagements forestiers a permis une réduction des écarts de revenus entre les ménages non-membres et membres d'un GGF. Par exemple, en absence de revenu tiré du bois-énergie, les ménages de types NH0 auraient un revenu 5% plus élevé que ceux de type NH1. Mais avec la présence du revenu de bois, le revenu du premier type est seulement 4% plus élevé que celui du second. Les mêmes tendances sont observées entre les ménages NF0 et NF1 dont l'écart passe de 104% en absence de revenu de bois à 66% avec ce revenu. Ainsi, un des impacts économiques de l'exploitation rationnelle du bois dans le cadre des aménagements forestiers

est la réduction des écarts de revenus parmi les ménages ruraux (de 1% pour les hommes et de 38% pour les femmes). Toutefois, la distribution des revenus au sein des classes de ménages reste hétérogène de par l'importance des écart-types à la moyenne.



Photo 2. Femmes organisent le bois en attente des acheteurs. (Courtoisie Aimé J. Nianogo)

Tableau 2. Revenu total du ménage et revenu tiré de l'exploitation du bois-énergie au Centre-Nord (FCFA/an). Source : Base de données par Ouédraogo (2004).

Types de producteurs	NH0	NH1	NF0	NF1
Revenu total				
N	97	129	2	11
Moyenne	216 458,72	207 811,24	229 000	137 818,18
Erreur-type	18 088,93	13 510,94	11 100	30 462,14
Revenu bois-énergie ^x				
N	46	62	1	2
Moyenne	46 532,61	46 354,84	15 000,00	33 000,00
Erreur-type	6 188,94	4 444,46	0,00	3 000,00

Légende: N= nombre d'observations valides pour lesquelles les statistiques ont été calculées. x = Différence de revenus moyens du bois-énergie par types statistiquement significative au seuil de 1%.

Le tableau 3 présente le profil des revenus des producteurs de la région Centre-Ouest. Les ménages membres de GGF ont un revenu moyen relativement plus élevé que ceux non-mem-

bres. La contribution du bois-énergie dans le revenu annuel des ménages est estimée à 9%, 33%, 0% et 24% pour les types OH0, OH1, OF0 et OF1, respectivement.

Tableau 3. Revenu total du ménage et revenu tiré de l'exploitation du bois-énergie au Centre-Ouest (FCFA/an). Source : Base de données par Ouédraogo (2004)

Types de producteurs Paramètres	OH0	OH1	OFO	OF1
Revenu total				
N	62	104	8	24
Moyenne	248 064,50	267 398,54	222 875,00	244 625,00
Erreur-type	28 333,74	26 304,74	61 379,80	24 785,52
Revenu bois-énergie ^x				
N	3	61	0	19
Moyenne	23 333,33	89 549,18	0,00	58 842,11
Erreur-type	6 009,25	4 637,29	0,00	9 767,63

Légende: N= nombre d'observations valides pour lesquelles les statistiques ont été calculées.
 x =différence de revenus moyens du bois-énergie par types statistiquement significative au seuil de 1%.

Cette situation se confirme également lorsque l'on considère le sous-échantillon des exploitants de bois. Dans la région du Centre-Nord, les moyennes du revenu total du sous-échantillon des exploitants de bois sont évaluées à 284 937 FCFA pour le NH0, 323 098 FCFA pour NH1, 680 000 FCFA pour NF0 et 463 333 FCFA pour le NF1. Le revenu total des exploitants de bois est supérieur à celle de la population globale indépendamment du type d'exploitant. En outre, les NH1 ont un revenu supérieur aux NH0 et les NF1 ont plus que doublé le revenu du bois de NF0, réduisant d'autant l'écart de revenu entre les deux types d'exploitants. Dans la région Centre-Ouest les moyennes du revenu total des exploitants de bois, sont de 95 833 FCFA pour le OH0, 200 400 FCFA pour OH1 et 145 034 FCFA pour OF1. Bien que le revenu moyen du sous-échantillon « exploitant du bois » soit inférieur à la moyenne de la population globale, les membres de GGF s'en sortent encore mieux que les non-membres. La section suivante permet d'affiner davantage ces résultats.

Impacts économiques des aménagements forestiers

Les résultats de la budgétisation partielle (Tableau 4) montrent que l'adoption des techniques de production de bois-énergie dans le cadre des aménagements forestiers est rentable. Dans le centre-Nord, les taux de rentabilité marginale suggèrent qu'un investissement supplémentaire de 100 FCFA génère un revenu additionnel net de 225 FCFA pour les exploitants NH1 ; et de 202 FCFA pour les exploitants NF1. Dans la région du Centre-Ouest, ces taux sont plus faibles et indiquent qu'un investissement supplémentaire de 100 FCFA procure des revenus additionnels net d'environ 63 FCFA et 7 FCFA pour les exploitants OH1 et OF1 respectivement.

Le revenu total des exploitants de bois est supérieur à celle de la population globale indépendamment du type d'exploitant.

Tableau 4. Budget partiel de l'exploitation rationnelle de bois-énergie (FCFA, sauf indication contraire). Source : Estimation des auteurs.

Régions	Centre-Nord		Centre-Ouest	
	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes
Paramètres				
Production additionnelle (Stères)	7	5,7	114,46	13,4
Prix du stère	1550	1550	2200	2200
Revenus brut additionnels	10850	8835	251812	29480
Economie de coûts	523,33	122,5	7105,02	4038,17
Total revenu brut additionnel	11373,33	8957,5	258917,02	33518,17
Nouveaux coûts ¹	3500	2850	125906,25	14740
Augmentation de coûts	0	120	33340,21	16586,67
Total coût additionnel	3500	2970	159246,46	31326,67
Revenu net additionnel	7873,33	5987,5	99670,56	2191,51
TRM (%)	224,95	201,59	62,59	6,99

Légende : Les nouveaux coûts sont uniquement constitués par les taxes. Les prix du stère et les taxes dans le centre-Nord sont extrait de Sawadogo et Ouédraogo (2004). TRM = taux de rentabilité marginale

La comparaison selon le genre montre cependant que les femmes rencontrent des contraintes de rentabilité de leur investissement dans la production du bois. Bien qu'ayant réalisé plus d'économie de coûts sur les équipements (4 FCFA/stère) et sur la main d'œuvre familiale (297 FCFA/stère) que les hommes (0 FCFA pour les équipements et 62 FCFA pour la main d'œuvre familiale), elles ont par contre accru de manière exceptionnelle les coûts de la main d'œuvre extérieure (1 238 FCFA/stère contre 238 FCFA chez les hommes).

Impacts sociaux des aménagements forestiers

Deux types d'impacts sociaux ont été

évalués. Il s'agit de la création d'emplois et des effets de l'exploitation du bois-énergie sur l'émigration rurale. Selon l'Organisation Internationale du Travail,⁹ un emploi est un contrat entre deux parties, l'une étant l'employeur et l'autre l'employé. Les résultats au Centre-Nord (Tableau 5) indiquent que les exploitants de bois enquêtés emploient en moyenne une personne de leur ménage comme bûcheron (voir Figure 1), en plus de leur auto-emploi, soit une moyenne de deux emplois créés par l'exploitation de bois. En revanche, aucun emploi n'a été offert à des personnes extérieures aux ménages des personnes enquêtées.

Tableau 5. Moyennes des emplois temporaires et de l'émigration dans les ménages exploitants du bois du Centre-Nord (nombre de personnes, sauf indication contraire). Source : estimation à partir des données d'enquêtes (2004)

Paramètres sociaux	NH0	NH1	NFO	NF1
Main d'œuvre familiale employée	1,7 [1-4]	1,7 [1-4]	2 [1-4]	1,6 [1-4]
Main d'œuvre extérieure employée	0 [0-0]	0 [0-0]	0 [0-0]	0 [0-0]

Emigration avant 1999	1,5 [0-4]	2,05 [0-6]	1,3 [0-3]	1 [0-2]
Emigration après 1999	0,45 [0-2]	0,65 [0-2]	0,2 [0-1]	0,6 [0-2]
Réduction émigration (%)	68,88 [100-0]	65,27 [100-0]	77,77 [100-0]	57,14 [100-0]
Ménages sans variation d'émigration (%)	35	30	50	70

Légende : [1-4] correspond [valeur minimale – valeur maximale]

Au niveau de l'émigration (exode rural), la comparaison de la situation entre la période avant RPTES et celle d'après, indique que ce phénomène a été réduit. En effet, la réduction de l'émigration a été d'environ 69% pour les ménages de type NH0 (homme non-membre de GGF) contre 65% pour NH1 (homme membre de GGF). Dans les ménages NF0 (femme non-membre de GGF), l'exode rural des membres a été réduit de 78% contre 57% dans les ménages NF1 (femme membre de GGF). Cependant, il faut noter que cette réduction de l'émigration des membres des ménages n'a pas concerné tous les ménages.

Les producteurs de bois dans la région Centre-Ouest (Tableau 6) ont tendance à créer moins d'emplois familiaux que hors-ménage. En effet, les emplois

familiaux sont en moyenne quasi nuls dans toutes les classes d'exploitants de bois. Cependant, les exploitants de type OH0 (homme non-membre de GGF) ont pu offrir un maximum de 5 emplois à des membres de leurs ménages contre un maximum de 2 au niveau de OH1 (homme membre de GGF). Les emplois hors-famille créés sont en moyenne de 3 avec un maximum de 17 au niveau de NH0 contre également une moyenne de 3 et un maximum de 20 pour NH1. Au niveau des femmes, la moyenne des emplois hors-famille est évaluée à 1 avec un maximum de 5, contre une moyenne de 2 et un maximum de 3 pour OF1. A noter que dans ce dernier type, toutes les personnes enquêtées ont engagé de la main d'œuvre extérieure, puisqu'une valeur minimale de 2 employés hors-famille a été rapportée.

Tableau 6. Moyennes des emplois temporaires et de l'émigration dans les ménages exploitants du bois du Centre-Ouest (nombre de personnes, sauf indication contraire). Source : estimation à partir des données d'enquêtes (2004) [0-6] correspond [valeur minimale – valeur maximale]

Paramètres sociaux	OH0	OH1	OFO	OF1
Main d'œuvre familiale employée	0,66 [0-6]	0,19 [0-2]	0,6 [0-1]	0 [0-0]
Main d'œuvre extérieur employée	3,29 [0-17]	3,43 [0-20]	1,46 [0-5]	2,26 [2-3]
Emigration avant 1999	5,37 [0-30]	4,59 [0-12]	7,67 [2-15]	8,2 [1-20]
Emigration après 1999	3,11 [0-15]	3,95 [0-12]	6 [1-15]	7,07 [1-18]
Réduction émigration (%)	31,6 [100-0]	14,18 [100-0]	17,34 [87,5-0]	19,03 [60-0]
Ménages sans variation d'émigration (%)	54,29	72,97	73,33	33,33

Pour le paramètre « émigration », les résultats indiquent une situation mitigée comme dans la région Centre-Nord. En effet, l'exode des membres de ménages de type OH0 a baissé en moyenne d'environ 32% contre 14% au niveau de OH1. La réduction a été un peu plus importante dans les ménages OF1 (19%) que dans les ménages OF0 (17%). Toutefois, l'enquête a révélé que tous les ménages ne sont pas concernés par la variation de l'émigration de leurs membres.

D'une façon générale, les résultats des deux régions suggèrent que l'exploitation de bois dans le cadre des aménagements forestiers présente des potentialités de création d'emplois, tant au niveau des ménages des exploitants qu'en dehors. Ceci semble plus évident dans le Centre-Ouest qui a une longue expérience dans l'exploitation rationnelle que dans la région Centre-Nord qui est en train de mettre en place le système. La raison principale est la possibilité d'amélioration du revenu pour l'exploitant qui en retour permet d'employer des bûcherons rémunérés.

En revanche, les effets de l'exploitation de bois sur l'exode rural semblent beaucoup plus mitigés en raison de la complexité du phénomène migratoire d'une façon générale, et celle rurale en particulier. En effet, s'il est admis que les personnes émigrent à la recherche d'emplois rémunérateurs, il est également plausible que cela ne soit pas la seule raison d'émigration.

Discussion

Les interventions d'aménagements forestiers peuvent être qualifiées de pro-pauvres et devraient contribuer à la réduction de la pauvreté en milieu rural. Ces interventions comprennent non seulement l'organisation des producteurs en groupements de gestion forestière, mais également le renfor-

cement de leurs capacités techniques, organisationnelles et de gestion.

Les aménagements forestiers ont ainsi permis de renforcer la place de la production de bois dans l'ensemble des activités génératrices de revenus en milieu rural. En effet,

Les interventions d'aménagements forestiers peuvent être qualifiées de pro-pauvres et devraient contribuer à la réduction de la pauvreté en milieu rural.

la promotion des aménagements forestiers a conféré à la production de bois la troisième place des activités génératrices de revenus dans la région Centre-Nord impliquant environ 9% des ménages enquêtés après l'agriculture (62%) et l'élevage (29%). Dans la région du Centre-Ouest qui a une longue expérience dans la gestion forestière, elle est la deuxième activité avec 23% des ménages contre 58% pour l'agriculture et 19% pour l'élevage. Ce résultat a également été rapporté par IMF (2004) qui a estimé théoriquement que la contribution du bois-énergie dans la diversification des sources de revenus des ménages ruraux était très importante.

Outre les effets de diversification des revenus, l'exploitation de bois a contribué à son accroissement. Elle a permis aux producteurs du Centre-Nord d'accroître leurs revenus bruts de 4% à 24%. Dans le Centre-Ouest, le revenu des producteurs du Centre-Ouest a augmenté de 9% et 33%. D'une façon générale, la contribution a été plus importante pour les exploitants membres de GGF que pour leurs homologues non-membres. Les premiers ont bénéficié de formations en technique de coupe et de mise en stère¹⁰ qui leur permettent d'accroître le volume de bois produit et partant leur revenu.

La comparaison entre le mode d'exploitation traditionnel et celui des aménagements forestiers, suggère que le

Outre les effets de diversification des revenus, l'exploitation de bois a contribué à son accroissement.

dernier ait contribué à l'accroissement des revenus de bois-énergie des exploitants membres de GGF. Les taux de rentabilité marginale (entre 7% et 225%) indiquent qu'il est plus avantageux de s'engager dans les aménagements forestiers que de faire un dépôt à terme dans les institutions d'épargne et de crédit au Burkina Faso. Les taux d'intérêt pour les dépôts à terme (DAT) varient entre 1,5 à 2,5 % au niveau du Réseau des caisses Populaires du Burkina¹¹ et sont plafonnés à 3,5% au niveau de la Caisse Nationale d'Epargne.

Les potentialités de création d'emplois... il est plus avantageux de s'engager dans les aménagements forestiers que de faire un dépôt à terme dans les institutions d'épargne et de crédit au Burkina Faso...

révélées par l'étude concernent aussi bien les membres des ménages d'exploitants de bois que ceux à l'extérieur de ces ménages. Bien que les potentialités de création d'emplois soient faiblement perceptibles dans le Centre-Nord, les résultats du Centre-Ouest montrent que les aménagements forestiers peuvent pourvoir au moins six emplois au sein des ménages d'exploitants et jusqu'à 20 en dehors. Quant aux effets des aménagements forestiers sur l'exode rural, ils restent encore mitigés. En fait la décision d'émigrer ne répond pas uniquement à des besoins financiers. La part de la réduction de l'exode attribuable à l'exploitation du bois n'a pu être clairement déterminée.

Conclusion et implications politiques

Les résultats de l'étude ont révélé que les aménagements forestiers possèdent des potentialités de réduction de la pauvreté en milieu rural. En particulier, l'organisation de l'exploitation du bois énergie à travers la formation des groupements de gestion forestière présente des potentialités d'augmentation et de réduction des inégalités de revenu plus importante que l'exploitation inorganisée. Les investissements supplémentaires induits par l'organisation ont un impact positif sur le revenu tiré du bois-énergie.

Ensuite, les aménagements forestiers ont créé un environnement commercial favorable pour les exploitants qui emploient de la main d'œuvre en vue d'accroître leur activité. Si la principale raison de l'exode rural des jeunes est la quête d'emplois en milieux urbains, les aménagements forestiers constituent alors un pourvoyeur d'emplois rémunéré. Il faudra cependant un terme plus long pour que les aménagements forestiers soient susceptibles d'avoir des effets significatifs sur l'exode rural.



Photo 3: Femme avec bois et enfants...
(Courtoisie Aimé J. Nianogo)

Ces résultats suggèrent que les aménagements forestiers constituent une stratégie de lutte contre la pauvreté qui

mérite d'être étendue à l'ensemble des zones où les ressources forestières le permettent. L'organisation de l'exploitation du bois énergie constitue une approche de gestion des ressources naturelles vraisemblablement plus efficace que les approches répressives. Elle requiert la participation des populations riveraines des massifs forestiers et se démarque de l'expropriation des ressources naturelles communautaires. Mais, la structure des coûts inhérents à l'organisation de l'exploitation du bois mérite une attention particulière si les aménagements visent l'amélioration des revenus des populations rurales et la préservation des ressources forestières.

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Notes

- 1 MEE, 1997
- 2 MET, 1991
- 3 Kerkhof, 2000.
- 4 FAO, 2002.
- 5 MEF, 2000.

- 6 Burkina, 1993.
- 7 Burkina, 1997.
- 8 Leslie *et al.*, 1991.
- 9 ILO, 2004.
- 10 Un stère étant l'équivalent d'un m³
- 11 Planetfinance, 2003.

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The Makuleke model for good governance and fair benefit sharing

Steve Collins

Abstract. The key questions about successful linkages between conservation and communities relate to benefit sharing and the working of community organisations. "Who speaks for the community?", "Are the community structures or representatives willing and able to share the benefits that come from conservation partnerships?", "Are the benefits getting to the people who need and deserve them?"

The Makuleke Community, who successfully reclaimed a valuable 22000 hectares of the Kruger National Park, has developed a benefit-sharing model that strives to achieve the good governance ideals of transparency, accountability, and efficiency. While specific to the Makuleke community, the different organisations they have set up could provide lessons for other communities as well as outsiders who want to constructively engage with "communities". In summary the model outlines below attempts to do the following;

- Provide an efficient organisation with the legal capacity to enter into agreements about the land and to act as a partner for outsiders and conservation advocates.
- Create consensus on where income earned from the community-owned land should be spent..
- Allow for transparent and effective control and spending of income.
- Allow for fair covering of costs of running the community organisations.

There is broad agreement amongst conservation practitioners, politicians and rural development workers that the long term sustainability of conservation rests on the premise that conservation and protected areas specifically require the support of neighbouring communities. The key to getting the support needed from neighbouring communities is the generation of tangible benefits from the conservation land use for these communities who are often the poorest

"Are the community structures or representatives willing and able to share the benefits that come from conservation partnerships?", "Are the benefits getting to the people who need and deserve them?"

residents in South Africa. There is even more of an imperative to show benefits

in cases where Communal Property Associations (CPA) or other forms of community ownership entities have successfully reclaimed conservation land. This paper is about the Makuleke CPA that successfully reclaimed 22000 hectares of high biodiversity land in the northern most part of the Kruger National Park.

The Makuleke CPA have been successful in providing concessions for tourist business opportunities on their land for use by private sector operators who are beginning to generate lease, skills and job benefits for the community. One of the biggest challenges now is ensuring that the lease benefits are shared in a fair and equitable way as demanded by the CPA constitution and legislation.

Communal Property Associations
Communal Property Associations (CPAs)



Map 1. The Makuleke region of The Park, showing also the villages outside the park.

have become a fixture of rural South African. Set up under the Communal Property Associations Act of 1996, many CPAs are now beginning to function as land managers as well as landowners. While the setting up of a CPA can in itself be a taxing process, many CPAs are finding out that working according to the Act and their ambitious constitutions is even harder. By January 2002 at least 300 CPAs had been registered with the Department of Land Affairs.

So far CPAs have been able to assume land ownership and to enter partnerships with private and public actors to develop the land. The biggest stumbling block facing many CPAs, now that revenue is beginning to be generated from communal land, is to provide tangible benefits to their community members. Providing benefits in a equitable and fair way, which does not cause tension and conflict, is also proving difficult.

CPAs are not the only form of community land ownership set up by communities. Communities have created

Trusts, Section 21 Companies or chosen to let existing structures like Tribal Authorities retain ownership of land for the benefit of the community. The common aspect of all of these is that the land is owned and managed on behalf of community members and these members are entitled to be involved in the workings of these structures. Democratic operation is of course not the case with all Tribal Authorities. However many will claim to be very much like a CPA but without the "onerous" participation and legal governance requirements. The Communal Land Rights Bill 2002 attempts to give communities a choice of what institutions they want to use to hold and manage

land. This paper will focus on the issues of governance related to benefit sharing (decision-making, accountability, efficiency, transparency, etc.) that relate to the land owning entity and can be adapted to whatever form is used by the community. For brevity, we will only refer to the CPA structure.

Guiding principles

The CPA Act sets out several general principles in section 9 that every CPA constitution should contain. These set high standards for the governance of the association.

- These are (in the order of the Act)
- a. Fair and inclusive decision making processes
 - b. Equality of membership
 - c. Democratic processes
 - d. Fair access to the property of the association
 - e. Accountability and transparency

These general principles must also apply

when sharing the benefits of land ownership with the members. While most community leaders within CPAs will agree with the principles the issue is how to make them possible in practice.

2003 – R2.5 million
2004 – R2.8 Million
2005 – R3.5 Million
2006 – R3.9 Million



Picture 1. Dennis Skhalela, Implementation Officer, explains the concession agreement as well as how the CPA Executive proposes to spend the earned money. (Courtesy Steve Collins)

How much benefit will be generated?

Up to now the Makuleke CPA has generated income in the following ways

- 1) Hunting generated on average R2 Million Rand per year. It is expected that, once the tourism income begins to flow, the CPA will stop hunting as it is agreed that it is in conflict with photographic tourism.
- 2) Lease fees from the tourism concessions. The CPA negotiated lease fees based on a percentage of turn-over with their two private sector partners. The first lodge to begin operation is paying 10% of their turn-over to the CPA as a lease fee. The second operator, Wilderness Safaris, negotiated a lease fee of 8% of turn-over. With the projected tourism flows of the operators this should produce the following lease fees.

Another set of benefits does not come in the form of direct income to the CPA. These are about 150 permanent jobs, both in the lodges themselves as well as in the anti-poaching patrols, which have begun as part of the Makuleke taking over land management from SANParks. There is also the possible outsourcing of small business opportunities and the short term construction jobs. Along with all these jobs has come a large investment in skills training for the Makuleke Community.

Complications of benefit sharing

When it comes to sharing the benefits, a choice needs to be made between sharing the income in the form of cash, improving each household, or in the form of "community development projects".

In most cases the CPAs and community trusts have chosen to use the income for supporting projects. This shows a maturity as it must be tempting to get some extra cash but rather than this they seem to agree that the land and its income are community owned and as such should not be divided for individual benefit.

a choice needs to be made about sharing the income in the form of cash to each household or in the form of "community development projects"

Possible development expenses are always greater than the income

The issue of deciding which development projects to support through benefit sharing is a complex one. The communities that have set up associations are often faced with very severe poverty, deriving

from their history of forced removals, inadequate provisions of basic services and scarce income opportunities. The needs and demands of a community will always be greater than the amount a CPA can earn from land ownership. This means there is a need to prioritise some needs over others and these choices are often politicised and personalised. The pressure some executive or trust members feel in these situations is sometimes more than they can bear. The history of dispossession and the laws associated with returning land make rather impossible to opt selling the land and obtaining cash.

Equity of benefit sharing

Often the right holder community is not resident only in one village. In the Makuleke case, three villages were removed and these villages now have different levels of infrastructure development. To accommodate the principle of equality

One way to manage potential conflict is to ensure that there is broad consensus about where the priorities are and what community projects should be supported.

of membership within the executive, the executive members of the CPA as well as the Development Trust Trustees are elected from each village. This can help ensure that

each village's interests are heard, but it is no guarantee of fair treatment.

Conflict management and building consensus

When benefits are shared in an uneven way there is a good possibility of conflict between CPA members. One way to manage such conflict is to ensure that there is broad consensus about where the priorities are and what community projects should be supported. Creating community consensus is not an easy task. It starts with democratic elections of the Execu-

tive who see themselves accountable to CPA membership.

While the constitutions call for regular report back from the meetings, these can be expensive and unsuccessful. The meetings need to be on weekends and have to compete with more and more funerals as AIDS has its devastating effect. Community leaders feel obliged to attend these funerals, meaning more demands on their time. As a result it is easy for a CPA executive members to find that they have gone half a year without any real communication between them and the full CPA membership. This gap can cause conflict as the CPA Executive Committee (Exco) takes on a lot of work, but the membership do not see or appreciate this. There are two ways this gap can be bridged.

The first involves interaction between community leadership and the CPA Exco. A forum that draws in the leadership of CBOs allows the Exco to interact with them, share information and build consensus. The Makuleke have formed a Development Forum made up of the following;

- The Civic organisations
- The Tribal Council
- The Chieftancy
- The Church organizations
- The Local Councilor
- Women's Organizations
- Youth Organizations

It is an inclusive forum that meets once every 2 months and gets a report back from the Exco. When the Exco needs to make a decision that could be divisive it consults with the Forum, which is seen as representative of broader community interests. There is also an important understanding that the CPA owns land outside the villages and its main job is to ensure the proper management and use of that land, not the land in the villages. This is

more the role of local government and the CBOs that sit on the Development forum. Village level development should be implemented by these organisations, even when using funds partly generated by the Exco's land management work. The result of the forum and the idea that CBOs must be in charge of village development is promoting consensus on the priorities at a village level and the sharing of power between the Exco and these important CBOs.

A crucial role the Development Forum plays is in prioritising the community projects to be funded. This does not shift the responsibility from the Exco or the Trustees, but it promotes a wider consensus about the needs that can be met year by year. In order to play this role, the Forum must have a good understanding of the development needs in each village as well as a clear vision about what they hope each village will look like in 5, 10 and 20 years time.

The second important way to build consensus at a community level is to have an effective communication strategy that does not only rely on CPA membership meetings. The communication system can involve a newsletter, notice boards in each village (where Exco minutes can be displayed) or even a community radio station. The communication must not only be one way - that is from the Exco down to the people. The newsletter and radio station must encourage community members to raise criticism and problems as well as praise. If the Exco do not hear of the problems they cannot deal with them. The Makuleke CPA has trained local youth as journalists and is committed to implementing a viable communication system.

Financial integrity and accountability

As with urban residents who benefited



Picture 2. Makuleke Rangers being trained to do patrols on their own land. (Courtesy Steve Collins)

from a housing grant many rural residents who successfully claimed land were also given a grant per household by the government. Depending on the number of households this grant could be a substantial amount. While CPAs have regulations concerning bank accounts and the need for effective financial management, dealing with Millions of Rand can be an intimidating task. At the request of the same government that granted the funds, the Makuleke formed the Makuleke Development Trust. The role of the The trust is to legally and responsibly administer the development funds raised from government and donors or earned from CPA project activity such as rental and hunting income.

The Trustees are made up of 7 people, 4 of whom are community members elected at a community meeting and 3 from outside the community. The outsiders are the Makuleke CPAs legal advisor, a professional trust administrator and a DLA representative. It is envisaged that, over time once the community members are experienced in running the Trust, the outsiders will withdraw as trustees.

The Trust can carefully invest money to safeguard the existing funds and to generate future income or can allocate it to community projects and the ongoing running costs. To ensure that the community's money is not wasted the Trust must have administrative capacities and be assisted by the full time CPA staff to manage the money granted to community projects.

The Trust has 3 areas of possible expenditures:

- a. Investment in projects to create further income for the community;
- b. Funding of community projects for the benefit of the community as prioritised by the Development Forum;
- c. Funding of the administration and running costs of the CPA and the Trust itself as set out in an annual budget request from each one.

An important function that the Trust is able to play is to enter into joint venture agreements with the private sector or government. The CPA is not allowed to do this as it could place the assets (the land) of the CPA at risk if the business venture fails. However the Trust is able to enter into these arrangements. It is still important that Trustees are very careful about the kind of partnerships that enter as they could lose the money they are keeping in trust on behalf of the community.

The real costs of benefit sharing

Like any other organisation or business, the CPA has its own running costs. The more elaborate the work the greater the costs. Therefore the more complicated the benefit sharing mechanisms and decisions making, the higher the running costs of the CPA will be. These

costs have to be covered by the income generated from the land ownership. This decreases the amount available for direct community project spending. The CPA Executive committee that is responsible for the day to day running of the CPA needs to ensure that the "machine" which deals with the benefit distribution is cost-effective and efficient. This means the staff employed must be trained and possess the right skills for the job. They must also be able to work with the community in a fair and responsive way. To reduce costs they will also not be able to get large salaries.

In the case of the Makuleke there are 2 full time staff who work with the Executive. They are an administrator/receptionist and a facilitator (or implementation officer). The latter's job is a multifaceted one where he/she needs to interact with donors, government departments, private sector companies as well as community based organisations. They both need to work closely with the Executive who are the elected representatives of the CPA members.

The Executive members also have a lot of work to do. They cannot only meet once a month and leave the rest to the full time staff. Besides the regular meetings they are given responsibilities that the full time staff cannot manage. The Makuleke CPA Exco was fortunate to get a donor grant to cover the cost of honorariums for the 9 Exco members. Once the donor money is finished these honorarium costs will need to come out of the income generated. The Exco must produce an annual operating budget and submit it to the Trust for funding.

Table 1. Explanation of institutions set up at Makuleke

Institution/organisation	Participants/Members	Role/Function	Comments
The Makuleke Communal Property Association	About 18 000 members of the Makuleke Community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persons or descendants of the original community moved in 1969; • Persons who became members of the community after the removal; • Future members of the community (who will apply to become members). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to the constitution of the CPA: • Managing and utilising the Makuleke Region of the KNP; • Collectively acquiring, holding and managing property on behalf of members; • Managing the land and natural resources for the benefit of the members; • Encouraging economic self reliance and self sufficiency and the cultural and social well-being of the members; • Promoting community development in its broadest sense. 	
The CPA Exco	9 elected members: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 Village representatives; • 4 elected by the General Meeting of the CPA; • The Chief mandated by the community to sit on the Exco. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overseeing the day to day management of the CPA (including employing full time staff to run the office); • Making accountable and transparent decisions on behalf of the membership; • Managing responsibly the assets of the CPA. 	The members receive a Honorariums from a donor grant.
The CPA office	2 full time staff: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An administrative officer; • An implementing officer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing the daily administration; • Facilitating the applications for grants from CBO top the Trust; • Liaising with outsiders including donors, researchers, trainers, government departments, SANP and others. 	
The Makuleke Development Trust	7 Trustees: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 CPA Exco members mandated at a community meeting. They include at least 1 from each village; • 1 CPA legal representative; • 1 DLA representative; • 1 Maitland Trust Rep. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing the financial income from the use of the land; • Managing the grants given by government and other substantial donations; • Allocating finances to Community projects, investments and the running costs of Exco as well as the Trust itself. 	
The Makuleke Development Forum	9 representatives per village (3 villages) selected by the civic organisation from each village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreeing on a development vision for the villages; • Acting as a consultative forum for the Exco when they need to make important decisions; • Prioritising CBO village level project applications. 	

The community project application and approval process

The process below is based on the different institutions set up the Makuleke CPA.

It is set out here to illustrate the process of a community project on the ground using money raised by the CPA.

Step 1

The Trust informs the CBOs that a specific amount of money will be released for community development projects. This can be done during a Development Forum meeting as well as using the notice boards/newsletter/radio. A "cut-off" date for applications is made clear to every one. The date must give the CBOs time to prepare the application - at least one month.

Step 2

The CBO applies to the Trust for funds to implement a development project before the cut off date. This application must contain information such as;

- Who will be responsible (Organisation as well as individuals)
- A Description of the project (where, what, how much)
- A motivation (objective) for the project.
- A list of beneficiaries (even if grouped — for example — all 450 primary school students for a project to get water to the school)
- The estimated cost
- The time needed to complete the project

The CBO can get assistance from the full time Implementation Officer to fill out an application form designed to guide the CBO in creating a detailed and thought out project application. The implementation officer may need training to give the right assistance to the CBO.

Step 3

The full time staff receives all applications. They give the CBO a receipt to say that they have received the application. A list of applications is created and posted on the Notice boards. This is to prevent claims afterwards that an application was

made but not considered.

Step 4

All the applications are presented to the Development Forum (made up of all development stakeholders from the community) by a representative of the each CBO making the request. The CBO representative is informed about the Development Forum meeting by the full time office staff.

Step 5

The Development Forum prioritises the projects based on agreed criteria which must be worked out by the before seeing the applications. The list that has been prioritised is sent to the Trust.

Step 6

The Trust meets and allocates as much money as they can to the prioritised projects. They inform the successful and unsuccessful applicants and send a report to the Development forum with the help of the Implementation Officer.

Step 7

A basic agreement is draw up between the Trust and the CBO. This is facilitated by the full time Implementation Officer. The agreement must set out terms of payment, milestones that must be met by the CBO and clear but realistic guidelines for accounting that will be needed to show the Trust that the money was properly spent.

Step 8

Constant contact between the CBO project co-ordinator responsible for implementing the project and the Implementation Officer will monitor the progress so that problems can be identified early.

Conclusion

The key challenges facing any communal land owning organisation are ensuring accountability to the members, maintaining a united leadership, making forward-looking decisions, ensuring equitable benefit sharing, creating an effective and transparent administrative arrangement as well as looking after the communal land they have been entrusted with. The Makuleke are trying to do all this. They

...the institutions are only as good as the community members that lead them...

have set up the institutions they have agreed are necessary to make the sensitive issue of benefit sharing a uniting rather than dividing one. However having the institutions in place is not enough because **the institutions are only as good as the community members that lead them...** The test will be to see if they can meet the high expectations set for them by the community members they represent.

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Protected areas and pro-poor tourism

Martin Bush

Abstract. The conservation of biodiversity and the alleviation of poverty remain pressing priorities for international development agencies. At the same time, international tourism to developing countries continues to increase. Seven countries harbouring 60 percent of the world's extreme poor collectively earn over \$40 billion annually from international tourism. Many of these tourists will visit protected areas, and this paper examines ways in which pro-poor tourism (PPT) around protected areas might be structured and managed so as to both contribute to the conservation of biodiversity and the alleviation of poverty. After a review of recent experience with pro-poor tourism in and around protected landscapes and the benefits that accrue to local communities, it is argued that the collaborative management of protected areas and pro-poor tourism, when integrated and coordinated, offers the prospect of a synergistic partnership capable of contributing to both conservation and poverty-alleviation objectives. The paper concludes by suggesting how the principal stakeholders— local communities, the park management agency, the tourism industry, international donors, national government, and NGOs— might work in partnership to promote and support pro-poor tourism in protected landscapes.

Résumé. La conservation de la biodiversité et la diminution de la pauvreté restent prioritaires pour les organisations de développement international. Au même temps le tourisme international au pays en voie de développement continue à grimper. Sept pays où réside le 60 pourcent de la population la plus pauvre au monde gagnent ensemble plus de 40 milliards

de dollars chaque année du tourisme international. Plusieurs de ces touristes rendront visites aux aires protégées, et cet article discute comment un tourisme 'pro pauvre' (PPT) autour des aires protégées peut être organisé et géré afin de contribuer à la fois à la conservation de la biodiversité et à la diminution de la pauvreté. Après une revue de l'expérience récente avec le tourisme 'pro pauvre' dans et autour des aires protégées et les bénéfices réalisées par les communautés locales, on examine la proposition que la gestion collaborative des aires protégées et le tourisme 'pro pauvre', quand ils sont intégrés et bien coordonnés, offrent la possibilité d'une synergie capable de contribuer aux objectifs de la conservation et de la diminution de la pauvreté. Cet article se termine par une discussion des modalités d'un partenariat entre les parties prenantes principales— les communautés locales, l'industrie du tourisme, les bailleurs de fonds internationaux, les gouvernements nationaux, et les ONG— afin de promouvoir et appuyer le tourisme 'pro pauvre' autour des aires protégées.



Picture 1. Tourism is one of the main sources of revenues for Australia. (Courtesy Wet Tropics Management Authority)

Alleviating poverty on a global scale remains an important priority for international development agencies. The

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) propose to reduce the number of people living on less than \$1 a day to half 1990-levels by 2015. Equally pressing is the conservation agenda. The target to achieve a significant reduction in the rate of loss of biodiversity by the year 2010 was set by the 6th Conference of Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity, and endorsed at the World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002.

At the same time, international tourism continues to grow as one of the world's largest multi-billion dollar industries. Many of these tourists will visit national parks and other protected areas. Tourism in and around protected areas has always been regarded with a certain ambivalence. The economic benefits are often considerable, but the disadvantages and negative impacts are also undeniable, particularly at the destination itself and on local communities.¹ This ambivalence is much sharper when one looks at tourism in developing countries.

International tourist arrivals now exceed 750 million/year (this number does not include domestic markets!) Although industrialized countries dominate the tourism market, developing countries benefit substantially from the industry. China is one of the world's

top five tourist destinations with 41.8 million international tourist arrivals registered in 2004.²

Focusing on those countries with the majority of the world's poor people, the economic significance of international tourism is again clearly evident—although there are marked differences among countries. Seven countries: India, China, Brazil, Indonesia, Philippines, Mexico, and Colombia, which together account for over 60 percent of the world's extreme poor, collectively earned over \$40 billion annually in receipts from international tourism over the period 1999 to 2003.³

Recent initiatives in the management of tourism suggest that when struc-

Recent initiatives in the management of tourism suggest that when structured and focused in an appropriate way, tourism has the potential to bring significant benefits and opportunities for improving rural livelihoods and for alleviating poverty

tured and focused in an appropriate way, tourism has the potential to bring significant benefits and opportunities for improving rural livelihoods and for alleviating poverty. This paper looks at ways in which tourism in and around protected landscapes in developing countries might be structured and

managed so as to contribute to both the alleviation of poverty and the conservation of biodiversity.

Pro-poor tourism

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is a relatively new concept, developed by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and International Centre for Responsible Tourism in

the UK. They define it as "tourism that results in increased net benefits for the poor".⁴ PPT is not a specific tourism product but a more focused approach to tourism development and management. It aims to develop and strengthen the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people, so that tourism's contribution to alleviating poverty is increased, and so that poor people are able to participate more

Pro-poor tourism offers all the potential advantages of sustainable tourism—with its triple bottom line of environmental, economic and cultural sustainability—but with its primary focus on improving the livelihoods of the poor.

effectively and advantageously in the business of tourism. PPT initiatives also aim to ensure that the growth in tourism contributes to the reduction of poverty. It is an approach which often employs a sustainable livelihoods framework to analyze the impact of a tourism initiative on the livelihoods of the poorest members of the communities affected by changing patterns of resource allocation resulting from tourism.⁵ Pro-poor tourism offers all the potential advantages of sustainable tourism—with its triple bottom line of environmental, economic and cultural sustainability—but with its primary focus on improving the livelihoods of the poor. Three broad types of intervention can be distinguished.⁶

Increasing economic benefits

- Expansion of employment opportunities by hiring local employees and providing on-the-job and other forms of training.
- Expansion of business opportunities for the poor. For instance, for small businesses and micro-enterprises that sell products such as food, fuel,

or building materials to tourist operations, or provide services such as equipment and vehicle repair and maintenance, garbage collection, etc. Alternatively, they may be businesses that offer products and services directly to tourists, such as guiding, translation, crafts, artwork, souvenirs, taxis and local transport, tea shops, street food, etc. Support may include marketing and technical support, shifts in procurement strategy (to local suppliers), and direct financial and training inputs.

- Enhancing collective community income from sources such as equity dividends, lease fees, revenue sharing, or donations usually established in partnership with tourist operators or government institutions.
- Managing, but also increasing, access to tourists for informal sector vendors.

Enhancing non-financial livelihood benefits

- Capacity building, training and empowerment so that human and social capital is strengthened.
- Mitigation of the negative environmental impacts of tourism on the

poor, and management of competing demands for access to natural resources between tourists and local people. This particularly applies to loss of access to natural resources in protected areas.

- Ensuring that the social and cultural impacts of tourism are positive, not negative.
- Improving access by the poor to services and infrastructure such as health care, schools, local radio, security, water supplies, and transport.

Enhancing participation

More supportive policy and planning frameworks that enable and facilitate participation by the poor.

- Increased participation by the poor in decision-making pertaining to the marketing and management of the destination by different levels of government and the private sector.
- Pro-poor partnerships with the private sector.
- Increasing the flow of information and communication through meetings, sharing news, and participatory planning

Table 1. Summary of Several Recent PPT Case Studies

Enterprise / Organisation	Destination	Tourism product	Associated protected area or landscape
1. Wilderness Safaris: Rocktail Bay Lodge and Ndumu Lodge	Maputaland, South Africa	Wildlife safaris and coastal tourism	Maputaland Coastal Forest Reserve (Rocktail Bay) and Ndumu Game Reserve and (Ndumu Lodge)
2. Tropic Ecological Adventures	Ecuadorian Amazon	Ecological safaris	Protected area but status unknown
3. Community based tourism associations in Namibia and Uganda	Various destinations	Community-based tourism	Unspecified
4. SNV – Netherlands Development Organisation	Humla district of NW Nepal	Trekking on the Simikot-Hilsa trail	None, but a de facto protected landscape?
5. St Lucia Heritage Tourist Programme	St Lucia	Community-based tourism and heritage trail	Unspecified, but in a sense the whole island is a protected landscape

6. Joint initiative between South African SDI and Community-Public-Private Partnerships Programme	Kruger National Park, Northern Province, South Africa	Wildlife safaris	Manyeleti game reserve and Makuleke contractual park –bordering and inside Kruger National Park
7. Community groups	Eastern Cape Province, South Africa	Wildlife safari	Addo Elephant National Park
8. Coral Divers	KwaZulu Natal, South Africa	Scuba diving	Greater St Lucia Wetland Park (World Heritage site)
9. Jackalberry Lodge	Limpopo, South Africa	Wildlife safari	Thornybush Game Reserve
10. Phinda Resources Reserve	KwaZulu Natal, South Africa	Wildlife safari	Phinda Private Game Reserve
11. Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve	Mpumalanga, South Africa	Wildlife safari	Sabi Sand Wildtuin Reserve
12. Sun City	North West province, South Africa	Recreation (casino and golf resort)	Adjacent to the Pilanesberg National Park

Examples of pro-poor tourism initiatives are summarized in Table 1.⁷ None of the operations listed above was specifically designed to be pro-poor. PPT interventions tend to be with enterprises and organizations that are already practicing sustainable tourism to some degree, and it is therefore difficult to measure with any certainty the additional benefits that a pro-poor focus has generated. Nevertheless, experience⁸ points to several clear advantages:

- PPT strategies expand opportunities for the poor. They stimulate diversification into culturally-based products, the expansion of business linkages, and increase local employment for the poor.
- PPT increases the demand for goods and services provided by the poor, and increases their access to key assets.
- PPT encourages a diversification of livelihoods for the rural poor, and is one of the few approaches with the potential to improve livelihoods in marginal agricultural areas. The recognition of the poor as legitimate stakeholders and their partici-

pation in tourism planning and management, empowers the community, builds human and social capital, and catalyses community-based development initiatives over the longer term.

The management of Protected Areas

There is convincing evidence that the most successful approach to the management of protected areas (PAs) is based upon the development of a negotiated agreement among stakeholders that defines their individual and collective rights, responsibilities, and benefits within the framework of a detailed and mutually-agreed management plan for the area and its natural resources. The objectives of the management plan are normally intended to ensure both the conservation of biodiversity and the sustainability of the resource base and consequently of the benefits derived from it. This approach, generally called “collaborative management” or “co-management”, also includes community-based natural resource management and community forestry, since both of these approaches normally involve some form of part-

nerships with government or parastatal agencies and NGOs even when the local communities are the predominant stakeholders in the process of management.⁹

The co-management approach is predicated on the belief that sustainable natural resource management cannot be attained unless indigenous and local communities are fully engaged in the process, have well-defined and mutually-agreed usufruct and tenure rights, and enjoy tangible benefits from the management of the natural resources within the area. It is also founded on the principle that indigenous communities, including mobile communities, have strong entitlements within their traditional lands, and that these entitlements should not be casually subordinated to the necessity for the conservation of biodiversity.¹⁰



Picture 2. Sport fishing is highly praised by tourists. (CourtesyTIDE, Belize)

All types of protected areas and landscapes limit access to certain zones within their boundaries, and place restrictions on the usufruct and tenure rights of indigenous communities. Only in the case of Community Conserved Areas might restrictions on access be intended to protect the livelihoods of members of the community. In strict nature reserves and species management areas, the protected area may be entirely off-limits to adjacent communities. In other cases, usufruct and tenure rights are negotiated in the context of conservation objectives—but there will nearly always be restrictions on these customary rights. Even worse, however, is the tendency in developing countries to expel resident communities and indigenous peoples from their lands when an area is delimited and designated as a protected area.

In the IUCN system of classification of protected areas, only Category Ia—strict nature reserves—do not allow indigenous communities as residents. In all other IUCN categories of protected area, the specified management objectives take into account the needs of indigenous communities—although always in the context of conservation priorities. In practice, however, national governments and their park management agencies are free to manage protected areas as they see fit and, unfortunately, it is not uncommon for indigenous communities to be expelled from these areas and to be forcibly settled outside the area zoned for conservation.¹¹

Besides loss of access to land and natural resources, there are often additional costs for local communities. The majority of PAs are unfenced and surrounded by agricultural lands and village lots. Roaming wildlife can result in substantial damage to crops and livestock and also be a risk to human

life. Given that they bear a significant part of the cost of conservation, many would agree that local communities have a right to a share of the benefits, but this objective can never be fully achieved unless the communities are fully engaged as partners in the collaborative management of the protected area.

Conservation projects funded by international donors that involve the management of PAs nearly always include efforts to improve the livelihoods of local communities. But these benefits, if they arrive at all, come later in the project cycle, whereas the negative impact of limited access to resources and restricted usufruct rights is suffered by the communities from the moment the protected area is created and the regulations enforced. In some cases,

...community benefits, if they arrive at all, come later in the project cycle, whereas the negative impact of limited access to resources and restricted usufruct rights is suffered by the communities from the moment the protected area is created and the regulations enforced. [...] Conservation should not jeopardize the livelihoods of the poor and make them poorer still.

PA management agencies channel part of fees collected from visitors to national parks back to local communities in an attempt to share out the benefits of tourism and to compensate for the costs incurred by the communities. However, this approach is generally inequitable (and often corrupted) because these benefits are mostly captured by local elites who are rarely disadvantaged by

Conservation should not jeopardize the livelihoods of the poor and make them poorer still. The fact that in developing countries this is often so does undermines the co-management approach because the approach can only succeed when it is based on trust, mutual respect, and an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of conservation.

Synergy: co-management and pro-poor tourism

Can the management of protected areas and landscapes be strengthened and made more effective by combining co-management with pro-poor tourism? And are pro-poor tourism initiatives more effective when centred on protected areas and landscapes? There are several reasons for believing that each approach is stronger when combined with the other.

1. Sustainable tourism, whether pro-poor or not, can provide substantial benefits for park management agencies (PMA) by:

- Increasing revenue directly for the PMA through park entrance fees and concession fees. Other forms of income: e.g. royalties, surcharges (on hotel accommodation for instance), and donations from visitors are often possible. Even if this revenue has to be turned over to the national government agency responsible for national parks, part of the revenue is usually returned to the PMA. Generating a substantial revenue flow to the national agency also strengthens the bargaining position of the PMA in negotiations aimed at securing a larger part of the revenue for managing both conservation and tourism in the protected area.
- Tourism often brings substantial economic benefits to the local economy as a result of direct spending by tourists on services provided by

hotels, restaurants, transportation, communication and other businesses linked to tourism. The indirect and induced economic benefits engendered by the direct spending of tourists are also significant. The positive economic impact on the local and regional economy of tourism to the PA brings increased political influence for the PMA and reinforces its position in negotiations with local government agencies proposing alternative zoning arrangements, or with private sector interests seeking other ways of exploiting natural resources (for instance mining and logging) both in and around the PA.

- The positive economic impact on local businesses resulting from tourism creates local employment opportunities that not only contribute to the alleviation of poverty (although not necessarily among the extreme poor) but also reinforce the perception among the influential local elite that the protected area is beneficial to the local economy and that the PMA should be supported.
- Well managed and effective interpretation raises awareness of environmental and conservation issues for both international and domestic tourists. Many domestic tourists will be influential both locally and nationally, and many international tourists will be members of international environmental organizations. Building support for the protected area among educated and influential national and international visitors is clearly advantageous for the PMA.

2. Tourism which is specifically pro-poor can provide additional support to park management:

- PPT employs a participatory approach that is consistent with and which reinforces the co-management process. Both co-management and

PPT approaches share the same set of primary stakeholders.

- PPT provides a mechanism that could potentially bring tangible benefits to local communities even before an area is designated for conservation. It thus offers one of the most effective means of compensating for the inequities imposed on poor communities by conservation. Communities often understand the need for conservation, but believe (often quite rightly) that they are the ones who will ultimately lose out. By demonstrating that providing benefits to them is a priority right from the start, indigenous communities are encouraged and motivated to be more effective and responsible partners in the co-management process.
- PPT initiatives often employ a sustainable livelihoods framework to help identify interventions that are the most effective in alleviating poverty. Sustainable livelihood analyses can provide more detailed information to park management agencies and better inform management strategies which seek to balance conservation priorities with sustainable rural development.

... pro-poor tourism (PPT) employs a participatory approach that is consistent with and which reinforces the co-management process. Both co-management and sustainable livelihoods share the same set of primary stakeholders.

3. Protected areas and landscapes are a natural focus for pro-poor tourism since they generally attract tourists to rural areas where the poor are mostly located. Moreover, experience suggests that PPT works best where tourism is already operating well—which is the case for many national parks and

other types of protected areas and landscapes in developing countries.

4. The management of PAs includes the provision of interpretation for visitors that explains the ecological context of the natural environment and provides an understanding of the societies and cultures that have shaped the landscape. Cultural presentations by local community groups to PA visitors bring interpretation to life, make the experience for visitors more rewarding and memorable, and provide an additional source of income for the community groups concerned. PPT should protect and support indigenous culture.

5. Successful tourism encourages private sector investment in infrastructure in the vicinity of the PA. While this needs to be carefully regulated, it offers the potential for increased employment opportunities for the poor. Poor communities also benefit from improved infrastructure, particularly better communications and transportation.

6. Co-management, sustainable tourism, and pro-poor tourism all depend on effective partnerships arrangements among the principal stakeholders. This group includes indigenous communities, tourism businesses, NGOs, and local government, as well as the park management agency. Developing and fostering effective partnership arrangements facilitates both PPT and the co-management process.

7. The co-management approach and PPT should work particularly well in marine protected areas (MPAs).¹³ This type of protected area is currently under-represented globally,¹⁴ and many more MPAs are expected to be established over the next decade.

8. The management of mobile indig-

enous peoples' Community Conserved Areas is particularly sensitive and difficult. Tourism to these areas must be carefully managed in a co-management framework and closely regulated to effectively enhance livelihoods and protect the indigenous culture.

Developing PPT initiatives in Protected Areas

In a sense, the introduction of PPT as a strategy in PA management moves collaborative management to a higher level. It increases the number of primary stakeholders that the management team must take into account and it undoubtedly will make management more complex and difficult. Collaborative management has been described as a paradigm shift. Associating PPT with PA management will shift the paradigm once again. Much more will be required of the PA management team, and the team itself will almost certainly need to be larger and to include people with a different set of skills.

... Collaborative management has been described as a paradigm shift. Associating PPT with PA management will shift the paradigm once again.

PA management agencies at the national level have a crucial role to play. They must take the lead in defining the policy agenda and moving it forward. First and foremost, they need to build a coalition of influential proponents at the national level. This coalition should include the national PMA, at least one international donor prepared to support the initiative, the principal tourism business associations, and offices in the line ministries whose support will be essential (including of course the ministries responsible for tourism and the environment). There must be broad agreement at the national level

that: firstly, tourism must be sustainable;¹⁵ secondly that the poorest sections of the local communities must substantially benefit; and, thirdly, that tourism businesses must be pro-active in this regard. At the national level, the PMA should also act to:

- Promote the integration of PPT into poverty reduction strategies
- Ensure compliance with all international conventions related to conservation and biodiversity, and examine ways to link these initiatives to PPT.
- Establish an effective programme for environmental impact assessment (EIA) for new infrastructure in the vicinity of protected areas, and include criteria related to the impact on sustainable livelihoods.
- In accordance with WTO recommendations, adopt a national certification system as an integral part of sustainable tourism development policies, strategies, and objectives, and as a tool to implement them.
- Develop guidelines for co-management and PPT, and ensure that PMA managers have the resources to comply with the guidelines.

At the local level, the PMA should again take the lead—but it will need influential friends at the regional level. Priorities include:

Engage the local stakeholders and work to develop effective partnership arrangements with tourism businesses, local government, and the local communities. Ensure that PPT strategies are incorporated into PA management plans as an essential component of the co-management approach. This also includes locating park infrastructure so as to maximize net benefits to local communities.¹⁶

- Ensure that PMA staff is familiar with sustainable livelihood approaches and conversant with the principles of

sustainable and pro-poor tourism.

- Conduct analyses of livelihood strategies adopted by indigenous communities in and around the PAs paying particular attention to how communities' access to indigenous and exogenous assets has been changing. The analyses should use conventional PRA techniques but these should be structured within a sustainable livelihoods framework
- Work to develop human and social capital, and social cohesion in local communities by developing and implementing a programme of capacity building.
- Look for ways to increase employment opportunities for community members as guides, drivers, wardens, etc. within the park management operation itself.



Picture 3. Sport hunting is a major tourism business. A hunter and his local guide socialise in a hunting reserve at the border with Park W (Burkina Faso). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Tourism businesses and tour operators also have a strong role to play. Ideally they could:

- Adopt and actively implement the principles of sustainable tourism, and work with the PMA and local communities to develop viable PPT initiatives.
- Participate in certification programmes for sustainable tourism.
- Work in partnership with the PMA to develop tourist infrastructure and business that are consistent with the protected area's management plan.
- Develop business partnerships with local communities and look for way to increase employment opportunities for local people.
- Ensure local procurement of goods and services as far as possible.
- Promote increased access to their clients by informal sector businesses and vendors.

International donors can strongly influence government policy. They should focus on:

- Designing PPT initiatives into conservation programmes and natural resource management projects involving PAs.
- Facilitating efforts to incorporate PPT initiatives into national tourism plans and poverty reduction strategies.
- Supporting and funding initiatives to make tourism more sustainable such as the WTO national certification programme.¹⁷
- Funding capacity building programmes for park management agency staff.

Furthermore, international donors should look at ways in which PPT might be integrated with their support for programmes focused on job creation and the development of small and medium enterprises.¹⁸

The role of NGOs depends very much on the context. International NGOs sometimes operate as park management agencies and in this situation are clearly major stakeholders. National and regional NGOs should be included in policy-making to a degree commensurate with their interest and influence.

Stakeholder analysis will identify the more important potential partners. Small NGOs working in the communities around protected areas should

...innovative, creative and culturally-sensitive ways need to be found to bring tourists into closer contact with local communities.

always be considered important stakeholders even if they work in sectors such as community health, education, and the fight against HIV infection. Reducing poverty is on everyone's agenda.

In all cases where PPT is to be promoted in and around PAs, innovative, creative and culturally-sensitive ways need to be found to bring tourists into closer contact with local communities. Local communities should also be involved in the development of interpretation programmes covering not only habitat, ecology, and biodiversity, but the social, cultural and historical context of the area, the ways in which indigenous peoples and their landscapes interact dynamically, and how this relationship has evolved over time. Visitors need to understand how indigenous people use traditional knowledge to develop livelihood strategies in order to cope with vulnerability and the risks inherent in their environment. However, it is for the communities themselves to decide the extent and the character of their contact with tourists. Some indigenous communities may welcome it; others may be more reticent.

Conclusion

The conservation of biodiversity and alleviating poverty are among the most pressing problems confronting the international community. These two priorities are often viewed as antagonistic and mutually exclusive. All too often, establishing PAs jeopardizes poor

In countries where international tourism is substantial and well established, PPT linked to PAs has the potential to establish a new and mutually strengthening approach to the conservation of biodiversity and the alleviation of poverty.

peoples' already vulnerable livelihoods. In other cases, poor communities can contribute to intolerable pressure on biodiversity. Often the outcome is chronic conflict between PA management agencies and local communities. The result is that all stakeholders

lose, and the cycle of resource degradation and deepening poverty continues to worsen.

In countries where international tourism is substantial and well established, PPT linked to PAs has the potential to establish a new and mutually strengthening approach to the conservation of biodiversity and the alleviation of poverty. The result is a synergy that offers the prospect of a win-win situation for all stakeholders. This may sound too good to be true. But the stakes are now so high that this new approach is surely worth serious attention.

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Notes

- 1 See the texts by Matheson and Wall, 1982; Fennell, 1999; Coppock, 1982; Hawkins and Roberts, 1994; Swarbrooke, 1999; Hall, 2000; and Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996.
- 2 See the WTO news release of 19 May 2005 on the WTO website. The other top countries are France (75.1 million), Spain (53.6 million), USA (46.1 million), and Italy (37.1 million).
- 3 See WTO statistics for tourism receipts and UNICEF Human Development Indicators for data on population living below the extreme poverty line of \$1 per day.
- 4 See www.propoortourism.co.uk
- 5 See Ashley 2003; Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2000.
- 6 See Ashley 2002; Roe and Urquhart 2001.
- 7 See the series of papers by Poultney and Spenceley 2001; Saville 2001; Spenceley and Seif 2003; Renard 2001; and Williams *et al.*, 2001. These and other informative PPT texts are available on the PPT website: www.propoortourism.org.uk.
- 8 See Ashley *et al.*, 2001
- 9 See Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; 1997; 2004a; and IUCN CEESP 2002; 2003.
- 10 See Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004b.
- 11 See Cochester, 2003 and Griffiths, 2005. See also the Durban Action Plan (Outcome 5) pertaining to the rights of indigenous peoples, mobile peoples, and local communities in relation to natural resources and biodiversity conservation.
- 12 For instance, the author has experience in Madagascar with ANGAP's policy which is to return half of the revenue from national park entrance fees to communities around the park. The management of these funds is usually placed in the hands of a local management committee (or more than one committee if the park is large and local communities widely dispersed). The committees necessarily include local government officials who are frequently involved in local businesses. Conflicts of interest are not uncommon. See also Wells, 1992.
- 13 Marine protected areas generally offer greater opportunities for the participation of the local population in collaborative management, and in providing services to the tourism industry. See also Moffat, 1998.
- 14 See the UN List of Protected Areas 2003.
- 15 There must also be agreement on what 'sustainable tourism' actually means in the context of the country concerned.
- 16 For instance, the park office in the Ankarafantsika National Park in Madagascar is located inside the park at the Ampijiroa Forestry Station. From a PPT perspective, it would have been much better to have located the office in one of the villages on the main road into the park.
- 17 The World Tourism Organization has prepared guidelines for Governments on certification systems for sustainable tourism. Two regional conferences, in Brazil and in Malaysia, took place in 2003. See the WTO website.

18 Donors that prioritize the development of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in developing countries as a means to create jobs and alleviate poverty sometimes overlook the fact that the tourism industry has the potential to play a major role in this regard. And donors can be extremely influential in guiding Government policy: witness CIDA's extraordinary success in creating and enabling SME environment in Egypt, and USAID's successful effort to improve environmental management in Madagascar.

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Lessons learned in Ecuador: 10 years of integrated conservation and development in the Chocó Region

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Abstract. Trying an Integrated Conservation and Development model is a challenge in its own right. If this is surrounded by poverty and high social conflict, promoting conservation becomes even more difficult, as initiatives have to attend the income aspirations of the local communities. In short, this is what the project on Sustainable Use of Biological Resources – SUBIR – has done. SUBIR was a ten year project that took place in the Ecuadorian Chocó region with the participation of the Chachi and Awá indigenous people and several Afro-ecuadorian communities. SUBIR largely fulfilled its objectives. It had 5 components: Institutional Strengthening and Organizational Development; Policy and Legal Issues; Improved Land Use Management; Commercialization and Marketing; and Biodiversity Monitoring. Lessons learned from what took place in each of these components and their integration were ascertained through a process of analysis that involved beneficiaries and donors, technical people, leaders and organizations. The analysis took place through several workshops and meetings, both at the office and field level, and lasted a few months. This article illustrates some of these lessons. The most important results of SUBIR are the new capacities of the people it involved. The *paratechnical staff* and community leaders are now better prepared to face difficulties. The local organization is strengthened and the ethnic differences seem manageable. Even if the economic situation did not improve for all the people concerned, it has been possible to develop long-term strategies for the conservation of the natural resources, and the communities are strengthened in their social structure. Part of the road is paved!

Resumen. Probar un modelo de conservación y desarrollo es un reto por si solo. Si a esto le sumamos un entorno de pobreza y de alta conflictividad social, se torna mas complejo el esfuerzo por promover la conservación, alentando al mismo tiempo la generación de ingresos para las comunidades locales. Este reto podría resumir el proyecto *Sustainable Use of Biological Resources* - SUBIR. SUBIR fue un proyecto de 10 años que se desarrolló en el chocó ecuatoriano, con participación de pueblos indígenas como los Chachi y Awá, así como varias comunidades Afroecuatorianas. SUBIR en gran medida cumplió sus objetivos. Esto se lo consiguió a través de sus 5 componentes de trabajo: Fortalecimiento Institucional y Desarrollo Organizacional; Políticas y Asuntos Legales; Mejor Uso de la Tierra; Commercialization y Mercadeo; y, Monitoreo de la Biodiversidad. Las lecciones aprendidas de lo que se realizo en cada componente y sus integraciones fueron obtenidas mediante un proceso de retroalimentación que involucró beneficiarios y donantes, técnicos y paratécnicos, líderes y organizaciones. Los talleres y las reuniones, tanto a nivel de oficina como de campo, continuaron durante algunos meses. Después de este recorrido por la memoria social, lo obtenido se puede resumir en los aprendizajes que son sucintamente descritas en este articulo. Los resultados más importantes de SUBIR están en las nuevas capacidades de la gente que fue involucrada. Los *paratécnicos* y líderes comunitarios ahora están mejor preparados para afrontar dificultades. La organización se fortaleció y las diferencias interétnicas son manejables. Pese a que su situación económica no mejoró para todos, al menos se logró desarrollar estrategias de conservación de recursos naturales para el largo plazo, y las comunidades están fortalecidas en su estructura social y por ende con una parte del camino allanado.

The social, biological and physical environment

Ecuador's Chocó region located in the northwestern part of Ecuador— the

Attempting an Integrated Conservation and Development initiative is a challenge in its own right. If this is surrounded by poverty and high social conflict... promoting conservation becomes even more difficult ...

northern zone of the province of Esmeraldas— has abundant forest resources, fisheries, mining opportunities and water resources, among others. It is thus a highly attractive zone for investors and business companies, and it is fast becoming over-

exploited and an agricultural frontier. The residents are mostly of afro-Ecuadorian and indigenous origin (three different ethnic groups) although colons have also settled there. The total number of inhabitants is approximately 62,000, with high poverty

indicators (74% of the population is said to be living under the poverty line) and lack of basic services and education (24% illiteracy) among other problems. The zone has two protected areas (Cotacachi Cayapas and Mataje Cayapas Reserves) and, in general, it is in the midst of what various

environmental organisations worldwide have called the southern part of Chocó, a geographical corridor with very special environmental characteristics, extending from northern Venezuela to northern Ecuador and encompassing Panama and Colombia. The wet zones of the province of Esmeraldas are part of the Chocó bio-geographical region, characterised by high diversity and endemism for both plants and animals.

Project goals

The overarching goal of the project on Sustainable Use of Biological Resources (SUBIR) was to protect unique biological resources in the Chocó and in the transitional corridor bridging the Amazon and the Western Andean lowlands *through sustainable natural resource use*. The SUBIR project spanned a ten year period and had three phases. It worked, particularly in its latter phase, with communities living around two protected areas in these regions, the Cotacachi-Cayapas Ecological Reserve (RECC) and Yasuni National Park. In the buffer zone of the lower section of the RECC alone there are more than 50 Afro-Ecuadorian, Chachi and colonizer communities that were incorporated into the project's activities. The project was implemented by a consortium of NGOs coordinated by CARE International in Ecuador with funding from USAID. Local, provincial and national government agencies were essential partners in the implementation process. Indeed, this larger consortium for the project facilitated better interactions across sectors and fostered the analysis of lessons learned by government officials at several levels.

The third and last phase of SUBIR, main focus of attention in this article, put emphasis on strengthening household and community management of natural resources towards conserving biodiversity both inside and in the



Picture 1. Chachi woman weaving a basket in the community of San Miguel Chachi. (Courtesy of SUBIR)

surrounding of protected areas. It also focused on policy and institutional strengthening. The first two phases concentrated more on the establishment and consolidation of protected areas in the Yasuni (esp. Phase I) and Cotacachi-Cayapas and began to experiment with conservation activities outside the protected areas. During Phase III part of the implementation strategy relied on creating and securing ethnic reserves within where land use plans could be developed and implemented to achieve both economic and conservation objectives.

SUBIR Phase III worked through five components:

- Institutional Strengthening and Organizational Development;
- Policy and Legal Issues;
- Improved Land Use Management;
- Commercialization and Marketing; and
- Biodiversity Monitoring.

The strategy of the project comprised some experimentation with appropriate models on natural resource management; training of local people; strengthening local organizations; supporting advocacy work; promoting regional planning for conservation and development; consolidating territory/land-tenure; promoting local forest-trade network; and providing support and training for local governments.

Among the project's principal results, the following are noteworthy:

- Capacity building of three, second and first grade Chachi and Afro-Ecuadorian organisations;
- Training of more than 80 para-technical, local community assistants working on legal, forestry, and marketing issues;
- Sustainable forest management

plans for more than 25,000 hectares;

- Start-up of a forest certification process;
- Legalisation of more than 50,000 hectares of land for the benefit of Chachi, Awá, and Afro-Ecuadorian Indigenous people;
- Organisation of forest producers in a Community Forest Network,
- Registration of more than 300,000 hectares of rural land in the municipalities of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo;
- Facilitation of the process of drawing up local development plans for the two mentioned municipalities;
- Development of a biological monitoring model; and
- Afro-Ecuadorian territorial consolidation through support for the establishment of the Afro-Ecuadorian area.

Process to understand lessons learned

An extensive process to ascertain lessons learned was undertaken at the end of the ten year period in 2002 and focused primarily on the last phase of the project that lasted four years.

This is not often done as an internal learning exercise, independent of external evaluations and

particularly with an extensive process such as the one undertaken here. A series of workshops took place over a period of 4 months. First, a general two-day workshop was held with all technical representatives of the NGOs that formed the consortium that implemented SUBIR, donor and government representatives. The technical repre-

An extensive process to ascertain lessons learned was undertaken at the end of the ten years.

representatives were the national coordinators of the different components of the project, mentioned above, and the fieldworkers. Following this, for each component of the project another one-day workshop was held at the different NGOs that were members of the consortium. At the field-level a three days workshop gathered the *para-technicals* and leaders from all the communities in the project together with the national technical staff. This took place at the field project house on the banks of the *Rio Santiago-Cayapas*. There was also an external evaluation which held several separate meetings and a final de-briefing meeting to the whole consortium and donor.¹

Main lessons learned from the perspective of the project

From the compilation of all this information some main lessons were extrapolated² and are shared here.

- *Security of land tenure is an essential foundation for longer-term effective outcomes for sustainable development and conservation of biological and cultural resources*

SUBIR invested a lot of resources with processes related to land tenure clarification amidst very difficult ethnical disputes that goes back a long-time.³

Security of land tenure is an essential foundation

A particularly successful strategy was the formation of *paralegals* at the community levels. The training they received not only equipped them to deal with conflict resolution at the local level but with the capacity to represent and process the community claims within the national government departments. Conflict resolution processes around land-tenure were also critical to bringing the Indigenous Chachi and Afro-Ec-

uatorian communities to develop closer relationships.

An important practice of the project and lesson for the future is that processes to resolve land-boundaries/resource use conflicts should be empowering, culturally sensitive, holistic and contribute to understanding local/indigenous groups aspirations.

- *Empowerment of local communities from the outset is an essential foundation for local commitment towards project goals and outcomes and the sustainability of activities after the project cycle ends.*

One of the weaknesses of SUBIR was the weak community participation at the early stages and phases of the project in actual implementation and participation in decision-making. Thus as a result there was: a) poor understanding of rights, roles and responsibilities across all stakeholders involved in the project; b) poor understanding of community aspirations *until* later in the project. It is also essential that there is systematic compilation of social-cultural information from the very outset that can form the knowledge base to work with the communities, even if this information is collected as an adjunct to implementing other activities. This was not done systematically at SUBIR all throughout the project. Efforts in other areas like capacity-building and organizational strengthening, and particularly at the latter phase, compensated a bit for the weak engagement at the earlier stages.

- *Better opportunities for livelihood security and income generation can be linked to positive conservation outcomes and sustainable management of natural resources but market-oriented activities need espe-*

cially careful planning and long-term horizons

Here lay the greatest weakness of this project in its latter phases. Markets for new income generation activities

market feasibility assessment and proper business plans are essential even at small-scale community development activities. (e.g., agroforestry, small animal husbandry, handicrafts such as basket weaving, etc..) were not properly researched or considered from the

very outset. The lesson here is that, as a result of this lack of proper understanding about markets, many potential micro-enterprises (like carpentry or basket weaving) had limited success and were not able to grow considerably. This is particularly important as such activities were meant to reduce pressure on logging, which is an important source of income in that region, and thus their success could have played a critical role in the conservation of the forest resources. Some limited advances were noted in community areas where more successful income generation activities were developed (eg. agroforestry plantations; pepper crops) along with long-term planning for timber harvesting. The communities involved in those initiatives were more willing to commit to longer-term planning for the management of the forest resources.

- *Mechanisms for more equitable sharing of costs and benefits need to be discussed and sought from the very outset*

Often the poorest members of the community and more marginalized families or groups do not benefit from project as much as other members of the community. There is a need to

foresee this and develop mechanisms for the equitable distribution of benefits. SUBIR never undertook a careful analysis to understand who exactly was benefiting from the project amidst community structures and governance systems. It was difficult at the end to ascertain whether such benefits were shared equitably and also any understanding of gender equity with respect to benefits.

- *Building capacity of indigenous organizations is essential to sustainable participatory conservation and local development results*

SUBIR helped considerably to strengthen FECCHE – the Indigenous Chachi umbrella organization and promoted and facilitated the way for the formation of UONNE – the Afro-Ecuadorian umbrella organization. These second level Afro and Indigenous Organizations had a direct role in project implementation concurrently with building strong community-based organizational and human resource capacity (eg; para-technicals, user-groups). On the other hand, this happened towards the end of the project and because of this late start the capacity of the organizations to implement activities on their own proved not as strong as one would have desired. Empowering those organizations with some implementation role should have happened much earlier on. It should be said, however, that both those organizations are still operating in the region and provide human resources for various initiatives after the end of the project. Interestingly also many of the *para-technicals* formed by SUBIR (be it para-social, para-biologists, para-legals, etc.) are now the leaders of these organizations. This organizational strengthening was helpful when a mining company was granted a concession to exploit land

in Esmeraldas with no consultation with the Chachi and Afro-Ecuadorian communities. FECCHE and UONNE got united to defend their rights and successfully managed to get a court order to suspend the authorization given to the mining company.

- *Working at multi-levels (local, regional, national) is essential for long-term sustainability and crucial so reality on the ground can influence changes of national policy and legislation.*

SUBIR adopted a pluralistic planning model for intervention as it worked at [the local organizations] got united to defend their rights and successfully managed to get a court order to suspend the authorization given to the mining company.

the links between local, regional and national realities. By doing so it contributed tremendously to developing new policies and promoting changes in legislation (e.g., proposed forest law, forest policy, the incorporation of the collective rights for afro-ecuatorians people in the Political Constitution; and the first ecotourism regulation in Ecuador that requires local communities' participation). "Policy initiatives involving land tenure and forestry policies are especially significant, and some of them are being either replicated or further advanced following the conclusion of SUBIR".⁴

Those advocacy dialogue and work at the national level were fed by the on going learning of project implementation on the ground. The fact that the work at both the local level (direct implementation), and at the national level (policy advocacy) took place at the same time was essential to efficacy

of results.



Picture 2. Canoe in the River Cayapas. (Courtesy of SUBIR)

General lessons and conclusions

The philosophy of the SUBIR project at its last phase no doubt fits into a larger growing understanding that conservation and sound management of natural resources need to go hand in hand with the livelihood security of local communities. This project had a tremendous impact in the lives of many marginalized people part of minority groups in Ecuador. Security of land, capacity building at local level, creation and strengthening of umbrella indigenous and afro-ecuatorian organizations and policy and legislation that incorporate the rights of these minority groups in Ecuador were amongst those. The sustainability and the importance of those aspects of this project impact are still noticeable a few years after the project ended. Other impacts, in the provision of alternative and sustainable

the importance of adopting a multi-areas and multi-level approach for project interventions should be highlighted. ... the plurality of the simultaneous interventions allows the best chance for a more effective impact in the long-run.

livelihood security options (to counterbalance timber harvesting) are less notable after a few years. Thus, the importance of adopting a multi-areas and multi-level approach for project interventions should be highlighted. It is the plurality of the simultaneous intervention in those many facets at different levels which allows the best chance of a more effective impact in the long-run. The crucial issue then is how to manage the complexity of working the links amongst all of them. SUBIR was not that successful in this respect as the integration amongst the several components of implementation was not on going and generally weak. This no doubt contributed to its limited success in some areas.

It is important also to position these achievements and shortcomings within the larger national context. Ecuador is still struggling towards better governance systems for natural resource management; still grappling with decentralization processes; largely lacking land-use planning process that involve an array of actors meaningfully; dealing with processes to secure indigenous rights against extractive industries; and needing to understand

Problems with ICD projects are more to do with process and implementation than deficiencies in the model itself

what local and indigenous communities' visions for sustainable development are.⁵

There is only so much that even a ten-year in-

tegrated conservation and development project can do in such a broader national context. It is important to understand such limitations while striving towards better mechanisms and approaches to link conservation and sustainable development outcomes. It

is not sufficient to say that these results are of limited success and allow scepticism to permeate practice. We must continue to strive for those approaches to work for the betterment of community livelihood and the conservation of rich biological resources. The lessons that have been learned and are discussed here can contribute to such endeavour into the future.

Moreover, it is important to position this project in the context of the current worldwide broader analysis of Integrated Conservation and Development initiatives. One such analysis took place at a workshop at the World Parks Congress in 2003 from where the following broad observations can be noted:⁶

- a. Problems with ICD projects are more to do with process and implementation than deficiencies in the model itself;
- b. Lessons emerging are not being adopted;
- c. The relationship between Protected Areas and community is at the heart of conservation, and there is no question of moving away from efforts to integrate conservation with development. It is a matter of getting better at it. Not only do we need to demonstrate it can work – it *has* to work;
- d. There is no single approach to ICD but a myriad of approaches that need to be tailored to specific contexts;
- e. There is often a failure to recognise and address economic and political factors

There is often a failure to address competing environmental interests and trade-offs between local, national and global levels

- outside the project implementation area (including global level);
- f. There is often a failure to address competing environmental interests and trade-offs between local, national and global levels;
 - g. ICD has failed to engage in the higher level of debate. Conservation has to compete with agriculture and other land uses. It is imperative for conservation and PA managers to engage in the PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers) and MDG (Millennium Development Goals) processes. This presents a challenge but also a great opportunity that must not be missed.

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Notes

- 1 Sowers and Anderson, 2002.
- 2 Some of those have been adapted from Sowers and Anderson, 2002.
- 3 See Morales and Scherl, 2003.
- 4 Sowers and Anderson, 2002.
- 5 Morales and Scherl, 2003.
- 6 This has been summarized by Lea M. Scherl, overall coordinator of the workshop, within the Building Support for Protected Areas Stream entitled "Working with Neighbors: Protected Areas and Local and Indigenous Communities". This summary draws upon presentations made at the workshop by Michael Wells, Edmund Barrow, Lea M Scherl and Manolo Morales, Agrippinah Namara, Tom McShane and Phil Franks. See also www.tilcepa.org for more information.

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Building collaborative management for livelihood security & natural resource sustainability in the Republic of Macedonia

Jessica Campese interviews Bertrand Sansonnens

Abstract. The Pelister National Park (NP) and the surrounding region in the South West of the Republic of Macedonia contain a number of non-timber natural resources that, due largely to the scarcity of local employment opportunities, are of critical importance for the livelihoods of communities in the region. As many as 30'000 people are estimated to collect mushrooms, berries, herbs and medicinal plants from the Pelister Mountain, and this collection and resale appear to generate up to 2500 Euros in income per family per year. Even among employed persons, depressed wages have rendered non-timber forest resources a critical source of supplemental income. The local residents are used to collecting wild resources, but local livelihoods changed significantly with state introduction of large scale apple cultivation. In the wake of that major economic change, the customary institutions for management of forest product collection have largely dissolved. Today, non-timber product collection appears to be increasingly unsustainable, and management problems include a general lack of information and organization regarding the rules of access or means of resource protection, limited access to markets, and price insecurity. The Pelister Mountain Conservation Project (PMCP) aims at helping local partners to develop multi-level collaborative natural resource management (NRM) in the region. The PMCP provides an opportunity to build a collaborative NRM initiative from the ground up in a way that conserves natural resources, empowers local communities, and contributes to livelihood security. In addition, it strives to connect the local and the national level. A multi-level Advisory Board is supposed to provide a space for dialogue and learning so that the lesson learned in Pelister NP can be applied to other pilot projects, and ultimately to national policies.

Empowering local communities & building multi-level partnerships

The Pelister National Park (NP) and the surrounding region in the South West of the Republic of Macedonia contain a number of non-timber natural resources¹ that, due largely to the scarcity of local employment opportunities, are of critical importance for the livelihoods of communities in the region.² The Pelister Mountain Conservation Project (PMCP), which began in 2000 with scientific analyses of the NP biodiversity, is striving to establish multi-level, collaborative natural resource management (NRM) initiatives in the region. The PMCP is centered around two

challenging objectives: (1) addressing the needs and concerns of non-timber forest product users by facilitating agreements between collectors and buyers that ensure resource sustainability and equitable benefit sharing; and (2) engaging various actors impacted by resource collection rules, including national and local government officials authorities, in collaborative management policies.

The PMCP provides an opportunity to build a collaborative natural resource management initiative "from the ground up"

The PMCP is carried out primarily by a Macedonian project team, with support from Pro Natura³ and funding from the Swiss Agency for Development



Map 1. The Republic of Macedonia.

and Cooperation (SDC)⁴. The project targets non-timber forest products, including berries, mushrooms, and medicinal plants regularly collected by local communities for income generation. PMCP also includes sustainable development of selected landscapes, targeted regional tourism, and, more generally, regional biodiversity conservation. The project team has begun building the foundation of this collaborative process at both the local and national level. At the local level, the project includes all interested villages in the Pelister Mountain region, NP managers, relevant municipalities, and businesses interested in purchasing the locally collected products. At the national level, the Macedonian Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning (MoEPP) is the main partner. Much of the PMCP team's current work involves

sustainable use training, and capacity building to empower local communities in negotiating new resource access and use rules.

Livelihood security & natural resource management

Pro Natura estimates that as many as 30'000 people collect mushrooms, berries, herbs and medicinal plants from Pelister Mountain, and that this collection and resale generate up to 2500 Euros in income per family per year.⁵ While supplementing income and subsistence with local resource collection is not new to most local villages, this practice has gained importance in the last decade

Pro Natura estimates that as many as 30'000 people collect mushrooms, berries, herbs and medicinal plants from Pelister Mountain, and that this collection and resale generate up to 2500 Euros in income per family per year.

due to economic decline and scarcity of employment opportunity. The other primary income generating sources in the region, namely large scale apple cultivation, some textile production, and small scale tourism, largely collapsed following Macedonian independence. Thus, many people from the Pelister Mountain region now rely far more directly on local resource collection. Even among some employed persons, depressed wages have rendered non-timber forest resources a critical source of supplemental income.

Many local stakeholders, including Pelister Mountain region villages, are interested in working with the PMCP team to develop greater knowledge and equitable rules regarding forest product access and collection. Non-timber product collection appears to be increasingly unsustainable.⁶ Further,

local stakeholders have commented on a number of management problems including a general lack of information

Non-timber product collection appears to be increasingly unsustainable. ... management problems include a general lack of information and organization regarding the rules of access or means of resource protection, limited access to markets, and price insecurity.

and organization regarding the rules of access or means of resource protection, limited access to domestic and foreign markets, and price insecurity.

The PMCP effort to address these problems is still in the early stages. At the local level, the project team is working on two major efforts

in parallel. First, they are facilitating a collaborative natural resource use agreement between park authorities and local communities. Community members are playing a vital role in negotiating this use agreement, and the PMCP team is working with all parties to ensure that the process and outcomes respect these communities' needs. Simultaneously, the PMCP is working toward improving security and sustainability in villages' collection and sale of non-timber forest products by (1) training collectors (see Picture 1), and (2) facilitating fair agreements between collectors and buyers. Local municipalities and State agencies are also increasing their involvement in this collaborative process over time.

During the design phase, the project team consulted with members of most villages in the Pelister Mountain region. The project team is now working most closely with approximately 6 villages that expressed interest and had the capacity to collaborate on resource use agreements. As the PMCP project grows, and itself builds capacity, other

villages may enter the process. Within the participating villages, PMCP is working to ensure that local community members can participate in new rule development and knowledge sharing in a meaningful way.



Picture 1. Mushroom expert Petar Vojnovski explains the fructification calendar for selected mushrooms to collectors in a classroom of Trnovo, Pelister. (Courtesy PMCP M. Spirovska)

Prior to the establishment of larger scale apple and textile enterprises, people from villages in the Pelister Mountain region maintained largely pastoral livelihoods, supplemented by small scale farming and forest product collection. Local villagers estimate that pastoralists may have brought thousands of sheep to the mountain every summer, and abandoned summer dwellings can still be found on the mountain. However, local livelihoods changed significantly with state introduction of large scale apple cultivation. The customary institutions for management of forest product collection have largely dissolved. Further, current institutional capacity for NRM within the Pelister Mountain region is generally weak. There are some informal community-based organizations and local actors that the PMCP team has been able to work with, including some village organizations, a local church and village mayors. However, the PMCP team is essentially working

with individuals from interested villages and attempting to re-build their natural resource management capacity from the ground up.

Like people in the surrounding villages, the Pelister NP authorities are interested in collaborating on a clear set of rules for resource access and use within park boundaries. For some time,

...local livelihoods changed significantly with state introduction of large scale apple cultivation. The customary institutions for management of forest product collection have largely dissolved.

NP authorities have employed the residents of the Pelister Mountain region to collect dry cones of the "Molika" (*Pinus peuce*), an endemic pine species of Pelister and Pirin mountains. The park then sells the dry cones as deco-

rations.⁷ Park authorities have also generally not precluded people from collecting other non-timber forest products (i.e. mushrooms, berries, medical plants, and snails) for subsistence and small scale marketing. However, due to increasing economic pressure on people, and thus increasing forest product collection, the NP authorities are now interested in developing a more standardized and sustainable set of access and use rules. Similarly, some private firms that buy the non-timber forest products are interested in working within PMCP to establish quality and supply controls.

Policy development within a new legal framework

The Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning of the Republic of Macedonia (MoEPP) is the PMCP's primary partner at the national level. Ministry representatives are interested in supporting and participating in collaborative NRM within the Pelister Mountain

region. Several components of the Macedonian national legal framework support MoEPP's involvement, including a mandate to decentralize certain capacities and legal support for public participation in decision making. The new law on nature protection is potentially open to supporting new protected areas types, including Nature Parks, Protected Landscapes, and Multipurpose Areas. Further training will be crucial for effective implementation of these new laws, however.⁸

Pro Natura and the PMCP project team hope that their work in the Pelister Mountain region will have several far more reaching implications for national government policies and processes. The project team would like the MoEPP to take the bottom-up, collaborative management process used in the Pelister Mountain region as a model for other areas. Further, the PMCP team hopes that the experience in the Pelister Mountain region will demonstrate to MoEPP the benefits of including a larger variety of protected area types in the national system. Finally, the PMCP team anticipates that its work with MoEPP and the national government will provide support to Macedonia in its role in the international Prespa Park Project. As part of this project, parts of the Pelister Mountain region may



Picture 2. A view of Pelister National Park. (Courtesy of Pelister Mountain Conservation Project—PMCP)

become part of a transboundary park established between Albania, Greece, and Macedonia, and supported by UNDP. Several initiatives planned for the PMCP align with the objectives of the Prespa Park Project, and may thus be considered an ongoing contribution to the project. Further, formation of this international park is likely to have significant impacts for MoEPP and the communities in the region. The processes and dialogue developed through PMCP may strengthen local communities and assist them in playing a more active role within the (GEF or non-GEF) Prespa Park activities that will impact them.

Linking local and national levels

One of the most challenging and potentially significant aspects of the PMCP is its attempt to establish a link between the local and the national levels. Project participants are creat-

One of the most challenging and potentially significant aspects of the PMCP is its attempt to establish a link between the local and the national levels.

ing a multi-level Advisory Board to provide a space for dialogue and learning about experiences within the Pelister mountain region. The outcomes of the PMCP can be examined, and

lesson learned applied to other pilot projects, and ultimately to national level policies.

The Board will have formal seats for representatives of the Pelister National Park, two regional Municipalities, and the MoEPP, and will be open to members of local communities and experts invited for specific issues. Formalized seats for local community representatives may be established once it is clearer how, and by whom, communities should be represented.

Conclusion

The PMCP is still in its formative stages. However, by building collaborative NRM from the ground up within the new legal framework of the Republic of Macedonia, the PMCP may create locally appropriate, multi-level institutions that simultaneously contribute to livelihood security and natural resource sustainability. Further, if the project is successful in the Pelister Mountain region, it could serve as a model for NRM throughout Macedonia.

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Notes

- 1 Timber is managed, harvested and produced exclusively by state enterprises that operate according to plans prepared without consultation with the local population. (Pro Natura. *Pelister Mountain Conservation Project (PMCP) Phase II (2004-2006)*. Project Document. September 2004, p5).
- 2 Pro Natura, 2004, p5.
- 3 Pro Natura is a Swiss-based non-governmental organization focused on natural resource conservation.
- 4 The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), an agency within the Swiss Foreign Ministry, is responsible for coordination of development activities and cooperation with Eastern Europe and the South. <http://www.sdc.admin.ch/index.php?userhash=29084872&navID=396&ID=1>
- 5 Pro Natura, 2004, p5.
- 6 Pro Natura, 2004, citing: Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning of the Republic of Macedonia, *State of the Environment*, Republic of Macedonia, 2000.
- 7 Historically, Macedonian law has required that Parks generate their own budget resources. This is typically done via timber harvesting. Pelister National Park, however, is able to utilize the market for the seeds and dry cones of its endemic pine species, and thus has largely refrained from substantial timber harvesting.
- 8 Pro Natura, 2004, p7.

Biodiversity conservation and indigenous communities in Karakoram, Western Himalayas and Hindukush mountain ranges

Altaf Hussain

Conflicts between wildlife and forest laws and indigenous practices have created a complex situation for natural resource management in Pakistan. Under the Forest Law of 1927, all the natural forests were declared under "protection" and Wildlife Act 1975 imposed a ban on hunting (poaching) of wild animals. To some extent these Acts still allow certain uses of natural resources, but the long and bureaucratic process of approval ends up being affordable only by a privileged few. Government legislation and interventions have attempted to take control over local resources and tended to "de-responsabilise" communities. But the great part of local population around the Karakoram, Western Himalayas and Hindukush mountain ranges lives in unsettled and isolated mountain valleys and depends directly



Picture 1. Animal worth 45,000 US dollars. (Courtesy Mr. Irshad Wildlife Department NWFP, Pakistan)

on natural resources for its livelihoods and income. Even their cultures are closely interwoven with the mountains environments and biodiversity. For them, implementing certain Acts and Laws would amount to renouncing some major components of their culture. In other words, they are forced to become "illegal" (as per state law) if they wish to maintain their customary means and ways of relating to the natural resources.

Conservation in the mountains

Endorsing the global significance of the mountain ecosystems and realizing the fast degradation process of precious and rare mountain species, the WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature) Pakistan and the IUCN (The World Conservation Union) initiated some small projects in early 1990s. Important valleys were selected on the basis of local richness in biodiversity to demonstrate sustainable use of that biodiversity within the granted project life. The area devoted to "conservation" was limited to a few scattered villages and valleys. Later, WWF and IUCN agreed on cooperating on a project to connect such scattered conservation interventions and provide longer support to ecosystem management at landscape level. This was the Mountain Areas Conservancy Project (MACP) funded by GEF, UNDP and Government of Pakistan, which initiated its activities in January 2000 in four conservancies located in six districts of Northern Areas and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. The

WWF- tested idea of “trophy hunting” in the Bar valley of Gilgit was replicated in various conservancy valleys to demonstrate a possible sustainable use of Himalayan Ibex (*Capra ibex siberica*) and markhor (*Capra falconeri*). Three markhors were hunted in the district of Chitral in 2005 and gained 45,000 (Forty-five thousands) US dollars per head. Eighty percent of the trophy-hunting fee went to the custodian communities and 20% to the government agency in charge. 20 valleys in and around the conservancies are today notified as Community Game Reserves/Community Controlled Hunting Areas.

During the five years of its implementation, the MACP has assisting local communities in creating and strengthening their Valley Conservation Com-



Picture 2. Sustainable harvest of wild species can reduce local poverty. (Courtesy Mr. Irshad Wildlife Department NWFP, Pakistan)

mittees (VCCs) at watershed level. This process has now been completed in 90% of the valleys of the conservancies. The VCCs have taken a lead role in developing and getting approval of their Valley Conservation Plans (VCPs). Conservation funds have been established at valley and federal levels. Smaller funds of the order of 12,000 US Dollars have been deposited in the bank at the valley level, with the concerned VCC responsible for managing them. The larger fund (3-5 million US dollars) has been established at federal level and is managed by an independent body under the supervision of the Ministry of Environment.

Watershed conservation

The Valley Conservation Plan acknowledges the cultural attachments of the people to natural resource and the traditional rights of access to communal resources like land, water, forests, pastures and wildlife. Six District Conservation Committees (DCCs) have been formed to provide support to the conservation initiatives. The District Conservation Committee (DCC) consists of districts heads of government departments, conservation and development organizations and community representatives is the VCP approving authority. The approved VCP is considered a legitimate document to be respected and implemented in the valley.

Through certain federal and provincial government’s administrative notifications, Honorary Wildlife Officers have been appointed from the communities and provided with powers to act against illegal hunters and poachers. The Honorary Wildlife Officer can take into the custody the arms and register report to take legal actions on illegal-hunting incidence. Some Village Wildlife Guides (VWGs) paid by the communities were also appointed

in the valleys to stop anti-conservation activities and help hunters during trophy hunting events. Most of the VWGs are experienced local hunters having a wealth of knowledge about wildlife and the mountain tracks. Consolidating the ground experiences of MACP, a series of review and consultative workshops were carried out with provincial government bodies yielding a draft Model Wildlife Laws in NWFP. The Model Law has to be debated and approved by the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

The above arrangements not only succeeded in slowing down the fast natural resource degradation process in the mountain valleys but also created a better awareness among the local communities about the ecological and eco-

nomie value of local wild species. Introducing better harvesting techniques and employment opportunities enhanced the household earnings, which led to improved living standard of the people in the conservancies, although the process is quite slow. Delegating powers from a higher body to lower level (community) is a difficult process that requires understanding and a firm commitment at several levels. The initiative of devolving power at district level has been taken by the present government of Pakistan and it will help to enhance the community role in the governance of their natural resources.

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Culture, conservation and co-management: lessons from Australia and South Africa

Hannah Reid

Abstract. Contractual national parks (CNPs) in South Africa and Australia aim to contribute to development whilst continuing to meet conservation objectives. They are managed by the national conservation authority according to the terms of a co-management agreement drawn up by a joint management board usually consisting of representatives from the national conservation authority and the landowners. This study demonstrates the important role that non-quantifiable benefits and costs play in meeting CNP landowner needs. Such benefits are often undervalued due to the focus on more easily measurable conservation and economic/financial benefits, but this study argues that they must be considered by decision makers in order to ensure effective co-management. Key non-quantifiable benefits include: redressing historical injustices perpetuated by protectionist approaches to conservation; additional improvements in equity, for example in the distribution of income and employment opportunities; identity and culture-related benefits, such as feelings of pride and self-worth, and sup-

port for local culture and identity; facilitating equitable power relations, for example equity in power distribution between and within joint management boards, conservation agencies and other institutions, and equity within negotiation and management processes and legislation; appropriate opportunities for personal development, for example through employment and training; mutual learning between co-management partners; and dynamic management of the co-management process.

Contractual National Parks

CNPs provide a framework through which conservation objectives can be met without heavy investment in land purchase, whilst also satisfying social,

Contractual national parks are managed by the national conservation authority according to the terms of a co-management agreement drawn up by a joint management board usually consisting of representatives from the national conservation authority and the landowners.

development and economic objectives. They are established on privately or state owned land and are managed according to a joint agreement drawn up between the owners and the conservation authority. This agreement dictates the rights and responsibilities of the landowners and the land managers. A

joint management board, usually consisting of elected landowner representatives and officials from the conservation authority, is constituted to oversee management.

With the growing international acceptance of aboriginal land rights, many CNPs emerge from highly political land claim processes, which result in land reform and consequent changes in land ownership. CNPs have their longest history in Australia where the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976 granted title to certain areas in the Northern Territory to traditional Aboriginal owners. The lease for Kakadu, the first CNP on Aboriginal land, was

signed in 1978.¹ Since majority rule in 1994, South Africa's new government has instituted a process of land reform through which it aims to return large areas of land to black Africans through the Restitution of Land Rights Act 1994 and the Reform Laws Amendment Bill 1999. The Communal Property Association Act of 1996 is particularly important regarding the restitution of land to previously dispossessed communities. This paper describes two CNPs in Australia, and four existing or proposed CNPs in South Africa.

Kakadu National Park, Australia

Kakadu National Park is found in the Northern Territory and covers 19,804 km². Its deeply dissected plateau provides sweeping vistas of great beauty and it contains representative samples of all the major habitats of northern Australia including rainforest vegetation, savannas, estuarine communities, mangroves, and river systems. It harbours impressive biological diversity and is listed as a World Heritage for natural values and cultural values with over 5,000 recorded rock art sites.²

Aboriginal people have lived in Kakadu for more than 50,000 years.³ The estimated population of the area in the first half of the 19th century was 2,000 but, following contact with Europeans, numbers fell such that by the 1980s only about 80 people could claim traditional attachment to the area. Tourism began in the mid 20th century, and a national park was first proposed in 1965, with proposals for joint management with Aboriginal communities

coming in the early 1970s.⁴ Stage I of the national park was declared in 1979, and ensuing stages were declared over the next 18 years as land claims were settled with different groups of Aboriginal owners and contracts signed with Parks Australia. Traditional owners became more formally involved in management in 1989, when a Board of Management with an Aboriginal majority was established.⁵



Picture 1. Uluru, otherwise known as Ayers Rock, in Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia). (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park, Australia

Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park (1,325 km²) is located in the centre of Australia and surrounded by Aboriginal freehold land. The climate is hot and arid with an average annual rainfall of about 250 mm.⁶ The park is most famous for Uluru (named 'Ayer's Rock' by European immigrants), a sandstone monolith some 9.4 kilometres in circumference, which rises about 340 metres above the surrounding plain, and which is fast becoming recognised as the most readily identified image of Australia. The park has World Heritage status for both its natural and cultural values and in 1995 it won the Picasso Gold Medal (UNESCO's highest award)

for outstanding efforts to preserve the landscape and Aboriginal culture.

The Anangu people who inhabit the area believe that they have been at Uluru since the start of time and that the landscape was created by their ancestral beings. They manage the land using knowledge passed down through Tjukurpa, a moral system, law, religion and history.⁷ Anangu have retained their lifestyle as hunters and gatherers, with their use of fire extensively altering the landscape. Western science dates habitation of the Uluru region back at least 22,000 years.

In 1920 the region was included in a sanctuary for Aboriginal people who were being decimated by exotic diseases and displacement. The original reserve was reduced for gold exploration or cattle farming and, in 1958, more land was excised to establish the national park.⁸ In 1979, a claim was lodged under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976



Picture 2. A traditional herdsman in the Richtersveld National Park (South Africa). (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

by the Central Land Council on behalf of the traditional owners for an area of land that included the park. Anangu were eventually successful in securing title for Uluru in 1985, when a new commonwealth government agreed

to grant Aboriginal people title to the land on the condition that it was leased back to the Director of Parks Australia for 99 years. In 1986 the park Board of Management was established with six Aboriginals among its ten members.

The Richtersveld National Park, South Africa

The Richtersveld National Park is 1,624 km² of mountainous desert located in the Northern Cape province. Rainfall varies between 15 and 300 mm per annum, and temperatures from below zero to 50°C.⁹ The Richtersveld is internationally famous for its botanical variety, 50% of which is believed to be endemic.¹⁰ The resident local descendants of the San and Khoi tribes who originally inhabited the area identify as Nama, and most reside south of the national park in four villages with a total population of approximately 5,000. Although many work in mines, nomadic pastoralism remains the mainstay of many Richtersvelders.

The then National Parks Board (NPB), currently known as South African National Parks (SANP), negotiated with the government-backed Northern Richtersveld Management Board to establish a national park in the 1980s. But local groups feared another incidence of land loss in a long history of dispossession related to Afrikaner farmers, mines and racially discriminatory land policies. They did not oppose the park, but interceded in 1989 to ensure their needs were well represented. The contract was finally signed in 1991,¹¹ and allowed for continued use of the park for grazing by 6,600 domestic livestock.¹² The lease term was 24 years, and the NPB agreed to pay 50cents/hectare/year to the Richtersveld Trust. Park management decisions are made by the Management Plan Committee (the BPK), which consists of four com-

munity representatives, one from each of the surrounding park communities, one nomadic shepherd representative and four SANP officials.¹³



Picture 3. Members of the Makuleke community return to where they used to live in the Makuleke Region of Kruger National Park. Two of them hold bricks from old Makuleke community homes. (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

The Makuleke Region of Kruger National Park, South Africa

The Makuleke Region (200 km²) lies in the north of Kruger National Park between the Limpopo and Luvuvhu Rivers, bordering with Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Rainfall averages 4,982 mm per annum, and despite low tourist numbers, the region represents one of the major biodiversity hotspots in South Africa. It is also an important migration route for large herbivores, which is a key factor when considering the proposed transfrontier park linking Kruger to reserves in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.¹⁴

The region was occupied by the Makuleke community until August 1969, when it was removed by the then Department of Bantu Affairs to an area called Ntlaveni, 60 kilometres to the south and only 60 km² in size. As part of the post apartheid reconciliation programme, the community lodged a claim for the region in 1995,¹⁵ and

the land was restored to them in 1996, on the condition that no mining, prospecting, residence or agriculture would occur, and that the land would be used for conservation purposes for 99 years. The Makuleke community then offered to lease the land to SANP for use as part of Kruger for 50 years. The contract was signed in 1998, and a Joint Management Board (JMB) comprising of three SANP and three community representatives was established.¹⁶



Picture 4. Members of the San community on a historic return trip to areas of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa) where they used to live and roam. (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

The southern section of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, South Africa

The 9,510 km² Kalahari Gemsbok National Park borders both Namibia and Botswana. The area is very arid with rainfall averaging about 150 mm per annum.¹⁷ In 1999 a bilateral agreement was signed by South Africa and Botswana undertaking to manage the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and the Gemsbok National Park as a single ecological unit known as the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park.

In August 1995 the South African San, one of the most persecuted and

marginalized groups in the region, launched a claim for land which included the southernmost portion of the national park as well as the northern section of the Mier coloured reserve. At the time of the claim, a mere 250 indigenous =Khomani San were thought to exist in South Africa, but many have emerged from the diaspora and current estimates are nearer 1,500. A Communal Property Association has been formed with about 1,000 registered members. Since the land claim, the San have undergone a cultural and linguistic revival, symbolised by the discovery of 23 individuals who speak the =Khomani San language, known as 'N/u', which was declared officially dead over 25 years ago. The impoverished Mier community also lost land to the national park.¹⁸ In December 1998 they lodged their own claim for land both inside and outside the national park.

The land claims were resolved in 1999 when SANP released 500 km² of land in the south of the national park to be split between the San and the Mier communities. A settlement agreement was drawn up between the San, the Mier and SANP, which prevented use of the land for residential or farming purposes and required the three parties to finalise a contract regarding both



Picture 5. Members of the Riemvasmaak community near Melkbosrand, Augrabies Falls National Park. (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

the CNP and symbolic and commercial rights in the rest of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. Much land outside the national park was also granted to both claimant communities.

Melkbosrand, Augrabies Falls National Park, South Africa

Augrabies Falls National Park is in the Northern Cape province next to the 746 km² communal area of Riemvasmaak. The park protects a vegetation type called Orange River Nama Karoo. Land in Riemvasmaak beside the Orange River was originally occupied by Khoikhoi pastoralists and San hunter-gatherer-fishers. Around the 1870s a number of families of Nama, Damara or Herero origin trekked from southern Namibia to the area and were joined by coloured pastoralists and Xhosa-speakers from the south. In 1973 and 1974 about 1,500 of these people were forcibly removed from Riemvasmaak so that the South African Defence Force could use the area for training troops and testing weapons.¹⁹ Augrabies Falls National Park was proclaimed in 1966, and in 1982 a portion of Riemvasmaak was also proclaimed as part of the national park.

In 1993, the exiled Riemvasmaak community submitted and won a land claim, and in 1995 many returned to settle in the area. However, the land that formed part of the national park was not returned to the Riemvasmaak community with the rest of their land, and the status of this land remains disputed. A CNP has been proposed for Melkbosrand; a 41 km² part of this land. The claimant community has formed the Riemvasmaak Community Development Trust through which they hope to regain ownership.²⁰ However, progress has been slow regarding land claim settlement and no contractual agreement has been finalised.

Non-quantifiable benefits from co-management

Parallel studies help to identify what lessons can be learned from South Africa and Australia in meeting the conservation and financial/economic (as well as social) objectives of CNPs.²¹ This study focuses on the important and yet often undervalued non-quantifiable benefits (and costs) of co-management.

Redressing historical injustices

The origins of many conservation policies can be traced to the values and ethics of colonists, who often promoted protectionist approaches to conservation.²² Over the last 20 years, conservation policy has been more inclusive.²³ Land restoration is an important component of this, and many CNPs in South Africa and

Australia have emerged from complicated land claim processes. Both countries have developed legal frameworks to deal with ancestral land rights. However, both also demonstrate cases where compulsory

CNP owners (and others with traditional rights) enjoy improved access to natural resources ... however, such rights are usually limited, and the state retains mineral rights in both countries

lease back to the national conservation authority has accompanied land restitution.²⁴ Community bodies determine who can become members of the land-owning institution in both countries, but ownership must be defined within a western legal framework, which is not always compatible with local practices and institutions.

CNP owners (and others with traditional rights) enjoy improved access to natural resources, and in all cases the conservation authority helped enforce

these use rights. Court proceedings have even commenced following infringements of use rights at Kakadu. However, such rights are usually limited, and the state retains mineral rights in both countries. In South Af-

Traditional pastoralism continues in the Richtersveld, and co-management related activities both there and in the Kalahari have led to a 'rediscovery' of local culture and identity.

rica, habitation in CNPs is rare, and control over natural resource use is generally externally imposed. The exception is the Makuleke Region, where the community has almost total control over tourism operations. Collection of natural resources and construction materials is permitted and limited commercial hunting has occurred. SANP can only object to this if it is deemed unsustainable. In the Richtersveld, 6,600 stock units are permitted along with some plant collection for non-commercial use. Permissible resource use in Kalahari Gemsbok National Park is under negotiation; rights are likely to be commercial with possible consumptive use, and the San may have additional commercial, cultural and symbolic use rights elsewhere in the national park. Aboriginal people live in Kakadu and Uluru, and have unlimited access to resources. This includes harvesting of threatened species, although the Minister may intervene for endangered species. Modern hunting methods are permitted but commercial use is not. However, commercial use of plants (for crafts) and feral animals occurs in Kakadu.

Additional improvements in equity

Benefits from tourism, the Richtersveld Trust, and employment are distributed relatively equitably in the Richtersveld, although some inequity exists

between the northern and southern villages. However, some feel that the exclusivity afforded to 'park farmers' (with preferential CNP grazing rights) is inappropriate for communal land. Income at Makuleke is spent on community projects, but as in the Kalahari, community members who have moved away will not benefit from such projects. Lease money is distributed equally between about 70 family heads at Uluru, but families contain any number of traditional owners. Although employment and training benefits are open to everyone, most accrue to two families with greater capacity. Money is divided equally between individual traditional owners at Kakadu, but western law prevents a few from being eligible. Historically, consultation occurred with a few powerful individuals but now focuses on more modern traditional owners (with vehicles and telephones). Men have always been consulted more than women.

Identity and culture-related benefits

Pride, self-worth and recognition as landowners were important in all CNPs, and cultural tourism provided opportunities to support the survival of local customs. The =Khomani felt particular pride in finally being recognised as San. Traditional pastoralism continues in the Richtersveld, and co-management related activities both there and in the Kalahari have led to a 'rediscovery' of local culture and identity. In

In Australia, tour operator accreditation facilitates accurate cultural information dissemination, Aboriginal place names are used, cultural centres inform visitors about Aboriginal values, and cultural heritage management programmes help protect intellectual property rights.

the Kalahari, programmes to address the physical, emotional and spiritual health problems of the San have been proposed. In Australia, tour operator accreditation facilitates accurate cultural information dissemination, Aboriginal place names are used, cultural centres inform visitors about Aboriginal values, and cultural heritage management programmes help protect intellectual property rights. Rock art, sacred sites, archaeological sites and artefacts are protected. Tourism development is limited according to Aboriginal requirements for privacy, and Uluru can even be closed for cultural reasons. Traditional owners benefit from their lack of responsibility regarding tourism management, and the role that Parks Australia plays in protecting them from excessive contact with westerners.



Picture 6. Ngoingnoi Donald - a traditional Aboriginal owner at Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park. (Courtesy Hannah Reid)

However, land restitution and CNP establishment have also contributed to the erosion of identity and culture, particularly amongst the San and Aborigines, who have stronger cultural links with land and a very different life view to their co-management partners or more modern black African groups such

as the Makuleke community. The current situation in the Kalahari is characterised by mismanagement of funds and assets, growing social problems, a lack of real support from govern-

ment, deep and bitter community divisions and no significant improvement in welfare. There are also concerns that a 'performance culture' may develop following increased tourism. In Australia, contact with non-Aboriginal people and a western management framework has compromised Aboriginal traditions, reduced cultural activities, damaged sacred sites, encouraged dependence on western culture, reduced privacy and provided more access to alcohol and drugs. Intellectual property rights have not been fully guarded and cultural heritage programmes have not been functioning effectively. Increasing professionalisation of management has excluded and marginalized Aboriginal people, and the tourism industry jobs they can secure are often menial.

Respect for community issues varies. Parks Australia frequently demonstrates genuine community commitment (although not all staff fully support Aboriginal issues, and staff turnover is problematic),

whereas commitments made by SANP are often characterised by lip service. This is in part due to the slow progress of institutional change following majority rule in

...[but] land restitution and CNP establishment have also contributed to the erosion of identity and culture, particularly amongst the San and Aborigines...

1994. In the Richtersveld, SANP initially lacked interest in negotiating with the community, and its commitment has since been inconsistent. In both the Kalahari and the Makuleke Region, SANP has failed to maintain park infrastructure and has undermined community tourism ventures by embarking on parallel commercialisation processes on adjacent land. In the Kalahari, SANP has been accused of sabotaging grave and cultural site markers, and roads accessing these areas. The Park Warden's

wife was appointed as the first Social Ecologist despite her lack of appropriate skills.

Facilitating equitable power relations

Western policy and management frameworks centred on joint management boards and agreements are technical and bureaucratic, thus inhibiting equitable co-management. Landowners often lack fluency in English, particularly when it comes to conservation, business and technical matters, and low competencies in western skills have limited the power that landowners can exert over the management of their land.²⁵ Despite this, boards helped ensure genuine and effective consultation occurred in all established CNPs. All boards met several times each year, and relations on them were usually good.

Uluru and Kakadu have additional mechanisms to ensure that traditional owners play a meaningful role in co-management. Both boards have considerable majorities of traditional owners, while some of those that are not traditional owners must be acceptable to them. Parks Australia is only represented by one or two officials on each board, none of whom are park staff. This promotes the notion that

Parks Australia is merely the agent of the board rather than an equal partner in decision making, as in South Africa where boards tend to be constituted of almost equal numbers of landowners and SANP officials (table 1). When employing park staff, Aboriginal people constitute the majority of employment selection panels, and job preferences are given to individuals who have experience working with Aboriginal people. Park owners are rarely involved in employee selection in South African CNPs, and employment criteria focus little on cultural issues. Contracts and management plans in both countries often detail conflict resolution mechanisms, and in Australia, these favour the interests of traditional owners. At Uluru and Kakadu, traditional owners may withdraw from the contract if any action occurs which is 'substantially detrimental' to their interests.²⁶

Uluru's and Kakadu's boards have considerable majorities of traditional owners, while some of those that are not traditional owners must be acceptable to them ... in South Africa boards tend to be constituted of almost equal numbers of landowners and SANP officials

Table 1. The constitution of functioning joint management boards at different CNPs.

Contractual National Park	Community members	Conservation authority members	Other members	Chairperson
Richtersveld National Park	5	4	0	Community (used to be the conservation authority)
Makuleke Region	6	6	0	Community (for the first year)
Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park	6	1	3	Community
Kakadu National Park	10	2	2	Community

Australian legislation, much of which was developed under a left wing Labor

government, supports equitable power relations by detailing the powers and

responsibilities of joint management boards and ensuring management plans are ratified by parliament. In South Africa, legislative renewal is slow, and currently there is little legislative support for co-management and little government involvement, except during contract signing. However, championship by charismatic politicians has assisted co-management at Makuleke and in the Kalahari.

NGO support is particularly prevalent in South Africa. The Legal Resources Centre played a key role in land restitution issues in the Richtersveld and at Makuleke, and The South African San Institute and Farm Africa provided support in the Kalahari. The 'Friends of Makuleke' attend JMB meetings, and contribute on technical issues or when encouraged to speak on disputed issues on behalf of community. Contributions are diminishing (see Figure 1) as they actively withdraw, community capacity and confidence grows, expertise is transferred, and issues become less technical. By contrast, Australian co-management has little deep NGO and donor involvement, perhaps because the Commonwealth Government has sufficient resources to take on the

responsibilities adopted by NGOs and donors in South Africa.

At Makuleke, all JMB members felt positively about co-management, and both SANP and the community felt the JMB was legitimate. Issues of primary importance to the community were consistently the main discussion topics at JMB meetings. However, the chairperson dominated community contributions, illustrating the variability in community capacity and limited internal information sharing. In the Richtersveld, SANP dominated BPK meetings (figure 2) and was generally considered the more powerful party despite a community majority on the BPK.

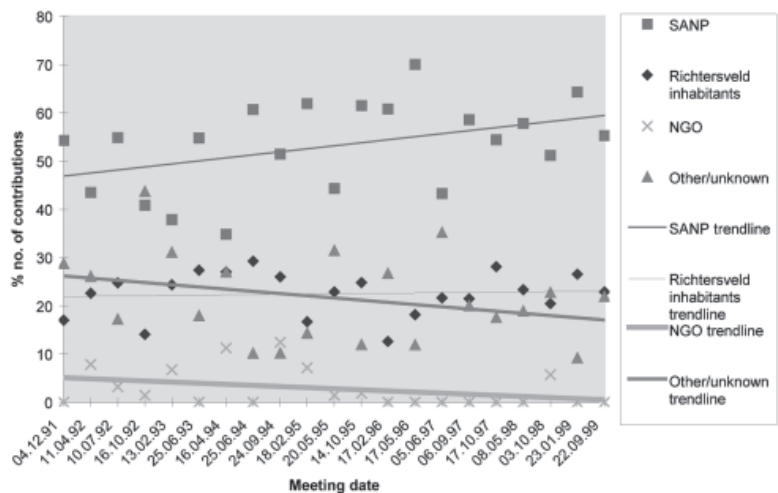


Figure 2. Participation in Richtersveld BPK meetings.

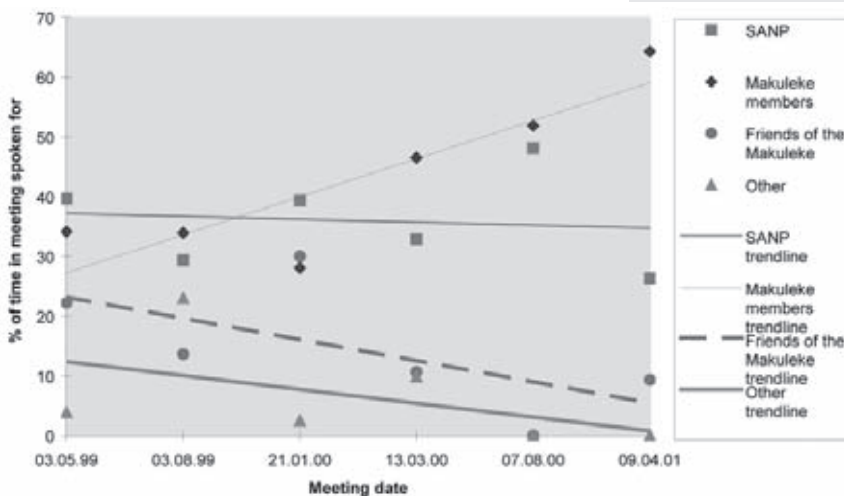


Figure 1. Verbal dominance of different parties in Makuleke JMB meetings.

During one meeting in the Kalahari following the land claim settlement, the Mier made significant contributions, but the San participated little despite their high numbers (figure 3). This could be interpreted as a lack of capacity but is more likely to be because of their tradition of listening and building consensus amongst themselves later. SANP officials were inflexible and aggressive and their low input could have indicated a lack of support for participatory processes, and

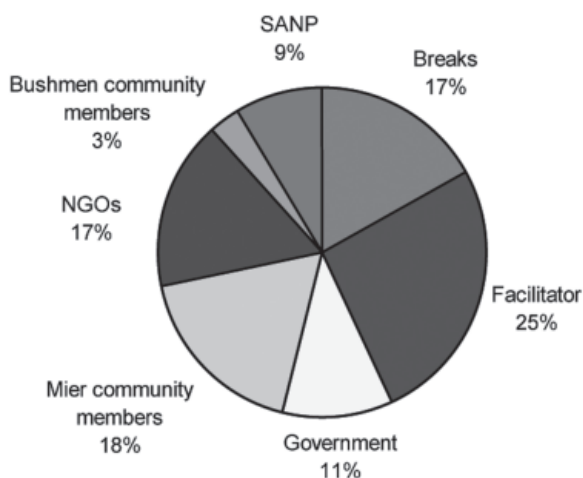


Figure 3. Percentage of the total Kalahari meeting time for which various parties spoke.

a lack of interest in community issues. The facilitator dominated the meeting due to the high level of mediation required.

During one joint management board meeting at Uluru, neither Parks Australia nor traditional owners dominated (figure 4). Rather, non-Aboriginal board members, the Aboriginal chairperson (who was not a traditional owner) and NGOs assisting traditional owners dominated. In fact, 15 of the 20 people present were there to represent and support traditional owners, but only eight were Aboriginal people. The western management style may have disempowered traditional owners, but the interpreter was Aboriginal, breaks were numerous, and some of the meeting was held outside to suit Aboriginal preferences.

Appropriate opportunities for personal development

One third of Uluru and Kakadu staff are Aboriginal people. Aboriginal employees enjoy flexible working conditions so employment is more compatible with their culture, but this is limited by public service requirements. Job descriptions include traditional skills, and innovative

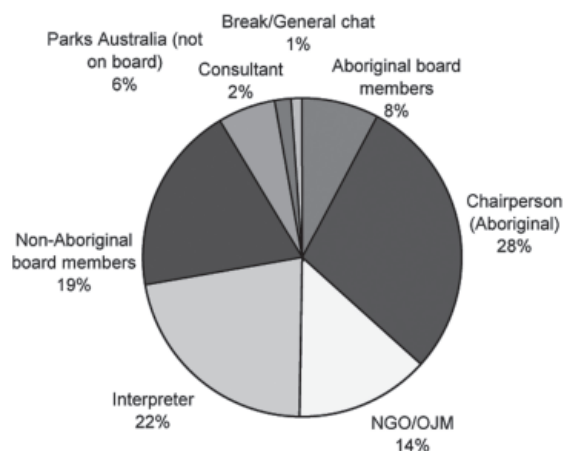


Figure 4. Length of total time spoken for by members of different interest groups in the Uluru joint management board meeting.

strategies such as job pairing schemes, along with preferential employment for contract work or day labour. Criticisms have included providing insufficient training, inflexibility, employing non-local Aboriginal people, and the fact that western rather than Aboriginal competencies are still required for most management tasks.

After 15 years of co-management and numerous training programmes, Aboriginal people still do not hold top management positions, and are far from independent CNP management.

After 15 years of co-management and numerous training programmes, Aboriginal people still do not hold top management positions, and are far from independent CNP managers. SANP has conducted minimal training and made less effort to employ landowners, with the exception of the Richtersveld, which has 16 local employees.

Parks Australia facilitates Aboriginal participation in tourism operations. Aboriginal organisations have preference over non-Aboriginal organisations for commercial activities, and some areas of Kakadu are reserved for their

exclusive use. CNP shops promote the sale of Aboriginal art, and each CNP contains numerous successful Aboriginal businesses.

Participation in co-management, for example on joint management boards, has improved community capacity, and conservation authorities have taken steps to provide other learning opportunities. In the Richtersveld, SANP collected books for local schools, paid for school children transport, taught environmental education, organised school trips and funded a local social worker. However, such activities are expensive,

Under pressure to become self-sufficient, SANP views commercialisation and employment of black South Africans as more effective routes to black empowerment than co-management.

and SANP has fewer financial resources that it can direct towards community issues than Parks Australia. Prioritisation of housing, health and education has reduced government subventions for SANP. Under pressure to become self-sufficient, SANP views commercialisation and employment of black South Africans as more effective routes to black empowerment than co-management.²⁷

Mutual learning and dynamic management

Australian CNPs have facilitated a shift towards more inclusive approaches to conservation, and now focus on cultural conservation as much as ecological conservation. Likewise social issues have higher priority than ecological issues. CNPs are viewed as living cultural landscapes, whereas in South Africa, SANP sometimes denies that national parks have a history of local resource use and habitation. Parks Australia also makes efforts to incorporate traditional land management systems (such as fire

management) into CNP management, and traditional ecological knowledge contributes to conservation activities.

Employment of cultural advisors, traditional consultants and community liaison officers demonstrates the value attributed to Aboriginal skills and views. Legislative support for consultation is significant, and Parks Australia must liaise regularly with land councils and Aboriginal organisations. In South Africa, social ecologists have been employed at each national park, not all of whom have been effective. Management still follows western scientific practices with little utilisation of local skills.

Parks Australia also makes efforts to incorporate traditional land management systems (such as fire management) into CNP management, and traditional ecological knowledge contributes to conservation activities.

In recognition of the dynamic nature of co-management, contracts have been renewed, and plans of management are re-written every five years in Australia. In South Africa, minimal contract or management plan renewal has occurred. This has been problematic in the Richtersveld, where the first plan of management has yet to be passed, and SANP therefore effectively takes control of CNP management.

Conclusions

The importance of non-quantifiable benefits and costs resulting from co-management is often overlooked, in part because these benefits and costs are harder to measure than conservation and economic/financial benefits, and in part because they have traditionally been prioritised less. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of co-management is strongly influenced by these issues. Potential co-management stakeholders

must therefore assess what non-quantitative costs and benefits might result from proposed co-management initiatives. This assessment should inform any decision on whether introducing a co-management framework is appropriate, and if so, how the framework can be adjusted to maximise non-quantitative benefits and minimise costs. Those

...the effectiveness of co-management is strongly influenced by non-quantifiable benefits and costs...

already engaged in co-management initiatives should ensure the accrual of non-quantitative benefits moves beyond rhetoric

and becomes incorporated into policy and action.

In this context, it is perhaps worth asking what exactly co-management should be. Many feel it should provide equal sharing of decision making powers and responsibility for action at all levels of management. However, the case studies described here suggest that this may not always be effective or appropriate. For example, Aboriginal people were happy to pass on most daily management tasks to Parks Australia, because

...effective co-management should provide a structured process within which each party has the power to ensure its priorities are not overruled.

they dislike excessive contact with westerners. Parties will have different priorities, and effective co-management should rather provide a structured process within which each

party has the power to ensure its priorities are not overruled. Empowerment and capacity building may be required to this end, as may improve levels of trust.

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Notes

- 1 Hill and Press, 1994.
- 2 Blyth *et al.*, 1992; Kakadu Board of Management and Parks Australia, 1999; Press *et al.*, 1995; Lawrence, 2000.
- 3 Roberts *et al.*, 1990; Hill and Press, 1994.
- 4 Christian and Aldrick, 1977; Hill and Press, 1994.
- 5 Kakadu Board of Management and Parks Australia, 1999; Woenne-Green *et al.*, 1993; Hill and Press, 1994; Craig, 1992.
- 6 Griffin, 2000.
- 7 Uluru - Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Parks Australia, 2000.
- 8 Woenne-Green *et al.*, 1993.
- 9 Kröhne and Steyn, 1991.
- 10 van der Walt, 1991.
- 11 Fig, 1991; Boonzaier, 1991.
- 12 Archer *et al.*, 1994.
- 13 Reid, 2000.
- 14 De Villiers, 1999a.
- 15 Steenkamp, 1999.
- 16 Reid, 2001.
- 17 Engelbrecht and Engelbrecht, 2000.
- 18 Social Ecology and SANP, 2000.
- 19 Devereux, 1996.
- 20 Schwartz *et al.*, 2000.
- 21 See Reid *et al.*, 2004; Reid and Turner, 2004.
- 22 Makombe, 1993.
- 23 IIED, 1994.
- 24 De Villiers, 1999b.
- 25 Trudgen, 2000.
- 26 Uluru - Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Parks Australia, 2000; Kakadu Board of Management and Parks Australia, 1999.
- 27 SANP, 2001.

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Pesca y turismo, actividades complementarias que pueden contribuir a la conservación de un hábitat único: el caso del ostión del norte y del pasto marino en Puerto Aldea, Chile.

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Chile, en el contexto de la protección y conservación de la biodiversidad, ha dado una señal positiva en el ámbito de la administración pesquera, al incluir en la Ley General de Pesca y Acuicultura, decretada en 1991, al menos tres formas de áreas marinas protegidas. Una de ellas son las Áreas de Manejo y Explotación de Recursos Bentónicos, que son zonas costeras geográficamente delimitadas, entregadas para el uso exclusivo de una organización de pescadores legalmente constituida, y que debe ser explotada a través de un plan de manejo supervisado por la autoridad.¹ Estas Áreas de Manejo tienen por objetivos conservar los recursos y mejorar la capacidad de generar ingresos por parte de los pescadores artesanales. Si bien la medida se centra en la conservación de los recursos pesqueros, el logro de ese objetivo lleva implícito también la conservación de las comunidades o sistema que los alberga.

Durante su aplicación, esta medida ha tenido distintos grados de éxito: uno de los casos

exitosos es Caleta Puerto Aldea, ubicada en el extremo sur de Bahía Tongoy (Fig. 1). La comunidad de este lugar se encuentra constituida por pescadores artesanales y sus familias, que han establecido sus hogares en la cercanía de la caleta, y conforman una población de aproximadamente 350 personas. La organización de pescadores está compuesta por 61 socios y tienen a cargo un Área de Manejo con una extensión de 230 hectáreas, dentro de la cual existe un pequeño banco de ostión del norte *Argopecten purpuratus*, el cual explotan. A diferencia de otros bancos de ostiones de la costa de

Si la medida se centra en la conservación de los recursos pesqueros, el logro lleva implícito la conservación de las comunidades o sistema que los alberga



Foto 1. Localización de la caleta de Puerto Aldea, en que existe la única pradera del pasto marino *Heterozostera tasmanica* en Chile. (Cortesía A. Pérez-Matus y W. Stotz)

Chile, este banco esta asociado a una pradera de pasto marino *Heterozostera tasmanica*.²

En Chile solo se conocen dos praderas de pasto marino de la especie *Heterozostera tasmanica*, uno está en Bahía Salado (27° 40' S) y la otra, en Puerto Aldea, ubicada en el extremo sur de la Bahía de Tongoy (30°16' S). *H. tasmanica* presenta su mayor desarrollo en las costas de Australia, siendo estas dos praderas las únicas conocidas en la costa del pacífico sudamericano.

Este pasto, que corresponde a una monocotiledónea marina que habita en ambientes someros, forma densas agregaciones. La gran riqueza de organismos encontrada en las praderas de pastos marinos es soportada por la alta productividad del sistema y la amplia variedad de hábitat que ofrece. El pasto es utilizado como fuente directa de alimento, lugar de asentamiento y refugio para juveniles y adultos de diversas especies. Su ocurrencia asociada a fondos blandos, contribuye a la estabilización de sedimentos, que a su vez favorece a diversos organismos que habitan ahí. La desaparición de una pradera de pasto marino tiene como consecuencia la reducción de esa diversidad de hábitat disponible, generándose pérdida desde una visión productiva. La presencia del pasto puede constituirse en un factor importante en la ecología y en la sustentabilidad de la pesquería de algunas especies de interés comercial que viva asociada a ella. Este es el caso del ostión del norte *Argopecten purpuratus* y la pradera de pasto de Puerto Aldea.

Visión de la comunidad de Puerto Aldea

Basado en conversaciones y en una encuesta se pudo observar que los pescadores artesanales de Puerto Aldea

conocen muy bien de la importancia de conservar la pradera de pastos marinos, básicamente por la relevancia que tiene para el asentamiento y crianza de su principal recurso, el ostión del norte, el cual es la base de sus ingresos y estabilidad económica. Basado en esta comprensión

...los pescadores artesanales de Puerto Aldea conocen muy bien de la importancia de conservar la pradera de pasto marino...

por ejemplo, los pescadores pusieron fin a actividades relacionadas al cultivo de ostión que realizaba una empresa en el muelle de Puerto Aldea, pues tenían el temor que pudieran generarse efectos negativos en la pradera de pasto por los desperdicios que esta actividad producía. A diferencia de esto, llamó mucho la atención que el resto de la comunidad de Puerto Aldea, a pesar de estar estrechamente ligada con el área de manejo por ser beneficiarios de su explotación, de acuerdo a la encuesta, en su mayoría desconoce la existencia de la pradera de pasto marino y por ende su importancia ecosistémica. Las diferentes visiones de este grupo humano que conforman la comunidad de Puerto Aldea son relevantes y pueden constituir a futuro una dificultad para promover acciones de protección y conservación de este hábitat único.

El hecho de que la pradera de pasto constituye un hábitat único, de distribución muy restringida, le genera un atractivo que puede ser aprovechado. La pradera se extiende a baja profundidad (0 – 8 m de profundidad), siendo así un ambiente de fácil acceso por buceo, aun sin mayor equipamiento. Estas características en su conjunto permitirían sustentar actividades de turismo regulado y orientado al valor ecosistémico de *Heterozostera tasmanica*. Por la actividad económica

que se pudiera generar en torno a una actividad turística de esa índole en la comunidad de Puerto Aldea, se podría favorecer la integración de la pradera de pasto marino como un bien patrimonial importante de conservar, tanto de pescadores como de sus familias, generando además identidad local y eventualmente contribuyendo a una mejor calidad de vida para los habitantes.

En el marco de un curso de Ecología & Manejo del programa de Magíster en Ciencias del Mar de la Universidad Católica del Norte, Chile se realizó una experiencia de difusión, respecto al valor ecosistémico de la pradera de pasto marino presente en la localidad de Puerto Aldea, con la finalidad de integrar a toda la comunidad a la comprensión y protección del ambiente (Fig. 2). Esta actividad tuvo una buena acogida por parte de la comunidad, incentivando la discusión sobre el tema y el intercambio de ideas respecto a actividades relacionadas al turismo que

podrían ser implementadas a futuro, y que favorecerían la difusión del valor de la pradera de pasto marino de Puerto Aldea y en definitiva su conservación.

Se da aquí una buena coyuntura, en que el complementar actividades económicas, como es la pesca del ostión del norte para los pescadores, o el turismo ecológico para las familias de los pescadores, podrían generar un buen incentivo para conservar un hábitat único de distribución muy restringida y por tanto bastante vulnerable.

Paola Bravo, David Yáñez, Jorge Barrios, Miguel Ángel Pérez, Mauricio Cifuentes, Natalio Godoy, Patricio Hernaez y Alejandro Pérez-Matus fueron todos alumnos del curso de Ecología y Manejo, dictado por los profesores Martin Thiel y Wolfgang Stotz (wstotz@ucn.cl) que trabajan en el Departamento de Biología Marina de la Universidad Católica del Norte en Coquimbo (Chile). Para la mayoría de los alumnos, la presencia, diversidad e importancia de la pradera de pasto marino, era desconocida hasta ese momento, y fue para ellos una sorpresa reconocer que también parte de las personas que viven en el lugar, ignoraban la existencia e importancia de esta pradera. Considerando el riesgo que significa la ignorancia para la conservación de un hábitat tan único, es que se motivaron a pensar y discutir una manera con la que se podría remediar la situación y también, con este artículo, compartir este aprendizaje y experiencia con un público más amplio.

Notas

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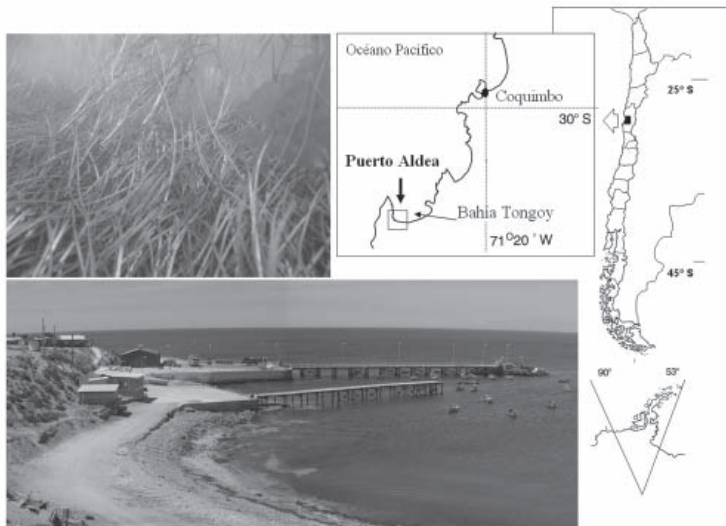


Foto 2. Exposición y discusión realizada por los alumnos del curso de Ecología y Manejo y la comunidad de Puerto Aldea. (Cortesía P. Bravo-Barnes)

Heritage, poverty and landscape-scale biodiversity conservation: an alternate perspective from the Amazonian frontier

Janis B. Alcorn, Carol Carlo, Julio Rojas, David Rothschild, Alaka Wali, and Alejo Zarzycki

Abstract. Rights-based initiatives offer governments, donors and NGOs a new path forward, giving new meaning to old words like poverty, heritage, and landscape-scale conservation. The conventional conservation perspective holds that people in high biodiversity areas are impoverished and therefore destroy biodiversity to meet their needs. Under this view, people are seen as a threat to be removed, restricted, or to be given “alternative livelihoods” means that do not depend on their traditional natural resources. The poverty-alleviation-based approach to conservation, which is politically acceptable to the status quo, persists within policy and project implementation even if it has often been discredited as unsustainable. Aware of the large investments made in rural development and conservation projects without positive results, rural people have become increasingly anti-conservation and suspicious of NGOs that make their living off communities with development and conservation projects that are not effective. The rights-based approach holds that the root causes of poverty and resource degradation can be addressed only by addressing political relationships that govern access to resources and equitable justice.

We offer a perspective gained by valuing the strengthening of the rights-based approach to incorporate the cultural concept of dynamic heritage as a means for “balancing the scale” when collaborating with communities for achieving conservation objectives in the landscape. In 2003, we initiated a regional heritage mobilization process in an anti-conservation atmosphere in the Amazonian frontier of Pando, Bolivia— a high biodiversity region the size of Costa Rica, which remains 90 percent forested. As a result, in 2004, the people of western Pando chose to declare their two municipios (1.5 million hectares) as a protected area under local government control, united under the motto “Conservation with Development— Our Decision.” This success arose from a strategy that used an assessment vehicle to engage the political actor groups into engagement around shared interests, leveraged local energies through group reflection on key issues, and promoted public deliberation at various levels leading to landscape scale decisions. This paper describes the details of the process, the design principles, and its results.

Resumen. Se considera que los derechos basados en las iniciativas de la población y las autoridades de un determinada área, ofrecen a los gobiernos centrales, a los donantes y a las organizaciones no-gubernamentales, una nueva senda para transitar, dando un nuevo significado a las viejas palabras pobreza, patrimonio y conservación a escala territorial. Las perspectivas convencionales de la conservación, sostienen que las personas que viven en sitios de alta biodiversidad son pobres y en consecuencia destruyen la biodiversidad. Desde este punto de vista, la población es vista como una amenaza que debe ser expulsada, a la que se le deben fijar restricciones y a las que se le deben dar alternativas de vida que no dependan del uso tradicional de los recursos naturales. El alivio de la pobreza sobre la base de criterios

de conservación, es políticamente aceptable a un nivel de dejar las cosas como están (*status quo*) permaneciendo entre las políticas y la implementación de proyectos que al final por lo general son desechados por insostenibles. Por la gran cantidad de dinero que se invierte en los conceptos y proyectos de desarrollo rural sin o con éxito relativo, la población rural desconfía de las organizaciones no gubernamentales, las que hacen su vida de las comunidades—ejecutando proyectos que no son efectivos. Los derechos basados en aproximaciones para la conservación y el manejo de los recursos naturales, se muestran como una alternativa viable para la conservación. Es mas, el enfoque basado en los derechos, sostiene que las raíces que causan la pobreza y la degradación de los recursos pueden ser controlados manteniendo relaciones políticas que definan y ejerzan gobierno en el acceso a los recursos de manera equitativa y justa.

En este documento se ofrece una perspectiva ganada por ver el valor de la ampliación del enfoque basado en los derechos, con un intento para incorporar el concepto cultural de la dinámica del patrimonio como una manera de “balancear la ecuación” colaborando con las comunidades para alcanzar objetivos de conservación a una escala territorial. Es así que en el año 2003 se inicio un proceso para la movilización del patrimonio en una atmósfera anti-conservacionista, en una de las fronteras amazónicas en el departamento de Pando, Bolivia, una región de alta biodiversidad del tamaño de Costa Rica, la cual permanece aun en un 90 por ciento bajo bosque. Como resultado de este esfuerzo, en el año 2004 la población del Oeste del departamento Pando decidió declarar dos municipios (aproximadamente 1.5 millones de hectáreas) como área protegida bajo tuición del gobierno local, bajo el tema “Conservación con Desarrollo– Nuestra Decisión”. El éxito de la experiencia deviene de una estrategia que usó el relevamiento de información como vehiculo para acercar a los grupos de actores políticos involucrándolos entorno de intereses compartidos, resaltando la energía de la herencia local a través de la reflexión en grupos locales sobre los asuntos claves, con la promoción de la deliberación pública entre los grupos de actores a varias escalas llevando a decisiones a nivel del paisaje. Los detalles de este proceso, los principios de su diseño y los resultados logrados se describen a continuación.



Map 1. Pando is located in the northernmost Amazonian part of Bolivia, bordering Peru and Brazil. Inset shows the location of Bolpebra and Filadelfia municipalities. (map adapted by Juan Carlos , Fundación Yangareko)

The traditional conservation perspective holds that people in high biodiversity areas are impoverished and therefore destroy biodiversity. Under this view, people are seen as a threat to be removed from high biodiversity areas, or restricted in their access to it, or to be given alternative livelihood means, which do not depend on traditional uses of natural resources. Removing people from biodiversity has even

been hailed as a form of eco-fascism, yet the phenomenon is well alive. The poverty alleviation based approach to

The poverty alleviation-based approach to conservation is politically convenient, although often discredited as simplistic and unsustainable

conservation also persists within policy and project implementation, because it is politically convenient, although often discredited as simplistic and unsustainable.¹

Similarly, landscape-scale conservation has largely been an expert driven exercise, criticized for lack of concrete application. Even the community-based conservation advocates acknowledge that effective conservation needs to be implemented at a scale larger than a single village.²

Rights-based approaches to conservation and natural resource management have risen as a possible alternative.³ The rights-based approach holds that the root causes of poverty and resource degradation can be addressed only by affecting the political relationships that

The rights-based approach holds that the root causes of poverty and resource degradation can be addressed only by affecting the political relationships that govern access to natural resources and justice.

govern access to natural resources and justice. The rights-based approach promotes conservation and development through civil rights, human rights, and cultural rights.⁴ Concerns for transparent and accountable govern

ance flow naturally from the rights-based approach. It seeks mechanisms by which government agencies are held accountable to rural communities, and by which local community leaders are held accounta-

ble to community members. And it anticipates that rights-based approaches will build resilience for sustaining conservation throughout expected political turbulence during the consolidation of democracy.⁵ It privileges rights and politics over more traditional strategies for incorporating attention to social assets in community-based conservation projects.

Some have subsumed the rights-based approach within a more general orientation termed the "assets-based approach to poverty reduction" using a

definition of poverty that includes low income, lack of assets, lack of access to social services, and lack of voice in government.⁶ The

The rights-based approach promotes conservation and development through civil rights, human rights, and cultural rights.

assets-based approach assists the poor to build physical capital, financial assets, community organizations and institutions, social capital, access to natural resources and the ability to influence policies. It acknowledges the great value that social assets play in providing resilience to the poor. A rights-based approach, however, differs in that it involves moving beyond providing venues for participation by the poor to giving over leadership and decision-making roles to the poor.⁷

In this paper, we offer an example illustrating the value of amplifying the rights-based approach to incorporate the cultural concept of heritage as a concrete means for "balancing the scale" when collaborating with communities to achieve conservation objectives at landscape scale. We will suggest that a focus on heritage makes it possible to realize rights-based ideas.

Heritage and its conservation value

What is heritage? Although there is no formally recognized “heritage-based approach” to conservation, heritage is a concept frequently applied in traditional conservation discourse. World Heritage, biodiversity heritage, global heritage and cultural heritage, for example, are common labels used to promote and raise funds for conservation. The use of the term heritage does not necessarily, however, imply a linkage with rights-based approaches. To the contrary, these terms are often used in ways that deny the dynamic heritage of local people.⁸ Hence it is important to clarify the meaning of heritage used in this paper.

As thoughtfully analyzed by Erve Chambers (2005), heritage can be defined in two ways – one associated with history and brokered by professionals into a representational public heritage de-linked from private lives, and the other associated with culture and linked to the past, the present and the future of the communities and persons who are the holders of a private heritage. The latter is linked to obligations, relationships, and personal responsibilities to the past and the present. The people linked to private heritage have the power to modify that heritage; private heritage is vulnerable to alienation by being transformed into public heritage over which the communities no longer have control. “[We] might begin to view heritage not as lessons taught us by duly recognized keepers of the past but as heritable obligations, responsibilities, and privileges that are experienced and repeated in the culture of everyday life.”⁹

How can incorporation of heritage “balance the scale” for collaboration in conservation? We propose that a focus

on heritage can take the rights-based approaches from their sometimes abstract and legal realm into a self-sustaining implementation on the ground. We suggest flipping the conservation heritage lever on its head – spurring a flowering of local heritage that improves conservation as well as the livelihoods, resilience and dignity of the rural poor, instead of spurring the ossification of local heritage into “global heritage” for national and international consumption.

We suggest flipping the conservation heritage lever on its head... spurring a flowering of local heritage...

To illustrate this approach, we offer the example of an asset assessment used in Amazonian Bolivia that enabled local leaders to step forth and rely on their own heritage to create a new protected area and construct a new institution that has the potential to democratize local government as well as manage the area. In the process, a strong Pandino Amazonian heritage has become visible and activated in what was previously viewed by outsiders and policy makers as an impoverished frontier without social cohesion.

Poverty and biodiversity in the Bolivian Amazon— case setting

Pando (Bolivia) is known as one of the poorest regions of one of the poorest countries in Latin America.¹⁰ Over eighty percent of the population is classified as living in poverty.¹¹ Pando has a relatively small population of indigenous peoples.¹² A small group of voluntarily isolated Pacahuara people is rumored to persist in the most remote area of Santos Mercado in an area being considered for national park status

Pando is known as one of the poorest regions of one of the poorest countries in Latin America ...

in Federico Roman province in eastern Pando. A small population of Yaminahua and Machineri peoples shares one recognized territory (TCO) in the northwest corner of Pando, and Esse Ejja, Tacana and Cavineño peoples in south central Pando share another "multi-ethnic" territory.¹³ The total resident population of Pando is approximately 52,500 people;¹⁴ some municipios (counties¹⁵) have less than 400 people.

Pando, with an area larger than the country of Costa Rica (63,000 km²) and a population density of less than one person per km², is one of the last bastions of intact tropical lowland forest in the Upper Amazon basin. The dark green block of Pando (Figure 1), stands out in sharp contrast to the deforested patchworks across the borders in Madre de Dios, Peru, and in Acre and Rondonia, Brazil where road and colonization projects have brought deforestation and cattle ranching. Besides being 90 percent forested, Western Pando harbors the highest freshwater diversity known in the Amazon basin, and is home to 14 species of primates, over 700 bird species and a very high diversity of amphibians, reptiles and plants.¹⁶ Pando forests produce 80 percent of the world's Brazil nuts.

Poor roads, lack of labour and dependence on the Brazil nut economy has restricted capital-intensive exploitation of the area, but uncontrolled development is now threatening it. Road improvements, spontaneous colonization, deforestation, resource extraction without government or community controls, and border encroachments from Peru, are among the threats to this fragile area. Local institutions are weak, yet are essential to control these threats in the immediate and long-term.

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Over the past decade, rural residents soundly rejected initiatives to establish more national protected areas. Powerful holders of inactive timber concessions overlain over community and individual lands rejected a conservation concession deal offered by northern NGOs. The leaders of the Yaminahua-Machineri indigenous territory refused a biodiversity inventory offer in 1999. In 2000, the campesino federation of rural residents (FSUTCP) won a political victory demanding that communities be granted title to 500 hectares per family instead of the 50 hectares specified in the land reform law,¹⁷ thus giving campesinos political control over vast areas in Pando. Powerful individuals who had claimed vast extensions of forest (up to 100,000 hectares), some of whom had been courted for conservation agreements, were offered legal title to only 50 hectares. Meanwhile, Brazilian capital financed commercial over-fishing and gold mining in Pando. Peruvian capital financed illegal logging



Picture 1. Pando is seen as a green island in these composite satellite images from 2000-2001. More recent images show deforestation occurring along the Peruvian side of the border with Pando. (Composite Land-Sat image created by Sergio Rabiela, The Field Museum)

and sending a small stream of “mules” carrying coca paste across western Pando into Brazil.

Yet in 2003, a coalition of local, national and international organizations¹⁸

[In Bolivia] proactive national land reform offers communal tenure as well as individual titles.

were willing to gamble that, beneath the public image of Pando as a backward impoverished frontier for the taking, lay a dif-

ferent reality. They believed that the people living in the forest of Pando would take the initiative to act together to manage their Amazonian ecosystem if given the opportunity, despite the anti-conservation atmosphere.

The policy framework was in place to support such an initiative. Unlike its neighbor Peru, Bolivia has laws and policies that provide the territorial basis for a vision of active citizen engagement both in local government and in biodiversity management at landscape scale.¹⁹ Proactive national land reform offers communal tenure as well as individual titles.²⁰ Decentralization policies encourage local government to assert its rights to manage local affairs and implement Bolivian environmental policies, which are among the world’s most advanced.²¹

A rights-based approach to landscape-scale conservation in Western Pando

Our collaborative, rights-based effort was implemented in two municipios (counties) in far west Pando. These municipios function as an important intact element in the large scale biodiversity corridor arc joining the Upper Amazon to the Gran Chaco. Bolpebra and Filadelfia municipios are home to a population of some 5,500 people liv-

ing at a density of less than one person per square kilometer in an area of 1.5 million hectares (3.4 million acres). Approximately one quarter of the area is a national wildlife reserve— Manuripi—which was officially reduced to half its original size after deforestation on its eastern side in the Puerto Rico municipio. Manuripi was already occupied by communities and Brazil nut *barracas*²² at the time of its establishment in 1973. The experience of these people with inequitably applied restrictions served to stimulate strong local anti-conservation attitudes.



Picture 2. Expert skill is required to crack open Brazil nuts. Pandino rural people were indentured rubber tappers and Brazil nut gatherers on *barracas estatales* until the latter part of the 20th century. Today they harvest Brazil nuts four months of the year. Most of the world’s Brazil nuts come from Pando, transported on people’s backs from the forest to loading points along rivers or seasonal roads. (Courtesy Pedro Sarmiento, Fundación Yangareko)

In April 2003, Zarzycki and Alcorn initiated a new approach by interviewing a range of rich and poor players and institutions to ascertain attitudes and opportunities for applying a rights-based approach that would nurture existing strengths to build collaboration among all parties. The Field Museum of Chicago was still prepared to support an as-

set-mapping exercise²³ although it had previously been rejected by local organizations, because it was seen as “just another study” in a region suspicious of NGOs, which are seen as parasites earning money by carrying out studies that benefit no rural people at all. During the rapid assessment, discussions with the campesino federation, local government, local university and local NGOs resulted in an agreement to ac-

cept the Field Museum offer with modifications. Basically, local people wanted a process under participant control that would lead towards democratic deliberation on an option to create a grassroots-established and managed protected area or ANMI (Area Natural de Manejo Integral, Natural Area under Integrated Management).

Box 1. Principles to Facilitate a Rights-based Approach to Landscape Conservation

(A rights based approach assumes leadership by local people and organizations, not by the project managers. For a more detailed discussion of these principles and their application see Alcorn *et al.*, 2006.)

1. Nurture natural cross-scale links.
2. Be transparent.
3. Celebrate values.
4. Integrate planning.
5. Be inclusive.
6. Commit to clear roles and responsibilities.
7. Maintain and nurture resilience.

The modified asset-mapping tool was named RIPUI (Relevamiento de Información sobre Potencialidades y Usos Integrales), an acronym that in Quechua means, “Go!” The RIPUI-ANMI initiative used the asset-mapping assessment vehicle to bring the political actor groups into an engagement around shared interests. It also leveraged local energies through group reflection on key issues, and promoted public deliberation among various constituencies up to landscape scale decisions. The municipio governments of Bolpebra and Filadelfia sponsored the activity, and a core project management team was installed at the University of the Amazon of Pando through a collaborative relationship with Fundación Yangareko and The Field Museum of Chicago. The opportunity for participation was offered to all 36 communities, out of whom 29 chose to participate. Each participating community elected a “facilitator” who was responsible for managing the process in his/her community.

The RIPUI included focus groups, land use mapping and planning, interviews, community-wide discussions and sub-regional discussions, and was guided by a key set of rights-based approach principles (See Box 1).²⁴ Community deliberations were private in the sense that project staff was not present and was only provided with the information that communities decided to give to the project team. The facilitators were assisted by monitors (*seguidores*, see Figure 3) from the campesino federation. During the training, the facilitators and *seguidores* were uncertain about assuming responsibility as they had never been involved in anything like this before, but the trainer encouraged them: “This is a shared adventure where you will make decisions as you collaborate.” To include the 169 private landowners in the process, the RIPUI team also hired five interviewers who traveled to remote areas to interview *barraqueros*.



Picture 3. The 29 communities who participated in the RIPUI were connected by "monitors" from the campesino federation, who created a living communication network and assisted facilitators in each community. They were recognizable by their right yellow backpacks, RIPUI caps, and credentials from the municipio government, and served as a visible symbol of the discussions in which community members were engaged beyond the community level. (Courtesy Alejo Zarzycki, Fundación Yangareko)

At the end of the RIPUI, the participating communities asserted their interests and defended the proposal for the ANMI against opposing elements so that municipio ordinances declaring the ANMI were approved by community vote in August 2004. This is the first case of ANMIs covering the entire territory of municipios being declared

The RIPUI revealed that Pandinos are not so impoverished. Their low levels of income do not directly correspond to their level of wellbeing...

unilaterally (outside national processes).²⁵ The county executives distributed the resulting land use maps and reports for each community at a large public ceremony after the ANMI had been declared, satisfying communities' desire for transparency and concrete results, and maintaining public momentum for

the new ANMI partnership.

the new ANMI partnership.

Heritage assets revealed

What did the RIPUI reveal? The RIPUI²⁶ revealed that Pandinos are not so impoverished.²⁷ Their low levels of income do not directly correspond to their level of wellbeing. They rely on their abundant natural resources (see Figure 4), which includes 82 species of fish, 31 species of animals, 80 species of plants, 6 species of commercially high value timber, in addition to brazil nuts, and deeply appreciate their natural environment for its clean water, clean air, medicines, food, and recreational opportunities.²⁸ Their collective vision for the future emphasized the need for planned management of their natural resources for improving their lives while conserving their resources and cultural identities. Two thirds of the communities voluntarily participated in land use planning as part of the RIPUI.²⁹ Their main development concerns were centered on improved access to health care and post-primary education services, followed by a desire for improved roads for marketing their products.



Picture 4. Fish are abundant in Pando's many rivers. Pandinos depend on their natural environment for food, medicine, materials, and recreation. (Courtesy Gonzalo Calderon, CIPA, University of the Amazon of Pando)

Their heritage assets were revealed to be impressive. While the terms heritage and community might imply timeless, abstract local societies bound to

...the RIPUI revealed the rural residents as independent, self-reliant, and politically active people whose social links are primarily regional rather than communal.

their lands and local relations, the RIPUI revealed the rural residents as mobile and adaptable. They are independent, self-reliant, and politically active people whose social links

are primarily regional rather than communal. Sixty-two percent of communities were founded between 1956 and 1983, by ex-indentured workers for rubber tapping and Brazil nut *barracas* who had settled in a dispersed settlement pattern. Many of the remaining communities were recently formalized by dispersed rural families and families living in Pando's capital city Cobija, in order to claim land. In Bolpebra, 20 percent claim local indigenous heritage, and in both municipios the majority claims to originate from the Amazon

virtually all adults in communities belong to the Pando-wide campesino federation, which fought for their land rights.

tri-national area of Peru, Brazil and Bolivia – with less than ten percent having roots in the Andes. This goes against the grain of the popular impressions of

the frontier as being overrun by Andean people who lack ecological knowledge to manage the lowland tropical environment. While generally having been categorized as "Brazil nut gatherers," the local people dedicate only 1/3 of their year to Brazil nut gathering (December to March), spending 1/3 as migrant labor in the tri-national area, and 1/3 on agricultural activities. Between March and September, only one

or two families may remain on a community's lands as the others engage in migrant labor before the agricultural season begins and families return home to work their land.

Communities were awarded title to a quarter of the land area of Bolpebra and Filadelfia in 2003;³⁰ few have developed common property rules for managing their newly awarded lands collectively, and most have not yet established any internal rules and regulations for governing themselves. The strongest community level organization (outside of kinship networks) is the OTB or Sindicato (the political associations that legally represent a community to government).

Virtually all adults in communities belong to the Pando-wide campesino federation, which fought for their land rights. Seventy percent of communities boast a soccer club, which serves as a link to other communities, and a parent-teacher association which links the community to outside services in general. Half of the individual landowners belong to their regional Brazil nut producers' association.

Land use in communities and by individual landowners is forest-based with very small areas for agricultural production (generally less than four percent of the land area), although a few communities and individuals have cleared extensive areas for cattle-raising along the main road

The RIPUI nurtured collective identity through encouraging each community to draw its own shield ... which celebrate the natural resources on which the people depend – fish, wildlife, forest, rivers, and Brazil nuts.

(including inside the Manuripi Reserve

where a previous reserve manager made a deal to promote cattle ranching inside the reserve). Individual land-owners, who have title to 4 percent of the area but have control and historic claims to 70 percent of the lands, produced sketch maps demonstrating their mental plans for managing their resources, and included forest reserves as did the communities. They are creating their own museum to put on display objects from the rubber tapping and Brazil nut boom eras.

Western Pandinos are using their private heritage as self-reliant individuals knowledgeable of their environment to invent community and regional public identities. The RIPUI nurtured this strengthening of collective identity

...rural residents who do not claim indigenous identity can feel an obligation to care for their resource base according to principles gained while depending on their resources for generations

through encouraging each community to draw its own shield (Figure 5), in a region where the municipio's governments don't even have shields. All the shields celebrate the natural resources on which the people depend

– fish, wildlife, forest, rivers, and Brazil nuts. These are people who have lived and thrived in the forest without external services. They have a high level of local knowledge necessary for sustainable management of natural resources and ecological monitoring. They also have a desire to patrol and protect their forests from new colonists and outsiders who would gladly exploit their forests and waters illegally. And they want to apply their knowledge and heritage to the future. This illustrates the fact that rural residents who do not claim indigenous identity, like indig-

enous people, can feel an obligation to care for their resource base according to principles gained while depending on their resources for generations. Just as indigenous peoples in the Canadian North seek to maintain their heritage through ecotourism and nontraditional commercial forestry,³¹ these Amazonian rural residents (indigenous and non-indigenous) seek to understand ways to use the market in ecotourism, environmental services and conservation concessions to maintain their cultural and natural heritage.



Picture 5. Each community created its own shield as a symbol of its identity as part of the RIPUI process. Bolpebra's shield is typical as it celebrates life on the river with fish, birds, rubber, and Brazil nuts with a motto "progress on the frontier." Bolpebra was founded by people from Tarija in extreme southern Bolivia, and celebrates its frontier heritage with a name created by putting together the first few letters of each country Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil, as it is located at the trina-tional corner of Pando. (Courtesy Pedro Sarmiento, Fundación Yangareko)

The results— heritage mobilization

What happened post-RIPUI? The rights-based initiative has taken on its own life. In August 2004, after much debate and efforts by illegal loggers to undermine passage of the ordinances which they recognized would threaten to curtail their activities, community representatives (OTBs) voted to declare both municipios as ANMI under the management of a new *mancomunidad*³² (Union Amazónica Filadelfia-Bolpebra – UAFB). The objectives of the ANMI and UAFB include, among others:

- zoning to include landscape level conservation within land use planning;
- improved management of natural resources based on local knowledge;
- protection of water;
- encouragement of scientific study to provide improved information for monitoring the environment;
- local management regulations in accord with national norms; and
- the strengthening of local enforcement against environmental crimes.

The UAFB *mancomunidad* board consists of the elected municipio executive and council members of both municipios, laying the basis for democratic participation and the application of local heritage in future development decisions. Communities watch over the *mancomunidad* through a separate UAFB oversight committee that demands accountability from the local governments. In February 2005, the UAFB and ANMIs survived the first complete turnover of municipio governments, when the OTBs again unanimously voted their confidence in continuing the path they had chosen, demonstrating their commitment to “conservation with development – our

decision.”³³

At this early stage, in 2006, the UAFB is fragile, linking communities by fragile threads. Commu-

Why did the RIPUI lead to declaration of a protected area from a grassroots that was previously opposed to protected areas?

nities are beginning the process of consolidating their own internal regulations for managing their resources while the *mancomunidad* is seeking to zone the ANMI and establish regulations and decision-making criteria for future projects³⁴. Much work remains to be done. The *mancomunidad* faces many challenges as it competes with powerful outside interests for the control of decisions about the future, as many converge upon Pando to capitalize upon the frontier resources or to take advantage of the existence of UAFB as a vehicle for externally driven conservation projects.

Conclusion

Why did the RIPUI lead to declaration of a protected area from a grassroots that was previously opposed to protected areas? The RIPUI was effective because it was designed to mobilize heritage obligations by depending on voluntary networking among individuals and by strengthening their links to decision-making in municipio and Pando state government, rather than by manipulating individuals to implement conservation activities according to project plans. RIPUI nurtured the energy of regional human relations, and thereby avoided a common conservation mistake of designing work with communities as though they existed in isolation from one another and larger society – a mistake which undermines rural residents’ initiative. We were committed to the idea that this was not going to be another backroom deal

made between a conservation organization and a national government. To mobilize regional energies, we embedded the application of the RIPUI tool in a communication strategy³⁵ that generated and shared clear information as a means for uniting people into discussions;³⁶ built strategic alliances among disparate actors; promoted public deliberation among constituencies; and moved toward a common decision. Activities included a local art competition, the results of which were used to promote awareness of the ANMI's purpose, and a video documentary, which was made midstream in the process to promote broad participation in the debate and decisions yet to be made as the process proceeded.³⁷

Given existing power relations, long-term landscape-scale conservation

[Rather than] another backroom deal made between a conservation organization and a national government... RIPUI mobilized local heritage obligations... a new path ... giving new meaning to old words...

success in Pando or elsewhere does not so much depend upon whether poor rural residents have a commitment to conservation as it does upon on whether large conservation NGOs, local NGOs, multilateral development banks, bilateral

projects, regional governments and private businesses can set aside their own individual interests, and collaborate together to follow a rights-based approach to sustainable conservation that relies on the cross-scale strengths and energy of living heritage. Rights-based initiatives are occurring in various forms around the world, in accord with local policy and cultural conditions. They show governments, donors, and NGOs a new path forward giving new

meaning to the old words – poverty, heritage, and landscape-scale conservation.

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Notes

- 1 Alcorn, 2005.
- 2 e.g., Molnar, Scherr and Khare, 2004.
- 3 Glenze,r 2005.
- 4 Rights-based approaches have sometimes been short-circuited to avoid human and environmental rights issues by narrowing to focus on property rights – as for example in rights-based approaches to marine fisheries management and genetic resource management.
- 5 Alcorn *et al.*, 2003.
- 6 USAID, 2004.
- 7 Glenzer, 2005, Alcorn and Zarzycki, 2005
- 8 A case in point would be the recent situation in Guatemala where local Mayan communities who are sustainably managing their forests are resisting efforts by a World Heritage foundation to cast them as environmental villains and force changes in national policy to cancel their legal rights to the forests. According to the public heritage symbols, Mayans are extinct peoples, not modern poor peasants sustainably logging the forests around the ancient ruins of their ancestors. Modern Mayans' rights are threatened because tourism promoters fear that incorporating this modern Mayan image would damage tourist markets in the Peten.
- 9 Chambers, 2005, p.6.
- 10 World Bank, 1996.
- 11 UNICEF, 2005.
- 12 The indigenous population of Pando is estimated at less than 1000 people.
- 13 In addition, a few, small indigenous communities opted to be recognized as campesino communities instead of taking the more difficult route of claim-

- ing territories.
- 14 Terceros, 2004.
 - 15 A *municipio* is a subunit of territory under *municipio* government control, similar to a county level in USA, or a district or *taluka* in other countries. The *municipio* is the local government unit that has been strongly empowered under Bolivia's decentralization policies. *Municipios* together form a "department" (in this case Pando), which functions similarly to a province or state level government in other countries, although Bolivia's departments function primarily as administrative units for central government and have very limited authority of their own.
 - 16 The Field Museum, 1999.
 - 17 Terceros, 2004.
 - 18 The core institutions that have been involved in this effort include the University of the Amazon of Pando, the Fundación Yangareko, the *municipio* governments of Filadelfia and Bolpebra, and The Field Museum of Chicago. A wider circle of collaborators has included SERNAP (Bolivian National Protected Areas Agency), Fundación Pando, the federation of *campesinos* (FSUTCP), local associations of Brazil nut producers, and other civil society and government actors that comprise the trinational MAP (Madre de Dios-Acre-Pando) initiative.
 - 19 Alcorn *et al.*, 2006.
 - 20 Land titling in Bolivia is the responsibility of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), which functions according to the Law of National Service of Agrarian Reform. The INRA Law categorizes rural properties into several categories one of which is community property, which is inalienable, indivisible, and collectively owned. Community property is governed by an assembly of heads of household. This Assembly creates and enforces statutes and regulations. Within a given community, individual property is recognized. Titles for *Tierras Comunitarias de Origen* (TCO) are awarded to indigenous territories. Three other title categories cover "individual landowners" under which title which is awarded to an individual or a company.
 - 21 Steinberg, 2001.
 - 22 *Barraca* estates (*barraqueros*) historically exploited labor by locking local communities into a patron-client relationship – "comunidades cautivas" – for ensuring labor on the remote *barraca* for Brazil nut collecting, rubber tapping and cattle care.
 - 23 The Field Museum (FM) was interested in conservation of Pando's biodiversity because it had carried out several rapid biological inventories in Pando in the 1990s, and wanted to secure the long term future of biodiversity in Pando with funds from the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation. FM first modified the sociological tool "social asset mapping" to celebrate cultural diversity and identify local organizational strengths for conservation activities in the Calumet area of Chicago, Illinois, USA. Subsequently, Alcorn, Macedo and Wali modified the tool to be more participatory for application in the buffer zone of Cordillera Azul National Park, Peru, in 2002. This version of the tool was christened MUF (Mapeo de Usos y Fortalezas – mapping of natural resource uses and strengths). These prior FM modifications of the social asset mapping tool were designed for use by project teams in alliance with government agencies. Further discussion of social asset mapping is available at <http://www.fieldmuseum.org/calument/assetmap.html>
 - 24 Alcorn *et al.*, 2006.
 - 25 Other ANMIs, declared by the national government in Bolivia, have generally been nonfunctional buffer zones with "paper" status.
 - 26 Carlo, 2004.
 - 27 Discussion of poverty measures is beyond the scope of this paper. Definitions of poverty often use measures related to consumption of items for sale, and cast poverty alleviation as increasing income for purchases (e.g., World Bank 1996) and devalue direct production of necessities. When linked to protected areas management, the poverty alleviation approach has been popularly criticized in Bolivia as being tantamount to a globalization strategy to force rural people off their lands so they add their numbers to the population of consumers/buyers and serve as low paid labor for production of consumer goods.
 - 28 This RIPUI finding confirms the level of dependence on biodiversity described in Zapata *et al.* (2003) study of a single Filadelfia community inside Manuripi Wildlife Reserve.
 - 29 The remainder of the communities did not participate in land use planning (POP-COM) because they were disputing the borders granted in their initial titles and wanted to wait until they had resolved their title issues.
 - 30 The land of communities ranges in size from several thousand hectares to over twenty thousand hectares. As part of the RIPUI, most communities took advantage of the RIPUI initiative's offer to assist communities to carry out their POP-COM land use mapping and planning required by the Superintendencia of Agriculture for consolidating the title. Once the POP-COM is in place, the community has consolidated its rights to its forest and can expel state-sponsored logging concessions from its territory should they attempt to activate their earlier rights. Some communities also established "private reserves" on their lands – biodiversity reserves which belong to them and are registered with the state as their property, enabling them to call upon the state to defend their reserves against outsiders if it were to become necessary and eventually to be eligible to apply for assistance for managing their reserves, to possibly participate in payments for environmental services agreements, etc.
 - 31 Chapeskie *et al.*, 2005; Also see <http://www.whitefeatherforest.com/>
 - 32 A *mancomunidad* under Bolivian law joins two or more *municipio* governments into a parastatal that can receive external funding in addition to government funding to achieve particular objectives.
 - 33 The motto "Conservation with development – Our Decision" was chosen for the UAFB *mancomunidad* and ANMI appears on their logo— a form of

public heritage created from private heritage. It emphasizes their understanding that sustainable conservation is the priority as the basis of sustainable development appropriate to the region and its culture.

- 34 In late 2005, UAFB negotiated with WWF to begin ANMI zoning, as part of a trinational project with Dutch government support. At the same time, Fundación Yangareko, with MacArthur Foundation support, initiated project COSAMA with UAFB, to consolidate UAFB as an institution and jointly work with communities and SERNAP to improve conservation of the Manuripi Wildlife Reserve.
- 35 Alcorn *et al.*, 2006.
- 36 The use of satellite imagery and maps from geographic information system (GIS) were key for creating shared information as a basis for discussion and planning.
- 37 The Spanish language video is available upon request from the lead author or from Alonzo Zarzycki, alonzozarzycki@yahoo.com.mx

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Securing indigenous rights and biodiversity conservation through partnerships in Sibuyan Island, Romblon, Philippines

Edgardo Tongson and Thomas McShane

Abstract. In the Philippines many large intact forests designated as protected areas coincide with the ancestral claims of indigenous peoples. There, security of tenure is essential to issues of conservation, development and fulfilling indigenous peoples' rights. This paper highlights the experience of non-government organizations that collaborated with government agencies and assisted the indigenous group Sibuyan Magyan Tagabukid of Sibuyan Island to secure tenure to their ancestral domain. We discuss the challenges we encountered and the emerging opportunities for co-management in the overlap areas between ancestral domain and protected areas. The paper highlights the importance of inter-organizational cooperation as demonstrated by the various actors— i.e., government, indigenous groups, non-government organizations and academia – which resulted in synergies instrumental in fulfilling the provisions of a progressive law. Securing land tenure lays the foundation where local support for biodiversity conservation can be institutionalized and sustained.

Philippine's Forestry Policy

The forest cover of the Philippines declined from 70 percent of the country's total land area of 30 million hectares in 1900 to about 18.3 percent in 1999,¹ which represent just over 5 million ha of residual and old-growth natural forests. Continuing upland migration, due to scarce economic opportunities in the lowlands and high natural population growth rates, exacerbate forest denudation and degradation. The lack of operational and effective on-site management in many forest areas led to open access to the forest commons. Only 19 percent of the country's 15.5 million classified forest lands are covered by some kind of on-site management system.² The intensity of degradation suggests that de facto management systems are inadequate to stem forest loss, especially in open access areas.

Social forestry evolved out of the failure of state forest governance. Previous policies promoted centralized management and logging concessions,

which ended up also engendering ineffectual governance, corruption and illegal logging, contributing to the twin problems of forest degradation and upland poverty.³ With the dismantling of timber con-

cessions, forest communities asserted their rights to access forest resources and manage the same under a Community-based Forest Management (CBFM) framework. The

Indigenous peoples (about 12 millions) are found in various forest, lowland and coastal areas of the Philippines, divided into 110 self-defined ethnolinguistic groups

The new forestry policy responded to clamors by civil society groups for greater participation, equity, empowerment, ecological sustainability, cultural integrity and gender equity in the management of the forest resources. The state conferred tenure to forest communities through 25-year Community-Based Forestry Management Agreements.

Indigenous Peoples

Indigenous peoples, whose number has been reported in various official documents as 12 million or about 18% of the total population in the Philippines, are found in various forest, lowland and coastal areas, and are divided into 110 self-defined ethno-linguistic groups.⁴ These are among the poorest and most disadvantaged social groups in the country. The indigenous peoples have long suffered from economic marginalization, socio-cultural displacement, and political disenfranchisement. A variety of factors are called to explain this, including the lack of a vision about development for and by indigenous peoples; the absence of mechanisms on procedures of consultation with the peoples concerned; pressure on ancestral lands by economic and political development; and lack of consensus among indigenous peoples themselves about their development priorities, strategies and alliances.⁵

Today, the ancestral land claims cover some 2.5 million hectares or 8% of the total land area in the Philippines, the majority of which overlap with intact forests widely recognized for their biodiversity. Not surprisingly, most protected areas prioritized for protection overlap with ancestral claims.



Picture 1. Members of the indigenous group Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid. (Courtesy Edgardo Tongson)

The National Integrated Protected Areas System

In 1992, the Republic Act 7586 sought the establishment and management of the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS).

The NIPAS law creates a network of protected areas in the country. Multi-stakeholder structures such as Protected Area Management Boards provide

The IPRA establishes procedures for recognition of individual and communal ownership of "ancestral domains" and "ancestral lands".

roles for civil society organizations and indigenous groups. The law recognizes the claims and rights of indigenous communities over ancestral areas found within protected areas and promotes partnership in formulating and implementing plans and policies. Tenured migrants living within protected areas are provided usufruct rights for sustainable livelihoods.

The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act

The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (Republic Act 8371)⁶ was enacted to recognize, promote and protect the rights of the indigenous peoples including their right to ancestral domain and lands, their right to self-governance and empowerment, their social justice and human rights and their right to cultural integrity. The IPRA establishes procedures for recognition of individual and communal ownership of "ancestral domains" and "ancestral lands". The IPRA law (Sec 3 h.) defines indigenous peoples as:

"a group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as organized community on communally bounded and defined territory, and who have

under claim of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed and utilized such territories, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, or who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, non-indigenous religions and cultures, became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos."

In other words, the IPRA grants indigenous people the ownership and possession of their ancestral lands and domains, and defines their extent.

National Commission on Indigenous Peoples

To carry out the IPRA Act, the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) was created (Sec 59, IPRA) merging the Office of Northern Cultural Communities and Office of Southern Cultural Communities:

"To carry out the policies herein set forth, there shall be created the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), which shall be the primary government agency responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies, plans and programs to promote and protect the rights and well-being of the indigenous people and the recognition of their ancestral domains as well as their rights thereto".

The NCIP is tasked to process ancestral land claims into private collective titles called Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT). In processing these claims, the NCIP strictly applies the requirements under IPRA including geodetic surveys, gathering of anthropological records, proofs and testimonies and facilitation of community meetings to resolve conflicts. The NCIP is staffed with 1,200 personnel and is

headed by a Chairman with six Commissioners. The forerunner of the NCIP dates as far back as the American period in the early 1900s. The pre-NCIP organizations were "integrationists" in their approaches, whose main goal was to assimilate these groups into mainstream society and alleviate their poverty conditions. The office dispensed medicines, scholarships, relief goods and other material benefits to tribal members. Client groups were viewed as passive beneficiaries of assistance.

Role of NGOs

NGOs, on the other hand, serve as counterweight to traditional development thinking of their governments. From the standpoint of development NGOs, the indigenous peoples are not merely passive beneficiaries of development but means and ends

As human rights advocates, most NGOs view "development" from an alternative view of recognizing, attaining and fulfilling the rights of indigenous people

of the development process. As human rights advocates, most NGOs view "development" from an alternative view of recognizing, attaining and fulfilling the rights of indigenous people.

The role of NGOs in development work was expanded during the Aquino presidency in 1986. The restoration of democratic space resulted in the rise of environmental NGOs responding to forest degradation and poverty. The strength of NGOs lies in working with communities and ensuring that government programs conform to local conditions. NGOs facilitate the delivery of services for rural development; developing communities as stakeholders, rather than mere recipients, initiating new approaches for project development at the community level and di-

rectly contributing to capacity building.⁷ NGOs working for indigenous rights promote an alternative development paradigm, based on indigenous territorial autonomy, self-determination and “self-development” or “ethno-development”. For indigenous people, the first condition for effective ethno-development is security of land tenure and local jurisdiction over natural resources within their territory. One of the most significant developments in the past thirty years has been pro-active initiatives undertaken by indigenous peoples and supportive NGOs to map and demarcate their own lands.⁸ In the Philippines, these independent surveys, verified by government surveyors, are accepted as a basis for land claims and the registration of land titles.

In 1996, the WWF adopted a statement of Principles on Indigenous Peoples and

For indigenous people, the first condition for effective ethno-development is security of land tenure and local jurisdiction over natural resources within their territory.

Conservation, which endorses the UN draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The statement accepts that constructive engagement with indigenous people must start with a recognition

of their rights, upholds the rights of indigenous peoples to own, manage, and control their lands and territories and to benefit from the application of their knowledge. The premises contained in the WWF international statement of Principles helped develop the partnership framework entered into by WWF-Philippines with the indigenous groups of Sibuyan Island and assisted by indigenous advocate NGOs to secure tenure rights over their ancestral lands in Sibuyan Island.



Picture 2. Upstream the Cantingas river, voted the 2nd cleanest river in the Philippines. (Courtesy Edgardo Tongson)

Site description

Situated 350 kilometers south of Manila, Sibuyan is the second largest of among the seven islands that comprise Romblon Province in the Philippines and is known as one of the few remaining centers of biodiversity and endemism in the country. It has a land area of approximately 45,600 hectares, about seventy percent of which is covered with forest. At the heart of Sibuyan Island is the Mt Guiting-Guiting Natural Park (MGGNP)— the only remaining mountain in the Philippines with relatively intact habitats along its entire elevation gradient. Mt. Guiting-Guiting’s plant and mammal biodiversity is amongst the richest in the world.⁹ In the midst of this natural lushness, however, live some 50,000 people, more than half of whom live well below the government-defined poverty level. In terms of the Human Development Index, Romblon province which includes Sibuyan Island is ranked 64th out of the 77 provinces in the Philippines. The majority of the Sibuyan population engages in subsistence farming and fishing. Decades of unregulated and unsustainable use have taken a toll on the island’s natural resource base.

Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid

Residing in and around the interiors and upland areas of the Mount Guiting-Guiting Natural Park (MGGNP) are the Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid (SMT), who managed to retain a culture and tradition distinct from the lowland Sibuyan culture. While there are no existing pre-historic data on Sibuyan and Mangyan Tagabukid, early Spanish accounts in the 1700s reported a considerable population of mountain dwellers along the mountain ranges of the Sibuyan Island to which present indigenous populations trace their ancestral origins.¹⁰

The SMT are primarily engaged in subsistence agriculture – making their living through slash and burn farming (a land preparation method used in tropical countries that involves clearing land by burning the vegetation before the rain season begins), charcoal making, gathering of minor forest products such as rattans, resins, vines and honey, and fishing for freshwater fish and shrimps in the numerous water channels and tributaries on the mountain.¹¹ They practice rituals such as *paminhi* (pre-planting ritual) and *tugna*

(pre-harvest ritual) denoting respect to the spirits that play an important role in Sibuyan Mangyan culture. Several generations of kin identified to have previously inhabited the area and improvements introduced by their ancestors attest to the longevity of the indigenous peoples in the area. The ancestral domain of the SMT occupies an area of 7,900 hectares and straddles the mountain ranges of Sibuyan and the Mt. Guiting-Guiting Natural Park.

Park establishment and related ICDP

In 1996, through the efforts of local government executives and a handful of NGOs, Mt Guiting-Guiting Natural Park was proclaimed under the National Integrated Protected Areas System Act. The Park covers some 16,000 hectares of strict protected area and an additional 10,000 hectares of buffer zone. It straddles the island's three municipalities of Magdiwang, San Fernando and Cajidiocan. In the same year, Mt Guiting-Guiting Natural Park was included in the European Union-funded National Integrated Protected Areas Programme (NIPAP), a five-year programme that aimed to establish protected areas in eight parks around the country. In 1997, with funding support from the Netherlands Government, WWF-Philippines implemented an integrated conservation and development project (ICDP) on the island to complement park establishment and the protection efforts of the NIPAP project.

The overall goal of the ICDP was to protect the biodiversity of Mt. Guiting-Guiting Natural Park through the development of sustainable livelihoods. A major objective within this goal was to improve the tenure security of the indigenous Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid people. Activities included strengthen-



Picture 3. Busay falls in the Panangcalan watershed provides drinking water to the town of San Fernando. (Courtesy Edgardo Tongson)

ing their social organization, culture and customary laws as well as assisting them to become responsible stakeholders in the management of environmentally sensitive areas in which they live. The key premise of the project's approach was that land tenure security coupled with development and natural resource management interventions that are identified, designed and implemented by the indigenous community-based organization, will ensure sustainability and responsible management of resources. WWF-Philippines, in partnership with indigenous peoples advocate NGOs such as Anthropological Watch (AnthroWatch), Legal Assistance Center for Indigenous Filipinos (PANLIPI) and the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID), implemented a project to assist indigenous communities affected by the establishment of the Mt. Guiting-Guiting Natural Park in Sibuyan Island in 1996.

Field activities

Field interventions consisted of anthropological research and documentation, participatory mapping and planning, capacity building, legal assistance, farm support and joint ventures. The procedures and steps in identifying and delineating the ancestral domain and applying for a community title are outlined in 13 steps under the IPRA law, namely: 1) filing for petition for delineation, 2) delineation proper, 3) submission of proofs, 4) inspection by NCIP representative, 5) evaluation and appreciation of proofs, 6) survey and preparation of survey plans, 7) identification of boundary conflicts, 8) submission of NCIP investigation report, 9) map validation, 10) public notification, 11) endorsement of claim to NCIP Ancestral Domains Office, 12) review and endorsement by Ancestral Domains Office to NCIP board; and 13) approval by NCIP board of the Certificate of

Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) application.

Delineation and demarcation of ancestral domain

In 1998, WWF facilitated the delineation of the ancestral domain as prescribed under the IPRA. WWF entered into partnerships with support NGOs for indigenous peoples. PANLIPI—an NGO with legal orientation and skills— had the responsibility of providing legal resources and assistance to the SMT in the delineation of their ancestral land and liaison work. AnthroWatch— an NGO comprised of anthropologists— was tasked to do the census of the indigenous people, conduct genealogy research, map indigenous territories and assist in establishing and collecting proofs to substantiate the petition for delineation of ancestral domains of the SMT. PAFID provided training in the use of Global Positioning System (GPS) and in the preparation of 3-D maps and facilitated the delineation activities. To hasten the processing of the ancestral claim, WWF, AnthroWatch and PANLIPI entered into a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the NCIP. The MOA authorized the NGOs to delineate the ancestral lands of the SMT for and in behalf of the NCIP. For the NCIP, the collaboration created an opportunity to pilot test GO-NGO partnerships in processing ancestral land claims.

The indigenous members prepared indicative maps per cluster village that were then assembled and transposed into technical maps. The maps depicted the extent of their domain areas

The members of the indigenous community who participated in the delineation activity were identified and authenticated. A population census was conducted using genealogical mapping

which put the number of legitimate claimants at 315 households or 1,687 individuals. The population census was followed by the gathering of proofs and other documents to support the claim. Various testimonials, written/historical accounts of SMT customs and traditions, anthropological data and historical accounts proving the existence of the SMT in Sibuyan Island, pictures and descriptive histories of traditional landmarks, write-up of names and places derived from the native dialect of the community, genealogy of elders, photocopies of Spanish and other historical documents taken from the National Archives and its English translation were gathered. These proofs were later submitted to NCIP Provincial Office for validation.

The indigenous members prepared indicative maps per cluster village that were then assembled and transposed into technical maps. The maps depicted the extent of their domain areas. WWF and its partner NGOs assisted the SMTs in preparing the survey plans, conducting the perimeter walk and preparing flat maps with the necessary technical descriptions. The resulting maps were consequently validated with the indigenous communities. Boundaries, markings and the names of places

were re-checked and appropriate corrections made.

The delineation of the ancestral claim started in September 1998. The indigenous peoples played an important role in facilitating the formation of delineation teams that were tasked to properly manage the delineation of the ancestral domain. The teams came up with a strategy and detailed plans for the actual survey of the ancestral domain. Members of the communities, as well as government agencies, were invited to participate in the survey. Two teams were formed for the field delineation and demarcation activity. The teams marked trees and used natural features such as stones and streams to demarcate the domain.¹²

The council of elders convened to identify the landmarks indicating the boundaries of their ancestral domains on a topographic 3-dimensional map. Sacred sites, burial areas, hunting, gathering, collecting and fishing grounds, swidden farms and residential areas were mapped. The process of 3-D mapping involved community gatherings and trainings that provided community members an opportunity to chronicle their culture, economy, history and struggle as a distinct community. The map used local dialect and traditional place names which demonstrated the communities' knowledge and predominant role as steward of the area.

The 3-D map was assembled and displayed in their tribal hall for use by the members. A community resolution attesting to the veracity of delineation and the content of the map of the ancestral domain was likewise drafted. The ancestral domain maps were published in the provincial newspaper. These maps were posted in prominent



Picture 4. Foothills leading to the ancestral domain. (Courtesy Edgardo Tongson)

places within the locality such as municipal halls, barangay halls, and indigenous community centers. The proofs together with the maps with the technical descriptions and notices of publications were submitted to the NCIP Provincial Office for validation. In validating the claim, the NCIP Provincial Office conducted an inspection with the SMT, adjoining communities and other affected entities to verify the landmarks of the ancestral domain and the physical proofs supporting the claim.

After validation, the NCIP Provincial Office endorsed the Ancestral Domain Claim to the NCIP Regional Office for verification. After further review of the proofs and evidence, the claim was finally endorsed to the Ancestral Domain Office (ADO) of the NCIP. After establishing and acknowledging the veracity of the claim, the ADO endorsed the application to the NCIP Board for its favorable action.

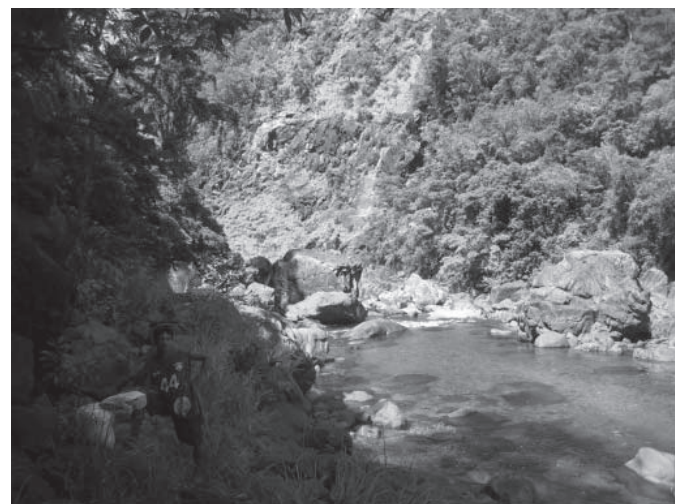
The council of elders convened to identify the boundaries of their ancestral domains [which were later] published in the provincial newspaper ... and posted in municipal halls, barangay halls and indigenous community centers

Preparing a management plan

The results of the delineation and research activities were fed into village workshops that led to the formulation of a comprehensive management plan, also known as the Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP). The preparation of the ADSDPP was formulated through a series of community consultations at local community clusters and an island-wide workshop. After its formulation, the ADSDPP was presented and explained in a community assembly.

Under the ADSDPP, the indigenous peoples agreed to ban logging (except for subsistence use), the cutting of trees within 25 meters from river banks and streams, and the use of poison and/or explosives in catching freshwater wildlife— including but not limited to shrimps, eels and fish.

A community coordinator carried out organizational and institution-building activities to revive non-functional tribal councils and federate them into a CADT-wide organization that would implement the ADSDPP. WWF and PAN-LIPI organized paralegal training activities and orientation seminars on existing laws. The project sponsored study tours, cross visits and made it possible for SMT leaders to participate in meetings, conferences and dialogues on indigenous issues. SMT cultural practices were documented and customary laws codified. The project initiated small-scale plantations (i.e. abaca, coffee, tree seedlings) through joint venture arrangements with some of the members. The SMT presented their plans and concerns during consultation meetings with local government officials.



Picture 5. Proposed weir site for a future 1 MW mini-hydroelectric project.
(Courtesy Edgardo Tongson)

Results

Socio-economic monitoring of sampled indigenous members show positive improvements in the social, economic and political conditions of the indigenous community. Results from focus-group discussions show perceived reductions in interpersonal conflicts, gambling, wife-beating and alcohol drinking. Male members are now more involved in planting root crops, i.e. *gabi*, *camote*, *bondo*, and other productive ventures such as *abaca* (Manila hemp fiber) farming supported by the project. The female members participated in enforcement actions and proved effective in dissuading mostly male poachers from entering their territories.

In 2001, the NCIP approved the application for a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title covering some 7,905 hec-

...new found rights have encouraged the Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid to become more vigilant over their domain and to regulate access by outsiders. Illegal logging in the forest overlap has been significantly reduced as a result...

tares that would benefit some 335 indigenous households. With the awarding of their ancestral domain, the indigenous people of Sibuyan emerged into a very powerful, position being able to confront and negotiate with other traditional power wielders, e.g.

loggers, parks, politicians, mining, hydroelectric power company and other interests.

These new found rights have encouraged the Sibuyan Mangyan Tagabukid to become more vigilant over their domain and to regulate access by outsiders. Illegal logging in the forest overlap has been significantly reduced as a result. Despite institutional conflicts between the park management

board and the indigenous community over jurisdiction in the protected area overlap, WWF facilitated close collaboration between the indigenous people and the park rangers to combat illegal logging and to monitor biodiversity resources. Both parties have planned and executed joint operations to apprehend illegal loggers – a turnaround from their previous engagement which can be described as adversarial.

Conflicts between the indigenous people and the park authorities had their beginnings in 1996 where initial efforts in park establishment led to the loss of access by indigenous people to non-timber forest resources. The overlapping area consisting of old-growth forests had been the traditional source for non-timber forest products— rattan, honey, almaciga resins— for the indigenous community. The restrictions resulted in denial of their rights and created hostilities toward the park authorities. Fortunately, the premises behind the recognition of ancestral lands under both the NIPAS and IPRA laws are similar if not identical. Both plans prepared by the park and the indigenous community highlight the importance of protecting the forests found in the overlap area. However, the difference lies in the SMT's desire to retain the rights of the indigenous people to access non-timber forest products which have been their traditional source of livelihoods. These convergences provided an opportunity for the indigenous people and the park authority to develop a collaborative or co-management framework where complementation instead of conflicts could prevail.

Discussion

The IPRA law is considered a revolutionary law as it goes against existing power structures. The process involves

the awarding of ancestral domain titles to *bona fide* indigenous communities; developing their capabilities and empowering them to manage their ecosystems and resources for self-sustenance and self-governance, preserving their indigenous knowledge systems and traditions, and protecting their rights and their culture.

Already, there have been violent incidents and deaths among indigenous communities who have crossed powerful interests. The law seeks to tilt the power structures traditionally biased toward mining, hydro-electric power, agro-industrial and environmental interests. Fulfilling the provisions of the IPRA would mean observing the oper-

...the IPRA guaranteed the right of indigenous people to give their free and prior informed consent to any development project initiated by outsiders within their ancestral land

ating principles of participation, equity and empowerment. Several provisions in the IPRA implicitly embody these principles. First, the act promotes self-delineation, i.e. delineation of ancestral boundaries by the indigenous people without outside interference. Here, the domain boundaries extended to the foraging areas, burial grounds, sacred places and swidden farms. This new definition of ancestral territory covered larger areas unlike older tenure instruments which only covered their houses and farms. And, second, the IPRA guaranteed the right of indigenous people to give their free and prior informed consent to any development project initiated by outsiders within their ancestral land. Parks, mining interests, researchers, hydropower companies and bio-prospectors have to obtain consent before they can operate within the domain.

The institutional fit between NCIP and IPRA are still far from desirable. Under their new IPRA mandate, the NCIP bureaucracy has to deal with its prevailing mindset in order to shift from "integrationist" approaches to empowerment as the ends of development. Notwithstanding the mindset change, funding constraints hampered NCIP capacities to implement the law. The NCIP targets 56 more CADTs covering some 1.7 million hectares for which it says it can provide some funding and can implement or complete the titling process. For 2004, the budget allocation of the NCIP amounts to PhP 28 million. At a surveying cost of PhP 1,000 per hectare, the NCIP can only survey 28,000 hectares or 1.6% of their target. Clearly, the resources of the NCIP are not enough to meet their targets.

Realizing the fruits from this initial collaboration in Sibuyan Island, the NCIP now considers the Sibuyan experience as a template to guide processing of future land claims and engendered working relationships with civil society organizations and other "non-formal" sectors.¹³ The IPRA provides the platform upon which both government and NGOs can share the mandate and pool their resources to implement the law. In its seven years of existence, the NCIP has granted 24 ancestral domain titles representing 543,000 hectares, of which titling for 106,000 hectares or one-fifth of this area was supported by NGOs.¹⁴

Conclusion

The Sibuyan experience shows that partnerships between government and non-government organizations (and among NGOs) based on mutual cooperation, respect and shared aspirations can indeed achieve objectives beyond the means and capacities of any single organization.¹⁵ The support shown by

the NGO, academia, government and international donors is cause to celebrate, as it represents the social capital that is a vital resource to ensure the effective operationalization of the IPRA law.¹⁶

To conservationists and development planners worldwide, it has been postulated that the conservation of biological diversity in the developing world will not succeed in the long term un-

... recognizing, fulfilling and protecting the traditional rights of indigenous peoples over their resources and unlocking their capacities to manage them... less local people perceive those efforts as beneficial to their economic and cultural well-being. By securing their tenure rights, the foundation has been laid for the long-term management of the forest resources and its biodiversity. The example presented in this paper highlights many of the issues and challenges that link indigenous peoples and protected areas. By recognizing, fulfilling and protecting the traditional rights of indigenous peoples over their resources and unlocking their capacities to manage them, indigenous peoples can indeed become powerful allies in the fight to protect biodiversity.

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Notes

- 1 Environmental Science for Social Change (ESSC), 1999.

- 2 Guiang, 2000.
- 3 Porter & Ganapin, 1988; Repetto & Gillis; 1988, Kummer, 1992.
- 4 NCIP, 2004.
- 5 World Bank, 1998.
- 6 IPRA, 1997.
- 7 World Bank, 1998.
- 8 Colchester *et al.*, 2001.
- 9 Heaney and Regalado, 1998; Goodman and Ingle, 1997; DENR, 1997.
- 10 Padilla, 2002; San Beda, 1925.
- 11 Tongson & Dino, 2004.
- 12 De Guzman & Dinopol, 2002.
- 13 Pasag, personal communication.
- 14 Padilla, personal communication.
- 15 cf. Barrett et al., 2001; McShane, 2003; McShane and Wells, 2004.
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Tigers, people and participation—where conservation and livelihoods go hand in hand

Ashish Kothari and Neema Pathak

"We are sharing power with the communities, and becoming stronger in the process". These words of a forest official kept ringing in our heads as we headed out of Periyar Tiger Reserve in Kerala, after a brief but eye-opening visit. Over the four days we were there, we had seen living proof of the success that a participatory approach could bring, and the transformation that can be achieved by a small dedicated group of people.

Till about five years back, Periyar was faced with the same conflicts that plague most other wildlife protected areas in India. Relations between the Reserve officials and local rural communities were tense, to say the least. At least a hundred cases of illegal activi-

ties were registered every year against the villagers, large scale smuggling of sandalwood and poaching of wild animals was a common occurrence. As one of India's premier tiger reserves, it had a substantial budget, and a much larger staff than many less privileged protected areas... yet these were not adequate to

"We are sharing power with the communities, and becoming stronger in the process"

stop the illegal activities. Conversely, people who had lived in the area for decades and had a customary claim to its resources for their livelihoods, faced a constant battle to get access to such resources because of wildlife and forest laws. Their alienation from the forest was undoubtedly partly responsible

for their participation in poaching and wood theft.

That was five years back. Today, forest officials are greeted with smiles and warmth in many of the villages, cases of poaching have dwindled to a trickle, the communities seem to have much more secure livelihoods, and one does not get the sense of tension that is so palpable in many other protected areas. What explains this transformation? And is it here to stay, or is the change short-lived?



Picture 1. Periyar Tiger Reserve is one of the few protected areas in India where a participatory approach is being tried with full commitment, breaking out of the mould of 'guns and guards' conservation. (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)

Eco-development and ecotourism

In the late 1990s, using the opportunity provided to them by a GEF-funded Eco-development Project, a set of officials set about on a series of unique steps. They held dialogues with the villages, and offered to help in solving some of their pressing problems. One of these was the severe indebtedness that the villagers had got into, with traders and moneylenders. This was partly a result of poor returns from their main agricultural crop, pepper. A major part of the profits from the sale

of pepper, which was being sold at exorbitant prices in the markets outside, was being cornered by middlemen. Small landholdings and small returns were forcing farmers to convert most of their land to pepper with little or no land left for growing food, increasing the dependence on the market for food. Starting with villages like Mannakudy and Paliyakkudy, the department helped to pay off the debts, and eliminate the middlemen. Villagers were then encouraged to channel some of the increased remuneration to a Community Development Fund, through the formation of Eco-development Committees (EDCs). This Fund could then be used to pay off further outstanding debts, and to provide loans to poorer households to invest in seeds or other agricultural inputs. This also reduced dependence on illegal extraction of forest produce for income generation among the villagers.

To the eco-development staff it was clear, however, that income from such measures would not be adequate. In particular, officials realised that to off-set the income from "illegal" activities such as fuel wood sale, poaching, and so on, there was a need for some viable alternatives. In

...officials offered to drop legal cases filed against those who agreed to participate in the eco-development activities. This broke down the smuggling and poaching network.

discussion with the villagers, the idea of using some of the revenues from Periyar tourists, was hit upon. As one of India's most visited tiger reserves, Periyar gets about 400,000 tourists per year, and till the late 1990s all the resulting income was being cornered by private or state tourism agencies, resorts, and shops in the nearby town

of Kumili.

The eco-development team identified different groups of villagers dependent on the Reserve's resources: a group dependent on extraction and sale of cinnamon bark, another group engaged in sandalwood and animal poaching, groups relying on the forests for grazing, others dependent on forests for firewood. In addition there were daily wage forest watchers for whom the government no longer had enough money to pay salaries. For a start, officials offered to drop legal cases filed against those who agreed to participate in the eco-development activities. This broke down the smuggling and poaching network. Those who were earlier involved in illegal trade, knew the trade routes and people involved, hence their expertise proved extremely useful in anti-poaching activities.

After many deliberations with these groups, user group based eco-development committees were established. Specific zones were identified from where fuelwood could be collected and cattle could be grazed. A shop was established in Kumili town, where fresh chemical-free milk from these villages could be sold.

Prior to the eco-development programme the tourists would mainly come for a boat ride in the Periyar Lake. Detailed community based tourism programmes were worked out, the staff contacted the hotels in Kumili, and requested them to include forest treks in the tourist itinerary. Aware of the negative impacts of large-scale tourism, it was decided to strictly monitor and control the number of tourists entering the PA. Also tourist activities are deliberately kept to the tourism zone. The forest treks include a one night and two days programme for

those interested in wildlife, handled by the ex-poachers eco-development committee. Also taken out are morning and evening walks for a small group of people through a part of the forests. These treks are managed by the ex-cinnamon bark collectors and tribal trekkers. The members of the eco-development committee take turns for night patrolling of forests. The EDCs also handle a small shop near the Tiger Reserve gate, where they sell T-shirts and material produced by villagers, and hire out binoculars.

The income generated through the above activities, goes into the accounts of the respective eco-development committees, from where each member of the committee receives a monthly salary as well as maintenance and other costs. For the daily wage forest watchers, the state government is able to provide only 12 days salary; the rest of the salary comes from the eco-development committee's account. This way the Department has been able to retain a few dozen staff that would otherwise have had to be laid off.

Interestingly the areas where treks are taken to or where the tourist activities are concentrated are also areas which are amongst those most prone to smuggling and poaching. According to the Reserve officials, involvement of local villagers in the protection activities has freed some staff to move towards the Tamil Nadu border, which remains a threatened and open boundary.

Our discussions with the villagers revealed that the overall income of the villagers after the initiation of the eco-development was less than from smuggling and other illegal activities before. Yet the standard of living today seemed better, where women felt dignified, men were not forever on the

run from the police, and middlemen and moneylenders ceased to dominate. Life, they said, was now more secure and respectful.

Another interesting body was called the *the overall income of the villagers was less than before... but women felt dignified, men were not forever on the run from the police, and middlemen and moneylenders ceased to dominate. Life, they said, was more secure and respectful...* Swamy Ayyappan Poonkavana Punarudharana or EDC (the name Lord Ayyappan Forest Regeneration Committee is after a local deity— Ayyappan— for whose worship large numbers of pilgrims come to Sabarimala temple located within the Tiger Reserve every year).

This EDC was created to handle two of the pilgrimage routes through Periyar to the intensely visited holy spot at Sabarimala. This EDC provides alternative fuel source, waste management, and other conservation-oriented facilities to the pilgrims, who were earlier rather destructive in their use of the forest they were walking through.



Picture 2. Patrolling team of the Vasant Sena (women’s forest conservation force), which sends out 5-6 women every day to monitor activities in the forest. (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)

The people respond

Three-four years into the initiative, forest officials got a pleasant surprise when, on 24th November 2002, a group of women from nearby villages started patrolling the forests. They formed a “Vasant Sena” (which literally means the “Spring Army” but here signifies the army of women), with 6 women volunteering to go on patrol every day, on rotation. They also began to maintain records of the flora and fauna they came across along with any illegal activities, if any. A year later, when the 100-plus women of the Vasant Sena met on 24th No-

vember 2003, they had kept up the vigil every day for 365 days. At this celebration of the first anniversary of this unique initiative, they discussed how to continue the patrolling, how they would sustain themselves, what sort of relations they wanted with the Forest Department.

...six women volunteered to go on patrol every day, on rotation ... & began to maintain records of the flora and fauna they came across...: “we do this for our children...if the forest does not survive how we will?”

When asked what motivated the effort, the simple response was: “we do this for our children...if the forest does not survive how we will?” Officials, who were wondering if the initiative was taken to garner some funds from the government, are now convinced that it has nothing to do with the monetary or material considerations. When asked what they expected from the Forest Department the women said “only that you remain the friends that you have been”. The past history of tension and frequent harassment was probably still fresh in their memory, and it was the end of this that seemed to matter more than money. Nevertheless, to honour

and encourage the initiative, the department has provided a raincoat, cap, and backpack to each woman, for use during the patrolling.

The quiet transformation in Periyar is manifest not only in the better relations amongst officials and villagers, and enhanced livelihood

"when we were poaching it took us days to find one gaur, now that we are taking the tourist around we find them everywhere!" The Reserve officials also assert that wildlife has significantly benefited

opportunities, but also in the social arena. Reportedly, indebtedness to money lenders and heavy alcohol consumption among men had in the past led many women to turn to prostitution in the tourist town of Kumili,

and the men to various 'criminal' actions. The availability of more dignified opportunities in the last few years had allowed people to move away from such demeaning activities.

Another powerful example of how the initiative has helped create a stake in conservation, was recounted to us by two people from the *adivasi* (original settlers or Tribals) settlements. They spoke of how some social activists had come to them in the recent past, trying to incite them into encroaching into the Tiger Reserve as a legitimate *adivasi* claim on land. In both cases the villagers had refused, saying that they would continue to demand more land from the government, but would not grab forest land for the purpose.

How has this initiative affected the ecosystem and the wildlife therein? Our conversation with the members of the eco-development committees indicated that there has been substantial increase in the wild animal popula-

tions. As one trekker mentioned "when we were poaching it took us days to find one gaur, now that we are taking the tourist around we find them everywhere!" The Reserve officials also assert that wildlife has significantly benefited.

Can the initiative last?

So what has made this transformation take place, when in many other parts of India, eco-development initiatives have been either dismal failures or at best inconsequential? It is not possible to provide simple answers to this, and perhaps there are many intangible factors that will never be discernible. One factor may be the generally high level of social mobilisation in Kerala compared to most other states of India...

and maybe also the higher level of literacy. The successful recipe of the Vasant Sena certainly seems to include such ingredients. But one of the biggest reasons seems to have been a set of highly motivated, innovative, and above all, democratically-inclined forest officials. This group of people could come

...a set of highly motivated, innovative, and democratically-inclined forest officials.... a team...with constant discussions and deliberations, regular experimentation, improvement through feedback... open... sensitive... not afraid to try bold ways of achieving local support ...

together because the eco-development plan provided for an ecologist, an economist, a sociologist and forest officials to form a team. This group eventually became a small study circle with constant discussions and deliberations, regular experimentation, and improvement through feedback. They were open enough to try anything that would work. They were sensitive to the

people around them. In their relations with the villagers, we found them more like social activist NGO representatives than government officials... or rather, like what government officials should be! They had the interests of wildlife conservation squarely in their sights, and often engaged themselves in lengthy discussions on impacts of people's participation on wildlife, yet they were not afraid to try bold ways of achieving local support and of putting people's needs also as a central focus. One example stuck in our minds. Aware that the *adivasis* were dependent on fish from the Periyar Lake within the reserve, but also that such fishing may be considered to be 'illegal', they continued to permit fishing. They simply stated that the Tribals catch the exotic fish species that had entered the reservoir from an adjacent private estate. The argument could then be made that this activity was good for the indigenous species threatened by exotics (the wildlife law permits activities that are for the benefit of wildlife)! Indeed, the argument is doubly valid, for not only does this help to reduce exotic populations, but it also provides a continuing stake amongst the villagers to protect the reserve.

But, we asked, is access to livelihood resources are not established as rights, are they not subject to the whims and fancies of the Reserve's officials? The eco-development officers agreed, and said that one step towards this was the codification of such access to resources within the eco-development micro-plans. The next would be to include the provision of this access in the management plan of the reserve. They also agreed that the basic premise of eco-development as promoted in the GEF project, of securing conservation through reducing the 'pressures' of local people on the forest, was par-

tially faulty... An equally, if not more, important focus should be on promoting the positive relations of these people with the forest, including their traditional knowledge and practices of sustainability. Finally, they expressed a clear preference for involving local communities in the management of the Reserve, going beyond the current eco-development model of providing biomass and livelihood needs. Interestingly, they felt that there was no need to relocate the one village that was inside the Periyar Sanctuary, asserting that its presence was not only non-detrimental to conservation objectives, but actually supportive since it helped to check illegal activities by outsiders.

...no need to relocate the one village inside the Periyar Sanctuary, as its presence is not only non-detrimental to conservation objectives, but actually supportive since it helps to check illegal activities by outsiders...



Picture 3. Community based tourism at Periyar has helped generate livelihoods for local tribal people, and created a greater stake for conservation. (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)

Our next concern was: how would this initiative be sustained? The GEF project was drawing to a close in early 2004, what would happen after that? What if resources dry up, but even more than this, what if the current set of officials is transferred? This was a concern also voiced by villagers, and by officials, who did not want to see five years of hard effort coming to naught if the Reserve came under an insensitive set of officials. And so the Periyar team embarked on another innovative step, the formation of a Periyar Foundation (see Box 1 for details). This auto-

nous agency was set up in late 2004 by the state government, and has both government officials and community members in decision-making positions. This is an interesting and important experiment to watch, for other protected areas in India to learn from. It follows an earlier important step towards greater sustainability, the formation of a Confederation of Eco-development Committees, in early 2002. This Confederation enables greater collective power, exchange of experience, and conflict resolution.

Box 1. Achievements of participatory approach at Periyar Tiger Reserve and creation of the Periyar Foundation

Source: Promod Krishnan, Field Director, Periyar Tiger Reserve, Kerala, India, July 2005.

The India Eco Development Project, funded by the World Bank and the Global Environment Facility was implemented in the Tiger Reserve from 1996 onwards. The basic objective of the project was to reduce the impact of local people on forests by providing alternate and sustainable employment and involves them in forest protection activities. The project ended on 30.06.2004, after a period of seven years. Some of the achievements of this project in Periyar Tiger Reserve were:

- a. the protection of forests in Periyar Tiger Reserve improved significantly with substantial reduction in illegal cutting of trees, poaching, firewood collection, etc.;
- b. employment opportunities created to the tune of around 1, 00,000 man days, benefiting mostly the Tribals;
- c. community based ecotourism programmes generating around Rs 60,00,000 annually and providing direct employment to more than 500 tribal families;
- d. more than 2000 families participating in Sabarimala pilgrim season business and earning a decent livelihood;
- e. the state Government saving around 10 million rupees annually for the management of Periyar Tiger Reserve through the voluntary involvement of local people in forest protection.

In order to sustain these achievements beyond the life of the existing project, a public Trust named Periyar Foundation was established in 2004. The main objective of the Foundation is to support Periyar Tiger Reserve management in biodiversity conservation and community development activities with a landscape perspective. Being an autonomous organisation, the Foundation has the operational flexibility of a good Non Governmental Organization while getting the support from the Government.

Some important features of the Foundation are:

- it is a Government owned public Trust;
- the foundation works through a Governing Body (Chaired by Forest Minister, Kerala and Field Director, Project Tiger is the Executive Director) and an Executive committee;
- the Foundation also has public representation, as it includes members such as a local Member of Parliament, the Presidents of District Panchayats (local political body), members of the EDC, scientists and others;
- the Foundation has hired professionals in the field of ecology, sociology, economics, education and

others to undertake various activities;

- the Foundation is free to mobilize independent, local, regional, national and international resources;
- the Foundation is levying an Eco-development Surcharge from visitors to the Reserve (Rs.100 from foreigners and Rs10 from Indians).

Some activities carried out by the Foundation so far:

- improvement of the local Primary Health Care Centre located in the tribal settlement;
- upgrade of the basic amenities at 38 village *Anganavadis* (play schools) around the Reserve;
- adoption of three tribal schools around the Reserve;
- lead of the Clean Periyar Tiger Reserve Campaign and supply of waste bins to Kumili town;
- five research programmes conducted in the Reserve;
- 25 capacity building/ training programmes for staff and EDC members;
- accessed funds from Tourism Department (Rs.15, 00,000) to improve tourism facilities in the Reserve;
- sustained various eco-development activities in PTR.

We recommend that this remarkable effort is followed up with other measures, such as:

- finding diverse livelihood opportunities (there is currently too much dependence on pepper and ecotourism) including through the re-orientation of rural development programmes;
- facilitating greater community take-over of tourism which is currently in the hands of private or government tour operators;
- providing additional land to *adivasis* as close to the current settlements as possible;
- involving communities in the management of the Tiger Reserve;
- establishing clear rights to essential resources;
- respecting and utilising traditional knowledge in conservation; and
- addressing inequalities in the distribution of benefits amongst different EDCs and village groups, some of which have been pointed out by NGOs like Equations.

Eventually, the process needs to enter even more fundamental issues, which help re-establish community-based and

-controlled natural resource management, and reverse the historical alienation that has taken place between

adivasis and forests. There is also a need to search for alternative models of education, health, and employment that build on the skills and traditions of the communities themselves, and that help reconnect them to nature rather than alienate them further. There is already thinking towards many of these issues in the team at Periyar. The current initiative is a very good start, and it needs such vision and courage to tread further down the path of transformation.

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Livelihoods, poverty and the Namibian community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme: what way forward?

Christopher Vaughan

Abstract. Recent studies of conservation and development programmes recommend tackling poverty through devolution of authority, improved local governance and activities that “fit” livelihood priorities of local communities. The Namibian Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Programme is one such example - credited with delivering rural development, poverty eradication and improved wildlife management. The achievements of the Programme are laudable but variable and complex. CBNRM has resulted in differential household and livelihood impacts with winners and losers. Changes in wildlife utilisation practices and subsequent increases in wildlife populations have primarily been achieved by increased localized control of wildlife management rather than benefit distribution. Those closely involved with the Programme have gained employment and other opportunities, but a secondary impact has been increased conflict and restricted access to wildlife for some people. In some cases this has diminished household food security and promoted unsustainable forms of wildlife hunting e.g. by snaring. The CBNRM Programme has promoted new institutional arrangements for community wildlife management, tourism and NRM decision-making in the form of community “conservancies”, leading to new social and political landscapes. Communities are however still constrained by the only partial devolution of rights and the complexity of overlapping authority and responsibility for different resources. Achieving good governance remains challenging, with a need to increase transparency and accountability for decision-making. The Programme could better address equity between rich and poor and recognise the poor as the least likely to benefit. In the short-term, people face pressing livelihood security needs, which cannot be met through existing CBNRM benefits alone. There is no single way to provide opportunities for livelihood diversification and poverty reduction. Rather a suite of interventions and a programmatic focus on livelihood priorities is needed to achieve conservation and poverty reduction targets.

Recent studies of community wildlife management (CWM) and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) indicate the need to deliver not only conservation targets and economic incentives, but to address poverty and most importantly, the complex and multifaceted livelihood priorities of target populations. Recommendations support people-centred approaches based on good governance, with new institutional arrangements; institutionalised participation and rights based policy and legislation¹ Whilst

people-orientated approaches have been developed and widely promoted by conservation agencies since the 1980s examples of successful community driven and owned projects, that address poverty and deliver tangible livelihood benefits are few.²

The Namibian Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Programme is heralded as people-centred and pro-poor and is credited with providing devolution of community rights to new local institutions and institutions, thus supporting rural devel-

opment, poverty reduction and conservation. The Programme has reportedly resulted in the empowerment of local communities, the promotion of rural development and sustainable livelihoods, good governance and improved community natural resources management (NRM).³ Central to the success and sustainability of the CBNRM programme is its capacity to identify and deliver programme activities that support the livelihood priorities of the rural poor in Namibia's communal areas, thus addressing the dual goals of conservation and poverty reduction.

This paper draws on research findings from the Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification (WILD) Project.⁴ It summarises a number of critical issues relating to the Namibian CBNRM programme and the poverty and livelihood concerns of communal area residents. The programme's history, institutional arrangements, activities and current outcomes are described and its capacity to meet conservation and development agendas debated. The discussion presents suggestions for the programme to better address the livelihood needs of target populations and to deliver on the combined goals of rural development, poverty reduction and resource conservation. Whilst case study material focuses on the Namibia programme, programme and policy issues of relevance to the global conservation and development community are highlighted.

The Namibian Community-based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Programme

In Namibia, the government has explicitly recognised CBNRM as a rural development strategy in its national development plans and 2030 vision. The Namibian CBNRM Programme has two roots: the "community game

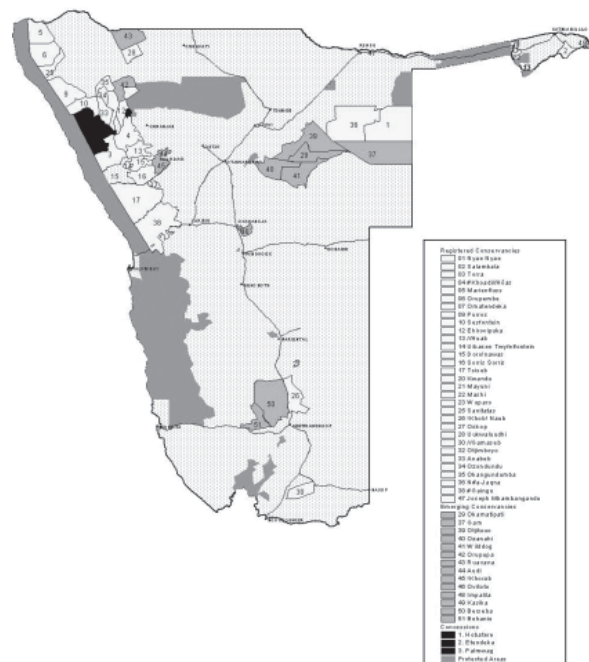
guards" initiative developed in response to heavy poaching (particularly of rhinos) in the Kunene region (formerly Kaokoland) in Namibia's Northwest, and more recently the 1996 wildlife legislation, which provides legal conditional rights to rural communities

...the 1996 wildlife legislation provides legal conditional rights to rural communities to manage and benefit from wildlife through the establishment of registered conservancies

to manage and benefit from wildlife through the establishment of registered community conservancies.⁵

Since the Programme was established and the first conservancies registered in 1998, there are now 31 registered conservancies and a further 30 or so

Registered and Emerging Conservancies



Picture 1. Registered and emerging conservancies. (Courtesy Namibia Nature Foundation 2004)

more evolving (Figure 1). The total area of communal land that currently falls under conservancy management amounts to 28 % of all communal land in Namibia, totalling 71,394 km². This is just under 9 % of all the land in Namibia. The number of registered members of conservancies is approximately 37,000 individuals— just under 15% of the close to a quarter of a million population in these areas.⁶ The Government estimates that within the next five years almost the entire communal area of Namibia will be under conservancies.

CBNRM in Namibia has reportedly contributed to wildlife protection and improved wildlife management, promoting wildlife species increases in communal areas, including desert-

Establishment of new conservancy organisations has substantially altered institutional arrangements for community and household wildlife management, tourism and broader NRM decision-making.

dwelling black rhino (*Diceros Bicornis*) and desert elephant (*Loxodonta Africana*). It has provided new community organisational and institutional structures for conservation and development planning and provided employment, training and rights restoration to previously disenfranchised post-apartheid communities. Establishment of new conservancy organisations has substantially altered institutional arrangements for community and household wildlife management, tourism and broader NRM decision-making. Social, economic relations and power relations have changed with new rights for resources falling under the conservancy remit. An important factor for change has undoubtedly been the development of a rights-based legislative and policy

framework and new institutional arrangements at the local level.

Measurements of Programme success have focussed on increases in wildlife numbers, macro-financial revenues generated and the numbers of conservancies established. However, as highlighted in the discussion below, these coarse indications of programme success inadequately explore the complexity of CBNRM programme effects on livelihoods.

There is currently no comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system (ME) and as this article demonstrates, the livelihood impacts of the programme, and opportunities for livelihood diversification and poverty reduction are complex and variable. As a result, the Government has expressed concerns over the extent to which CBNRM is able to directly support the livelihoods of rural communities and in so doing contribute directly to the national development targets of poverty reduction and rural economic growth.⁷ Whilst the conservancy programme continues to expand, key questions are being raised at government and local levels about the extent to which CBNRM has been able to address broader issues of governance, to support sustainable livelihoods and to reduce poverty.

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Actors, organisations and new institutional arrangements for CBNRM

The programme is primarily promoted by national and international NGOs and donors (among them USAID and

WWF), which provide support for the establishment and maintenance of the initiative.

Local communal area conservancy institutions are made up of a mixture of elected community representatives and employed community staff. Main activities include defining new geographical and political boundaries, drafting constitutions, defining membership, developing management plans, accessing funding and developing joint venture activities with tourism partners and the management (utilization and protection) of wildlife resources. Conservancy organisations are also involved in decisions relating to accessing employment and training opportunities, developing and distributing benefits and employing and deploying community game guards and environmental shepherds. The latter monitor wildlife numbers and illegal use and other NRM issues, e.g. drought and fire. Local residents have to register themselves as members of the conservancy organisation to receive benefits and to be able to vote at Conservancy annual general meetings.

The Namibian Government, especially the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) undertake a legislative and monitoring role with support for conservancy registration. Support is provided from regional offices and headquarters in Windhoek and through the recently developed CBNRM Support Division (CSD). However, overall, the CBNRM Programme is primarily promoted by NGOs, since government lacks the resources and flexibility of the NGOs, to respond to the demands of these new institutions. Government ministries, however, play a pivotal role in supporting and regulating community activities and developing and implementing policy and legislation.



Picture 2. Bersig community, Torra conservancy. (Courtesy Christopher Vaughan)

Livelihoods, poverty and the CBNRM Programme

In general terms, the livelihood priorities of communal area residents focus on securing incomes, maintaining their food security and reducing vulnerability. Livelihood strategies include livestock and cropping, a reliance on pensions and remittances, and access to informal employment. Residents of communal areas are constrained by a lack of alternative employment opportunities,

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with households critically dependent on access to a variety of natural resources including fuel wood, grazing and wildlife (for direct consumption, income and socio cultural purposes). Households utilise natural resources to different degrees, with some more dependant on specific resources than others.

Indicators of household wealth include livestock numbers, cropping area, income levels and the extent to which households are more or less reliant on natural resources. Geographical location, the nature and extent of social

networks and institutional linkages are also critical factors in determining a household's relative wealth and/or vulnerability profiles. The CBNRM Programme has a variety of impacts on the different members of the conservancies. Targeting the "poor and needy" is already a specific objective of some

Programme interventions may inadvertently favour the comparatively rich over the poorest of the poor.

conservancies' benefit distribution plans.⁸ The poor maybe hard to define and access for development purposes, yet according to

WILD research they were often likely to be living on wildlife frontlines (i.e. in geographically marginal areas) and dependant on wildlife utilisation for household food security.⁹ Conversely, they are the people most unlikely to be involved in conservancy planning and development activities. As a result, Programme interventions may inadvertently favour the comparatively rich over the poorest of the poor.

Access to cash income is critical for livelihood security— providing for food, education, health care and farming. Incomes to conservancies from consumptive and non-consumptive tourism (from wildlife sales to trophy hunters

and joint venture lodges) provide financial resources for local communities to develop their own wildlife management institutions and to distribute to members as incentives for ongoing resource conservation and management.

Aggregate conservancy incomes generated through consumptive and non-consumptive tourism have been significant. In 2000 the estimated total income for conservancies was just under N\$3.5 million (1N\$ = 6.76 US \$).¹⁰ In 2003, the income quadrupled to approximately N\$14.5 million.¹¹ Much of this income has, however, been retained centrally within conservancies in order to cover their ongoing running costs, with few households yet to receive substantial benefits¹² Since 1998, the distribution of collective conservancy income has taken place only in six conservancies. In Kunene, the Torra conservancy payout of N\$630 to registered members in 2003¹³ amounted to 8% of the average annual household incomes for the region.¹⁴ The income was predominantly used to pay school costs. In Caprivi, funds were used for development-related infrastructure projects or for celebrations amongst villages.

Generated revenues can often remain in the hands of committees or other decision-making bodies and are utilised to pay running costs, whilst distribution at household level remains little more than symbolic. This, however, also relates to the long and short-term capacity for conservancies to generate sufficient income, and to the extent by which sufficient income generating opportunities exist for conservancies. Whilst benefit sharing through distributing collective revenues is potentially an attractive option (people always need and welcome cash), it often fails to meet the direct and recurrent liveli-



Picture 3. Farmer milking goats in Kunene region. (Courtesy Christopher Vaughan)

hood needs of wildlife-using households (i.e. the poorer members of the communities). Also, benefits that may come from collective financial revenues often do not exceed the direct benefits derived from an individual's illegal use of wildlife for household purposes.¹⁵ The low level of household cash income from CBNRM dividends to date would appear to indicate that distribution of conservancy revenue incomes has yet to be a driving force for changing NRM management behaviour. The extent to which collective benefits to remote rural centres promote changing behaviour is also unclear and warrants further research.¹⁶

The lack of a participatory process for decision-making over collective revenue distribution is also problem-

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atic. Conservancy membership lists are often outdated with decisions over the amount to be paid out made without broad consultation. In the case of Torra Conservancy payout, both members and non-members received payouts. This caused conflict with no

transparent or agreed processes for resolution or broader community involvement in decision-making.¹⁷

Linking wildlife, tourism development and income generation are becoming more feasible, but not for all conservancies and in the short-term people face pressing livelihood security needs, which cannot be met through existing CBNRM benefits alone. Conservancy development planning and decision-

making for improved livelihood security and diversification opportunities needs to build on existing livelihoods strategies. Official support and political will at local, regional and national levels are needed to support this approach for conservancies. CBNRM could better address equity differences between rich and poor and recognise the poor as being the least likely to gain employment and to benefit equitably from distribution of meat, revenue, employment or training opportunities.

Options to target the poor and support cash and other forms of benefit distribution include:

1. the development and adoption of a pro-poor approach that identifies and supports vulnerable and poor peoples' priorities;
2. maximising livelihood security by securing CBNRM benefits and promoting rural development through education, healthcare and employment to reduce reliance on wildlife utilisation;
3. adoption of livelihoods approaches that focus on support strategies building directly on people's current activities;
4. acknowledgment of socio-economic differentiation specific targeting of pre-identified groups (e.g. poor and vulnerable etc);
5. full community participation in benefit distribution decision-making;
6. further research to review how individual versus collective cash payments act as incentives to change wildlife management behaviour.

Tourism and livelihoods

Tourism in communal areas currently benefits the livelihoods of a limited number of people by delivering income, employment, capacity building and career path development. In surveys car-

ried out for the WILD project only 3.6% of respondent in the Kunene region, and less than 1% in Caprivi region, listed CBNRM and tourism-related employment as their main occupations.¹⁸ In Caprivi, average incomes from tourism employment in 2003 amounted to N \$6,000 per annum— slightly less than the average household incomes from livestock, cropping, and natural resource sales (N\$6,500 per annum).¹⁹ However, those who gain tourism-related employment benefit from more stable incomes and a subsequent ability to support larger social networks. Tourism jobs do, however, tend to go to individuals who are already at the higher end of the wealth spectrum, are better educated, with a higher number of household members contributing to household incomes.²⁰ Again this brings into question the benefits of tourism for the poorest of the poor.



Picture 4. Staff at Damaraland Joint Venture tourism Camp Torra conservancy. (Courtesy Kit Vaughan)

Communities traditionally have few rights to control unregulated tourism and to negotiate benefits from existing concessions. Conservancies have limited rights over wildlife and *de jure* land rights remain in the hands of the government. This creates uncertainty in the negotiation process between communities and private enterprises. There is insufficient guidance from

government with regard to tourism development with confusion over tourism policy and legislation. There are site-specific costs in terms of restricting access to resources resulting from changes in land use e.g. restricting grazing mobility seasonally and geographically. Community-based tourism enterprises, have failed where there has been weak local governance and lack of clear service provider support.²¹ Whilst the CBNRM programme has supported a foundation for communities to develop new tourism enterprises and seek joint ventures with the private sector, this has brought new associated costs of conflict and restriction of access. In several cases this has resulted in increased community conflict and court cases.²²

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Opportunities to support livelihoods and tourism development include:

- better clarity on government policy relating to the position of communities in regard to existing and proposed tourism concessions and leaseholds;
- the establishment of an appropriate National Tourism Concession Framework to devolve rights and assist in the long-term financial viability of conservancies;
- government could adopt, develop and operationalise a pro-poor tourism policy, focusing on tourism developments that have positive impacts contributing directly to poverty reduction, enhanced livelihood security and social empowerment;

- good local governance could be better encouraged to deal with tourism enterprises and address conflict;
- conservancies support to develop inclusive stakeholder integrated land-use planning processes that mitigate site-specific livelihood costs;
- rights provision to communities for tourism related activities.

Wildlife management

Understanding social relations is a critical aspect of understanding the processes involved in achieving community wildlife management objectives, which is as much about conservation as it is about wider processes of social change and attempts to redistribute social and political power. In Namibia new forms of management, combined with existing institutional norms and accepted practices have led to new social and political landscapes and power configurations at the local level. Changes in wildlife utilisation practices and increases in species numbers have primarily been achieved by increased localized control of wildlife management rather than the distribution of benefits. The deployment of community game guards has discouraged poaching. This change in local wildlife management and shift in community attitudes to wildlife management has been supported by the provision of community hunts and the deployment of community game guards, who have restricted "illegal" hunting by households, through increased monitoring and the enforcement of externally-derived government wildlife laws.

Legal wildlife utilisation (e.g., game hunting and meat distribution) has provided direct livelihood benefits and acted as an incentive for collective management as well as mitigating some of the costs associated with human-wildlife conflict. This in turn has

led to changes in perception by local communities, who are increasingly able to see the link between their own community conservancy management and the wildlife they are surrounded by. However meat distribution alone contributes little to overall livelihood security, although timing of hunts and species are desirable by local people. Creating links between managing and benefiting from wildlife is important. Even in areas where meat distribution takes place, some people continue to hunt illegally for the pot – and worryingly there is some evidence of an increase in more covert forms of hunting such as snaring and trapping.²³

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While the use of community game guards has discouraged poaching, illegal wildlife use continues to play a critical role in people's livelihoods and is governed by complex local social arrangements within which there is locally considered "good and bad practice". Approximately one quarter of households surveyed by WILD use wildlife and it is important particularly for poorer households. Wildlife use, even if "illegal", allows least secure households to meet immediate food requirements and to reserve more secure resources, such as livestock or crops, for future use. Currently there is a gap in the knowledge and capacity of the programme to understand the extent and practices of local wildlife utilisation, and a lack of programme focus on the importance of traditional, historical and cultural practices that shape, and con-

tinue to shape existing wildlife use and management.

Options to support improved wildlife management include:

- conservancy and CBNRM Programme activities explicitly recognise the links between livelihood security and wildlife use for some households and build existing wild food uses into its planning processes;
- a specific initiative focuses on locally valued species rather than the current focus on charismatic high value mega fauna;
- increased awareness of the factors influencing wildlife management behaviour and the costs and benefits of control and incentives approaches;
- local norms and sanctions are developed for managing and regulating wildlife use;
- analysis of options for minimising and mitigating the negative effects of restricting wildlife access, particularly for poorer groups;
- better understanding of both the significance of wildlife use to different household types and the impact of harvesting upon the wildlife resource base;
- improved communication and broader participation in decision-making processes;
- improved understanding of the implications of devolving local hunting beyond the conservancy level;
- review of the extent by which control mechanisms support changes in wildlife management behaviour and subsequent effects on the sustainability of that behaviour e.g., moves towards indiscriminate snaring to selective hunting with dogs and spears;
- support and acknowledgement to the traditional and cultural practices associated with wildlife management and use.

Human-wildlife conflicts

Rural people, government and NGO staff all report an increase in wildlife numbers as a result of the CBNRM Programme but also, and as a consequence, an increase in human-wildlife conflict (HWC). This affects the extent to which people will continue to support conservancy initiatives.²⁴ HWC is a complex problem with no single and easy solution. It results in a variety of impacts on livelihoods with poorer groups tending to suffer the most.²⁵

In Caprivi estimates of average financial loss from wildlife damage to crops, amounted to approximately 20% of average annual incomes.²⁶ This does not reflect the severity of impact on those who earn considerably less or for those who lose their entire crop. Impacts to livelihoods result from income losses from crop or livestock sales, but also loss of access to valuable food sources, labour and financial investment. WILD research revealed that existing HWC data isn't system-

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atically collated and analysed and that there is little integration between stakeholders, including MET, other government departments, NGOs and communities. Conservancies are increasingly seen by a variety of stakeholders as the responsible institutions, yet they have no direct authority to deal with the HWC problems. Legally, the responsibility for protected areas and protected species still resides with government, and as yet there is no policy on HWC clarifying the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders.

To mitigate the costs of HWC, the CBNRM Programme and conservancies are striving to improve HWC monitoring and reporting systems, protect water points, introducing electric fences to protect gardens, lobbying government to simplify procedures for problem animal control, and piloting a Human Animal Conflict Compensation Scheme (HACCS).

Options to reduce HWC and support livelihoods include:

- developing participatory processes to agree locations of dams, fences and accept responsibility for their maintenance;
- offsetting HWC costs in tangible ways with support for community derived solutions with clear and transparent compensation schemes;
- supporting further development of the HACCS scheme based on community derived priorities;
- developing integrated multi-stakeholder strategy for HWC specific to regions, involving conservancies, traditional authorities and conservancy membership;
- developing a MET policy document clarifying the roles and responsibilities of government staff in managing HWC and devolving problem animal control to regions;
- supporting the systematic collection of HWC incidence data and processes for collaborative institutional and community collective action for incident reporting and prevention.

Way forward for CBNRM while addressing Poverty and Livelihood priorities

The above discussion illustrates how the introduction of new forms of wildlife management in Namibia has led to the emergence of new social and political landscapes and configurations of power

at the local level. This has differential livelihood impacts and promotes variable options for livelihood diversification. CBNRM is a fast expanding and growing programme but still in its infancy. It is very important to assess progress as early as possible and to use research findings to dynamically adjust programme activities.

If the conservancy programme is to become sustainable and deliver positive livelihood impacts and reduce poverty it critically requires a better understanding of people's livelihood practices and priorities. This would support processes of institutionalising participation at conservancy and programme levels, improve planning and decision-making and the identification of appropriate conservancy-level livelihood support strategies. The poor constitute the majority, yet they face the highest costs of adopting wildlife and tourism activities by losing access to important wild resources and suffering from HWC. Current and future interventions and support activities must address differences between rich and poor. In addition the poor are the least likely to gain employment and achieve benefit equity from distribution of meat, revenue, or training opportunities. There is no single way to improve and provide livelihood support; rather a suite of small-scale interventions is needed to provide optimum strategies together with a process of institutionalised participation.

Each conservancy could develop support activities based on a participatory learning and action research processes. This would identify options towards supporting the priorities of particular groups of people, such as the rich and poor, the young and the old, wildlife users and non users, the urban and the rural, etc. Conservancies could

pilot various interventions and monitor effectiveness. CBNRM strategies to support existing and future opportunities for livelihoods diversification need to address increasing income from wildlife. Numerous social and institutional, policy and legislation issues also need to be addressed to support livelihoods and poverty reduction, as well as enabling communities to exercise rights to fully manage and benefit from wildlife.

For the majority of conservancies' residents, the contribution that conservancy wildlife and tourism activities make was not seen as a priority or of central importance to livelihoods. CBNRM needs to further integrate programmatic activities with livelihood priorities and create links between the activities and practices of rural producers and income from wildlife and tourism. This requires an increased understanding of livelihoods, sufficient skills and resources amongst CBNRM support organisations, and the prerequisite will to deliver programme activities that "fit" the livelihood priorities of local communities.

The Namibian CBNRM Programme has supported poverty alleviation in some cases whilst also restricting some people's access to illegal wildlife use and potentially increasing household food insecurity in others. The Programme's development has supported improvements in localised forms of wildlife management and conservation and developed opportunities for tourism but has in some cases increased conflict. In order to better deliver on its dual objectives, the CBNRM Programme needs to integrate its activities with locally defined livelihood priorities to balance its current conservation agenda. The Programme's achievements have provided a foundation for future development activities and are highly laudable, but are more complex than

at first glance. As in any development interventions there are winners and losers and positive and negative outcomes for all parties. While CBNRM has the capacity to sustainably meet more of the livelihood needs of marginalized peoples, reduce poverty and meet conservation targets, it remains to be seen as to whether it will find the prerequisite will and resources to do so.

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Notes

- 1 Agrawal *et al.*, 2001 ; Adams *et al.*, 2003 ; Adams 2004 ; Brown, 2003; DFID WAP, 2002 ; Grimble *et al.*, 2002 ; Jeanrenaud, 2002, Hulme *et al.*, 2001, Long *et al.*, 2004, Roe 2001.
- 2 Jeanrenaud *op cit*, Hulme *et al.*, *op cit*.
- 3 Jones, 1999; 2002.
- 4 WILD was a Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Government of Namibia research project, funded by the UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID). The WILD project researched the implications of changing natural resource use and management arising from CBNRM programme interventions and their effects upon household livelihoods.
- 5 A *Conservancy* is the name given by the government to the legally recognized institutions established to manage new rights over wildlife. A conservancy consists of a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably. Members practice normal farming activities and operations in combination with wildlife use on a sustainable basis. The main objective is to promote greater sustainable use through co-operation and improved management. Conservancies are operated and managed by members through a Conservancy Committee. (Ref. www.dea.met.gov.na, accessed 17/02/05)
- 6 Long, 2004.
- 7 Long, 2004.
- 8 Long, 2004; Vaughan *et al.*, 2003a and 2003b.

- 9 Vaughan, in progress.
- 10 Long, 2004.
- 11 Long, 2004.
- 12 Suich, 2003; Long *et al.*, *op cit*; Vaughan *et al.*, 2003C).
- 13 Vaughan *et al.*, 2003c.
- 14 Long, 2004.
- 15 Vaughan in progress.
- 16 Vaughan *et al.*, 2003c.
- 17 Vaughan *et al.*, 2003c.
- 18 Long, 2004; Suich *op cit*. This work was part of a quantitative survey covering 1192 households in total and 573 specifically in Caprivi and 619 in Kunene region. Respondents were randomly sampled and included employees of lodges and conservancy organisations.
- 19 Suich., *op cit*.
- 20 Long, 2004, Suich, *op cit*.
- 21 Long, 2004.
- 22 Long, 2004; Murphy *et al.*, 2003; Vaughan in progress.
- 23 Long, 2004; Vaughan *et al.*, 2003a ; Vaughan *et al.*, 2003b.
- 24 Vaughan *et al.*, 2003a.
- 25 Murphy *et al.*, 2003.
- 26 Suich, *op cit*.
- 27 WILD was a three-year applied socio-economic research project, supported by the Department for International Development (DFID) UK Government and the Namibian Government's Ministry of Environment and Tourism Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA). The WILD project researched the implications of changing natural resource use and management arising from CBNRM programme interventions and the effects upon household livelihoods. In addition to the final technical report WILD produced 28 working papers, 10 research discussion papers, several databases, consultants' reports, fact sheets and posters and held numerous workshops. All of this information is available from the DEA library in Windhoek or from Wild's website: <http://www.dea.met.gov.na/met/programmes/Wild/wild.htm>. Information used for this paper is derived from data generated under the project. Some figures may have changed since collection. Research topics ranged from tourism, community enterprises, meat distribution, and local wildlife use and conservancy wildlife utilisation and in depth household livelihoods research.

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Joint development in protected area buffer zones: three case studies in Brazil

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Abstract. Participatory conservation and development initiatives in the buffer zone of protected areas are an approach to minimize impacts on the areas and promote sustainable development in the adjacent region. Some such initiatives were analyzed in three different protected area sites in Brazil, all belonging to IUCN Category II ("national park") and situated in the Mata Atlântica Region. The sites, however, were under the governance of different institutions acting at different levels (a national conservation body, a state forestry institute and a non-governmental organisation). Since 1995, the three governance institutions collaborated in a project supported by the German Technical Cooperation. Although the areas had different surroundings, histories and management approaches, some general conclusions can be drawn from the case studies. Functioning of participatory conservation and development projects in the buffer zones was found to be influenced by interacting factors, such as personal interest, institutional support and social organisation. On one hand, some negative factors reinforced each other and diminished participation and project success. On the other, some positive factors seemed able to contribute to the development of active and constructive partnerships. Two main participatory approaches can concern buffer zone initiatives: participation in conservation and development projects in the buffer zones and participation in the management of the protected area, for example through management contracts or committees. Focus here is on the first approach and the analysis shows that the three initiatives do not appear to have made major contributions to poverty alleviation. More positive results, however, were achieved when local actors were stimulated to promote their own development or strong institutional partnerships could be built. The institutions managing protected areas do not seem well suited to take sole responsibility for the promotion of development in the buffer zones.

Protected areas, poverty alleviation and participation

Over the past decade the perception of the role of protected areas changed from a sole conservation oriented focus to an inclusion of social and economic issues. People-oriented approaches to biodiversity conservation are now widely accepted and the linkage of protected areas to sustainable development is receiving more and more attention.¹ Many social conflicts become apparent during establishment as well as implementation of protected areas (especially for the more restrictive IUCN management categories,² which in this paper will be referred to as "parks") and public participation and involvement of local stakeholders is seen as a

possible solution.³ Two different approaches of participation for parks can be distinguished: participation through promotion of integrated conservation and development projects in the buffer zones and direct participation of local stakeholders in the management of protected areas, for example through management contracts or committees. Focus here is on the first approach concerning sustainable development in the buffer zones and its contribution to poverty alleviation. Subject of this study were three different Brazilian protected areas belonging to the IUCN Category II, for which both public participation and contribution to poverty alleviation are still controversial features. The three areas are governed

by different institutions, allowing for differentiated analyses of the processes in question.⁴

Integrated conservation and development in the buffer zone

Integrated conservation and development initiatives in buffer zones of protected areas are designed to minimize impact on these areas and promote local development in the surrounding region. Projects aim at the compensation of local stakeholders affected by resource use restrictions and loss in income or other hardships caused by the establishment of the protected area. Participation of local stakeholders in planning and implementing such activities is seen as essential for their long term success. Methods used for this approach are often adapted from rural development. Joint learning, multiple perspectives, flexibility and support for local innovations are seen as basic conditions to promote rural development. Along with the local realities, it is important to acknowledge policy context, organizational culture, management structures, professional norms and field practice in all these approaches, to achieve long term positive outcomes not only on local level.

However, there is still little consistent evidence that these efforts increase sustainability of conservation and rural development at the same time. An increasing number of authors questions these integrated approaches for being based on false assumptions and being implemented without taking the local social and political reality into account.⁵ Often perceived as conservation projects, managers fail to realize that they are in fact promoting large scale social interventions where rural development activities have to fulfill conservation objectives.

Challenges for participatory conservation and development initiatives in buffer zones are

similar to those for participatory approaches in general. Most projects criticized do not consider lessons already learned in regards to local involvement and participation in rural development projects.

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Therefore not the approach of integrated conservation and development itself, but rather the actual implementation in the field is still full of flaws. Participation of local stakeholders certainly is no warrant for long-term conservation, but failure to involve local stakeholders may guarantee a projects' failure. The aim of this contribution is to analyze the factors influencing participation in these integrated approaches and their contribution to poverty alleviation.

How can participation be analyzed?


The participatory approaches studied are dynamic processes, changing and adapting over time. The research methodology had to be able to capture these changes. An open approach was therefore chosen, where only broad thematic outlines are defined in the beginning and questions are developed and adapted throughout the research and analyses periods. Validity, reliability and objectivity of the information were verified through the multiple sources and iterations. Data and trends observed were crosschecked from different sources. Repetition of the same observations with different actors or at different times allowed eliminating biases occurring in qualitative research. Before presenting the actual case studies a theoretical outline of participation

is given here.

As most definitions of participation are very broad and yet often fail to capture all meanings of the term as used, a specific framework was developed for this analysis. Two different criteria

are used to distinguish participatory approaches. They are elaborated and presented in the following, discussing the different understandings of participation. Figure 1 gives an overview of the framework as a whole.

Participation as a <u>mean</u> for efficiency							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Institution	minimal	informing	information seeking	actively consulting	negotiating	sharing authority	transferring authority
Local stakeholder	nominal	passive	informing	giving opinions	active functional	interactive	taking responsibility



Participation as an end for empowerment and equity

Figure 1. Different understandings of participation. (adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996, Pimbert and Pretty, 1997 and Diamond, 2002)

There are two distinct perspectives for participatory approaches that influence their implementation greatly.⁶ Participation can in fact be understood as:

- a mean to improve efficiency of certain interventions, resulting in a change that is sustainable and approved by a larger number of people.
- an end, necessary for equity and empowerment of underprivileged groups.

Although both perspectives are often mixed and their distinction is not always straightforward,⁷ it is important to have these different perspectives in mind when analyzing participatory approaches. In addition, there are different levels of participation along a continuum, from simple sharing of information to transfer of power and responsibilities.⁸ Normally more than one party is involved, each perceiving the process from different points of

view. In most cases, one is an institution (government or non-governmental organization) promoting a development project, a change process, or a field study. The group affected by the measure in question, often referred to as local stakeholders, is the other party. Although there are often more groups involved, for example other NGOs or scientists, only the perspectives of the first two groups will be considered for the development of the framework, as their differences are more pronounced. Some different "levels of participation" are shown in Figure 1.

From the first to the last level, contributions and interventions from the local stakeholders increase and the control of the managing institution lessens. Control is partially transferred to local stakeholders and expectations increase on their part. Although different authors argue over one level over another, the order of levels does not imply here a ranking of importance or

preference. Understanding participation as a mean to achieve effectiveness allows choosing a level of participation in order to maximize a positive outcome. Institutions then are reluctant to pass decision-making authority to local stakeholders, and levels E, F, and G are seldom used. Seeing participation on the other hand as an end to empower local stakeholders, these latter levels become preferable. It is important to emphasize that the different levels are not distinct, but rather a continuum.

It is acknowledged here that understanding participation in the literary sense of "taking part" or "acting together", neither levels A, B nor level G can be considered participatory. In those cases, the local stakeholders or the institution are only very distantly involved in management and decision-making activities. Yet, activities on all such levels are commonly referred to as "participatory" (for example stakeholders "participation" in lectures given by the institution or community-based management of natural resources) and because of that they are included in this study.

Participatory approaches are increasingly applied to protected area management, although with different aims, objectives and methods, which result in different social impact as well as intended and unintended outcomes.⁹ Participation has been studied by various authors in different settings, but most studies focus on methodological questions or stakeholder analyses. Documentation of successful approaches is rare and urgently needed. Which kind of participation is the most adequate and what are practical methods of achieving this in already established areas with often conflicting surroundings are aspects addressed here.

Context of the studies

Participation in Brazilian protected area management is mandated through recent legislation. The SNUC, a law that established the National System of Protected Areas in 2000, foresees social participation in the establishment and management of protected areas through public consultations, establishment of committees and co-management with non-governmental organizations. Although these legal changes are quite advanced in the international context, implementation is slow, as protected area institutions have to adapt to the new requirements.

However, there are a few initiatives in Brazil that introduced participation in protected area management and started already prior to these changes. One of them is the Doces Matas Project. It was initiated in 1995 to contribute to the conservation of the remaining forest fragments of the Mata Atlântica through new and innovative approaches. Its objective was to establish participatory management systems for protected areas, focusing on interactive processes between different institutions and local residents.

The Mata Atlântica, also called the Brazilian Coastal Forest, once extended along the Brazilian east coast and covered the mountain ranges with a diverse forest, including many endemic species. Today it is considered one of the 25 most important hotspots for biodiversity conservation worldwide, but human settlements, agriculture and industry only left about 8% of the original vegetation cover.¹⁰

The Brazilian institutions involved in the Doces Matas Project are two Brazilian government institutions from different administration levels: the federal Brazilian Institute for Environment and Renewable Natural Resources

(IBAMA) and the Minas Gerais State Forestry Institute (IEF), as well as the non-governmental organization (NGO) Fundação Biodiversitas. They represent different governance levels, allowing for an interesting comparison in this study.¹¹ All of them receive technical and financial support by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit mbH (GTZ), a German cooperation enterprise for sustainable development with worldwide operations.

Focus of the Doces Matas Project are three protected areas situated in the watershed of the Doce River (see Figure 2), each managed by one of the institutions just mentioned:

protected area	managing institution
Caparaó National Park	IBAMA
Rio Doce State Park	IEF
Mata do Sossego Private Reserve	Fundação Biodiversitas

The national park and the private reserve are characterized by their location on the higher mountain ranges, providing water for the surrounding region, while the state park is dominated by a lowland lake system. All three areas have a protection status, which allows only for indirect use through visitation and scientific research following the criteria for IUCN Category II.

The areas are isolated forest patches suffering human pressure from the adjacent area. Coffee monoculture, with frequent use of pesticides and high erosion, is expanding in the two mountain regions (national park and private reserve), while the region surrounding the state park is characterized by a very heterogeneous surrounding area including farmland, eucalyptus plantations and a nearby urban and industrial center.¹²

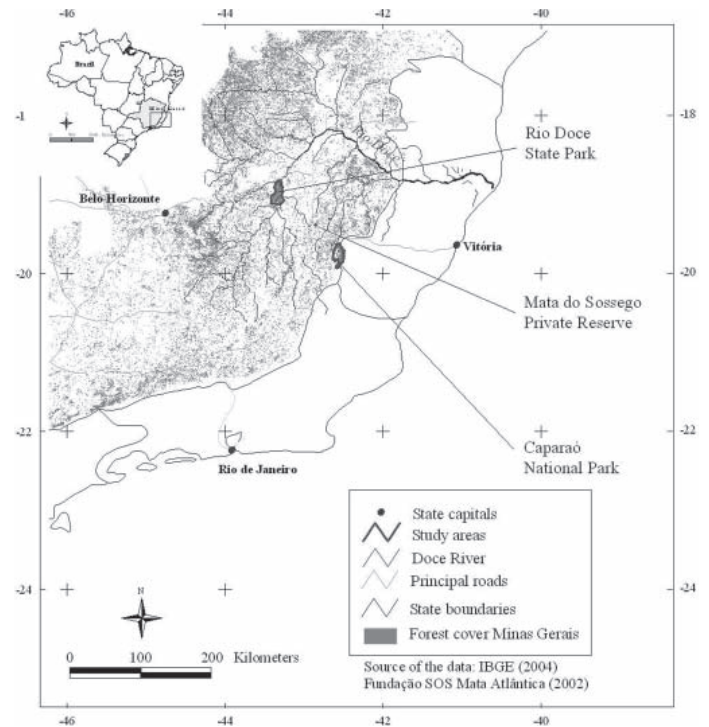


Figure 2. Study areas in the Mata Atlântica region in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais.



Picture 1. View of Caparaó National Park. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

Caparaó National Park

The National Park is a national tourism attraction, located in two different states within a region dominated by coffee monoculture. It attracts tourists not only from the surrounding region, but also from the urban centers in the coastal region. Park management objectives and priorities changed in the last few years from a concentration on the

park, to an opening towards the buffer zone, following international and national policies chances concerning protected area management. Nevertheless, conflicts still exist, enhanced by centralized actions from the headquarters of the federal institution managing the park. Expropriations, necessary after the recent establishment of park boundaries, were the most widely discussed topic. Absence of information and consultation of the local land users generated conflicts and mistrust. Another difficulty was the differences in tourism benefits obtained by the two states, and an increasing competition between institutions.

Promotion of development and conservation in the buffer zone was initiated by the park administration and the Doces Matas Project. It includes two main initiatives: alternative agricultural practices and planning of ecological tourism. The first initiative is promoted by a partnership of organizations from the buffer zone, comprising the local offices of the state rural extension services, the forest institutes, local farmers associations and the park management. Difficulties in the beginning of the initiative were their very different institutional objectives and the reluctance of the local staff of all institutions to increase their work load and take responsibility for the partnership. Through workshops, joint field work and excursions, they realized the common goal of promoting a sustainable development through changes in agricultural practices and the advantages of joining forces. The second initiative concerning sustainable tourism development was initiated by participants of the Doces Matas Project in the state capital of Minas Gerais, far away from local realities and without the participation of local groups. Involvement of local actors started in a second step. Missing knowledge of the coordinating

group concerning local interests and conflicts further complicated the process. Discussions were tiresome and joint implementation of ecological tourism projects is slow as of today.

Analysis of the participatory approaches employed in the above described initiatives showed that participation occurred at an institutional level, integrating different organized stakeholders working in the buffer zone. Different levels of participation could be identified, from shared authority (level F in Figure 1) for the implementation of environmental sound agricultural practices, to minimal participation (level A) concerning the establishment of new limits and the ongoing expropriations. Advantages of institutional cooperation for the promotion of integrated development and conservation projects were evident. Through joint institutional activities of buffer zone organizations, actions can be more easily adapted to local realities and carried out more effectively. Cooperation among local actors was more successful than among non-local groups. Due to these and other activities promoted by the park, the articulation of institutions in the buffer zone is increasing. The most prominent changes can be observed in park staff. Not only, are they working with more enthusiasm in the buffer zone, they also apply learned social skills in their day to day activities,



Picture 2. View of Rio Doce State Park.
(Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

promoting a better image of the park in the surrounding area.

Rio Doce State Park

The State Park is a lowland park, managed by the State Forestry Institute. The region surrounding the park is heterogeneous, with a variety of different stakeholders and interests. Park objectives focus on conservation. Economic development of the buffer zone to minimize pressure on the park is another goal defined in the management plan. Perceptions of the relationship between the park and the surrounding area vary according to perspective. While the residents of the adjacent region find the park distant from their daily activities, park staff describes the relationship as good and see the park as a promoter of local development.

Several projects have been initiated in the buffer zone by the park administration and the Doces Matas Project. Production of banana sweets from organic banana plantations, and of bamboo furniture and sweets from other local fruits are some examples. Most projects were initiated through discussions with local actors (farmers, school teachers or other community members), but without institutional support from headquarters. Environmental education and an integrated plan for the prevention and control of forest fires are other important initiatives, where the park cooperates with buffer zone institutions. Participation in development initiatives in the surrounding area is seen as a mean to improve park conservation by staff of the Forestry Institute. Nevertheless, park staff envisions a more active involvement of stakeholders than staff from the distant headquarters. As this engagement does not correspond to an institutional priority, other tasks are seen as more important by the decision-making level and incentives are entirely absent.

Stakeholders from the buffer zone do not question the existence of the park. However, depending on prior contact to the park, their educational level and their social organization, they demand a more active participation in planning and execution of the development initiatives in the buffer zone. The conservation and development activities were not a priority among the park administrations tasks and even the local actors, used to outsiders planning their activities, did not take responsibility for them.

Participation occurred at different levels over time and space. For most of the initiatives analyzed, the level of involvement was low (level B to C in Figure 1). Negotiation and interactive participation (levels E and F) existed only for specific concerns, such as fire prevention or environmental education, where contracts with municipal governments or industrial companies were signed.



Picture 3. Production of banana sweets in the buffer zone of Rio Doce State Park. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

Private Reserve of Mata do Sossego

The Private Reserve is the smallest of the three areas owned and managed by an NGO. In contrast to its size, the reserve has an important contribution

to conservation as it is situated in a larger forest remain and harbors one of the most threatened primate species of the region. The rural communities surrounding the reserve are characterized by coffee monoculture by small-scale farmers, with little access to economic or social services. Contacts between the reserve staff and the surrounding communities were good and regular in areas where activities were carried out, but more distant with other communities, due to time and transportation constraints. Relationships with local associations were collaborative and exchanges occurred frequently. Cooperation with state institutions depended on personal interest of staff in the local offices, making the relationships at times complicated.

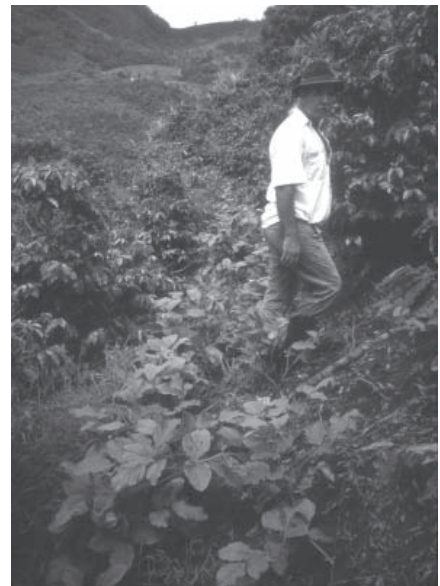
The work of the NGO focused on the communities and the establishment of sustainable agricultural techniques and agroforestry in the coffee plantations. Contact was initiated through participatory rural appraisals, where whole communities were called to discuss their problems. In the first community, conservation objectives were only a very small part of the issues listed as important. This changed over the years, as work initiated in new communities and conservation objectives became more important in the region and were stated more clearly by the NGO. Farmers associations got initiated and alternatives to coffee monoculture came to the fore.

Reserve staff and employees working in the headquarters had different perspectives of participation in local development. Their opinions diverged on optimal level of stakeholder and community involvement. Reserve staff saw participation initiated during development approaches as an end to empower local communities and stakeholders to promote their own activities in the

future, envisioning an interactive participation (level F), or the take over of responsibilities by communities (level G). Focus for NGO staff from headquarters was the conservation of the reserve and the development activities were seen as a mean to get the support of the local communities for their objectives.

All different levels of participation could be found in the relationship of the NGO with the rural communities and the different stakeholders in the area surrounding the reserve. Minimal contact to the rural communities was observed in areas outside the project intervention (level A), but interactive cooperation with shared responsibilities (level F) could also be frequently observed for certain topics in the last few years. Transfer of responsibilities (level G) did only occur for very specific tasks, and NGO staff acknowledges that this might be more possible in the future. Involvement of institutional actors, especially the state institutions, depended on personal interests, as institutional priorities did not include rural development or alternative practices.

The initiatives might not assure immediate conservation of the reserve or remaining forest patches in the surrounding area, but they certainly contributed to social organization within the municipality. Although support for conservation var-



Picture 4. Buffer zone of the Mata do Sossego Private Reserve.
(Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

ies depending on the personal views of the stakeholders, an increase in cooperation could be observed. Support for local development that would not cause adverse environmental impact was the common ground of communication and agreement. Environmental conservation became more important over time and agricultural alternatives became more of an issue within the municipality. Local groups acquired a degree of social awareness that prompted self-organization to defend their rights.

How does participation work?

In all three protected areas studied here, park managers, buffer zone stakeholders and residents of the local communities confirm changes towards a closer relationship over the past few years. Although the areas were quite different in regards to their history of establishment, the characteristics of their surrounding regions and implemented approaches, some general conclusions about participation and buffer zone initiatives can be drawn.

The context of the initiatives was determined by the political and legal back-

grounds, the support provided by the international cooperation project Doces Matas and the history of the areas themselves. Although local conflicts concerning all three protected areas were common, their overall existence was not questioned, neither by buffer zone institutions, nor by residents of the adjacent rural and urban communities. The governmental areas were created a long time ago and the private reserve is small and distant to most rural communities, aspects that both contributed to acceptance of the areas.

Although local conflicts concerning all three protected areas were common, their overall existence was not questioned, neither by buffer zone institutions, nor by residents of the adjacent rural and urban communities

Desired level of participation

Different interpretations of participation became obvious in the three case studies. The desired level varied substantially depending on the different groups involved (Figure 3).

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
minimal	informing	information seeking	actively consulting	negotiating	sharing authority	transferring authority
nominal	passive	informing	giving opinions	active functional	interactive	taking responsibility
Local institutional stakeholders ■			Local communities ■			
	■					
Protected area staff ■			Headquarter staff ■			
	■					

Figure 3. Desired levels of participation for the different actors for activities in the buffer zone.

Participation level preferred by the actors from the surrounding region varied

substantially for local stakeholders and residents of the local communities in

all three areas. Institutional stakeholders were interested in participating actively not only in discussions but also in decision-making, especially concerning activities in the buffer zones or in management of the areas, where public use and other activities affected them. Conversely, participation was mainly seen as a means to improve protected area management and to assure their long term conservation by staff of the protected areas and headquarters' staff of the managing institution. Only local staff of the private reserve, and some members of the ecological tourism group acting in the buffer zone of the national park saw participation in local development initiatives as an end and an avenue to empower local communities. Their objective was the mobilization of the communities or buffer zone stakeholders to pursue their own development goals in a sustainable way. All protected area managers aimed at more active levels of involvement than their respective superiors in the distant headquarters, especially for activities in the buffer zone.

Level of participation implemented

Participation level implemented varied for the different activities and increased over time for some of them. All differ-

ent levels of participation described in the framework were found in the three protected areas. Participation increased over time for activities promoted in the buffer zones of the national park and the private reserve, changing from low levels of involvement (levels B or C) to a more active participation of local actors (level E or F). Participation was higher from the beginning on in the private reserve, but in both governmental areas more active levels of participation occurred for specific activities. Involvement level of local communities was lowest in the state park (level B - C),

All protected area managers aimed at more active levels of involvement than their respective superiors in the distant headquarters, especially for activities in the buffer zone

where few changes occurred over time. The integrated plan for fire prevention from the same park, however, is a good example for shared authority (level F). Transfer of authority (level G) was found only for specific activities and concerning some stakeholders in the private reserve.



Picture 5. Coffee farmer and intercropping with legumes in the buffer zone of the Mata do Sossego Private Reserve. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)



Picture 6. Farmers market in the vicinity of the Mata do Sossego Private Reserve – a first attempt to increase income. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

Factors influencing implementation of participatory approaches

The factors influencing participation could be separated into four groups: individual, socio-cultural, institutional and logistical.

...stereotypes, insufficient knowledge and low institutional priority interact and make it increasingly difficult to overcome existing conflicts ... [while] ... personal contact, social skills and self-confidence are important to raise participation levels...

The different factors interact and either increase or decrease participation (Figure 4). Where participation levels are low, certain negative factors enhanced one another. Established stereotypes, insufficient knowledge of the different realities and low institutional priority interact and make it increasingly difficult to overcome existing conflicts.

Individual factors, such

as personal contact, social skills and self-confidence were found important to raise participation levels, especially in the early phases of the process. Once participation is established, increased involvement promotes a series of positive factors, which enhance each other. With raising involvement, knowledge about the local and institutional realities increases and joint planning and implementation is facilitated. Institutional factors are important for the higher participation levels. Social organization in the buffer zone and the decentralization of protected area institution are essential to reach higher levels of participation, as effective negotiations can not occur without these changes. The involvement of the decision-making level of protected area institutions in the local activities may be an alternative to decentralization, but achievement seems impossible for all protected areas.

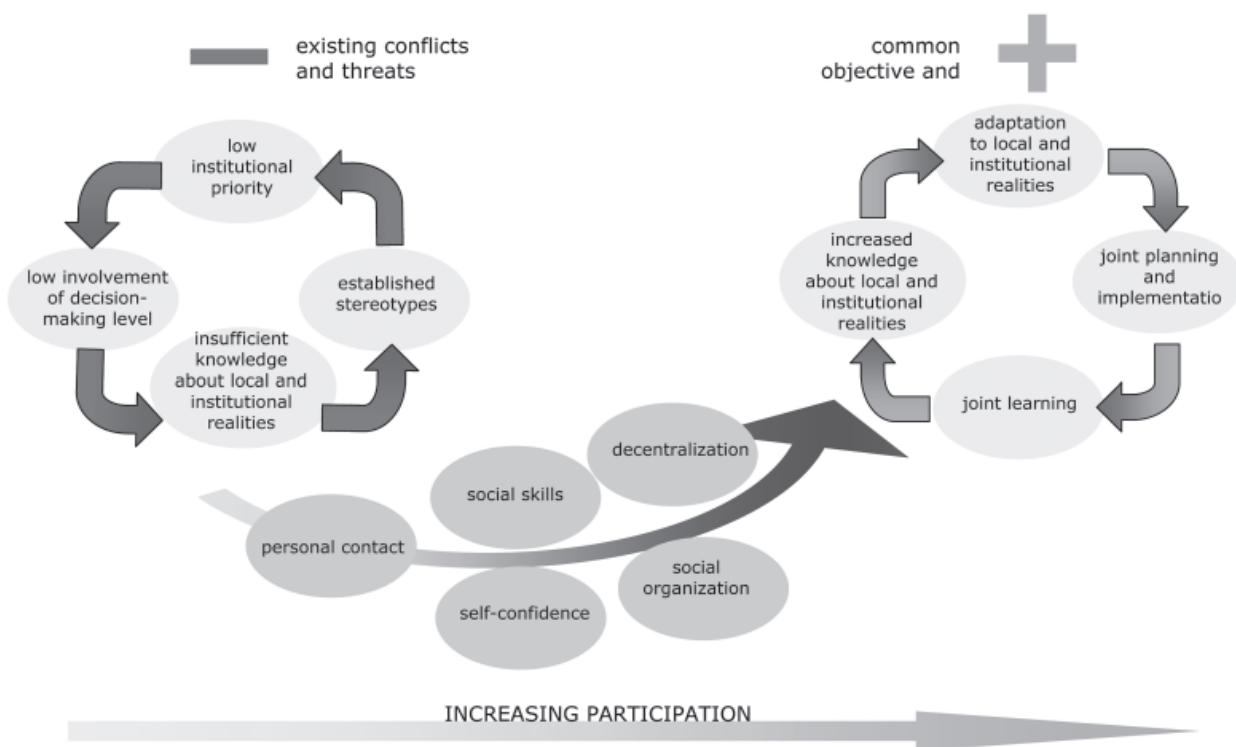


Figure 4. Model of factors influencing participation level according to Mannigel, 2004.

Different approaches to participation in buffer zones

In the three case studies two different approaches for the promotion of conservation and development projects in the buffer zones of protected areas could be observed (Figure 5).

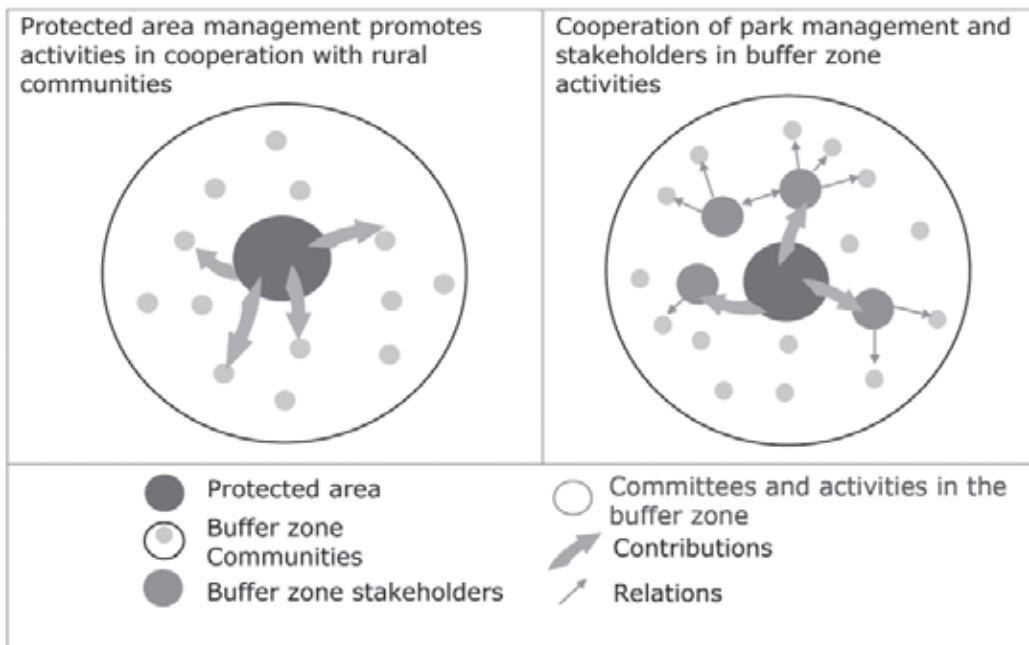


Figure 5. Different approaches to participation.

1. Promotion of activities in direct cooperation with rural communities

The institution managing the protected area promotes local development and conservation initiatives in the rural communities to reduce negative impacts on the area and raise acceptance.

Advantages:

- contact established with rural communities, towards minimizing impacts of land use and promoting local development;
- personal contacts between protected area management and residents of the surrounding communities;
- better knowledge about local realities;
- facilitation of joint learning
- better self-confidence of community

residents and social organization in the buffer zone.

Disadvantages:

- interests of communities and staff from the headquarters of the protected area institution is low in the beginning;
- low institutional support through the protected area institution;
- difficult logistics.

In regions dominated by conflict and stereotypes, interest in active cooperation of rural community residents and staff from headquarters of the protected area agencies is low.

Sustainability

of the initiatives can only be granted through empowerment or continued supervision of the activities by protected area staff. To strengthen local communities on one hand, participation has to be understood as an end in itself. This is rarely the case in protected area management, as biodiversity conservation is almost always seen as more important than the promotion of independent local development. Continued assistance on the other hand cannot be provided, if the institutional interest and personnel and financial resources are low. Because many protected areas are owned and managed by governmental institutions, this approach may thus be impossible to implement.

2. Institutional cooperation

Management of the protected area

and stakeholders from the buffer zone cooperate in planning and execution of activities.

Advantages:

- strategic alliances to minimize impacts on the area and promote local development;
- high interest in cooperation on thematic areas where objectives are common;
- easy logistics.

Disadvantages:

- prerequisite of organized stakeholders in the buffer zone;
- challenge of adaptation to local realities.

Especially local stakeholders and local protected area staff are interested in this type of engagement, as shown in the case studies. Institutional backup is often low for governmental stakeholders and protected area institutions, but headquarter staff normally does not oppose such strategic cooperation for specific issues. Implementation is therefore advisable for governmental institution in protected areas with large, heterogeneous buffer zone, where institutional stakeholders exist.



Picture 7. Discussions about the different uses for tree species in the buffer zone of the Mata do Sossego Private Reserve. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

Contribution to poverty alleviation

In all three case studies analyzed high expectations were observed, especially for buffer zone actors, concerning the outcomes of the development initiatives. Short term financial gains were envisioned in the beginning of almost all activities. However, none of the approaches observed in this study increased economic benefits for the surrounding community substantially over the past four

...none of the approaches observed in this study increased economic benefits for the surrounding community substantially over the past four years...

years. This lessened participation and enthusiasm of local stakeholders over time in some of the initiatives. Some stakeholders, especially habitants of the rural communities, expected external solutions for their problems and neither self-organization nor development on their own account took place. Where participation and promotion of the initiatives was seen as a mean to increase efficiency of the conservation, the agencies did not value the independent development of the communities and project success depended on continued external support. Where conservation objectives were stated clearly in the beginning and development initiative were seen as an end to empower communities, an increase in self-consciousness of community members and social organization in the buffer zones could be observed. Interest in organic coffee culture and ecological tourism development increased especially in the National Park and the Private Reserve. These can be first steps towards sustainable economic alternatives in the future.

For the protected area administrations, and especially for headquarter staff,

development goals were less important. Most of them saw the participatory projects as a mean to increase management effectiveness of their areas. Institutional support by the responsible agency was therefore often low. Personal interest and capacities of park staff influenced their commitment in the initiatives. Missing knowledge about economic issues, such as access to markets, commercialization and financing mechanisms reduced effectiveness of the approaches.



Picture 8. Discussing community development in the buffer zone of the Mata do Sossego Private Reserve. (Courtesy Elke Mannigel)

Taking into account the shortcomings of protected areas, such as shortage of financial resources and specifically

local park staff lack the force and the knowledge to implement development projects...a contribution to poverty alleviation in the buffer zone is possible, but it remains a challenge to all actors involved.

skilled personnel, the promotion of development projects does not seem to be a task suited for conservation agencies. Sustainable development and contribution to poverty alleviation is seen as an important issue by local park

staff, but they lack the force and the knowledge to implement both on their own. In smaller areas, such as the Pri-

vate Reserve, direct implementation in the local communities might work well, but for larger areas this is not viable. In this case strong partnerships and transfer of authority to local actors are necessary. Social organization of the buffer zone, social skills as well as existing social organization is necessary requirements for such transfers. As sustainable changes take time, initiatives should be designed as long term projects from the beginning on. In summary, the case studies cited in this paper show that under specific circumstances a substantial contribution to poverty alleviation through sustainable development in the buffer zone of protected areas is possible, but it remains a challenge to all actors involved.

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Notes

- 1 One of the recommendations of the World Parks Congress in September 2003 in Durban (number V 29) states that protected areas should strive to contribute to poverty reduction at the local level. Resolutions from the World Conservation Congress in Bangkok in November 2004 state the new role of conservations organizations in poverty alleviation and development: "conservationists must strive to increase responsiveness to the concerns of the poor who live in and around areas significant for conservation" (RESWCC 3.016). A linkage of protected areas to the surrounding landscapes/seascapes is sought to restore the relationship between people and places minimizing conflicts and assuring biodiversity conservation on the long term. Another resolution from the World Conservation Congress calls upon the World Conservation Union (IUCN) to strengthen, facilitate and promote the full and active participation of all stakeholders in the implementation of activities which tangibly benefit poverty reduction and nature conservation" (RESWCC 3.014).
- 2 IUCN category II
- 3 Many authors affirm that participation is essential for sustainable management of protected areas, see for example Wells *et al.*, 1992; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997; McNeely, 2001; Pretty, 2002.
- 4 A more comprehensive analysis of the case studies, including the second approach of participation

- in the management of the protected area, can be found in Mannigel (2004).
- 5 See for example Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Brandon *et al.*, 1998; Agarwal and Gibson, 1999; Brandon, 2000.
 - 6 Adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend, (1996), Pimbert and Pretty, (1997) and Diamond, (2002)
 - 7 Cleaver, 1999, Diamond, 2002.
 - 8 Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997; Mattes, 1998; Agarwal, 2001.
 - 9 Cooke and Kothari, 2001.
 - 10 Fundação-SOS-Mata-Atlântica, 1998; CI-Brasil *et al.*, 2000; Myers *et al.*, 2000; Fundação-SOS-Mata-Atlântica, 2002
 - 11 McNeely, 1999; IUCN, 2003.
 - 12 All three protected areas and their surrounding region, history and important local stakeholders are described in detail in the study by Mannigel (2004).
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Participation: a prerequisite for conservation? The Natura 2000 network and local protest in the island of Cyprus.

Anna Philippou

Abstract. The establishment of Protected Areas is a tool of great importance for the conservation of the biodiversity of our planet and is characterized as “the most widely accepted means of biodiversity conservation so far supported by national and international agencies”.¹ Local communities, however, do not always welcome the establishment of Protected Areas on their grounds with the same enthusiasm. The present study investigates the reasons that led a few villages in the Akamas peninsula, such as Inia and Drousia, to oppose the Natura 2000 European network of Protected Areas. It describes a few important findings of a qualitative inquiry conducted in both urban and rural areas of the island, aiming to examine how people value Protected Areas and whether they were aware of the Natura 2000 network. The results suggest that people living near the candidate sites of Natura 2000 oppose the network because they have been left out of the selection process. Additionally, the survey demonstrates that even though people hold favorable attitudes towards the environment, they were not familiar with the Natura 2000. People in rural areas were the most receptive to the establishment of Protected Areas on their lands. In the light of the analysis described in this paper, it appears essential that, during the next phase of the Natura 2000 local government agencies work with village residents to make certain that the opportunity is made available for them to engage with stronger voices in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.



Picture 1. A local resident of Inia returns to the village from his goat-herding activities.
(Courtesy Anna Philippou)

The establishment of Protected Areas is “the most widely accepted means of biodiversity conservation so far supported by national and international

agencies”.² But communities living in or around Protected Areas do not always greet their establishment with the same enthusiasm. Such an example is the implementation of the European Union’s network of protected areas—Natura 2000—in Cyprus. Here we examine this case to provide insights into people’s attitudes towards Protected Areas. Specifically we address the attitude that Cypriots have towards the existence of Protected Areas and natural environment and whether they are familiar with the Natura 2000 network in Cyprus. We also analysed the way in which the Natura 2000 network was implemented in Cyprus and the reasons why the local communities in the Akamas peninsula, and specifically the village of Inia, came to oppose the Natura 2000 initiatives.

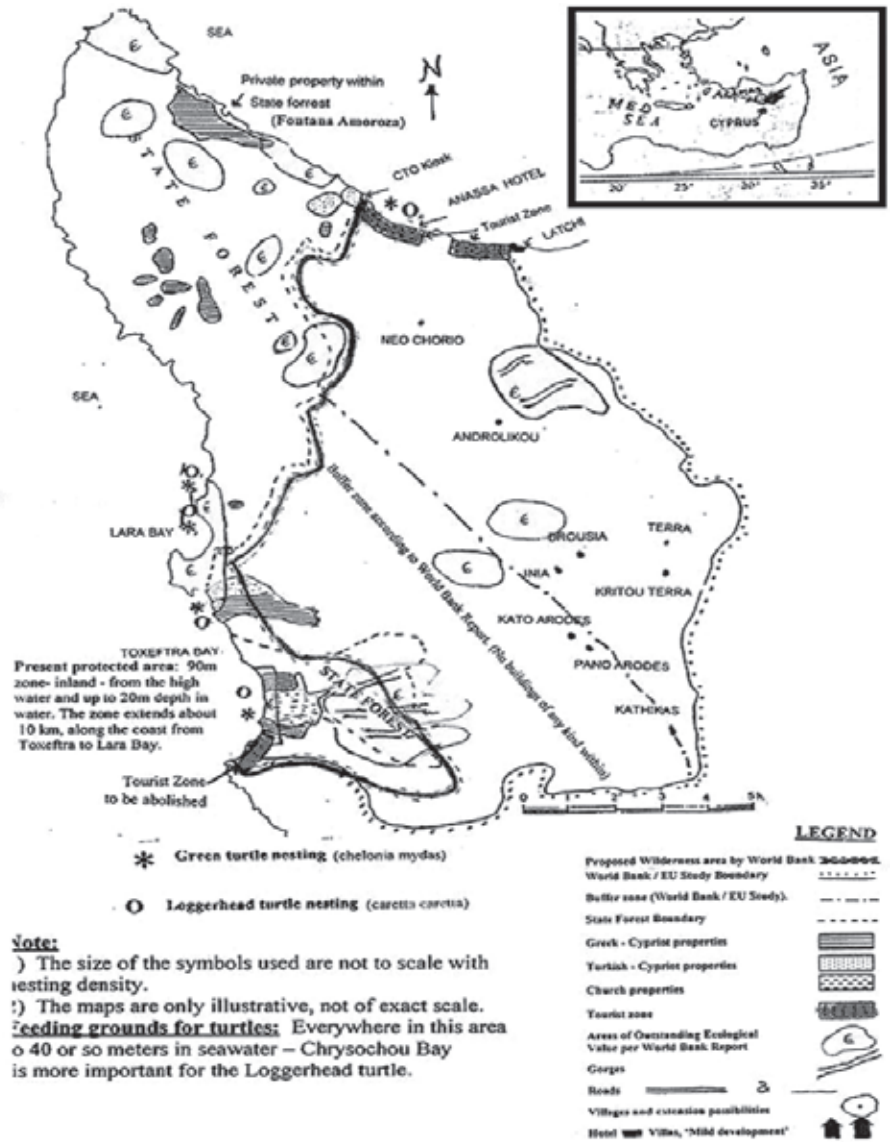
Cyprus is located in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean occupying an area of 9251 km². In ancient times it was entirely forested and was known as the "green island of the ancient world".³ It is still rich in fauna and flora with

The Habitats Directive does not call for the exclusion of all human activities within the "Natura 2000" sites, but human activities can be maintained as long as they do not threaten the biodiversity objectives of the Protected Areas.

a great number of species relative to its small size and one of the richest floras in the Mediterranean basin. It is also listed as one of the biodiversity hotspots in the Mediterranean basin.⁴ The Cyprus flora includes 1800 different taxa of which 7% (128 taxa) are endemic.⁵ Since 1974, 36% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus has been under the control of the Turkish occupation troops, 162.000 Greek Cypriots (32% of the Greek Cypriot population) have become refugees and important habitats in the Northern part of the island have been destroyed. In addition current trends of tourist development and the over-exploitation of resources place the natural habitats and the endemic species of the island at risk.

Natura 2000 was initiated in 1992 aiming to cover fragile and valuable natural habitats and species of particular importance for the conservation of biological

diversity within the EU.⁶ Its legal basis is found in the Habitats Directive (1992) and the Birds Directive (1979). Under EU law, all EU countries must adopt Natura 2000. The Habitats Directive does not call for the exclusion of all human activities within the Natura 2000 sites, but human activities can be maintained as long as they do not threaten the biodiversity objectives of the Protected Areas.⁷



Map 1. Map of Akamas showing the state forest and tourist zones. Source: Convention on the Conservation of European wildlife and natural habitats, Standing Committee 21st meeting, Strasbourg 26-30 November 2001, Specific file: Conservation of the Akamas Peninsula in Cyprus, Report by the NGOs.

The Natura 2000 network must be seen in the context of the global growth of the coverage of protected areas— from 2.4 in 1963 to over 20 million km² in 2005. In September 2003, the Fifth World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa, announced, “the global network of protected areas now covers 11.5% of the planet’s land surface. This surpasses the 10% target proposed a decade earlier, at the Caracas Congress, for 9 out of 14 major terrestrial biomes”.⁸ According to Geisler, in 1950 there were fewer than 1000 protected areas worldwide. The count grew to 3,500 in 1885 and to 9,800 in 1995 before exploding to today’s 105,000.⁹

The Natura 2000 initiative may be typical in its inadequate attention to local needs. Some observers have noted that “so far, the compilation of national lists for important habitats and species around Europe has been the responsibility of civil servants and scientists who follow a set of scientific criteria, while the perspectives of local people living in those habitats have not always been incorporated in the selection process”.¹⁰ Indeed, there are many difficulties arising when promoting the ideals of human dignity while pursuing nature protection. “The vexing dilemma between preserving biodiversity and protecting the livelihood of populations deemed to endanger biodiversity is neither new, nor easy to solve”.¹¹

A common assumption in the conservation arena has been that local people are responsible for the environmental degradation and that people have an adverse effect on the natural ecosystems. For that reason, some maintain that conservation goals are best achieved when all anthropogenic forces are removed from the Protected Areas.¹² In addition, the ideology that fragile nature should be preserved as

an “untouched wilderness”, probably influenced by the American wilderness ethics, leads many conservation initiatives to focus on eliminating or restricting people’s access to natural resources. As a consequence, the designation of Protected Areas has been associated with forced displacement and loss of access to natural resources for the people living in and around them, with little or no compensation leading to local protest and opposition.¹³ In such cases, protected areas have increased poverty often amongst the poorest of the poor.¹⁴

The problems of this approach are evident in the resistance they generate, as these cases demonstrate. In the early autumn of 1997, four landowners from Karvia, Finland, went on hunger strike to protest against the proposed Natura 2000 network. The reasons for their protest were that the landowners had not been consulted in the selection process, that they disagreed with the Ministry’s proposals and that they felt that they had to stand up for their rights. The hunger strike got much public attention and it ended a week after a visit to the scene by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and after nearly half of the areas had been withdrawn from the Natura 2000.¹⁵ Additionally, it is worth mentioning that due to the fact that no arrangements were made for public involvement, the process “prompted a huge reaction, including almost 15,000 letters of appeal nationwide”.¹⁶ In France the opposition came firstly from the representatives of private forests called “Group 9”, later joined by important representatives from the agricultural, forestry, game and fish-breeding sectors. “Group 9” objected to the methods used by the Ministry of Environment for the compilation of the lists of sites. They also demanded the surface

areas of the Natura 2000 sites to be reduced and financial resources to be allocated so as to compensate for the loss of earnings due to the new management measures. This led to a huge protest and the Ministry of Environment re-launched the Natura 2000 on 5th of February 1997 resulting to a decreased number of sites and the incorporation of local people in the selection process.¹⁷

It is not only morally and socially just to incorporate local people in the conservation process but it is also advantageous to conservation.¹⁸ People need incentives in order to see conservation in a positive way. Their income losses have to be compensated based on both moral and legal standards. There ap-

It is not only morally and socially just to incorporate local people in the conservation process but it is also advantageous to conservation

pears to be an urgent need to make conservation concepts comprehensible to the general public. Adams says: "When people feel passion for nature,

the arguments that carry conviction, and also the possibility of broad democratic support, are those that make sense to ordinary people".¹⁹ A first step here has to be attempting to understand local positions and perspectives. We attempt this here for Cyprus.

The research method

In order to examine people's attitudes and perspectives towards the environment and Protected Areas, a survey was conducted by means of a questionnaire administered through personal interviews. The survey was conducted in July 2004 in both urban and rural areas all over the south part of the island in order to shed more light to people's attitude towards the environment and

identify whether people were familiar with the Natura 2000 network. Additionally, in order to examine why people in the villages of Akamas peninsula protested against the Natura 2000, a focus group in Inia and an interview with the Community Leader of Drou-sia were undertaken. Furthermore, an interview with the Project Leader of Natura 2000 was also conducted in order to provide an insight on how the first phase of the project— the selection of candidate sites— had been conducted and what difficulties the Cypriot team had faced during the procedure.

Findings

The Project Leader of Natura 2000 in Cyprus reported that the compilation of the list of the candidate sites was based on scientific evidence only. Local communities were not consulted in this process. On the contrary, they were only informed after the selection procedure was over and the government began an informative campaign to raise public awareness and enlighten them about Natura 2000 and its importance. Initially, 43 areas were recognized as candidate sites for the Natura 2000 network but due to political obstacles (seven of them were in the Northern (occupied part) and three under the UK Sovereign Base Areas) only 33 were finally included in the network, covering 22.6 % of the island's surface. More than half of these areas (18 out of 33) are private land.

The survey revealed that interviewees have favourable attitudes towards the environment and they appreciate the ecological, cultural and economic significance of the Protected Areas and the environment in general. However, even though interviewees were positive towards the environment, only 40% of them were familiar with the Natura 2000 network, the majority of these

from rural areas.

The survey surprisingly demonstrated that people living in rural areas, even though they

Rural people—the ones that are mostly affected by the Natura 2000 network are receptive to the possibility of establishing Protected Areas on their land. However there are also strong discrepancies between these declared attitudes and actual behaviour, as the Inia case illustrates.

stated that they do not support the Natura 2000 network as much as people in urban areas, were more willing to sacrifice their land for environmental protection compared to people in urban areas. In contrast, even though the majority of the urban sample (93%) claimed

to support the network, when they had been asked whether they would sacrifice their land, a 66% stated that they would respond negatively.

These findings are very important as they suggest that rural people, the ones that are mostly affected by the Natura 2000, are receptive to the possibility of establishing Protected Areas on their land. However there are also strong discrepancies between these declared attitudes and actual behaviour as the Inia case illustrates.

The case of Inia in the Akamas Peninsula

The village of Inia is situated in the western tip of the Cyprus, known also as the Akamas peninsula. The Akamas peninsula is one of the most important natural habitats of Cyprus. It covers about 230 km² and is located in the western tip of the island. Its breathtaking beauty is reminiscent of Homer's time. Furthermore, it is one of the

very few important sea turtle nesting areas in the Mediterranean region and is protected under the Barcelona Convention. Both the loggerhead (*Carretta-carretta*) and the Green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) depend on the Akamas beaches for their survival. Also, monk seals have been occasionally reported in the area.

The main occupation of the people living in the village of Inia is sheep or goat raising and viticulture. Due to the urbanisation trend that has been prevalent in the island during the past few decades most of residents are older men and women.

The village of Inia has a previous conservation history beginning 15 years ago. In 1989, the Ministry of Environment decided that the Akamas peninsula was of

great importance and therefore it should be protected. Therefore, they drafted the Akamas scheme and the area around the peninsula was listed as a Protected Area. According to the community leader of Drousia, "...it was aiming to protect the Akamas peninsula by converting private land to governmental. The government took away our land in exchange to money and other land. However, this was only in the papers."²⁰

The Akamas peninsula is one of the most important natural habitats of Cyprus. Both the loggerhead (Carretta-carretta) and the Green turtle (Chelonia mydas) depend on the Akamas beaches for their survival.

Following a request from the Cyprus Government in 1992²¹ a project was set up by the World's Bank Mediterranean Technical Assistance Programme (METAP), and funded jointly by the

World Bank and the EU, to prepare a management plan for the Akamas and its surrounding area. The resulting report, usually referred to as the World Bank Study, was published in 1995 and it called for the strict protection of the beaches and of the core area (which largely corresponds to the State Forest) and the creation of buffer zones around it, which would be restricted to traditional activities, with little or no development to be taking place. The main aim of this study was to declare Akamas as a National Park. However, still there is not much done and even though Akamas is considered as a National Park, there are no clearly defined boundaries. So far, only Lara-Toxeftra is listed as a Marine Reserve under the IUCN category IV.²²

In addition, strict restrictions have been imposed on private land in Akamas and very small development coefficients (1/2 or 1%) are allowed²³, according to the residents of the area. This scheme affected the villages in the Akamas peninsula, known in the island as the Laona district. People with lands in the Akamas scheme have protested, claiming that they have not been compensated for their land.²⁴

When, therefore the government decided that Akamas should also be part of the Natura 2000 network, it was likely to meet opposition. Local people felt that the parts of the village that were not included previously in the Akamas scheme would now be included in the Natura 2000 network. As stated by the community leader of Drousia:²⁵ "What was left out before is included now. We can't get away with it. Our lands are "locked" and we cannot do anything about it."

The residents of Inia, due to their previous experience with conservation schemes, are very negative towards

the Natura 2000 network. They believed that only the land that does not have the perspectives for development or cultivation should be part of the network. They said, "We spent so much time to transform this barren land into cultivated land. Now they want to take it away from us. All our efforts, time and sweat are going wasted. We do not want this to happen and this is why we are opposing the

"We spent so much time to transform this barren land into cultivated land. Now they want to take it away from us. All our efforts, time and sweat are going wasted. We do not want this to happen and because of that we are opposing the Natura 2000".

Natura 2000.²⁶ These sentiments were reminiscent of Thedossopoulos' work on resistance to sea turtle conservation in southwest Greece.²⁷ In both cases residents emphasised their long personal histories of struggling with, and transforming land, which is then simply overridden by protected area establishment.

The government, people said, took them into account only when it was election time. As expressed by an elderly man from Inia:²⁸ "So many times, so many governments promised to make a difference. They have done nothing yet. The same situation is pending since 1989". The Community Leader of Drousia²⁹ also stated that: "Three different governments in the last 15 years were unable to do anything about it". "The community council went visiting the government officials but every time we returned to Drousia more and more disappointed."

The sense of stunted progress is strong. As expressed by a villager from Inia:³⁰ "We feel completely ig-

nored. No one is caring neither for our rights nor for us. Our village is not developing any more. Nearby villages have successfully come out of poverty and raised their living standard. Inia used to be the best village among them. Nowadays, things have changed. The government deprived us from our land rights and we cannot sell the land, or cultivate it or even built our house on it. Government locked our lands and at the same time deprived our village the opportunity to be developed. We are condemned to live in poverty”.



Picture 2. The Lara beaches, important turtle breeding site of the loggerhead (*Carreta-careta*) and green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) as viewed from the Inia outskirts.
(Courtesy Loucas Philippou)

“They decided which areas should be included and then announced us the results. We did not take part in the process. We feel disappointed about the way they treat us. It is about our lives and our children lives and someone else decides for us.” another resident of Inia stated.³¹

The Government tried to inform the citizens about the Natura 2000 through various means. However, the dissemination of information was made after the sites had been selected on a set of

scientific criteria stated by EU. According to Community Leader of Drousia:³² “To tell you the truth, the senior officer of the Ministry of Environment came and tried to talk to us about the network. We were very negative towards it because of our previous history with the protective areas schemes. Actually we did not even let him talk about it. Then, the Ministry of Environment sent us some maps with names in a foreign language and we did not understand which areas were included in the network.”

“We agree in protecting some areas that are ecologically sensitive. We do not agree to protect the whole village for ecologic reasons. They should at least allow some degree of sustainable development”, Mr. Andreas G. Charalambous, a residence of Inia, stated.³³ “If the government suggested some kind of compensation in exchange with our land we would not have been that negative. But requesting our land in exchange for nothing... this is unacceptable. We demand the same opportunities that existed before the Natura 2000 network”, a 65 year old said.

Additionally, the community leader of Drousia said,³⁴ “...Personally, I would sacrifice my property for environmental protection. But I would request some exchange in return. I cannot afford to pay for the conservation of our environment in such a way. As a landowner I should have the right to exploit or develop my land in the way I thing is appropriate and not being deprived of my property.”

“...I would sacrifice my property for environmental protection. But I would request some exchange in return.”

Mr Charalambous, both a teacher and a lawyer, is considered as an important person in the village of Inia. He organ-

ised a group of 105 landowners that took the government in court to fight against the deprivation of their land.³⁵ They lost the case on the ground that a government is allowed to impose restrictions on individual freedoms in the name of the common good. Now, they are raising money from the villagers (~£150 per each affected landowner)³⁶ and they are making procedures to be heard in the European Court of Justice in Hague. "We are hoping to bring an end to this situation. Private property is a basic human right and we are being deprived of it. The landowners should be refunded in return for their land. We will fight for our rights." he also said.³⁷

According to Mr. Andreas G. Charalambous, "The residents of Inia demand only three things from the government: The first and most important one is equal treatment. Secondly, we demand the right to exploit our land and property in the way we want it to and lastly we want equal opportunities of economic development. We will only compromise and give our land to the government only if we exchange our land with other land of equal economic value and of equal opportunities of exploitation, if we are compensated in terms of money and if the land remains to the owner but the owner receives money for not exploiting it. We believe that we are not requesting something extraordinary or something that is outrageous.", he said.

According to the Community Leader of Drousia:³⁸ "The Government should cooperate with local communities to sort these things out. We request honesty, understanding and fair trade. It is a basic human right that every person should not be deprived of its private property. We want the common good but we should not be the ones

who must pay for it". Additionally, Mr. Andreas Charalambous concluded, "No scheme can survive if there is local opposition. The government should engage residents in the process. There must be a two-way relationship. It requires honesty, good will, cooperation and, of course, money. We want a greener environment but we cannot afford to be the ones that will pay for it. All Cypriot citizens should pay for a greener environment. The government should put green taxes. The environment is something that concerns all of us and everyone must contribute equally to make our island a better place."

If this management scheme fails and villagers take the government to court, conservation would take a step backwards...

In 2004 the Government announced that it was at the final stage of preparing a management plan for the Akamas peninsula. The proper cost of management plan was around £120 million pounds to be spent on both the environmental protection and on the compensation of the landowners.³⁹ Hopefully, that would reconcile the demands of the local people and the conservation of the Akamas Peninsula.

A year later (2005), however, still nothing has been signed and the community leaders of the local communities are threatening to go on hunger strike outside the Presidential Hall for as long as they can, in order to force the government to take some action and bring an end soon to the current situation.⁴⁰ If this management scheme fails and villagers take the government into courts, this would automatically imply that conservation is taking one step backwards.



Picture 3. The Baths of Aphrodite beach in the Akamas peninsula. On top of this beach, there is a small cave where Aphrodite was said to bath. According to the myth, the goddess's baths are a source of fertility. (Courtesy Demos Philippou)

The unpalatable, if unsurprising, conclusion from our analysis is that schemes such as the Natura 2000 are welcome as long as they do not affect the personal interests of the citizens. The Natura 2000 wishes to reconcile a scientific objective— biodiversity conservation— “while taking economic, social, cultural and regional requirements into consideration”. However, the separation of the scientific standards of the Natura 2000 network from those of the social debate has brought strong local opposition from persons in the island of Cyprus as it did before in other European countries.

As the results of the focus group suggested, the people of Inia want to be incorporated in the selection process. They may be more willing to conserve the environment if protected areas are established on fair grounds with sufficient incentives. In addition, they want to be “equal partners with other bodies in a possible future administration and management scheme, which would give solution to the problem of coordinating the various activities and could help resolving arising conflicts.”.⁴¹

In the case of Inia, people depend on their land for their living and they emphasized that they are not willing to bear personally the cost of environmental protection. They suggest that: “Everyone must pay its fair share in order to protect, conserve and manage what is left for future generations.”.⁴² Locally, participation is perceived to be morally and practically essential for implementing conservation schemes and policies. As Michaelidou and Decker (2003) suggest: “nature conservation and community viability are interdependent and should be simultaneously addressed if both are to benefit”.

But this is no panacea. There are profound contradictions at work here. The villagers of Inia demand to develop their land within the framework of all EU regulations”.⁴³ In addition, they pursue the construction of an asphalt road that will connect their village to the beaches of Lara (12km) and exploit their land for tourism infrastructure. However, such an action will connect and open up all the protected beaches to mass tourism and will have serious implications not only to the flora but also to the fauna of the area and especially both to Loggerhead and Green turtles. Local people may be the most passionate and intelligent defenders of their environment...if only the state and the powerful economic actors allow them.”.⁴⁴ But this will take a careful structuring of the costs and benefits.

Without contact with nature, people's capacity to understand and engage with it withers.⁴⁵ As Aldo Leopold correctly observed, “Conservation is not merely a thing to be observed in outdoor museums, but a way of living on the land”.⁴⁶ The future of conservation will turn on the extent to which a strong individual connection to nature and natural processes is maintained for the world's people in the 21st century

as Adams suggests.⁴⁷ Yet the sad irony is that in some cases people's own interactions with the land, and with nature, may not be to nature's detriment. As Adams' observes, "without conservation action where they live, people are destined forever to live in landscapes stripped of their natural diversity".⁴⁸ It becomes a tragedy when con-

"Conservation is not merely a thing to be observed in outdoor museums, but a way of living on the land"
Aldo Leopold

serva- tion action becomes part of the alienation process. That is why it essential that, during the next phase of the Natura 2000 local government

agencies work with village residents to make certain that the opportunity is made available for them to engage with stronger voices in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.⁴⁹

Much fewer studies examine the links between local communities and Protected Areas in Europe with respect to Africa or Asia. But no matter where the Protected Areas are established, the guiding line underlying community conservation remains the same. As Brechin *et al.* suggested: "The most feasible and socially just alternative for long-term success is for the conservation community to work constructively with people at all levels, as difficult and imperfect as that may be. To proceed in this fashion will require that we adopt a stance of open dialogue and concerted negotiation with a wide array of actors in diverse contexts ranging from local people to government officials to international leading institutions".⁵⁰

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Notes

- 1 Nagothu, 2003.
- 2 Nagothu, 2003.
- 3 Thirgood, 1987.
- 4 Medail and Quezel, 1999.
- 5 Tsintidis and Courtellaridis, 1995.
- 6 Natura 2000: A Network of Biological Diversity in the European Union.
- 7 Michaelidou and Decker, 2003.
- 8 Rodriguez *et al.*, 2004.
- 9 Geisler, 2003.
- 10 Michaelidou and Decker, 2003
- 11 Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2003.
- 12 Michaelidou and Decker, 2003.
- 13 Brockington *et al.*, forthcoming.
- 14 Roe and Hollands, 2004.
- 15 Hiedanpaa, 2002.
- 16 Hiedanpaa, 2004.
- 17 Alphandery and Fortier, 2001.
- 18 Brechin *et al.*, 2002.
- 19 Adams, 2004, p.233.
- 20 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04/.
- 21 Conservation of the Akamas peninsula report, 26-30 November 2001.
- 22 Category IV: a Habitat/Species Management Area: protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention (according to IUCN Protected Area Management Categories).
- 23 Developing coefficient 1%: If you own a land of an area equal to 100m², only 1% of the land i.e. 1m², should be developed. Similarly, if the coefficient is 1/2 %, only 0.5m² should be used for development.
- 24 Most of the land is near the coastline and holds high economic value. Therefore, many of the villagers wish to exploit their land for tourism infrastructure.
- 25 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04.
- 26 Focus group in the village of Inia, July 15th, 2004.
- 27 Thedossopoulos, 2002.
- 28 Focus group in the village of Inia, July 15th, 2004.
- 29 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04.
- 30 Focus group in the village of Inia, July 15th, 2004.
- 31 Focus group in the village of Inia, July 15th, 2004.
- 32 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04.
- 33 Telephone interview with Mr. Charalambous, 20/08/04.
- 34 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04.
- 35 Telephone interview with Mr. Charalambous, 20/08/04.
- 36 Equals to 1/5 of an average monthly salary (Capita income/year: C£8.781,5).

- 37 Telephone interview with Mr. Charalambous, 20/08/04.
- 38 Key Informant Interview with the Community Leader of Drousia, 15/07/04.
- 39 Phileleutheros, 19/07/04.
- 40 Phileleutheros, 05/05/05, Cyprus mail 05/05/05.
- 41 Trakolis, 2001.
- 42 Focus group in the village of Inia, July 15th, 2004.
- 43 Cyprus mail, 12/04/01.
- 44 Feyerabend and Farvar, 2002.
- 45 Adams, 2004, p: 236.
- 46 Meine 1988, p.310.
- 47 Adams, 2004, p.236.
- 48 Adams, 2004, p.2361.
- 49 Michaelidou and Decker, 2003, and cf. Reid, this issue of Policy Matters.
- 50 Brechin *et al.*, 2002.

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The prospects of forest clean development mechanisms (CDM) to contribute to social equity in Brazil

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Abstract. The evolution of the rules of the market mechanisms of the global climate regime tends to favour corporate participation as well the generation and trade of carbon certificates as such. This trend is reflected by investor's preference for larger scale energy CDM projects. One criteria proposed here to assess the contribution of CDM projects to social equity is whether they are conceived so that low-income communities may take part in the activities that either reduce or sequester carbon as direct beneficiaries of the economic activity proposed and the carbon credits generated. In the Brazilian case, the inclusion of rural households in reforestation projects for carbon sequestration or the production of crops for renewable biofuel are examples of the potential for income generation and distribution to individuals of lower economic standing in the population. Although CDM projects for cleaner and more efficient energy may be more effective in climate change mitigation, the social contributions of these projects often remains diffuse or indirect, whereby social components are superficially linked to the project. Analysis of the impact of the pilot forest carbon projects in Brazil, based on a typology of forest carbon projects, indicates that the social benefits and social participation in most of the pilot projects have fallen short of their potential. In order for low-income small landholders to take part in the carbon market, the recently approved small-scale project helps, but remains far from sufficient. It further requires a synchronizing of conditions and adjustment to the local realities without which it becomes unviable. The conditions are: the political commitment of local and national governments to provide supportive and conducive policies in a timely manner; the organization of small landholders for their effective participation; and the willingness of CER (Certificate of Emission Reduction) buyers to invest in a premium price for the image of corporate social responsibility. The combination of these conditions suggest that the prospects of forest CDM to contribute to social equity in Brazil is likely to be very limited and constrained to a small niche of the growing carbon market.

The prospects of forest clean development mechanism (CDM) projects to contribute to sustainable development in Brazil and social equity may be illustrated by a critical analysis on three distinct but interrelated spheres: *i)* the present setup of rules of the global climate regime and its reflexes on the competitiveness of forest CDM projects in the context of the carbon market; *ii)* the kind of impact pilot forest carbon projects in Brazil are effectively bringing and how likely they are to contribute to the sustainable development of the country; *iii)* the pre requisites for CDM projects to contribute to social equity through the promotion of sustainable livelihood.

Forest CDM in the global climate regime

The CDM is a compensation mechanism established by the Kyoto Protocol (KP) in order to make less costly the attainment of targets for carbon emission reduction of Annex 1 countries. This mechanism allows Annex 1 countries to compensate part of their reduction through the implementation of activities in non Annex 1 countries, whereby either GHG (greenhouse gas) in the atmosphere will be sequestered or emission in the latter will be reduced. In its conception it is expected that CDM will promote a double gain: the mitigation of climate change and sustainable development in the host countries.

The original justification for the CDM proposal was meant to apply for emission reduction activities such as energy efficiency, whereby the cost & benefit in developing countries outweighs those in developed ones. However, as a result of conflicting interests of different blocks of countries, the KP has considered at its onset four different forms of carbon sequestration: *i)* re-

forestation and afforestation that sequester carbon (including agroforestry systems); *ii)* sustainable forest management that sequesters and reduces emissions; *iii)* forest conservation and protection from deforestation, which are taken as an emission avoidance; and *iv)* the substitution of fossil fuels with renewable biomass that reduces emission. Among the four modalities only in fuel substitution the emission reduction would be permanent.¹

In 2001, after a long and exhausting debate at COP 7, the Marrakech Accord eventually approved carbon sequestration as a modality in the KP, but with restrictions. The controversial forest conservation, which had been a deadlock for the advancement of deliberations at COP 6, has however been excluded for the first commitment period of the KP from 2008 to 2012. It has also been decided that forest CDM projects cannot exceed 1% of the emission of Annex 1 countries, at 1990, times five, during the first commitment period. In 2004, at COP 9 in Milan, it has been defined that CERs (Certificates of Emission Reduction) generated by forest activities would be temporary. These measures aimed at restricting compensations of existing emissions rather than reducing them.

The fact that forest carbon stocks are in effect non permanent has been one of the main divergences among countries

The fact that forest carbon stocks are non permanent has been one of the main divergences among countries regarding carbon sequestration.

regarding carbon sequestration. The decision, also taken at COP 7, that forest carbon credits would be temporary, has given back, on the one hand, the possibility to reverse land use, but on the other, has reduced the competitive-

ness of forest sink projects, once the forest CERs have to be replaced at the end of its validity. The tCERs (Temporary Certificate of Emission Reduction) would expire at the end of each commitment period¹ and the ICERs (Long term Certificate of Emission Reduction) would expire at the end of each accreditation² period. Both need to be replaced by other certificates, temporary or permanent at the end of their period of validity.

In addition to the above mentioned restrictions, the on-going pilot forest sink projects has signalled that forest projects are by nature uncertain, which has led to more restricted regulations which imply higher complexity and transaction cost for their implementation. Just to name a few: the need to prove the absence of forest coverage before December 1989 for project eligibility; the higher complexity of the project baseline design to prove carbon additionality; complexity in the methodologies for quantification and monitoring of carbon stocks; uncertainties due to higher risks of uncontrolled leakage such as forest fire, disease and drought, etc. All these characteristics of forest projects contribute to the demise of project results, hence reducing the competitiveness of forest sink projects.

In view of the complexity and higher transaction cost for the implementation of forest sink projects, and considering that many of the least developed countries (LDC) can only participate in forest CDM as they present little attractiveness for technology transfer or energy projects, small-scale projects have also been proposed for forest activities at COP 9. These projects will follow simplified procedures and modalities so that low-income communities may take part of CDM projects. The final definitions of this modality took place

at COP 10 in December 2004 in Buenos Aires. These projects are limited by the cap of 8 kilo tons of net anthropogenic CO₂ per year, in average, during each commitment period and they should be implemented specifically by low-income communities or individuals.

Regarding the outcome of forest projects in the following commitment period there is still one important technical and much controversial issue to be settled which may effect the definition of its continuity. The Marrakech Accord established at COP 7 that LULUCF (Land-Use, Land-Use Change and Forestry) activities refer to those directly promoted by human activities. The difficult task of separating carbon sequestered from anthropogenic activities from those of natural occurrence, such as the CO₂ and nitrogen fertilization³, remains. At present, science is still incipient to understand the complex dynamics of carbon flow between the biota and the atmosphere. Specifically it lacks the methodologies to determine the increase of carbon stock in the biota due to carbon fertilization.

The present regulations of the global climate regime and the nature of forest carbon stocks are reflected in the behaviour of investors in the CDM market. The trend points to a reduction in demand for Annex 1 investors for forest projects as compared to the expected demand at the onset of the Climate Convention.

The special conditions enjoyed by small-scale forest projects should theoretically enable them to benefit small landholders in regard to income generation and social inclusion. Unfortunately, room for this modality of projects within the carbon market is minute due to their low economic competitiveness

The preference has migrated ostensibly towards projects in the energy sector. The prospects are that there is clear preference by investors and prevalence of big scale energy projects in the carbon market. Many experts on the issue announce that there are more carbon projects in elaboration than there is a demand for them, which make forest small-scale carbon projects even less palatable.

The special conditions enjoyed by small-scale forest projects should theoretically enable them to benefit small landholders in regard to income generation and social inclusion. Unfortunately, room for this modality of projects within the carbon market is minute due to their low economic competitiveness ranking behind energy projects and large scale forest projects. Most investors prefer large scale projects because they can generate a larger amount of removed carbon, except for those that are seeking corporate social responsibility image. Another reason for its lower preference is that small-scale projects present lower economic competitiveness, since transaction cost is higher per unit of carbon sequestered. Pedroni and Locatelli (2004) developed a model for cost-benefit analysis for forest carbon projects and showed that the minimum economically feasible size is around 500 ha. This shows that the reduction in cost due to the simplified procedures and modality would benefit very little the cost structure of projects below 500 ha, which depending on the type of ecosystem would be the maximum

size for small-scale forest projects. In other words, cost reduction will only be economically significant for projects of greater scale.

Another limitation of small-scale projects is that the capacity of small landholders to participate in the carbon market is very low as they lack the information on the market and the knowledge of the rather complex procedures of the carbon market. Many low-income communities are not sufficiently organized for their own representation. Besides, many potential financiers of CDM projects with social concern, such as the EU, Japan⁴ and Holland are not particularly in favour of forest CDM projects, precisely for their ephemeral nature (non-permanence) discussed before.



Map 1. Localization of Pilot Forest Sink Projects in Brazil.

Pilot forest carbon projects in Brazil and their likeliness to contribute to sustainable development

Analysis of on-going pilot forest carbon projects in Brazil may offer a picture of the possible limitations and potential of their effective contribution to the sustainable development of the country. Chang (2004) has analyzed in her thesis four pilot forest sequestration projects on-going at the time of her research in 2001.⁵ They are:

- PLANTAR Project in Curvelo, in the central savannah of the state of Minas Gerais;
- PEUGEOT Project in Juruena, in the Amazon forest of the state of Mato Grosso;
- Climate Action Project in Guaraqueçaba, in the Atlantic Forest of the state of Paraná;
- Bananal Island Carbon Sequestration Project (BICSP) in the Bananal Island, in the transition area of savannah, Amazon Forest and marshland of the state of Tocantins.

The analysis of the projects started

...there are always different "technical" ways of combining the three dimensions of sustainability, whereby the choice taken is always political. There is tension and often opposition among the dimensions whose integration requires trade-offs ..

with a typology of forest carbon projects based on their main objective (commercial, conservation or development). The impact assessment is built into a matrix with the different impacts identified (positive and limitations), the beneficiaries (investors, local communi-

ties, NGOs, national community or the diffuse global community) in the three

dimensions of sustainability (ecological, social and economic), in various tiers (global, national, regional and local) and in regard to the duration of the impacts (long or short term)⁶. Although much quantitative data have been collected during the field research, the evaluation is basically qualitative due to the different stages of project implementation and the very nature of sustainability analysis.

The conceptualization of the typology of forest carbon projects is theoretically based on the interpretations of different environmental concepts on Sustainable Development (SD) (see Figure 1). Conceptually there seems to be a consensus on the idea that the three pillars of SD are the economic, ecological and social dimensions and that they should be present and integrated simultaneously. The most common understanding of this integration is that it should be in balance, without prevalence of neither. The idea of equilibrium, although attractive, is very imprecise, as there is no way to define a generic equilibrium, *a priori*. In reality, for each situation there are always different "technical" ways of combining the three dimensions of sustainability, whereby the choice taken is always political. There is tension and often opposition among the dimensions, whose integration requires a certain trade-off among them. It is the opposition of the confronting parties within society that define the priorities, sometimes prioritizing one and sometimes another dimension, depending on the interest and strength of the prevailing party in each concrete situation.⁷

The three types of forest carbon projects identified in Figure 1 are as follows:

- Commercial Projects, which prioritize the generation of CERs to compen-

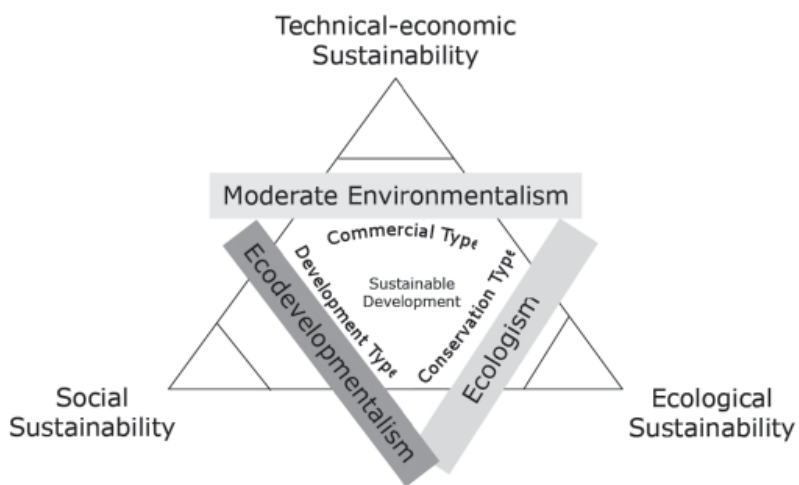


Figure 1. The types of forest carbon projects and their relations to the sustainability dimensions and the environmental thoughts.

sate for CO₂ emission and to improve the environmental image of the corporation for market competition. Also in this type are national enterprises interested in the financial resources available for CDM, e.g. Peugeot and Plantar Projects.

- Conservation Projects, which prioritize secondary ecological benefits - conservation - while fixing carbon. Often these projects are initiatives or mediated and implemented by environmental NGOs, e.g. Climate Action Project.
- Development Projects, which prioritize social and environmental objectives while fixing carbon. Usually these projects are financed by corporations seeking for corporate social responsibility image besides the compensation of their carbon commitments. The implementers are usually characterized by a development profile, sometimes the government itself, e.g. BICSP Project.

The analysis of the study cases led to the conclusion that, regardless of the type⁸ of carbon project, all do contribute to some extent with positive social or ecological impact, because all oper-

ate within the concept of sustainable development, as shown in the theoretical framework⁹. In other words, although priority is given to one of the dimensions of sustainability, all take into consideration the other dimensions. However, what distinguish them from one another are the different priorities, which limit the achievement of the secondary objectives.

The findings showed that all projects made some effort to include some kind of social or ecological components to compensate for their specific deficiencies and in order to assure the image of sustainability. This is more evident if the project's priority is to generate marketable carbon certificates, as the CDM Executive Board requires that the hosting government declares that the project contributes to its sustainable development for approval.

Below is a synthesis of the socio-environmental impact of the four pilot projects analyzed.

Let us begin with the commercial type projects: the social and ecological benefits of **Plantar Project** are restricted to what an industrial enterprise could offer, within the limits imposed by the competition of the pig iron sector. The main social benefit of this project is the maintenance of 1,270 jobs, specific to the sector, where the charcoal burning process is still very labour intensive.

... all projects made some effort to include some kind of social or ecological components, to compensate for their specific deficiencies and in order to assure the image of sustainability...

The Plantar Group claims that their employees would be eliminated should the

company close its doors in view of the lack of financing for reforestation in the country. The Project presents several deficiencies regarding its contribution to the local sustainable development, particularly as regards the strengthening of local livelihood. Given the reforestation vocation of the region and the long experience of Plantar in the production of cloned seedlings with cutting edge technology, there is considerable potential to extend the benefits to local farmers through an outgrow scheme similar to the existing Forest Farmer program. However, the company claims that such a program would hinder their operation, demonstrating no commitment to social promotion effort. The company limited its actions to a modest environmental education program and a "child friendly" certification by complying with a law forbidding the use of child labour. In addition, the need to purchase large plots of land for reforestation, and, the high replicability of the project by other enterprises within the sector creates a risk of unleashing the process of land ownership concentration in the region. The ecological benefits can be summarized as compensation and mitigation efforts to reduce the negative ecological impact of legitimizing industrial plantations of exotic species.

The **Peugeot Project**, also a commercial type, generated social benefits that are primarily short term in nature. The Project has created job and income opportunities for local populations, such as the collection of native tree seeds, tree planting, and initial maintenance. It also benefited the local municipality by increasing service tax collection. It has adopted an environmental program aimed at improving relationship with local communities by promoting the Project directly to them, local students in particular. In partnership with a lo-

cal NGO, the IPN, the project has created a forest extension activity and has distributed multifunctional seedlings to small landholders in the vicinity of the project area. However, these benefits have not been a product of local demand and are *ad hoc* in nature. They have been concentrated on the initial phase of tree plantation. During the main-

In commercial type projects, the lack of social participation and input from stakeholders is a common feature. Decision making is biased towards the economic sustainability of the funding enterprise.

tenance phase, starting from 2003, both the demand for jobs and the taxes levied fell sharply. The extended nursery that supplied the project has been deactivated. Continuity of benefits was not secured, as they are not part of the primary objectives of the investor or implementer. The ecological impact of the project is mainly the reversion of the pasture to reforestation within fences of the project property. To some extent it has also contributed to the public awareness of the importance of forest resources through extensive reforestation in an agricultural frontier where deforestation is common practice. However, the effectiveness of



Picture 1. Native tree saplings planted amid braquiária folder at Peugeot Project. (Courtesy Manyu Chang)

this impact to sustainable use of forest and land resources by local producers depends largely on a concerted effort of other development agents and opportunities, such as adequate technical assistance, promotion of environmental education and availability of financial support.

Regarding the two commercial type projects, the research has identified that the lack of social participation and input from other stakeholders is a common feature. Decision making is biased towards the economic sustainability of the funding enterprise; for example, the economic feasibility of Plantar S.A., and the creation of an environmentally friendly image for the competitiveness of the Peugeot Corporation. As a matter of fact, centralized decision making is a strong characteristic of the private sector, and is a big limitation to the construction of sustainable development.

The lack of precision in the term "sustainable development" leaves room for commercial projects to use their proactive social and environmental actions for their market strategies as their contribution to sustainable development. A healthy sustainable development requires the participation of different stakeholders, from identification, planning, and implementation to the evaluation of the project activities. Therefore, although commercial projects may offer some social benefits, they tend to be limited by impermanence for they exist at the discretion of the market pressure of the investing enterprise.¹⁰

The case of the conservation type **Climate Action Project** takes place in the APA (Environmentally Protected Area) of Guaraqueçaba. Its main objective is to preserve the Atlantic Forest and the biodiversity therein while generating

carbon certificates. The conservation priority of the project in an APA acquires social significance as supposedly, the decision for its status has been decided on a collective basis and the implementing NGO acts as a partner to the official environmental institutions to enforce the necessary protection. Under these circumstances there is preponderance on the ecological objective, towards which the other two dimensions (economic and social) should converge and be subordinated in the construction of the local sustainable development.

The implementing local NGO is in the process of adopting a participative conservation approach and is working in association with other development and commercial organizations in the area. The project sup-

...many conservation projects [embark on] community development activities to secure the conservation agenda itself...

ports economic activities considered socially and ecologically sustainable to small landholders in the vicinity of the project reserve, such as the production and export of dried organic banana, in partnership with Terra Preservada, the Federal University of Paraná – UFPR and the official extension system. It has created 80 jobs among the three project reserves; has donated environmental books to local school libraries; and has supported land titling of small parcels on the border of their reserves. The ecological contribution of the project is primarily the protection and restoration of degraded areas by buffalo ranching to forested area through natural regeneration and reforestation inside the project area transformed into natural reserves. Findings show that, although the outcome of the development component has yet to consolidate, should the local communities

strengthen their participation in decision making and should the partnership with other development organizations carry on, the project activities are likely to contribute to sustainable development of the region in the long run.



Picture 2. Identification sign for the protection of the natural reserve of the Climate Action Project. (Courtesy Manyu Chang)

It is worth mentioning that the conservation type projects, in order to take advantage of the CDM resources, align the objective of carbon fixing with the conservation agenda of the implementers. This action may be socially legitimate from the perspective of diffuse benefit, if an important ecosystem under threat is being protected. However, these projects could only be considered socially sustainable if their actions will also attend effectively to the socio-environmental needs of the local population with genuine participation in decision making. Otherwise, they remain simply conservation projects, as many indeed are, where the community development activities are used to secure the conservation agenda itself.

The **Bananal Island Carbon Sequestration Project** - BICSP is one that has been transformed from conservation to a development type project due to project implementation contingencies. However, in practical terms, it has shifted its activities towards social

component and research activities. It has introduced the so called "social carbon", meaning carbon fixation with primary focus on social aspects. The project outstands in two development features compared to the other projects analyzed

in this research: it did not purchase land for carbon sequestration and it has put emphasis in community participation. Their actions aim at addressing the

isolated activities, not linked to development programs and structures of bigger outreach, tend to render punctual and insignificant tangible results...

socio-environmental demands of the agrarian reform settlers. The main social contributions are: environmental education to school students, teachers and members of the community in general; capacity building to small farmers; support for ecologically sustainable income generating activities; establishment of agroforestry systems; and the distribution of seedlings to land reform settlers, communities and indigenous groups.

Although the activities point to the direction of social and ecological sustainability, the project has rendered limited results, both in terms of carbon fixation and in terms of tangible improvement to the beneficiaries' livelihood. This is partly explained by the fact that the implementers made the political decision to target small settlers of land reform settlements with little potential to sequester carbon. The trade-off between carbon benefits and the social benefits committed by the project was rather high. The small scale of the result could therefore be justified by the limited infrastructure, in terms of team and logistics of an isolated project vis-à-vis its tremendous task. The case of the development type leads us to the

conclusion that even when activities lead to the direction of sustainability, if they are isolated or not linked to development programs and structures of bigger outreach, they tend to render punctual and insignificant tangible results. The ecological contributions are basically indirect actions, such as environmental education, distribution of seedlings and the establishment of pilot agroforestry systems.

Limitations of the carbon market and the conditions to benefit low income communities

The section above concerning the conceptualization of the typology of forest carbon projects has dealt with the idea of setting up trade-offs among different dimensions of sustainability, which is often a political decision. We also see in the impact assessment of the pilot carbon projects that there is indeed trade-off between the economic priority, herein represented by the generation of carbon certificates, and the social priority, represented by the promotion of local livelihood. This trade-off in a way translates the contradiction between the market and the attendance to social needs in a broader sense. The capacity of carbon projects to provide concrete social benefits may be restrained by the very nature of the market, as corporations are ultimately pressed by the market competition and may be forced to seek less costly alternatives. Market instruments for environmental management may be theoretically efficient, but in practice are restrained precisely by the trade mediation. The markets, in general, are not very good to attend simultaneously to social demands and the efficient allocation of resources. This is perhaps the main reason the carbon market is not likely to commend sustainable development as stipulated by the CDM.

Besides the pilot projects in Brazil analyzed above, which have demonstrated their limitations to attain substantial social benefit, a peer look on projects that are strictly of developmental type in other countries may broaden one's understanding of the matter.

The case of the **Scolec Te Project** in Mexico has emerged from indigenous communities in the Chiapas region. Throughout the implementation process the project decided to expand the number of participants in order to raise the amount of carbon sequestered. This has caused the project to relegate the development activities to a second priority due to high maintenance costs. Gradually the project has become more carbon than development oriented.¹¹

Market instruments for environmental management may be theoretically efficient, but in practice are restrained by the trade mediation ... markets are not very good to attend simultaneously to social demands and to the efficient allocation of resources.

According to the authors, while the majority of government officials are concerned with the carbon component, NGOs and project developers involved are not willing to channel the resources primarily to carbon activities. In practice, the Project has demonstrated that it is difficult to attend to carbon requirements without compromising social demands.

The considerations above lead us to the important role of engaged governments in CDM projects so that social-environmental demands can be prioritized. The carbon market will not spontaneously create room to benefit small and low-income producers. In order for this to occur, it is necessary for engaged governments to compensate for this handicap

by reducing the risks and costs of these projects laying specific public policies to assist these target beneficiaries.

There are a number of pre requisites that forest CDM projects must follow in order to effectively promote rural livelihood. It is very important that local stakeholders will participate actively in decision making. Project design needs to be flexible and adaptive to the local context so that it can address the spe-

Participation and access to decision making could be greatly enhanced by working with community-based organizations.... This implies that communities need to gain a minimum level of organization to be eligible...

specific needs of the local people and responsibilities of carbon accounting. It is important that project activities fit in local land use conditions, local demand for forest produce and still meet the carbon requirements. If social issues are to be

prioritized they need to be addressed at the beginning as an integral part of the project design, and further followed throughout implementation, otherwise they are likely to remain as an appendix and fail on most counts of contributing to sustainable development. Participation and access to decision making could be greatly enhanced by working with existing community-based organizations that are representative and accountable. This implies that not all low-income communities are eligible; they need to gain a minimum level of organization for their representation.¹²

Another great limitation regarding the likeliness of forest CDM to contribute to sustainable development is high transaction cost of projects engaged with social priority. One of the possibilities which are highly recommended is

to build on synergies with compatible development strategies for it is not likely that forest carbon projects can reach significant social accomplishment in isolation.

Conclusion

Taking CDM in general an overview of the present definition of its rules and the carbon market one may infer that although it is explicit in the KP that CDM should contribute to sustainable development of the host country, the competition for resources will most likely weaken this requisite. If the Brazilian Government or any other national government imposes stringent social sustainability criteria it will risk reducing the competitiveness of the country, as long as there are other countries willing to accept

for forest CDM projects to contribute to social equity ... it may be necessary... to synchronise several important conditions such as: engaged governments, stakeholder participation, flexible and adaptive project designs, availability of financiers and organized local representatives...

looser criteria to attract the project.¹³ In effect, the competition for the CDM resources may push the projects too close to investment as usual. Whilst this is the reality, less stringent social sustainability criteria should not be encouraged. However, they should be addressed as part of a broader set of conditions that need to be in place and be made attractive as an essential component of this broader context.

In this sense for forest CDM projects to contribute to social equity it is important to highlight the role of engaged governments in the design of conducive policies and the formatting of developmental type carbon projects

adapted to local realities; assist in the dissemination of information to scattered small landholders, and dispose the resources and official infrastructure so as to reduce transaction cost. The engagement of public institutions in the process helps to secure public policies and provide the necessary support and create synergy in existing development activities.

Regarding the forest CDM the present

Realistically, one must recognize that the market share for forest CDM projects with social priority is minute.

setup of rules tends to favour larger scale energy and landfill projects. Forest projects are less competitive and the small-scale ones are even less

so, although they are more likely to include small landholders into the carbon market.

Thus, realistically, one must recognize that the market share for forest CDM projects with social priority is minute. It is restricted mainly to investors seeking for the image of social responsibility. In sum the decision of simplified modalities and procedures for small-scale forest CDM projects helps, but is still much insufficient to secure success of this kind of project. It still requires the synchronization of several important conditions such as: politically engaged governments, the assurance stakeholder participation, the creation of flexible and adaptive project designs, and the availability of financiers and organized local representations.

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Notes

- 1 IPCC, 2001.
- 2 The accreditation period can be fixed as 20 years renewable twice, or 30 years, renewable only once.
- 3 Some recent researches suggest that the accelerated growth of trees is in response to the fertilization effect as a result of the high CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere and nitrogen accumulation (IPCC, 2001).
- 4 As announced by the CDM/JI Program of the Ministry of Environment of Japan.
- 5 The field research and the reporting of three of the four study cases: Peugeot Project, Plantar Project and BICSP Project was carried out by an interdisciplinary team composed by Manyu Chang (socio-economist), Fernando Veiga (agronomist) and Emily Boyd (forester), coordinated by Peter May (resource economist), supported by the International Institute of Environment and Development, London, published under the title *Local Sustainable Development Effects of forest Carbon Projects in Brazil and Bolivia: a view from the field* (May *et al.*, 2004).
- 6 The detailed matrix is available in Portuguese in the complete version of the research published by Editora Annablume, <http://www.annablume.com.br> under the title: *Seqüestro Florestal de Carbono no Brasil-Dimensões políticas, socioeconômicas e ecológicas*.
- 7 PIERRI, 2003.
- 8 Concerning the typology proposed, it merits mentioning that four study cases are little in number to generalize the characteristics to the project types. Instead they serve as indications to signal possible impacts in other cases of the same project type.
- 9 Available in the complete version of the research as mentioned before.
- 10 This is the case of AES Barry and the Camisea Project analyzed in the thesis, whereby the proactive social and ecological activities have been interrupted due to financial difficulties and even insolvency of the investor.
- 11 Brown and Corbera, 2003.
- 12 Boyd *et al.*, 2005.
- 13 It is similar to the fiscal war in Brazil where different states of the federation dispute for the establishment of transnational corporations by granting longer grace period of tax levy and other exemptions.

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Reducción de la pobreza y conservación de la biodiversidad: hacia el desarrollo local.

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Una visión desde Mesoamérica

En la mayoría de los países del globo existe un reconocimiento generalizado de que la degradación ambiental acentúa el problema de la pobreza. No obstante, en la práctica, pese a los esfuerzos realizados desde la perspectiva técnica, no se han establecido claramente las relaciones entre la conservación de la biodiversidad y la reducción de la pobreza. Asumir el tema de la pobreza como una preocupación que requiere atención y buscar formas innovadoras para su reducción no asegura automáticamente la conservación de la biodiversidad. Por otro lado, es evidente que si no se considera el tema

de la pobreza los objetivos de la conservación de la biodiversidad en los países del trópico no se cumplirán.

En una mayoría de las experiencias de desarrollo rural tradicionales, los problemas sociales y ambientales se han atacado de forma sectorial, orientados a cubrir las necesidades a corto plazo con políticas asistencialistas, lo cual ha provocado una alta dependencia económica y técnica

... los problemas sociales y ambientales se han atacado de forma sectorial, orientados a cubrir las necesidades a corto plazo con políticas asistencialistas...

de las comunidades a las que se dirige la atención— en su gran mayoría locales y pobres— hacia las instituciones involucradas, sean estas gubernamentales o no gubernamentales. Detrás de los conflictos socio-ambientales y los problemas de desarrollo rural subyacen problemas íntimamente vinculados: la degradación ambiental y la pérdida de la biodiversidad, la pobreza y la vulnerabilidad social. Las respuestas que se han tratado de implementar no han sido del todo positivas. En Mesoamérica, la respuesta tradicional al problema ambiental ha sido, por una parte, la creación de áreas silvestres protegidas y, por otra parte, los problemas de índole social, tales como fuentes de empleo, alimentación, educación, salud, se han intentado resolver desde las instituciones públicas y organismos de cooperación internacional, desde una lógica asistencial para cubrir las necesidades. Ambas iniciativas son valiosas, pero en la mayoría de los casos realizadas de manera aislada y atomizada.



Foto 1: Niño y pez en Tárcoles, Costa Rica.
(Cortesía CoopeSolidar R.L.)

Los esfuerzos de conservación en Costa Rica se encuentran en una encrucija-

da. Existen dudas sobre la efectividad de las áreas protegidas para la conservación de los recursos naturales, incluyendo aquellos bajo protección del Estado. Actualmente, muchas de las áreas silvestres protegidas se encuentran geográficamente en los espacios de acción e impacto de las comunidades rurales, y un porcentaje importante de ellas todavía no se han pagado a sus dueños originales. Estas comunidades, a la vez, son los grupos sociales que generalmente muestran los niveles más bajos en educación, servicios sociales básicos, fuentes de empleo. Es en las comunidades rurales y pesqueras donde se encuentran los mayores niveles de pobreza del país y una dependencia más fuerte sobre la base de recursos naturales para la subsistencia.

Como si fuese poco, producto de la degradación ambiental y las condiciones sociales, se observa un aumento en la vulnerabilidad social ante eventos naturales. Muchos de los efectos devastadores de estos eventos en la región Mesoamericana, se debieron

... los puentes entre la conservación de la biodiversidad y disminución de la pobreza en nuestras comunidades rurales no se han construido ...

principalmente a la marginación social y la degradación ambiental. Elemento detonador, además de la generación de conflictos socio-ambientales, es el hecho de que las comunidades locales bajo estas condiciones no logran asegurar las fuentes de subsistencia, provocando una alta competencia por los recursos naturales. Es claro que los puentes entre la conservación de la biodiversidad y disminución de la pobreza en nuestras comunidades rurales no se han construido. Ni se han fortalecido de forma sostenible las estructuras locales organizadas.

En este contexto CoopeSolidar R.L una cooperativa de autogestión de servicios profesionales para la solidaridad social en Costa Rica, presenta una nueva forma de trabajo y gestión que intenta abordar como uno de los elementos fundamentales el tema de la pobreza. Desde hace algunos años, ha iniciado un proceso de asociatividad con otras estructuras cooperativas de autogestión en busca de clusters cooperativos empresariales que innoven en la forma de desarrollar actividades sostenibles desde lo social, lo económico y lo ambiental.

Este artículo, pretende compartir el avance conceptual y metodológico e incluir una reseña del proceso que ha logrado el establecimiento de una relación de asociatividad entre dos cooperativas, Coope Sol i Dar R.L. y Coope Tárcoles R.L. una cooperativa de pescadores artesanales que desarrollan su actividad en el Pacífico Central de Costa Rica. Esta relación de asociatividad puede brindar algunos elementos para la construcción de puentes entre la reducción de la pobreza y conservación de la biodiversidad.

Un proceso de acompañamiento hacia una relación de asociatividad y un uso sostenible del mar

A la entrada del nuevo siglo, el cooperativismo continúa siendo válido como modelo de gestión socio-productivo que considera la preocupación por el ser humano en forma integral desde lo social, económico y personal. Una cooperativa permite incorporar en su

gestión a familias e individuos (hombres, mujeres y niños) en el desarrollo de actividades que mejoran las condiciones de vida, aún en circunstancias sociales y económicas críticas.

Por su parte, el movimiento cooperativo costarricense potencia recursos económicos y humanos que deben aprovecharse desde el marco del desarrollo sostenible. Los procesos de capacitación, transferencia de tecnología, préstamos productivos y otros deben incorporar la temática ambiental como eje transversal de trabajo.

A principios del año 2003, CoopeSolidar R.L. y CoopeTárcoles R.L iniciaron una relación de fortalecimiento mutuo, como parte de un proyecto de liderazgo de la Fundación AVINA. Esta alianza ha permitido poner en práctica algunas de las recomendaciones del X Congreso Nacional del Movimiento Cooperativo Costarricense, en materia de ambiente y desarrollo sostenible. La alianza tiene como objetivo general incidir en la incorporación de la temática ambiental y de desarrollo sostenible dentro del marco de las actividades de pesca artesanal de CoopeTárcoles R.L. a través del desarrollo de una relación de asociatividad y colaboración novedosa, una alianza estratégica cooperativa empresarial fundamentada en la responsabilidad social y ambiental.



Foto 2. Bote de pesca artesanal, Tárcoles Costa Rica. (Cortesía CoopeSolidar R.L.)

Se espera que la iniciativa permita el uso sostenible del recurso pesca, la conservación de los recursos marino costeros y el desarrollo local justo y equitativo. Existe un interés en el fortalecimiento del valor de la solidaridad entre cooperativas, en esta iniciativa ambas cooperativas CoopeTárcoles R.L y CoopeSolidar R.L se dan la mano, esperando que su ejemplo logre interesar a los órganos de segundo y tercer nivel del movimiento cooperativista en esta iniciativa, brindando su apoyo para continuar con la discusión sobre el tema de ambiente y desarrollo, dentro y desde el cooperativismo.

El sector pesquero nacional, desarrolla sus actividades desde muy diversas estructuras de organización siendo una de ellas las cooperativas. Su trabajo desde este sistema de organización micro-empresarial, permite una mejor y más justa distribución de beneficios derivados del uso de los recursos pesqueros. Además, permite el desarrollo de actividades productivas más integrales, que sustentadas en los valores cooperativistas pueden ser de largo plazo, dejando un espacio importante para la discusión y puesta en práctica del concepto de desarrollo sostenible.

CoopeSolidar R.L ha procurado conocer cómo, desde la práctica y a través del reconocimiento de distintas formas de conocimiento de los pescadores artesanales, se percibe el tema de ambiente y desarrollo, con el fin de realizar una propuesta de más largo plazo y mayor impacto en el movimiento cooperativo nacional sobre el tema de ambiente y responsabilidad social. Esta inquietud ha sido motivada desde el proceso de formación y consolidación de esta cooperativa

de autogestión a través de la cual se brindan los servicios profesionales en un marco de solidaridad social, la cual ha afianzado la idea de que el cambio de actitudes y la promoción de valores que fundamentan la sostenibilidad, encuentra un espacio de organización propicio en el cooperativismo por sus valores de solidaridad y bienestar.

Los cambios que se han venido produciendo en la definición de formas de pesca responsable, responden a directrices que aprueba el Consejo de Administración (órgano de toma de decisión de la cooperativa). Estas directrices son aprobadas posteriormente por la Asamblea General y son posteriormente incorporadas a las prácticas de trabajo diario de los pescadores artesanales.

Se ha logrado desarrollar con CoopeTárcoles R.L. un proceso de discusión sobre la incorporación del tema ambiental en la gestión de su cooperativa. De los resultados obtenidos hasta ahora, se puede identificar los siguientes:

1. Reforma de los estatutos de CoopeTárcoles R.L. para incluir como uno de sus objetivos la promoción de la búsqueda de formas de gestión sostenible de los recursos naturales y culturales.
2. La consolidación de un proceso orientado a definir el interés del sector privado local, para articular un modelo de desarrollo en el área de influencia de la cooperativa, que permita el reconocimiento de sus intereses hacia una pesca

Se ha logrado desarrollar un proceso de discusión sobre la incorporación del tema ambiental en la gestión cooperativa...

responsable y su responsabilidad social con la comunidad de Tárcoles.

3. La identificación de los valores y actividades que pueden desarrollar a partir del Código de Pesca Responsable de la FAO, que ha conducido a la adopción de un Código de Pesca Responsable propio como un instrumento voluntario.
4. La incidencia en la discusión del proyecto de ley de pesca, de manera que incorpore algunos de los aspectos más relevantes salidos de la experiencia de estas cuarenta familias pescadoras organizadas en CoopeTárcoles R.L.
5. Intercambios y espacios de reflexión con otros grupos de pescadores artesanales para hacer conciencia sobre la importancia de una pesca responsable y la necesidad de que se reconozcan sus aportes a la conservación.

El aprendizaje hasta ahora ha sido grande y ha dejado en evidencia la necesidad de un trabajo solidario y responsable, que aporte al fortalecimiento de las organizaciones de base que desarrollen un uso sostenible de sus recursos naturales y promuevan el desarrollo de sus habitantes con responsabilidad social.

Esta relación de asociatividad entre Coope SoliDar R.L. y Coope Tárcoles R.L. aspira a gestarse en el mediano y largo plazo en torno a cuatro ejes principales de trabajo:

1. Una relación asociativa entre CoopeTárcoles R.L y CoopeSolidar R.L, entre técnicos y líderes de proyectos con las comunidades fundamentada en valores de transpar-

encia, ayuda mutua, solidaridad y responsabilidad social y ambiental. Estos valores son la base del desarrollo de actividades acordadas por ambas cooperativas a través de sus Consejos de Administración.

2. La elaboración de convenios, acuerdos y alianzas de trabajo y comercio justo entre CoopeTárcoles R.L y el sector privado local, principalmente turístico.
3. El desarrollo de investigación que logre integrar el conocimiento técnico con las formas de conocimiento y saber local, constituyéndose en la base de la toma de decisiones en las diferentes esferas.
4. La creación de la primera área de conservación comunitaria marina en Costa Rica.

El aprendizaje ha sido grande y ha dejado en evidencia la necesidad de un trabajo solidario y responsable, que aporte al fortalecimiento de las organizaciones de base ...



Foto 3. David Chacón introduce el código de pesca responsable desarrollado para CoopeTárcoles R.L. (Cortesía CoopeSolidar R.L.)

Recuadro 1. Cooperativa de Pescadores de Tárcoles R.L. CoopeTárcoles R.L.
"Nuestro Código de Pesca Responsable"
Acompañamiento: Coope SoliDar R.L.

Los Asociados de la Cooperativa de Pescadores de Tárcoles, CoopeTárcoles R.L., entendemos nuestra responsabilidad social y ambiental como cooperativa de pesca artesanal, y en cumplimiento de uno de nuestros objetivos establecido en los Estatutos: "Promover la búsqueda de formas de gestión sostenible de los recursos naturales y culturales", adoptamos voluntariamente el siguiente Código de Pesca Responsable.

Estamos conscientes de que:

- El recurso pesquero del Golfo de Nicoya ha sido seriamente deteriorado por la sobreexplotación y la contaminación.
- El camarón y la langosta son especies de gran valor para nosotros, pero son especies en peligro de extinción.
- Todavía nosotros pescadores artesanales hacemos usos de algunas artes de pesca que dañan el recurso a largo plazo:
 - Trasmallos en la desembocadura de los ríos.
 - Pesca en la desembocadura de los ríos.
 - Mallas menores a las 3 pulgadas.
 - Pesca con rastras artesanales.
 - Captura de especies amenazadas o en tallas muy pequeñas.

Este código de pesca puede permitirnos mejores relaciones de apoyo y de negocio con INCOPECA, MINAE, INFOCOOP y el sector privado de la zona

Es fundamental para el desarrollo y bienestar de nuestras familias permitir la recuperación de la pesca y tomar medidas de salud e higiene en nuestra comunidad.

La Isla del Caño es un área de reserva para la langosta.

Reconociendo que mucho podemos hacer desde nuestra actividad diaria de la pesca artesanal nos proponemos desarrollar un proceso paulatino para:

- Informar a todos nuestros asociados sobre la problemática del Golfo de Nicoya, su situación ambiental y el impacto en nuestra vida, y compartir en la medida de lo posible esta información y preocupación con los demás compañeros pescadores artesanales.
- Definir entre todos los asociados principios de gestión ambiental que nos permitan mejorar y contribuir con la conservación, tratando de involucrar a la comunidad de Tárcoles.

Nos proponemos cuidar y limpiar nuestra playa a través de:

- La formación de brigadas de limpieza.
- Traer el pescado limpio a la playa
- Manipular el pescado adecuadamente.
- No desviscerar el pescado en la playa.
- Lavar la panga y dejarla boca abajo.
- Cambiar el aceite adecuadamente y reciclarlo.

Non proponemos también de:

- Mejorar el espacio para la manipulación del pescado.
- Saber más sobre las leyes vigentes, nacionales e internacionales, cumplirlas y procurar que otros las cumplan.

- Fortalecer y capacitar permanentemente al Comité de Vigilancia para actuar en denuncias efectivas contra las artes de pesca destructivas u otros métodos dañinos al ecosistema marino.

Para garantizar el cumplimiento de estos acuerdos, el Comité de Educación y Bienestar Social desarrollará un proceso de educación sobre:

- Artes de pesca legales en el país y el impacto ambiental que tienen otros artes de pesca.
- Especies en vías de extinción: características de la especie, por qué están amenazadas, ciclos de vida, etc.
- La legislación ambiental y como podemos ayudar para hacerla cumplir.

Cuando un asociado incumpla las disposiciones establecidas en este Código de Pesca Responsable se le aplicará según el Artículo 19 de los Estatutos una corrección disciplinaria por parte del Consejo de Administración. La primera vez que incumpla recibirá una advertencia por escrito. La segunda vez que incumpla será suspendido de sus derechos como asociado.

Cuando exista una voluntad manifiesta para no cumplir lo establecido en este Código de Pesca Responsable, se tratará según lo establecido en el Artículo 18 de los Estatutos como una causa que puede hacer perder la calidad de asociado. En este caso se debe seguir el procedimiento establecido en el artículo 20, el Comité de Vigilancia o el Consejo de Administración deberán elaborar un informe, que será de conocimiento del Consejo de Administración, el cual informará al asociado sobre los cargos y pruebas en su contra. Se le brindará la oportunidad de presentar su defensa. El Consejo de Administración tomará la decisión, si se trata de una expulsión se deberá incluir como punto de agenda en una Asamblea General.

Le solicitamos a las instituciones de gobierno competentes: INCOPECA, Guardacostas, INFOCOOP, ICT, INA, y al sector privado su apoyo y colaboración para que podamos cumplir con lo que voluntariamente aquí nos hemos comprometido.

Firmado en Tárcoles, a las diecisiete horas del veinte de noviembre del año dos mil cuatro.

Adoptado en Asamblea General Ordinaria y presentado a las autoridades competentes en actividad pública del viernes 8 de abril del 2005.



Foto 4. Joven lujador de la CoopeTárcoles R.L.
(Cortesía CoopeSolidar R.L.)

Algunas conclusiones

Podemos concluir que si bien existe todavía una cierta disociación entre los esfuerzos de conservación y la necesidad de reducción de la pobreza, en los últimos años se han ido desarrollando esfuerzos e iniciativas que en su accionar apuntan hacia enfoques alternativos basados en la conservación de la biodiversidad con equidad, en la distribución justa de beneficios, en el mantenimiento de la capacidad de carga de los sistemas naturales y en el mejoramiento de la calidad de vida de quienes menos tienen. Iniciativas que pretendan asumir este reto deben tomar en cuenta:

- La valoración de los enfoques interdisciplinarios que respeten y promuevan la preservación de formas de vida y valores encaminados hacia un mejor bienestar individual y colectivo.
- La participación efectiva de los sectores excluidos de la toma de decisiones, en la construcción de un modelo de desarrollo que permita disminuir la vulnerabilidad social y ambiental de los ecosistemas y su gente.
- La contribución a la equidad a través de la construcción creativa y consensuada de mecanismos para una distribución más justa de beneficios de la conservación, que garantice también la incorporación del enfoque de género y el respeto a las diferencias étnicas y a la diversidad cultural.
- El reconocimiento de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas y campesinos, en cuanto a sus territorios y tierras, derecho a la objeción cultural en el uso de recursos de la biodiversidad y derecho al conocimiento informado previo.
- El análisis de la problemática ambiental que

El análisis de la problemática ambiental requiere ubicar en justa perspectiva las actividades económicas que tienen un impacto ambiental grave y la responsabilidad de los sectores que contribuyen en mayor medida al deterioro de los recursos naturales

ubique en justa perspectiva las actividades económicas que tienen un impacto ambiental grave y la responsabilidad de los sectores que contribuyen en mayor medida al deterioro de los recursos naturales. Esto es la búsqueda de la equidad en el

análisis de los impactos ambientales de los grupos más vulnerables frente a los sectores económicos de mayor influencia y que producen un mayor impacto ambiental.

- La articulación de los actores locales con gobiernos e instancias regionales que contribuyan a una gestión ambiental participativa y descentralizada, tratando de canalizar espacios para que las instancias comunitarias accedan a los niveles políticos y globales, garantizando una mayor democratización del poder en la toma de decisiones.

En todo este proceso debe predominar la consolidación de la confianza en las capacidades locales y la discusión de principios éticos que puedan guiar los esfuerzos en la construcción de nuevas prácticas de desarrollo y conservación, con el fin de acrecentar el capital social, natural, económico y cultural de nuestros pueblos.

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Poverty and biodiversity in the Cross River Forest Region of Nigeria

Emmanuel O. Nuesiri

Abstract. It is estimated that about 300 million individuals located in Africa live in poverty and rely directly on biodiversity for livelihood. In recognition of the relationship between poverty and biodiversity loss, there is a global consensus that biodiversity conservation should also deliver poverty alleviation. In 1996 a conservation and development project was initiated at Ebok-Boje in the Cross River Forest region, home to the critically endangered Cross River Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla diehli*). The project introduced alternative livelihood opportunities as an incentive for local poor people to stop hunting. Project objectives were not attained because poverty alleviation is not to be attained only by introducing the “right” technical solutions but by combining this with a nuanced understanding of local socio-economic dynamics. Successful initiatives would need to deflect increased consumption to more biodiversity friendly pathways and identify potential conservation “champions”. These should be the focus of capacity building initiatives enabling them to speak for biodiversity as a result of internalised conservation ethic.

It's about 3 pm and I am seating in a bus taxi at Okuni market waiting for it to get full and take me to Boje, the field office base of the Afi Mountain Wildlife Sanctuary Project. Okuni market is a major market in Boki local government area and— as any other self-respecting African market— bustles with activity. The commodities that are dominant are bananas, plantains and *garri* (milled cassava). While waiting, I make conversation with the taxi driver on a range of issues from national politics to local subsistence agriculture. Eventually I ask him why so many bananas in the market and he responds:

'Bananas command a good price in the market and have a short crop rotation cycle. Boki has no industries, no government jobs and is the least developed local government area in Cross River State. The primary means of living is farming and trade in farm produce... I also own a farm which I visit regularly on weekends to supplement income from taxi driving'

Contemporary development and biodiversity conservation discourse is filled with rhetoric on poverty alleviation.¹ This reflects the fact that the majority of the world's people live in poverty with about 300 million individuals located in Africa.² Studies show that this has a huge impact on biological resources as the poor rely directly on these resources for their livelihood.³



Picture 1. Transporting people and crops to the market. (Courtesy Forests, Resources and People)

It is maintained that there is a vicious cycle of poverty leading to biodiversity loss, which then leads to greater poverty. Numerous strategies have been executed with the purpose of lifting the poor in developing countries out of poverty. The most recent coming out as usual from the World Bank's stable is the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative.⁴

Integrating conservation and poverty alleviation

At the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio, there was global consensus that efforts at biodiversity conservation should also deliver poverty alleviation.⁵ Since then, a plethora of initiatives under the rubric of integrated conservation and development (ICDP) projects and or community-based conservation (CBC) have sought to achieve this twin task.⁶

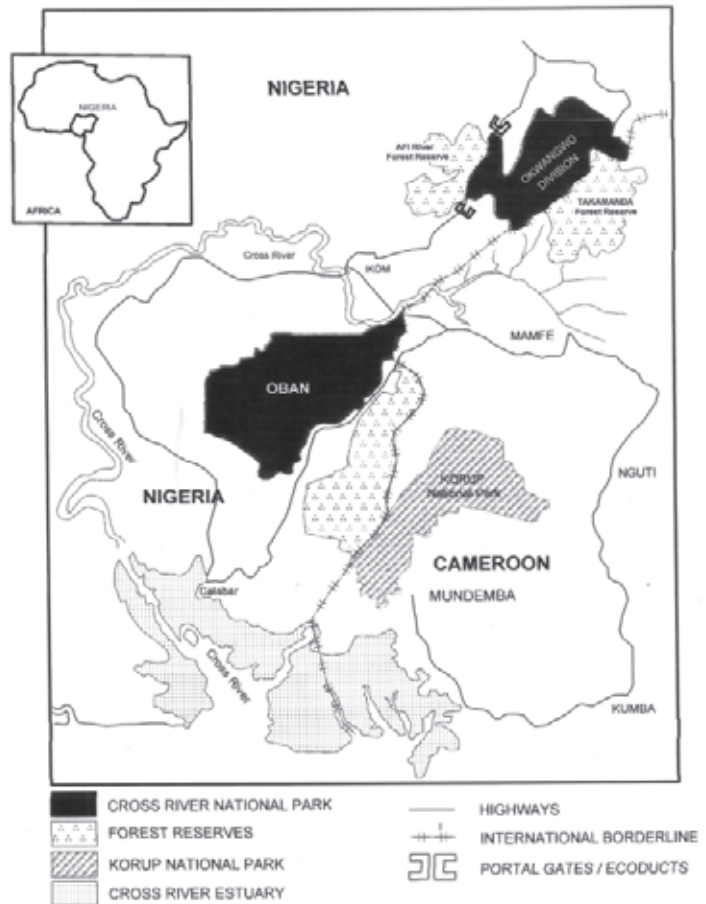
In 2000, in recognition of the gravity and complexity of this task, the UN

The UN maintains that the millennium development goals are mutually re-enforcing and goes on to re-assert the standpoint that "economic growth, which work to improve peoples' lives, can also work to improve the environment"

declared poverty alleviation as one of eight millennium development goals, alongside environmental sustainability. The target of the poverty alleviation millennium goal is the halving of the number of poor people who live on less

than a dollar a day and suffer from hunger, by 2015. The environmental sustainability millennium goal aims to "integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the

losses of environmental resources". The UN maintains that the millennium development goals are mutually re-enforcing and goes on to re-assert the standpoint that "economic growth, which work to improve peoples' lives, can also work to improve the environment".⁷



Map 1. Afi River Forest Reserve in the Northeastern fringe of the Cross River forest region. (Source Eniang, 2003)

Based on the above premise, Pro-Natura International in 1996 initiated a conservation and development project at Ebok-Boje (also known as Ebok-Kabaken or Ebaken) in the Afi Forest Reserve of the Cross River Forest region. Ebok-Bjoe is in Boki local government area of Cross River State, Nigeria and is a critical site

for biodiversity conservation.⁸ Boki is home to species of high conservation value including the migrant barn Swallow (*Hirundo rustica*), Baumann's Greenbul (*Phyllastrephus baumanni*), Grey-necked Picathartes (*Picathartes oreas*), endangered primates (*Mandrillus leucophaeus*, *Pan troglodytes verlosus*) and the critically endangered Cross River Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla diehli*).⁹ Oates *et al.* (2002, p.83) note that "it has been suggested that this [Ebok-Boje] is the largest wintering roost site of barn swallows in Africa, occupied at times by 20 million birds".

The Pro-Natura initiative at Ebok-Boje was aimed at providing incentives for the people of Ebok-Boje to stop hunting the migrant barn swallows for food.

The Pro-Natura initiative at Ebok-Boje was aimed at providing incentives for the people of Ebok-Boje to stop hunting the migrant barn Swallows for food.¹⁰ The initiative, which is now under the auspices of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF) and the Italian League for Bird Protection (LIPU),¹¹ consists of an environmental education component, a piggery project and an academic study fellowship for two Ebok-Boje community members to Italy.¹² It is known that about 200 000 barn swallows were caught everywhere for food in the Ebok-Boje area.¹³ Other threats facing wildlife in the area include habitat loss via land clearance and bush burning for farming and habitat disturbance due to logging operations.

Francesco Micheloni, LIPU's contact person for the Ebok-Boje project, in his report on his most recent trip to Boje asserts that the people are no longer interested in eating the swallows.⁵ However, Micheloni does not

state if this is as a result of successful project interventions or other contingent factors. It is common knowledge in Ebok-Boje that the piggery project set up to provide an alternative source of protein and income-earning venture for the local people collapsed when donor funding ceased. The environmental education initiative is severely limited and the study fellowship benefited just two community members who travelled to Italy.



Picture 2. Heading home from the farm. (Courtesy Tunde Morakinyo/ Iroko Foundation)

Obstacles or opportunities:

neither either-or but both-and

Field contacts in Boje indicate that hunting of Barn Swallows for food has not ceased. Part of the allure of hunting for Barn Swallows is the relative ease with which this can be done relative to hunting for other wildlife

in the area. The creation of the Afi Mountain Wildlife Sanctuary (AMWS) and subsequent deployment of sanctuary rangers has made it increasingly difficult to hunt larger wildlife.¹⁴

Field contacts in Boje indicate that hunting of Barn Swallows for food has not ceased.

Thus, despite on-going conservation intervention with respect to protecting an important wintering roost site for the European Barn Swallows, its fate still hangs in the balance. However the point that this article wishes to dwell upon is the collapse of the piggery project. It is also maintained that the project collapsed as a result of the disinterest on the part of community members appointed to manage the piggery on behalf of the Ebok-Boje community.¹⁵

The fact that international NGOs are interested in conserving biodiversity in Boki is viewed by local people—rightly or wrongly—as an opportunity for material and financial benefits, preferably in the form of monetary compensation rather than labour demanding community projects.

This in part reflects a common mindset in this region that views labour demanding exogenous alternative income generating activities with disfavour.¹⁶ Farming of crops with short rotation (such as banana) with an assured annual yield and high market value (such as oil palm) is high on favoured list of income generating ventures.

If this is the case why did the community accept the piggery project? A common response I received was that the community decision-making process was captured by the most

articulate who placed personal rather than community interest at the fore. This individual(s) put on the garb of community spoke person(s) and won the “trust” of the conservation organization field personnel working in the area at the time. It is worth noting that the above outcome is not new to the conservation and development debate.¹⁷

This example draws attention to the fact that rural poverty cannot be eliminated simply by having the right technical solutions but by combining this with an understanding of local socio-economic dynamics. The fact that international NGOs are interested in conserving biodiversity in Boki is viewed by local people—rightly or wrongly—as an opportunity for material and financial benefits, preferably in the form of monetary compensation rather than labour demanding community projects.¹⁸ This mirrors the pervasiveness of a “get-rich-quick” mentality in Nigeria.¹⁹ How then could NGOs effectively deliver conservation and poverty alleviation under these circumstances? This is a very pertinent question, given that Nigeria and Cameroon have just signed an agreement creating a trans-boundary protected area in the Cross River forest region between both countries.²⁰

Would increased prosperity not lead to increased consumption and consequently increased exploitation of forest resources?

The conservation importance of this region has attracted several high profile international organizations to the region, including WWF, WCS, FFI, GTZ, CIDA and USAID. The starting point would be for these actors to recognize that only a long term (minimum fifteen years) approach would yield meaning-

ful outcome in the region. There is also a real need for a comprehensive understanding of the ecological, historical and socio-economic causes of biodiversity loss in the region. This would form the foundation for a locale-specific and pragmatic biodiversity friendly poverty alleviation strategy. The strategy would need to provide effective solutions to the problem of soil productivity with a view towards enhancing productivity of existing farmlands and bringing into usage abandoned farmland.²¹

The choice of crops should be left in the hands of the local people. The goal should be to freeze farmland expansion and provide gainful employment within a long term time frame. This must be

Environmental education programmes should be initiated with the dual purpose of building conservation conscientiousness and identifying future probable conservation "champions".

coupled with capacity building aimed at raising the marketing acumen of the local people. Would increased prosperity not lead to increased consumption and consequently increased exploitation of forest

resources? Yes, it would in the short term, but long-term strategies can be put in place to ameliorate the negative impact of increased local wealth on biodiversity. This would involve historical analyses of resource exploitation to reduce the probable impact of increased wealth on the resource base.

Results from this exercise could be used to deflect future consumption to more biodiversity friendly pathways. Demographic analyses could be used to design tailored programmes aimed at inculcating the conservation ethics into younger community members. This proposed intervention could be

designed on a 5-year rotation aimed at working with the next immediate generation of potential labour force and consumers. Environmental education programmes should be initiated with the dual purpose of building conservation conscientiousness and identifying potential future conservation "champions". These children should be the focus of capacity building initiatives designed to develop local leaders who would speak for biodiversity as a result of internalised conservation ethic.

The plethora of international development and conservation organizations in the Cross River forest region could be problematic. Rather than each organization seeking for pre-eminence and thus breeding institutional rivalry, it is in the best interest of all if they work in synergistic harmony. They would also have to reach out in equitable partnerships with the various local NGOs in the region. I do acknowledge the role of broader political and economic factors towards the perpetuation of poverty in Nigeria and other developing countries.²² However, it is beyond the mandate of conservation NGOs to engage comprehensively in this arena. At best conservation NGOs should add their voice to the call for a more people responsive and poverty alleviating global political and economic order.

Conclusion

The proposals herein are not presented as silver bullets as there are no easy answers to an effective coupling of biodiversity conservation with poverty alleviation. However, the interconnections between poverty and loss of biodiversity in developing countries such as Nigeria indicates that conservation NGOs cannot opt out of this arduous task.



Picture 3. Tough ride to the market.
(Courtesy Forests, Resources and People)

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Notes

- 1 UNDP, 2000; DFID, 2001; Mellor, 2002; Sanderson and Redford, 2003
- 2 World Bank, 2000; Manuel, 2004.
- 3 Forester and Machlis, 1996; Swanson, 1998; Koziell, 2001.
- 4 World Bank, 2001.
- 5 See 'Combating Poverty' and also 'Conservation of Biological Resources' in *Agenda 21* available online at: <http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21toc.htm>
- 6 Hughes and Flintan, 2001; Hulme and Murphree, 2001.
- 7 See <http://www.developmentgoals.org/Environment.htm>

- 8 Ezealor, 2002
- 9 IUCN, 2003; Oates *et al.*, 2002.
- 10 Ezealor, 2002.
- 11 See *Ali Notizie* June 2000 (LIPU – UK Conservation Newsletter) available online at <http://www.lipu-uk.org/Pubs/Publications.htm>
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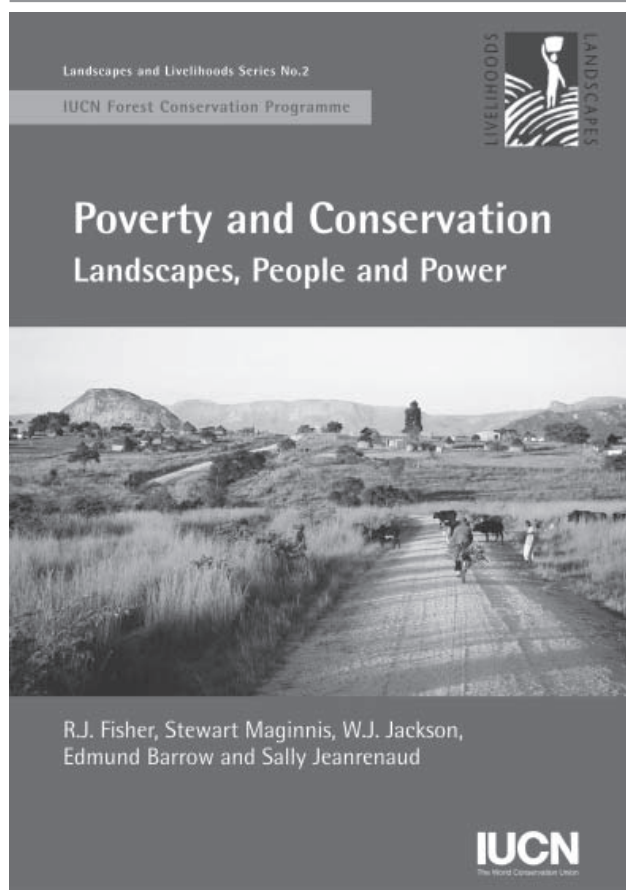
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"Poverty and Conservation: Landscapes, People and Power"

Edited by Robert J. Fisher, Stewart Maginnis,
William J. Jackson, Edmund Barrow and Sally Jeanrenaud,
IUCN Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK, 2005, xvi + 148 pp.



Short review by Dilys Roe

This recently published book is an output of an IUCN project on poverty and conservation led by the Forest Conservation Programme in collaboration with the Regional Offices in Asia and Eastern Africa and CEESP. The book explores the links between conservation and development – and in particular the potential of conservation to contribute to sustainable development and poverty reduction.

The book starts by outlining the rationale for linking conservation and poverty reduction – highlighting both ethical and practical arguments. It stresses that while conservation organisations are not expected to transform themselves into development agencies, they do have a moral obligation to address poverty – especially, as an absolute minimum, when conservation activities themselves actually contribute to poverty. Social justice must prevail. At the same time, there are

real opportunities for an integrated approach. Some of these opportunities may involve some level of trade-off between desired outcomes, but still result in positive (if not optimum) results. The book recognises that poor ecosystem health has a disproportionate impact on poor people. That their well-being is so intimately linked to sustainable management of natural resources – and vice versa – implies that an integrated approach is really the only option to tackling both poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation.

The authors review past experiences in linking conservation and development including Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) as well as co-management and community-based natural resource management (CBNRM).

They argue that these past attempts have had limited success because of a too limited focus and scale. Three detailed case studies are presented from which lessons are drawn. These include the Pred Nai Community Forest in Thailand, Shinyanga Forest in Tanzania and the NAFRI-IUCN non-timber forest products (NTFPs) project in Lao PDR. The case studies highlight three key points:

1. community action can lead to improved conservation actions;
2. the outcomes may not be perfect but are often better than other alternatives;
3. improved outcomes often result from institutional change at different levels.

Throughout, the book emphasises the need for action at multiple scales – both institutional and spatial. While the visible results of poverty and environmental degradation are seen locally, the root causes of both often originate far away, in particular through poor governance and weak institutions. A landscape level, rather than site specific, approach provides opportunities to better manage trade-offs and to integrate the perspectives of a wide range of stakeholders through negotiation and identification of synergies.

The book makes a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate of how, or indeed whether, to link conservation with poverty reduction. The fact that stresses conservation organisations are not expected to reorient their activities to poverty reduction and take on a task that development agencies have failed to achieve in the last 50 years, will be a source of relief to many. The emphasis on land-

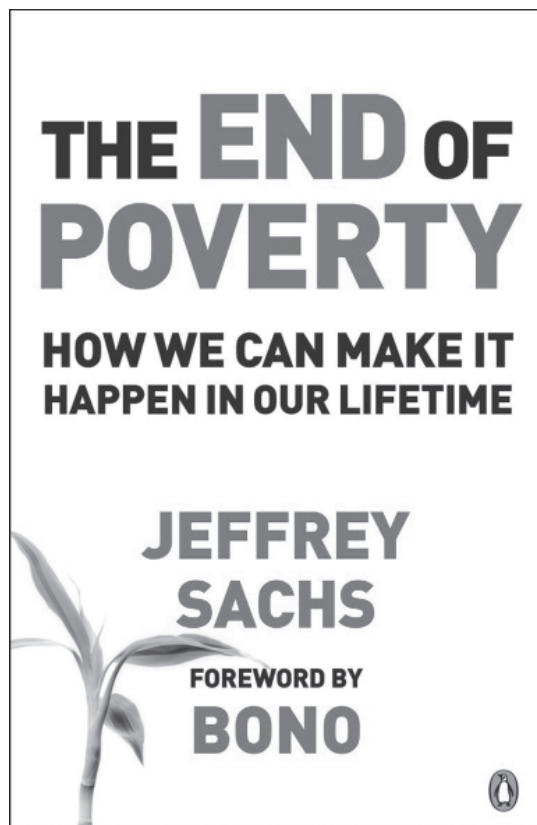
scapes echoes the Convention to the Biological Diversity's promotion of an ecosystem approach and is something to which many of the big conservation NGOs have already signed up. In practice, however, most attention is still focussed at the site or species level, and the protected area approach continues to dominate the conservation agenda. Making this spatial transition in practice as well as in rhetoric is likely to remain a major challenge. The emphasis on institutional change is a critical element of this book and is key to bringing about long term solutions. Few conservation organisations focus sufficiently on policy and institutional processes. The call to do this has implications for their ways of working and the skills and experience of the staff they employ (as well as implications for a follow up book on the practicalities of how to do policy and institutional work!). If this message is heeded however, this book could be the catalyst for a real paradigm shift – not just in capital cities and international conference centres, but also on the ground in locations where poor people are struggling to make a living.

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The End of Poverty: How we can make it happen in our lifetime

By Jeffrey Sachs, Foreword by Bono
Penguin, London, 2005, 416 p.

Short review by Elizabeth Kempf



Location, location, location. Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard-trained economist, thought he knew just about everything there was to know about economics until he discovered at age 30 what estate agents and agriculturalists all over the world have known for years. Money can be made if the lay of the land, the location and the geography is in your favour.

In 1985, Sachs found himself standing 13,000 feet above sea level at the La Paz airport in land-locked Bolivia, staring into a country with hyperinflation woes where people toted around bags full of depreciating pesos desperately searching for dollars. "From the minute I walked off the plane, I began to understand what real economic development was about. It was the beginning of 20 years of grasping the need for a new clinical economics, one up to the task of helping countries such as Bolivia".

For Sachs, this is a rare moment of admitted fallibility. But it is also the start of a long journey of discovery into the developing world, from Bolivia, where Sachs was invited as economic adviser for several years, to Poland and Russia, where he helped the transform Communist economies into capitalism, not always successfully. Most recently, he has worked in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

Physical geography, features prominently in Sachs' thinking. However, biodiversity, environmental security, and gender equality get short shrift in his poverty-reduction strategies. This is especially surprising because since 2002, Sachs has been Director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. He is also Special Adviser to United Nations (UN) Secretary General, Kofi Anan and one of the chief architects of the UN Millennium Development Project.

The eight Goals of the Millennium Declaration, agreed to by 191 UN member na-

tions in 2002, are critically important targets for cutting poverty in half by the year 2015. Sachs says: "They are bold but achievable, even if dozens of countries are not yet on track to achieve them".

In nearly 400 pages of rhetoric ranging from the passionate and personal, to the technical, practical, and occasionally self-serving, Sachs calls on rich countries to keep their promises to poor countries, double their financial assistance to poor nations, and cancel debt of the poorest governments who are often corrupt because they are poor and not the other way around. He argues persuasively that meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as well as addressing environmental challenges, notably Climate Change, is in the long-term interest of the developed world. "Ending poverty is the great opportunity of our time," he writes.

Sachs also frequently points out that we can help eliminate the needless and preventable deaths of 20,000 people who die every day from malaria, tuberculosis, AIDS and from other diseases. We can give a small percentage of our income to stop or sharply reduce the deaths of "eight million people who die each year because they are too poor to stay alive". This can-do attitude is not simply a matter of altruism, Sachs explains, but a matter of social conscience and national and international security.

Sachs could strengthen his argument by linking security with ending poverty. This link, explaining the need for environmental security, is the missing chapter in Sachs' otherwise brilliant and compelling appeal for ending extreme poverty.

His poverty-reduction plan includes simple solutions such as giving poor people insecticide-treated bed nets, anti-retroviral drugs, medicines for treatable diseases such as T.B., and more complex provisions such as education, safe drinking water and sanitation, adequate nutrition, electricity and other power, transport, and agricultural inputs.

The cost of the plan would be around US\$135 billion in 2006, increasing to US\$195 billion in 2015. Sachs notes that the UN Millennium Project's US\$195 billion estimate of net Overseas Development Aid (ODA) flows in 2015 leaves out one relatively large expense: help for the poorest countries to adapt to long term climate change. The Table that Sachs uses to estimate costs also contains a worrying footnote: "This estimate does not include several important Overseas Development Aid (ODA) needs, such as responding to crises of geopolitical importance, such as Afghanistan or Iraq, mitigating the impact of Climate Change, protecting biodiversity and conserving global fisheries; and so forth."

"And so forth" must surely include environmental conservation and restoration such as maintaining watersheds, waterways and wetlands that provide critical sources of timber, fuel wood, and water for drinking, sanitation and irrigation, etc. This critical omission including environmental security needs to be factored into the calculation of the "Total Indicative Net ODA Needs of the Estimated Cost of Meeting the MDGs in Every Country".

To help end extreme poverty by 2025, Sachs has calculated that around US\$65 a year is needed for every

person in the poorest countries. If we reached into our own pockets, that amounts to around US\$1.25 a week, less than the cost of a Swiss chocolate candy bar or a bottle of beer or purified water.

Sachs takes aim at the US government frequently as this country has shirked its responsibility in footing its part of the aid bill. He asks the rhetorical question: Can the United States afford .07 of its Gross National Product (or .07 cents of every US\$10)? Sachs says the question is silly. The US spends US\$450 billion a year on the military compared to US\$15 billion on foreign assistance. Americans greatly over estimate how much they actually contribute to foreign aid.

On the eve of President George Bush's 2000 tour to Africa, Sachs made some calculations on the back of an envelope just to drive home the point that the US can afford to keep its promises and pay more in helping the world meet the MDGs. According to figures released by the US Internal Revenue Service, "the four hundred richest US taxpayers had a combined income (US\$69 billion) in 2000 that exceeded the combined incomes (US\$57 billion) of four of the countries on Mr. Bush's tropical tour, where 160 million people live on an average income of US\$350 a year.

There is not doubt in Sachs' mind that we can end extreme poverty by 2025. He has enlisted and joined forces with celebrities, scientists, politicians, and world leaders to try and bring this about "in our time". He appears to have had the ear of the participants at the July 2005 G-8 Summit in Britain, who put ending poverty in Africa and mitigating Climate Change at the

top of the meeting's agenda. The G-8 leaders were not listening carefully enough. They agreed to cancel debt to the poorest of African countries, but failed to agree to end poverty in Africa. They agreed "to give hope to ending poverty in Africa", falling short once again of financial commitment to meet their promises to meeting the MDGs.

The opening of the historic G-8 meeting was marred by the tragic death of innocent victims who were killed during terrorist attacks while traveling to work on the British transport system. The G-8 leaders who were no doubt influenced by the proposals of renowned personalities like Sachs and Bono, carried on with their business in a resolute manner. They continued with their tasks like the resilient citizens of Britain –and New York and Madrid before them – stoically and unfailingly towards their ultimate and overarching goal: helping the world's most impoverished people, who are too weakened by hunger and illness to help themselves, to get on that first rung of the Economic Ladder and to secure the environment in which we all live.

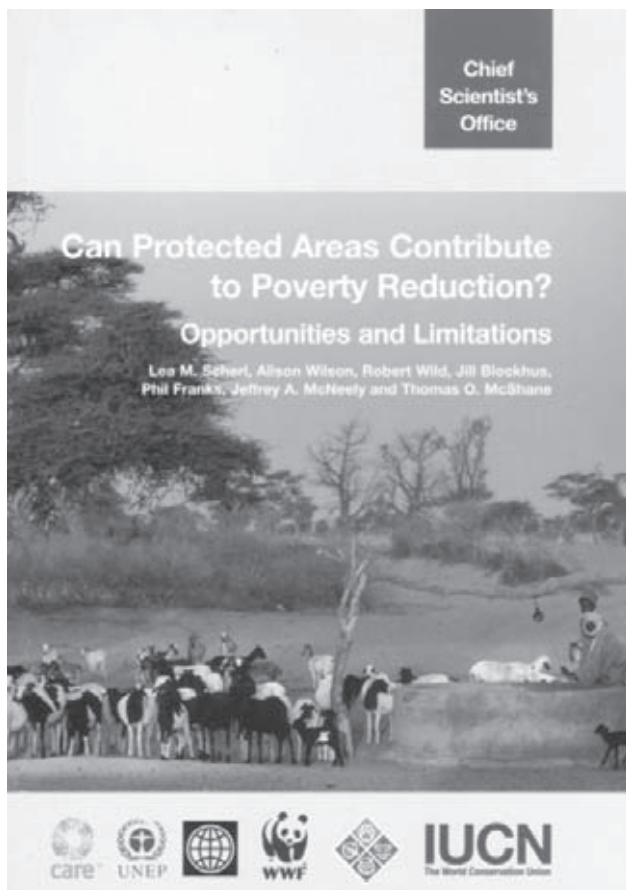
Sachs himself says in his eloquently written book that, "These battles are never won, just pushed forward to new terrain". We should thank him for waging war on poverty on the front-lines – and join him.

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Can Protected Areas Contribute to Poverty Reduction? Opportunities and Limitations

By Lea M. Scherl, Alison Wilson, Robert Wild, Jill Blockhus,
Phil Franks, Jeffrey A. McNeely, Thomas O. McShane
IUCN, Gland (Switzerland) and Cambridge (UK), 2004.

Short review by Don Gilmour



This 2004 publication by IUCN (available from the IUCN Publications Unit in Cambridge, www.iucn.org/bookstore) brings together the thinking of an eclectic group of authors from IUCN, WWF, DFID, CARE, and the World Bank. The authors bring a rich and varied (but mainly conservation) background to the topic. The idea for the publication came from discussions leading up to and during the 5th World Parks Congress in Durban in December 2003. It essentially provides the conceptual underpinnings of the recommendation on Protected Areas and Poverty at the Congress, so is an important record of the evolution in thinking that surrounded that recommendation. It also provided an opportunity to bring different institutional perspectives to bear on a difficult issue.

Inevitably, the publication is something of a compromise as it seeks to convey the consensus views of people in some of the world's key

conservation and development organisations on the role that Protected Areas can contribute to improved livelihoods in general, and poverty reduction in particular. However, there is a tendency for the authors to be somewhat ambivalent about the impacts of protected areas on the well-being of adjacent communities. For example, the authors contend *"...it is extremely difficult to show causal links between protected areas and poverty..."* (p. 25). It is doubtful whether this statement would stand up to critical scrutiny, as there is considerable evidence to indicate that exclusion of people from protected areas has indeed caused poverty and disadvantage. On the other hand, the authors acknowledge that rural people are among those who are the most disadvantaged because of the establishment of protected areas.

The publication is one of the latest contributions demonstrating how the conserva-

tion world is being pushed and pulled (internally and externally) in this ideological struggle between conservation and development. This on-going struggle parallels a shift in international conservation agendas (and aid funding) from focusing primarily on biodiversity conservation in the 1980s and early 1990s (Rio, the CBD, etc.) to focusing more explicitly (and in practice, as opposed to mouthing the rhetoric) on the human impacts of conservation. The ultimate examples of a primary focus on biodiversity conservation are Categories I and II Protected Areas. However, this exclusionist model of conservation is under challenge in many quarters, particularly in developing countries where local communities derive livelihood support from natural resources in protected areas.

The authors emphasise the importance of considering the ethical consequences to local communities of the establishment and management of protected areas. However, an essential dilemma is that protected areas are established primarily to conserve biodiversity. The first generation of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) during the past decade demonstrated this quite well. These projects were designed primarily to ensure that protected areas could survive in the face of pressure to use natural resources (with the primary focus being on conservation rather than development outcomes).

The authors discuss the concept of poverty, which goes beyond the notion of insufficient money or food for subsistence. This is a useful reminder of the multi-faceted aspects of poverty and the complexity involved in addressing it meaningfully. They then embed the topic within a discussion of the international sustainable development debate. This sets the scene for considering

various approaches to protected area establishment and management that can address the ethical consequences alluded to above. These include: a new generation of ICDPs that focus more explicitly on linking protected area management with the interests of local stakeholders; adoption of more inclusive management styles (recognising the need for more pluralistic approaches) and the establishment of a new category of reserve-Community Conservation Areas. A discussion on integrating protected areas and poverty reduction strategies is full of fine sounding rhetoric, but the reality is that landscape level planning that can effectively integrate conservation and development (particularly poverty reduction) still eludes us. In practice, the institutional barriers (and the differing institutional cultures and mandates of different agencies) are major constraints acting against such integration.

Cynics might argue that this shift in interest of the conservation community is simply a pragmatic response to the dearth of funding opportunities unless project proposals contain "livelihoods" or "poverty" in their titles. However, in most cases, the conservation community has been genuinely attempting to address the twin goals of conservation and development during the past decade and to see what sort of compromises are needed and how the necessary trade-offs can be identified and negotiated. People from the development world are increasingly appearing on the staffing lists of conservation organisations as they continue to grapple with the challenges.

This publication is an important contribution to this on-going debate and should help people in many countries to think through what type of protected areas they want, and how they might

be managed to contribute to their national agendas. In the past, protected areas were rarely managed with consideration of their impact on poor people in their vicinity, so the current debate is a big step forward. However, perhaps the best that can be hoped for in the short term is for protected area management that genuinely attempts

to “do no harm”.

Dr Don Gilmour (gilmour@itxpress.com.au) is a member of IUCN CEESP Theme on Sustainable Livelihoods, CEM and WCPA. For five years (from 1993 to 1997) he was head of IUCN's Forest Conservation Programme, based in Switzerland. Prior to that, he worked on a community forestry project in Nepal for eight years between 1981 and 1991. He also has 18 years previous experience in forestry education and forest hydrology research in the wet tropics of Australia. He is currently working as a private consultant based in Brisbane, Australia.

Linking Human Rights and the Environment

Edited by Romina Pícolotti and Jorge Daniel Taillant

The University of Arizona Press,
Tucson, Arizona, 2003, xviii + 264pp

Short review by Hanna Jaireth

This edited collection of essays aims to raise awareness and debate about the linkages between human rights and the environment, and to stimulate challenge and resistance based on that awareness. It urges environmental and human rights defenders to make a greater use of multilateral and regional UN human rights processes and institutions, and provides references to assist. Many contributors are the leading academics in this field.

Coordinated through the Center for Human Rights and Environment in Córdoba, Argentina, the book recognizes that the most vulnerable social sectors tend to be most heavily im-

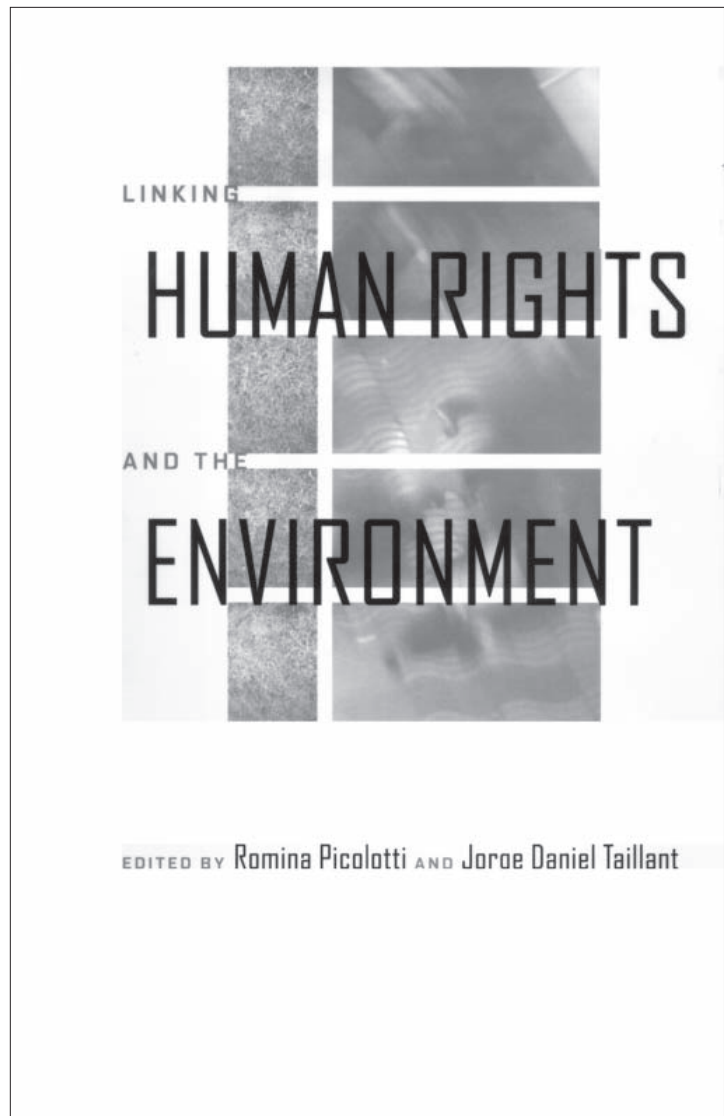
pacted by breaches of environment-related human rights. Racial and ethnic minorities, the poor (including disadvantaged women and children) and communities facing resource depletion and exposure to toxins are most often at risk. Rights to life, property, equality, information, and participation are commonly breached. The relative difficulties of pursuing biodiversity-related human rights issues as against pollution and toxic waste cases are also explored. Additionally, numerous violations and complaints are discussed.

Many persuasive arguments and strategies are peppered throughout the

book to encourage the development of environment-related human rights jurisprudence, and to increase institutional responsiveness. For example,

- the advantages for victims of using relatively simple and inexpensive procedures to reach beyond national governments and exhausted domestic remedies are noted. Such complaints procedures are rarely provided in multilateral environmental agreements;
- the UN Human Rights Committee is shown to be largely sympathetic to complainants even if its decisions tend to have few short term impacts;
- political realities are acknowledged, but these include the benefits of leveraging influence through global communications, and mobilizing shame to help resolve disputes; and
- civil society is also encouraged to provide information through special rapporteurs' studies and human rights treaty reporting processes.

This book would also be useful for readers engaged with the current debate about UN reform. Its focus is not limited to 'greening' human rights discourse. It also explores the relevance of human rights standards in making economic institutions more responsive in terms of participation by civil society, disclosure, and accountability. Institutions such as the Security Council, WTO and proposed Human Rights Council and Peacebuilding Commission could better incorporate environment-related human rights standards and processes within their mandates, and draw on this book for pointers. Similarly, many multilateral environmental institutions, following

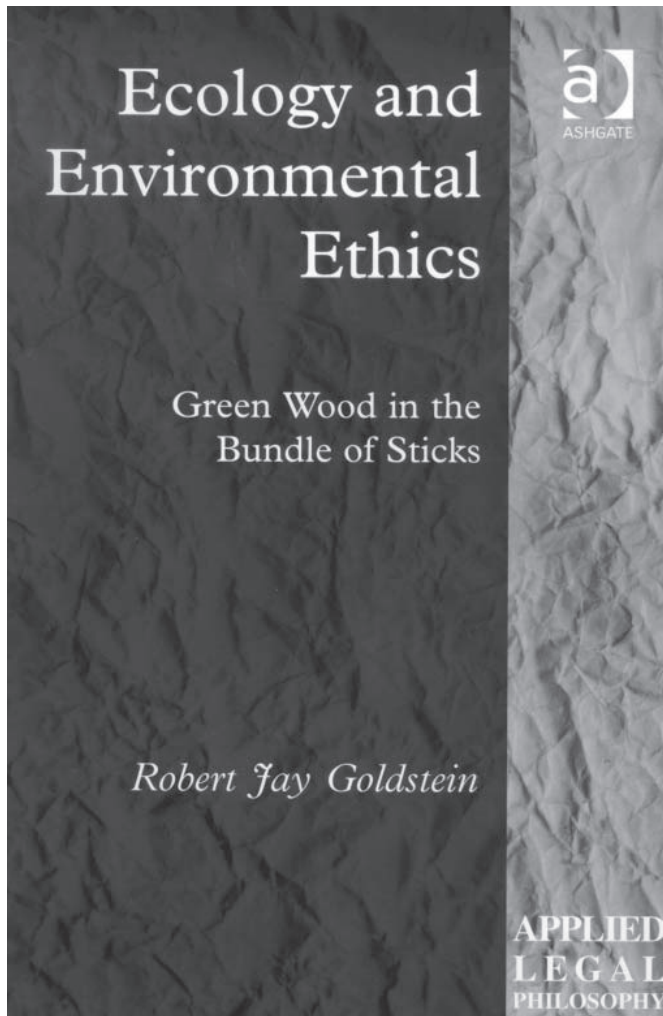


the lead of the Convention on Biological Diversity, should become more explicitly engaged with the complex linkages between human rights and sustainability.

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Ecology and Environmental Ethics: Green Wood in the Bundle of Sticks

Edited by Robert Jay Goldstein,
Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, 2004



Short review by Hanna Jaireth

The title of this book is intriguing. It invites readers to leaf through to find its meaning, which would reveal a carefully researched and sensitively argued case for the recognition of eco-stewardship responsibilities (i.e. 'green wood') alongside the bundle of inherent rights (i.e. 'sticks') in US common law doctrines of real property rights.

This approach reflects well on the Pace Law School which nurtured the research project during its early years. The author acknowledges one of the IUCN luminaries, Prof. Nicholas A. Robinson, as a mentor. Another is renowned environmental lawyer Richard L. Ottinger.

Goldstein explains that property right 'sticks' include rights to possess, safely use, manage, derive income, transmit, security etc. The 'green wood' is the inherent nature of the land and obligations arising from there. This includes its ecology and bioregional context, aesthetics and place in the landscape, and our responsibilities to

future generations. 'Green wood' creates a rebuttable presumption that actions are prohibited if they significantly degrade these values and change the environmental context of the ecosystem. Compensation is not payable for regulatory 'takings' that preserve these values and their environmental context. Goldstein argues that this approach is better than trespass, nuisance, and prescriptive regulation for promoting sustainability. He also argues its potential for limiting urban sprawl and ambient pollution.

This is a sophisticated US domestic law exploration of legal philosophy, applied ethics, and social change. It includes numerous hypothetical issues and examples of the emergence of the 'green wood concept'. It invites landowners' and property

'developers' to recognize their responsibilities to preserve ecosystem functions for the benefit of that ecosystem, as well as future generations.

This book will hopefully stimulate other scholars to analyse real property law in other cultural traditions and legal systems and to map the influence of norms based on environmental awareness. Since at least the 1972 Stockholm Declaration on the Human En-

vironment, human responsibilities to protect the environment have been recognized in numerous multilateral environmental agreements, international environmental law could therefore be similarly analyzed. Perhaps we also need to analyse why it has taken so long for so many to internalize these values.

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Assessing Collaborative and Integrated Water Management in the Maitland River Watershed Lessons Learned I: Process Evaluation

by Cecilia Ferreyra and Phil Beard

Report submitted to the Maitland Watershed Partnerships.

Guelf Water Management Group, Department of Geography,

University of Guelf, Ontario (Canada), 2005. 22 pp.

Full report available at: <http://www.uoguelph.ca/gwmg/Documents/Ferreyra%20and%20Beard%202005.pdf>

Management of water resources poses challenges for rural areas in Ontario and throughout the world. Protecting groundwater and aquatic ecosystems without compromising economic production and recreational demands requires integrated and collaborative approaches that recognize the interdependence of natural and socioeconomic systems, and emphasize stakeholder involvement in decision-making and implementation.

In this context, past local experiences with collaborative and integrated water

management can provide significant insights on the challenges posed by multi-stakeholder collaboration in different places and contexts. This is particularly relevant for agricultural watersheds, where efforts to reduce the environmental impacts of agricultural production, while recognizing its productive function and its evolving role in rural communities, have a long tradition.

This report, drawing from the results of the participatory evaluation of the Maitland Watershed Partnerships (MWP), offers practical information for other similar collaborative initiatives

in Ontario and elsewhere, and helps to identify areas for capacity building for water quality protection in agricultural areas.

The MWPs is a forum of twenty gov-



Figure 1. View of the Maitland River in the city of Goderich, Ontario, Canada. (Courtesy of Cecilia Ferreira)

nesses and industries, involved in water management in the Maitland River watershed, Ontario. Since 1999, these organizations have been working together to identify and apply innovative management approaches, while gaining an appreciation of the multiple and sometimes conflicting perspectives of various stakeholders in this agricultural watershed. Some of the practical insights from the process evaluation of the MWPs include:

- *Scientific knowledge and technical expertise should not dominate* and determine the outcomes of the collaborative planning process. If this is the case, acceptance of goals and targets among partnership members might be accomplished, but not necessarily ownership.
- Developing collaborative advantage includes setting a holistic strategy addressing not only the issues that are relevant for the key agricultural sector, but also *investing the always-scarce resources in urban, industrial and lakeshore issues*.

- Periodically revising the foundational assumptions upon which partnership strategies and plans of action are developed allows *new partners and representatives to contribute to defining the partnership agenda, as well as adapting to changing contexts*.
- Partnership evaluation should ideally assess not only improvements in water quality and quantity (*ecological outcomes*), but also the impact of collaboration on the quantity and quality of relationships among stakeholders (*social outcomes*).
- Developing *inter-organizational leadership skills*, the ability to effectively and simultaneously guide and facilitate stakeholder interaction, should be among the top priorities in capacity building strategies for collaborative water management.
- *Clear boundaries* between individual organizations' actions and those of the partnership can help build trust among organizations, as well as making explicit the tangible and intangible positive impacts that being part of an inter-organizational partnership can have on projects and actions of individual organizations.
- *Effective communication* at the inter-personal and inter-organizational levels is essential when partnership purpose, goals and targets are negotiated and established. As collaboration develops, it is also important to develop mechanisms to agree upon a common message and target audiences when communicating with the broader watershed community, outside the limits of the inter-organizational partnership.

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SHARING POWER:

Learning-by-Doing in Co-Management of Natural Resources throughout the World¹

By Borrini-Feyerabend, G., M Pimbert,
M.T. Farvar, A. Kothari, and Y. Renard

Published by IIED and IUCN/CEESP/CCMWG, Cenesta,
Tehran, 2004. 461 p.

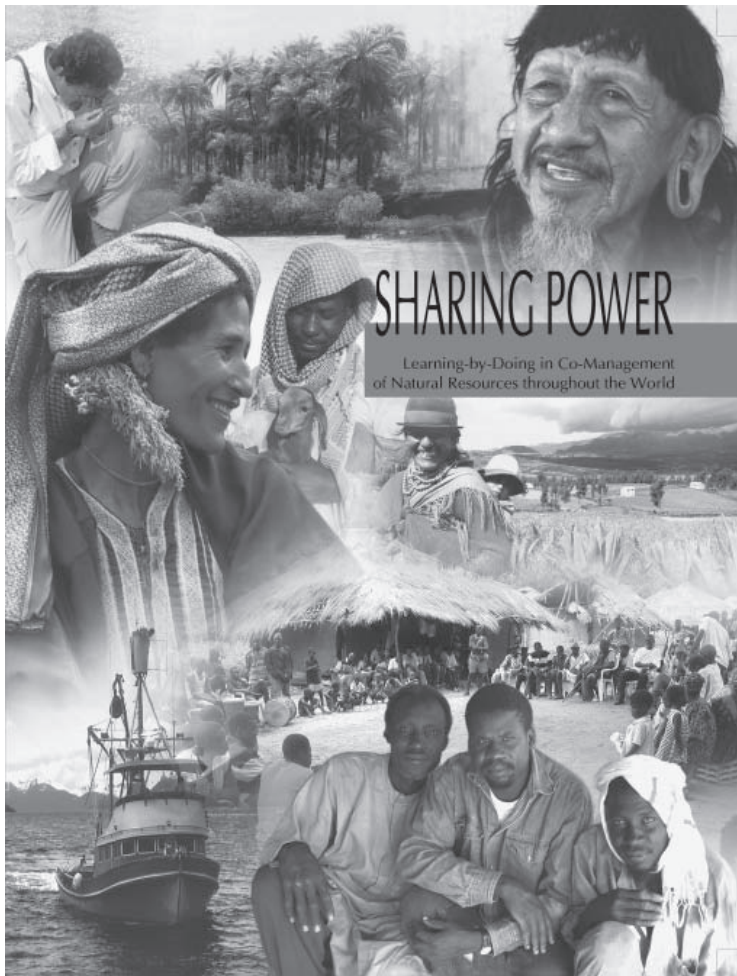
Short review by Steven R. Brechin

Sharing Power: Learning-by-Doing in Co-Management of Natural Resources Throughout the World [SP] is an exceptional contribution to the promotion of good governance. Good governance is inclusive, transparent, accountable, and equitable. It is also hard work. But it is work required to generate both effective governance and social justice. The two are best achieved together.

SP is without question the most complete and detailed sourcebook available to date on how to frame, prepare and actually engage in co-management. The seed for the volume grew out of a desire of several of the authors in the early 1990s to demonstrate that simple "participation" was not enough. Local people and communities had to be more fully engaged in the processes of natural resource management that shape their lives and livelihoods. In a world that grows increasingly rich in human talent, with an expected 8 to 10 billion souls in the decades to come, constructive and effective ways must

be established and diffused to engage fully local communities and peoples in the management of locally-based natural resources and environmental services. State-based authorities and even international agencies and NGOs must find better ways of incorporating local voices and decision making power into the on-the-ground management efforts that affect everyday people in everyday ways. SP lays down that process in as complete and straightforward a manner that has ever been made available.

In the preface its authors noted the long gestation period for this volume. As a reader, however, it was certainly worth the wait. SP overflows with essential information and examples from all corners of the globe. It is comprised of eleven chapters organized into four thematic parts. There are six figures, 17 tables, 31 checklists, and 160 boxes that provide sharp insights to definitions and real world illustrations. The themes constructively layout the logical thinking process that need to be followed in creating co-management regimes. I was par-



ticularly pleased to see chapters that focus separately on the organization of the co-management processes as well as institutional framework needed to guide their direction and action. The volume ends on the critical issue of enabling environments. The essential point here is that supportive settings for co-management processes are not simply uncovered. They frequently need to be created. This requires the mixture of both national policy and an active and empowered civil society.

The authors of *SP* also practiced what they preach. The volume itself has been a collaborative effort. It has been painstakingly compiled by a distinguished and veteran cast of on-the-ground doers, Grazia Bor-

rini-Feyerabend, Michel Pimbert, M. Taghi Farvar, Ashish Kothari, and Yves Renard with assistance by Hanna Jaireth, Marshall Murphree, Vicki Pattemore, Richardo Ramirez, and Patrizio Warren. Likewise it was financially supported by IIED, IUCN and its Commission for Environmental, Economic and Social Policy (CEESP) and its Collaborative Management Working Group (CMWG), a sustainable development NGO (CE-NESTA), and two bilaterals (SIDA and GTZ).

SP is an exceptional volume that presents the perfect blend of concepts and practice. It demands to be read by all those interested in achieving not only greater equity in natural resource management but also more effective and sustainable management.

Notes

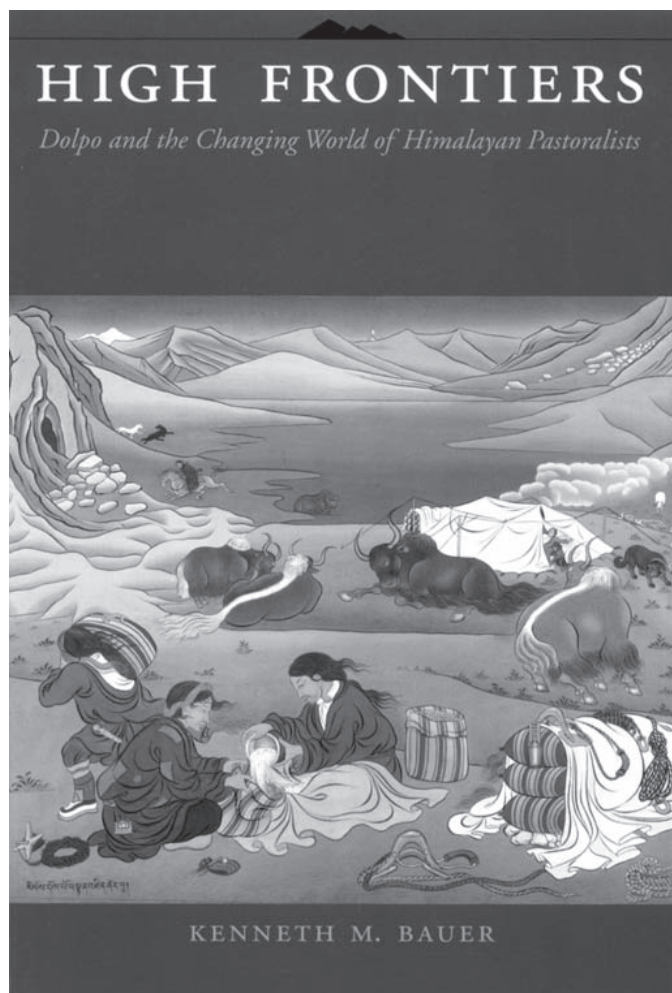
- 1 This review first appeared in the *International Journal of Bioscience and Management* (Volume 1, Number 3).

Steven R. Brechin (sbrechin@maxwell.syr.edu) is a Professor of Sociology in the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. As an organisational and environmental sociologist, Brechin has published widely on social justice issues related to biodiversity conservation. His most recent book is *Contested Nature: Promoting International Biodiversity Conservation with Social Justice in the Twenty-first Century* (SUNY Press 2003), which he co-edited. Brechin is member of the Steering Committee of CEESP, Co-chair of CEESP/TGER and member of WCPA.

High Frontiers: Dolpo and the Changing World of Himalayan Pastoralists

By Kenneth M. Bauer

Historical Ecology Series, Columbia University Press,
New York (USA), 2004. xiii + 270pp.



Short review by Mark Turin

This masterful ecological ethnography by Kenneth Bauer is the most recent addition to Columbia University Press' prominent *Historical Ecology Series*, which explores the complex links between people and the landscapes in which they live and work. While the previous five books in the series have a predominantly American focus, Bauer's narrative takes the reader to the Himalayas, and specifically to Dolpo, a culturally Tibetan enclave in a remote part of western Nepal.

The community of the Dolpo-pa, the ethnonym of choice for the people of Dolpo, is held together by a shared Tibetan language, Buddhist religion, and their vibrant trading history. With a population of less than 5000, Dolpo is one of Nepal's highest altitude and most sparsely populated regions, yet its agro-pastoralist inhabitants have continued to survive in this inhospitable landscape through a creative combination of farming, animal husbandry, and trade with Tibet, which lies to the north.

Bauer's qualifications for posing and answering difficult questions about Dolpo's future are beyond debate: he has lived, travelled, and worked in Nepal for extended periods over the last decade, with much of this time spent in Dolpo itself. Comfort in the local language and strong relationships of trust with local people, painstakingly built up over time, combine to make Bauer as much an anthropologist as a rangeland ecologist, thus broadening and deepening this excellent monograph. At one point, the author even refers to his work as a "social portrait" (page 8).

In nine well-bounded and thoughtfully entitled chapters, the author describes how

the trans-Himalayan pastoralists living in post-1959 Dolpo (after the Chinese occupation of Tibet) have adapted their livelihoods to sweeping changes in their economic, political, and cultural circumstances. Bauer's work is a study of change, in particular that of production systems which have undergone great transformations. The first two chapters are particularly ethnographic, dealing in detail with Dolpo's interwoven systems of agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade, from both historical and comparative perspectives. This focus on resource management in a risky environment niche illustrates the skill of the Dolpo-pa at teasing out a viable strategy for survival.

Chapters 3 to 5 address the history of political change in Nepal and China post-1950. The author pieces together a narrative of socio-economic events affecting the inhabitants of Dolpo which he in turn uses as a lens through which to understand the transformations of trans-Himalayan pastoral communities over the last half century. In particular, Bauer concentrates on how minority groups in border areas, peripheral to both the administrations of China and Nepal, are affected by the formation of modern nation states, boundary making, and economic centralisation.

Chapter 6 takes us back to Dolpo itself, away from meta-narratives of geopolitical realignments, and chronicles specific ways in which Dolpo villagers adapted their trading and pastoral patterns after the 1959 closure of the Tibetan borders. In this nuanced section, Bauer documents the rangeland crisis precipitated by an influx of Tibetan refugees and their animals in the 1960s, fleeing from the north, with the consequence that the productive base of Dolpo's economic system was "drastically diminished by overgrazing" (page 14).

Chapters 7 and 8 set this monograph apart from other descriptive narratives of pastoralism in the Himalayas. Having presented the context of geopolitical transformation, Bauer now traces the evolution of theories of conservation in Nepal culminating in the creation of the Shey Phoksundo National Park in Dolpa district in the 1980s. Dolpo's encounter with tourism, international development, government intervention in the form of livestock breeding and veterinary clinics are all critically discussed, and Bauer explicitly challenges the applicability of Western range management techniques such as "carrying capacity" to the intricate, complex, dynamic and non-equilibrium-based ecosystem of Dolpo. Chapter 8 is particularly good reading, in that it charts the making of the feature film *Himalaya* (also peddled by the name of *Caravan*) in Dolpo, propelling this remote region of Nepal from the political margins to the cultural centre stage. Bauer is rightly critical of many of the film's misrepresentations, and suggests that the images of Dolpo and Tibet which the film projects are both "inaccurate and disingenuous".

The final chapter is upbeat and positive. Acknowledging that forces beyond their control "threatened catastrophic change and the demise of traditional ways of life" for the Dolpo-pa (page 188), the author nevertheless concludes that the communities whose lives and livelihoods he has studied are not simply "passive beneficiaries or victims of world stagecraft". Rather, they are malleable and dynamic agents of change, adapting to new socio-economic and geo-political events as they are confronted with them. There is no better embodiment of this than the artist Tenzin Norbu, whose magnificent painting adorns the front cover of the book. Bauer classes Norbu as a social entrepreneur: "an artist who is lever-

aging his creative talent and financial panache to succeed in a world at once modern and traditional" (page 203). The dividends of his success are also shared by the community, as Norbu is now a major player in Dolpo's cultural and economic renaissance, components of which include an Artists' Cooperative, the export of locally-produced leather bags and a growth in grassroots development through partnership with national and international organisations.

Bauer's story is the tale of the people of Dolpo and their potential for adaptability. It is not a Calvinist account

of survival, suffering and endurance against all odds: such an account would make their lot sound too hopeless. Rather, the author has written a narrative of a people so intimately in touch with their environment, ecology, history, and culture that their ongoing success in a fast-changing world is a vindication of this community's endurance.

Mark Turin (mt272@cornell.edu) is a linguistic anthropologist based jointly at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, and the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, where he directs the Digital Himalaya Project <http://www.digitalhimalaya.com>. He has been writing on language and culture across the Himalayas since 1991.

GEF Office of Monitoring and Evaluation Study of Local Benefits in GEF Program Areas

Policy Matters has received the following note from Dr. David Todd, the Manager of the worldwide study undertaken by GEF's Evaluation Office on experiences in GEF assisted projects with linkages between the pursuit of global environmental benefits and the impacts, costs, incentives, and benefits at the level of local communities. *Policy Matters* will review in further issues the findings, recommendations and highlights from this important study.

The GEF Office of Monitoring and Evaluation has completed a two-year study of local benefits in GEF Program areas. The study explored the inter-relationship between global environmental gains and local benefits in GEF activities in biodiversity, climate change and international waters. It undertook extensive field studies of 18 projects, detailed non-field reviews of 27 projects, desk studies of 132 projects and additional reviews of 123 terminal evaluations conducted by the GEF's Implementing Agencies; UNDP, UNEP and the World Bank.

The GEF Council of November 2005 accepted the report and its recommendations.

The study analyzes good practice elements and challenges encountered in such areas as:

- Creating a favorable policy environment for local benefits necessary for sustainable environmental gains
- Engaging with local knowledge and institutions
- Approaches to capacity building
- Stakeholder involvement; awareness-raising, consultation and participation
- Role of social and stakeholder analysis in project design and implementation

- Supervision concerning local benefits
- Income generating activities
- Generating effective learning from experience

The Final Report makes recommendations to promote, where appropriate, the more effective integration of local benefits into GEF 4 programming as one of the essential means to achieve and sustain global environment benefits.

Many study documents, including draft versions of reports on the detailed field studies, are available on the GEF website, www.thegef.org, under the monitoring and evaluation heading and then under completed studies. The Final Report is currently under editing for circulation as a printed document and for the website.

Aiding or Abetting? Internal Resettlement and International Aid Agencies in the Lao PDR

By Ian G. Baird and Bruce Shoemaker

Report for Probe International, Toronto (Canada) August 2005,
available at <http://www.probeinternational.org>

Executive Summary

There now exists a compelling and growing volume of evidence demonstrating that internal resettlement and related initiatives in Laos, are, in many cases, having a major and generally negative impact on the social systems, livelihoods and cultures of many indigenous ethnic communities and people. Tens of thousands of vulnerable indigenous ethnic minority people have suffered and died due to impacts associated with ill-conceived and poorly implemented internal resettlement initiatives in Laos over the last ten years. Many of those impacted

can expect to be impoverished long into the future. The initiatives responsible for this situation have received substantial indirect and direct support from outside aid agencies and donors. While it is not easy to judge the various site-specific and complex situations involved, the question must be raised of whether some agencies are in reality facilitating violations of the basic rights of impacted communities through their support for internal resettlement. Our findings indicate that many international development agencies working in the Lao PDR have failed to recognize or understand the critical importance and

impacts of internal resettlement-related initiatives on the people they are meant to be assisting or to adequately address these issues within their own projects and institutions. Given the political and cultural context in the country, international aid agencies operate there with very little accountability. A close examination and reflection on the practices of individual agencies seems called for - by the agencies themselves, by their partner organizations, and by their supporters.

A number of programs and policies in the Lao PDR are promoting, directly or indirectly, the internal resettlement of mostly indigenous ethnic communities from the more remote highlands to lowland areas and along roads. International aid agencies have facilitated these initiatives - sometimes intentionally and at other times with little understanding of the issues or the implications of their support, tacit or otherwise.



Picture 1. Kaleum's failed dry season rice.
(Courtesy Ian G. Baird)

Government policies promoting internal resettlement have five main justifications. First is the eradication or reduction of swidden agriculture/ shifting cultivation/ slash-and-burn agriculture. This policy, which has received

substantial financial support and encouragement from international aid agencies, is now widely recognized by researchers as ill-conceived and unrealistic. This initiative is also sometimes related to conflicts between outside commercial interests and local ethnic minority communities over the use and control of natural resources in upland areas. The second justification for resettlement is opium eradication. The GoL is engaged in a draconian effort to rid the country of all opium cultivation by the end of 2005, an initiative that has been encouraged and supported by international agencies such as UNDCP/ UNODC and the US government. This is occurring without sufficient livelihood alternatives and is causing significant hardship to impacted communities. Internal resettlement has often been promoted as a way to ensure opium eradication. Security concerns is third. Sometimes people considered to represent a security threat to the state have been resettled in order to make it easier for the government to monitor and control their activities. However, security concerns play less of a role in resettlement than in the past. Fourth is access and service delivery. Government and some aid officials claim that resettlement is necessary so that remote communities can cost-effectively receive development services and have better access to markets. Unfortunately, such assumptions often lack an appreciation of the existing natural resources that form the livelihoods base of these more remote communities. The fifth policy justification for resettlement is cultural integration and nation-building. The population of Laos includes many different ethnic groups, most with their own languages, customs, and livelihood systems. Resettlement facilitates their integration into the dominant Lao culture, which is generally perceived by government leaders

as beneficial for the nation. Resettlement often involves more than one of the above justifications.

In addition to the five policy justifications, there are three important government initiatives that have a strong direct relationship to internal resettlement in the Lao PDR. Some aid agency staff have failed to clearly understand these concepts and this has resulted in many agencies finding themselves unintentionally involved in facilitating internal resettlement. Focal Sites are designated zones where large numbers of ethnic minority people are supposed to be provided with development services following their resettlement. Focal Sites involve significant infrastructure investment and have been promoted and supported by some donors. Village Consolidation is the combining of scattered and small settlements into larger villages that are more easily administrated and permanently settled. In reality, it is another form of resettlement, with some of the same dynamics as Focal Sites but usually on a smaller scale. Land and Forest Allocation is a land management program initiated by the government to promote natural resource conservation. However, the result has been less land available for swidden cultivation, which has, in turn, prompted resettlement.

Related to all of these initiatives is the question of 'voluntary' versus 'involuntary' resettlement. Much of what is classified as voluntary resettlement is, in reality, not villager-initiated. Describing internal resettlement in Laos as 'voluntary' does not make sense, given the political and economic restrictions imposed by the Lao PDR government.

The dramatic impacts of internal resettlement in Laos were first reported in 1997 in a comprehensive UNESCO/

UNDP study conducted by OSTOM. The study detailed mortality rates of up to 30%, much higher than the national average, in upland communities following poorly implemented resettlement. In 2000, the ADB-sponsored Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) revealed that many villagers believe their poverty is newly created and due in large part to two programs, Land and Forest Allocation, and Village Consolidation. A series of other NGO, UN, and academic research studies have all confirmed severe impacts on resettled people. To our knowledge, there is not a single study reporting that resettlement has benefited indigenous ethnic communities in Laos.



Picture 2. Eggplants do *not* grow well in Sanxay. (Courtesy Ian G. Baird)

Taken together with our own research, these findings raise serious questions about the central assumptions behind current rural development initiatives and policies for the uplands of the Lao PDR. Whether or not these policies have been well intentioned, it is now very clear that their effects have mostly been disastrous for people and communities. While usually undertaken in the name of 'poverty alleviation', these initiatives often, in fact, contribute to long-term poverty, environmental degradation, cultural alienation, and increasing social conflicts.

Despite extensive involvement in resettlement, the reaction and response of international aid agencies to the evidence of severe impacts on indigenous communities has been very mixed. Aid agency approaches or responses to internal resettlement fall into four general categories. Some agencies are providing uncritical Active or Uncritical Support to resettlement initiatives. These groups indicate that resettlement initiatives are valid and worthy of support or at least believe they are taking a pragmatic approach in trying to make the initiatives work as well as possible, whether or not the concept is flawed and the overall result mostly detrimental. In some cases a humanitarian argument is made in claiming that those relocated are particularly in need of assistance. Another response is Ignorance, Uninterest, and Denial. Some agencies appear to be completely unaware of the debate over these issues and lack any critical orientation that would bring them to question policies, even though they are supporting rural development work in Laos. Many are supporting recently resettled communities without considering the implications. Other agencies provide Conditional Support to resettled communities - assisting with some emer-

gency or humanitarian aid for those in great need but only under certain conditions while at the same time engaging in efforts to prevent further resettlement. Finally, some agencies are involved in Active Resistance to resettlement - refusing to facilitate further resettlement through their aid and engaging in efforts to promote positive alternatives that allow for ethnic communities to stay in their upland locations. A number of case studies are provided in the main text to illustrate examples of these various approaches and to highlight the complexity of these issues.

There is some overlap in approaches and a lack of consistency among aid organizations, and even within them, on this issue. Most have not developed formal policies or strategies for addressing internal resettlement. Given what is now known about the severe negative impacts of internal resettlement on the livelihoods and cultures of ethnic minority communities in Laos, there appears to be very little justification for actively supporting resettlement or remaining ignorant or unaware of these issues. The lack of basic understanding and awareness or appropriate responses to these issues by some aid agency staff in the country can be seen as irresponsible. Based on our observations, this situation appears to be based on various factors.

First, the frequent turnover in expatriate staff results in a lack of institutional memory, or a commitment to learn among some groups. Second, most senior 'local' staff of the aid agencies are Vientiane-based lowland Lao. The hiring practices of most aid agencies have strongly favored the better-educated and more well connected ethnic Lao over upland people. Even

when token members of other ethnic groups are hired, they tend to conform to prevailing lowland Lao and aid agency practices and attitudes rather than representing the experiences and views of upland communities.

Some expatriate and 'local' staff view the proper role of aid agencies as to unquestioningly assist in implementing government policy, and hold that development is essentially about making ethnic minorities more like ethnic Lao. While aid agencies might not endorse this view, they appear to have done little to try to influence or counter this prejudice. Even when these biases are brought to their attention, some agencies appear more concerned about program continuation and 'not rocking the boat' than anything else. Others are so oriented towards achieving specific goals and objectives, such as opium eradication or improving market access, that their priorities in effect lead towards or require resettlement.

In order to avoid the possibility of further support for inappropriate internal resettlement, aid groups need to take much more analytical, pro-active, precautionary, culturally and ethnically sensitive approaches to their rural development work in Laos. Agencies could do a much better job of informing themselves sufficiently about these crucial issues - first by recognizing that resettlement is not occurring through an inevitable process but is, rather, being facilitated through a combination of specific political, social and environmental policies and actions. Aid agencies have the ability and responsibility to decide whether or not to support these policies - and their actions do reflect specific policy choices, whether or not they choose to recognize this.

Aid agencies need to reform their hiring practices and better understand and sensitively respond to ethnic and cultural issues. This includes making their offices places where critical thought and analysis is encouraged rather than feared and where biased views and attitudes toward ethnic minority people and cultures are not tolerated. Considering the limited political representation, civil society and private media in Laos, aid agencies have a special obligation and responsibility to consider how they can be more accountable to local communities and to better engage in dialogue with governmental partners on these issues. Aid officials need to focus less on what they consider expediency and should be willing to consider suspending or terminating involvement in specific projects that are causing more harm than good to ethnic minority communities. Further research into comparing the costs and benefits of promoting sustainable development alternatives for villages in their current upland locations rather than resettlement to the lowlands and along roads is urgently needed.

Through taking these steps the international aid community could be much more proactive in helping to prevent inappropriate resettlement, and in promoting a more rational and humane rural development approach in the future. This issue is critical for Laos, and is far too important to be ignored or taken as lightly as it has often been in the past.

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Two New IIED Books on the Millennium Development Goals

Short reviews by Elizabeth Reichel-Dolmatoff

1: The Millennium Development Goals and Local Processes: Hitting the target or missing the point?

Edited by David Satterthwaite
IIED, London 2003, 156 pages

“The Millennium Development Goals and Local Processes: Hitting the target or missing the point?” was produced for a conference at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in November 2003. It contains nine chapters by different authors who critically analyze the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the role of local processes in their achievement. The book engages in a critique of the MDGs’ incomplete scope, narrow focus on quantitative achievements, inaccurate targets and indicators, and neglect for local processes. There is shared critique of the top-down, expert-driven, and erred intervention models used by the international community, international agencies, national governments, and conservation and development agencies. Several chapters also address the prevailing lack of political will by political actors, which may signify the MDGs’ failure to achieve poverty reduction or sustainable development.

The bottom-line of this book is that (1) priorities and needs in MDG implementation should also be defined by the poor themselves, and (2) the

achievements of the MDGs should support community-based initiatives with multi-stakeholder alliances and partnerships. Most authors agree that, in spite of their laudable objectives, the MDGs must be reformulated along with stakeholder involvement. Development and conservation agencies should also engage in critical rethinking and paradigm changes. The authors converge on the importance of involving local organisations through which the poor establish their own priorities and interests, organise, and engage in actions to achieve the MDGs or poverty-reduction. Such actions permit poor communities to define and attain health care, housing, water, sanitation, schooling, economic development, or environmental management, while only relying partially on external aid and financial assistance.

The book contains important analyses and criticisms of the formulation of the MDGs’ goals, targets, and indicators. The authors consider that the MDGs have an inadequate definition of poverty, have inadequate targets and indicators, and rely on inadequate or incomparable data. Further, the MDGs

do not consider the key changes required in trade policies (e.g., removal of trade barriers and subsidies). All authors suggest that a major flaw of the MDGs is that sustainable development and the environmental dimension are defined as an individual goal, and not as a cross-cutting dimension of all goals. The MDGs have also left out major emphasis on good governance, equity, policy changes, accountability to the poor or low-income groups, conflict resolution, property and access rights for the poor, changes in trade laws, and empowerment of the poor as active agents rather than mere objects or beneficiaries of the MDGs. These omissions may allow MDGs to be pursued while avoiding important changes in the global economic and political structures. The MDGs also fail to emphasize recognition of human rights, or of a right-based approach to implementing the goals. In the last two decades, world leaders, international organisations, national governments, and the public and private sectors have shown a lack of political commitment to achieving goals similar to the MDGs. This, coupled with the lack of involvement and empowerment of local actors and processes, now threatens the achievement of the MDGs by 2015 unless urgent measures are taken.

Each chapter analyses a different aspect of the MDGs, in which local processes may imply achieving or missing MDG targets, and offers recommendations and examples for scaling-up. The authors concentrate on specific local processes and organisations which, along with other public and private organisations, influence the MDGs. In this book, the specific themes addressed include poverty reduction, water and sanitation, natural resource management, sustainable development, agri-food systems, West Africa, policy coherence, and civil society and

the world order in Pakistan. In spite of their realistic appreciation of the difficulties and challenges facing implementation of the MDGs, the authors offer proactive options to rectify the situation.

The book does not address several of the MDGs that involve local processes, including education, gender equality/equity, and empowering women, and does not provide a reason for their exclusion. Additionally, an excessive emphasis on local processes as the solution distracts from the analyses of other qualitative dimensions not considered in the MDGs. For example, what is the quality of the extensive new health services, housing, water and sanitation, and education systems that will be established by 2015? Will these new services and systems be culturally appropriate and ecologically responsible? What is the role of local processes in determining qualitative criteria? The MDGs' focus on quantitative results is certainly a limitation, but addressing this limitation requires further developing qualitative contents and processes.

Overall, this valuable book engages in a critical appraisal of the MDGs, their relation to sustainable development, and the role of local processes and community-driven initiatives. Each chapter deals with extremely relevant topics, which however complex, are dealt with in a clear and direct manner and avoid obtuse abstractions and expert jargon to allow easy reading. The outcome of the MDGs may depend, as this book indicates, on the degree to which local communities and organisations of the low-income and poor determine their own needs, and increase their power to negotiate with other stakeholders at local, national, and international levels. One can only hope the IIED's analyses and recommendations are heeded.

11: The Millennium Development Goals and Conservation: Managing Nature's Wealth for Society's Health

Edited by Dilys Roe

IIED, London, June 2005, 2nd edition. 176 pages

"The Millennium Development Goals and Conservation: Managing Nature's Wealth for Society's Health" contains nine chapters by different authors who link environmental conservation, poverty reduction and development dimensions as cross-cutting priorities within the MDGs. The authors engage in an interdisciplinary reflection between conservation and development experts. The book explores the links between poverty reduction and environmental conservation through diverse topics including policy making, climate change, global-local conservation, health, biodiversity, sustainable landscapes and livelihoods, the ecosystem approach, policy coherence, markets for ecosystem services, roles of big business, community participation, mainstreaming the environment into poverty reduction, advocacy in policy changes, forestry SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises), and the scaling-up of successful experiences. These topics are addressed in a multidimensional manner. For example, a chapter may identify links between governance, poverty reduction, health, biodiversity conservation, livelihoods, climate change, and trade and commerce. This multidimensional approach demonstrates that addressing these linkages requires better integration of the MDG goals and targets.

This book critiques (1) conservation agencies that over-emphasise spe-

cies and wildlife protection, and disregard people-centred conservation and multistakeholder responsibility for poverty reduction, and (2) development agencies that overemphasise modernisation or liberalised markets and disregard environmental sustainability. The authors suggest transformations within and among conservation and development agendas to redress these shortcomings, and indicate a way forward from what Roe and Elliot call the "unlinking of conservation and development." The book explores a new collaborative approach between development and conservation agencies, with a new understanding of the causes and contexts of poverty and environmental destruction. The authors also explore changing the conservation and development paradigms to focus on community-centred development and conservation initiatives that address the needs and priorities of the disempowered, low-income, poor, marginalised, and vulnerable populations. In the Endword, the authors (Toulmin, Steiner, Martin, and Tose) declare a commitment to meeting the unique challenge the MDGs presents to development and conservation agencies by redefining the course of conservation and development cooperation.

This is a very relevant book in which the authors engage in critical analyses of outstanding perspicacity to diagnose and surpass the MDGs' shortcomings with respect to key socio-environmen-

tal dimensions, and the roles of development and conservation policies and organisations in redimensioning the MDGs' achievement. The book is clearly written and well documented by leading experts who suggest new directions for both the MDGs and the

conservation and development agendas. This book contains much-needed critical thinking by development and conservation agencies, and such reflexive inter-institutional and interdisciplinary collaboration is urgently needed to advance the MDGs.

Final Reflections on the Two Books

These two books allow a critical understanding of the MDGs, and offer innovative analyses and recommendations. Unfortunately, neither book contains final, integrated reflections and recommendations regarding common subjects or the MDGs. However, the material presented is extremely relevant to redefining the MDGs, establishing innovative frameworks, policies, partnerships, and institutional reforms, and integrating local participation and community-driven processes in the MDGs and sustainable development.

Certain subjects were not covered by either one of the books. Several unexamined issues also impact local processes and the viability of conservation and development initiatives. These issues include organised crime, wars, migration, displacement, and security issues (e.g. narcotics trade and illegal economies). Further, neither book analyses the relationship between science and technology R&D (research and development), and the huge gap between rich and poor countries (95% of the world's scientists and technologists, and 96% of the world's intellectual property, are held by seven industrialised countries. So the rest of the world's countries have a negligible capacity for R&D to compete in globalised markets). Yet all of these issues impact the achievement of the MDGs by 2015.

There is also little mention of the needs or interests of indigenous peoples in relation to the MDGs. There is no mention of the double extinction crisis of cultural diversity and biodiversity that will happen within the next few decades unless urgent action is taken. These issues have important ties to poverty, hunger, livelihoods, human development, trade, security, and conservation. The accelerated reduction of cultural diversity and biodiversity (by both non-Western and Western dominant cultures and languages) may mean the extermination of most indigenous peoples (now 400 million) within this century. Indigenous peoples comprise 5% of the world population, but constitute a majority of the world's existing cultural and linguistic diversity (around 10,000 cultures, 6,800 languages, and hundreds of religions).

Finally, neither book addresses the cultural dimensions in conservation or development paradigms and agendas, or in the MDGs themselves. Cultural templates are important to defining conservation, development, livelihoods, sustainability, world-views, and shared orientations for socio-environmental well-being. Further, culture is a key factor in each society's capacity to mobilise or immobilise collectivities to achieve particular goals or targets.

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Land Tenure, Ideology and the Pacific

Privatising Land in the Pacific: A defence of Customary Tenure

Edited by Jim Fingleton

The Australia Institute, Canberra, Australia, 2005, pp 80

Short review by Elery Hamilton-Smith

THE AUSTRALIA INSTITUTE

Privatising Land in the Pacific A defence of customary tenures

Edited by
Jim Fingleton

Discussion Paper Number 80
June 2005
ISSN 1322-5421

An Australian scholar, Professor Helen Hughes, and her near colleagues, have consistently argued that aid to Papua New Guinea should be linked to the privatisation of the nation's land tenure system. Her arguments are clearly dependent upon the assumptions of Neo-Liberalist hegemony, and further, are congruent with the peculiarly Australian version of Neo-Liberalism with its underlying economic fundamentalism.

When the possibility of such land reforms came to notice in Papua New Guinea in 2001, four people were killed in the resulting riots in Port Moresby. There is no question that, not surprisingly, the indigenous people are deeply committed to the maintenance of their customary pattern of tenure. This comprises complex and dynamic systems of rights and obligations, each acted out by individuals, families, village settlements, clans and tribes. The overarching regional governments that were instituted under the evolving "modern"

government have generally not only accepted, but supported customary practices.

An important rebuttal of Hughes' arguments has just been released by the Australia Institute in a book entitled *Privatising Land in the Pacific: A defence of Customary Tenures*. It consists of a group of papers by five authors with extensive experience with Pacific land management issues. All also have long and diverse experience in working with indigenous land tenure systems, and so have considerable knowledge of what really has taken place.

In an opening overview Fingleton, the book's editor, argues that it is basically invalid to describe the Pacific systems simply by borrowing terminology from totally different political systems. As a simple example, "ownership in common" and "communism" are both used by Hughes and her colleagues in a pejorative way, yet there is no evidence at all in the Pacific nations of the commons as described by Hardin, or of processes which characterise European or Asian forms of communism. Fingleton further argues that to see the "Pacific way" as a more-or-less uniform system is simply wrong. There are a diverse series of systems, each congruent with the region in which they are located.



Picture 1. People of Papua New Guinea enjoying a sing-sing. (Courtesy Jean-Paul Sounier)

Other authors turn more to a rebuttal of claims that the customary systems have blocked genuine development. Bourke commences by demonstrating Papua New Guinea's current and growing success in agricultural and other food production for both domestic consumption and export. This growth has virtually all taken place under customary land tenure. Conversely, the plantations (generally a survival from colonialism) are, with the exception of those based within the newly developed oil palm industry, declining in pro-

duction. The impressive growth in food production is continuing. While there are some significant constraints that limit this, these constraints are due to deficiencies in physical and managerial infrastructure, and bear little relationship to land tenure. In fact, the success Bourke points to is probably largely due to the flexibility and built-in social capital of the customary traditions. In summary, Bourke shows conclusively that claims of failure in the food industry are simply false.

Mosko follows with a study of the Mekeo people, giving particular attention to the way in which they have evolved to a relatively modern society. The Mekeo turn their income from agriculture into equipment and services that provide for a colossal increase in quality of life. This reinvestment is done with a considerable sense of gender equity, which further enhances their society. The customary land tenure system of the Mekeo is described in detail and adds considerably to the reader's understanding of the debate. I find this chapter particularly central, as it also demonstrates that the customary patterns of tenure have led to an immense increase in social capital. It is just this asset which is most likely to be destroyed if a privatisation strategy were to be adopted.

Lightfoot examines the economic arguments around land tenure. Although he fully accepts that security and transferability in tenure are vital in a modern developed economy, ensuring these elements does not have to simply changing over to privatisation. He demonstrates, largely through examples from Fiji, that security and transferability can be achieved in the customary tradition. Finally, Fisher examines the governance of forests and rangelands, and again, drawing upon international

experience, shows that there is no convincing argument for privatisation. In a final summary, there is a valuable discussion of potential routes into the future.

From my own perspective, arising largely from many years of international experience as a policy consultant, I am somewhat disappointed that more attention is not accorded to social capital and the implications for equity and justice. These are now recognized as absolutely vital ingredients for soundly based sustainability. Mosko certainly points to this area, but, in rightly choosing to focus upon a detailed example, could not do justice to the wider policy implications.

Perhaps I should be cautious of my

own ideology, given my very negative view of the neo-liberalist views at the opposite end of any spectrum. However, I believe the authors have launched a very substantive and well-based support of the customary systems in the Pacific. Moreover, their argument is strongly supported by equivalent initiatives in many other regions of the world. We can only hope that the Australian (and some other) governments take this challenge very seriously.

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Confronting complexity and ambiguity

The Business of Global Environmental Governance

Edited by David, L. Levy and Peter J. Newell
The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2005. pp 360

Short review by Elery Hamilton-Smith

Those working in governance and policy for environmental protection and conservation often find themselves engaged in a battle where the grounds and assumed enemies keep shifting and changing....This is confusing, unsettling and often seems to get us, as

George Monbiot recently suggested, 'on the fringes of lunacy'! For instance: profit-making companies and their partners are coming to play a much more active role in environmental government—with both positive and negative outcomes— and they are much harder to deal with than politicians and

their bureaucrats once were. In these days, on the other hand, the politicians behave more and more like business managers and focus on money-making rather than money-providing.

Conventional approaches to the disciplines of international relations and environmental governance and management have all too often been simplistic and not helped us to understand the details of what is happening. Levy and Newell have developed a powerful conceptual basis for developing insight into and understanding of the new dynamics that have evolved as major companies play an increasing role in environmental policy and practices. They are concerned to encompass ". . . *the rich and complex process of bargaining and negotiation among a range of actors, most importantly firms, industry associations, NGOs, state agencies and international organisations (which can also serve as a forum for these negotiations).*"

They propose a paradigm for understanding based in Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony. In brief, Gramsci saw human decision and behavior as based in a series of inter-related and consensual hegemonic beliefs that arise from both political and civil society. For Gramsci, beliefs can be negotiated or determined by interactions within any one structural levels of society, from the global to the individual, but he mostly illuminates the vertical influence from one of the levels to the others. Gramsci inspired many thinkers in a diversity of arenas, and Levy and Newell are among them.

The contributors to the volume under review deal with a diversity of arenas that, however, all relate to business playing a central role in negotiat-

ing environmental governance. Some tackle climate change, protection of the ozone layer, genetic engineering, water supply and control of toxins. Others examine processes of lobbying, construction of alliances, the ISO as a regulatory mechanism, insurance and security. I actually regret some of the omissions, particularly issues about land tenure and control, the marine environment, the mining and quarrying industries and the international aid industry. Doubtless, others would identify different omissions. At the same time, the book premises appear robust and well demonstrated. I believe that I, and possibly many other readers of *Policy Matters*, could use this volume as a key reference from which to enhance our own analysis of the omissions.

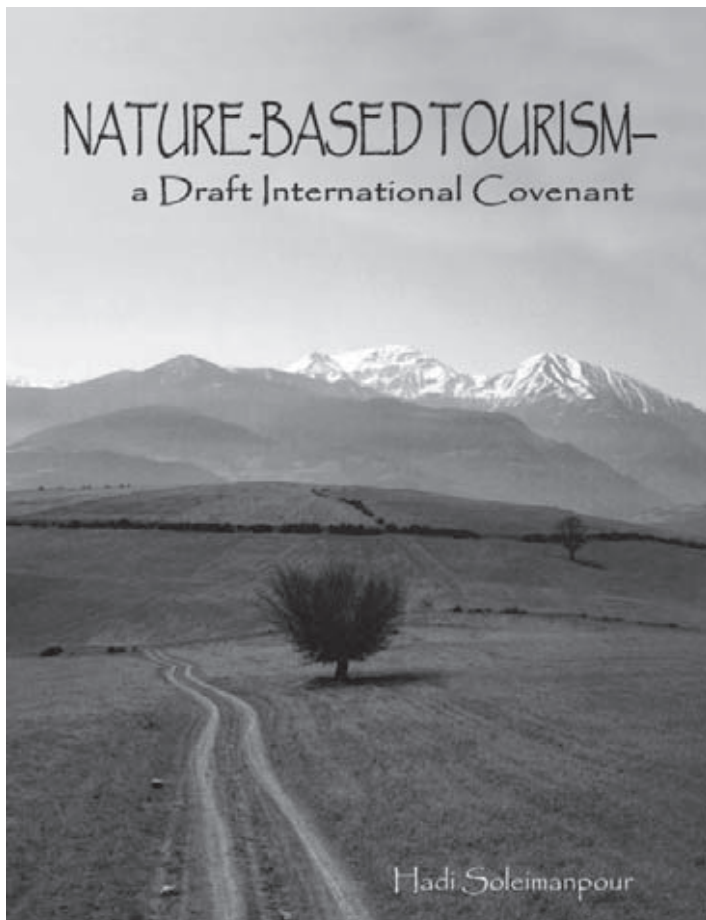
The book does not take a stereotypical attack on the private sector, nor is it a hymn of praise for their efforts. It rather demonstrates benefits that have accrued from the growing involvement of industry in environmental management while also sounding appropriate warnings. The authors deal separately with each issue, emphasizing that generalizations are not helpful. In fact, one of the greatest strengths of the volume is the fact that all authors reject the folk truth that scientists should provide answers for use by politicians and other "knowledge consumers". The authors of the book are extremely competent in providing ideas and other tools that help those of us who want answers to find them for themselves. In brief: an excellent book.

Elery Hamilton-Smith (elery@alphalink.com.au) is a sociologist who has been a conservation activist and scientist for over 50 years. He is currently professor in cave and karst management at Charles Sturt University, Albury, New South Wales. He is a member of TGER and TILCEPA.

RECENT CEESP PUBLICATIONS (first half of 2006)

1: Nature-Based Tourism—a Draft Covenant

Hadi Soleimanpour



The practice of ecotourism in recent years has gone in two directions. On the one hand rampant private sector development— often with eager but misguided support from the State— is destroying large tracts of unique landscapes and, along with it, displacing, oppressing, dispossessing or outright eliminating indigenous peoples and traditional local communities and their cultures. On the other hand, civil society organisations are increasingly involved in the defence of the rights of indigenous peoples and local communities and the conservation of valuable landscapes. But the place of a global Covenant to guarantee and enable the bringing of sanity to this increasingly profitable unbridled development is extremely conspicuous by its absence.

Hadi Soleimanpour's meticulous effort intends to fill this gaping lack in international agreements. By carefully researching the existing environmental and developmental agreements, he has pulled out 47 principles— already agreed

to by the world— on the basis of which he has drafted a Covenant on Nature-Based Tourism. The timeliness of this effort and the need of the international community to address this gap urgently are all the more opportune given the pressures of globalisation with neither a human nor a nature-caring face.

The work is all the more valuable because it deals with the issues of indigenous peoples and traditional communities very fairly and prominently.

Available from: World Conservation Bookstore (books@iucn.org) and CENESTA (ecotourism@cenesta.org)

2: Agroecology and the Struggle for Food Sovereignty in the Americas

Edited by Avery Cohn, Jonathan Cook, Margarita Fernández, Rebecca Reider and Corrina Steward

Joint publication with IIED and Yale University, part of the IIED series:
Reclaiming Diversity and Citizenship

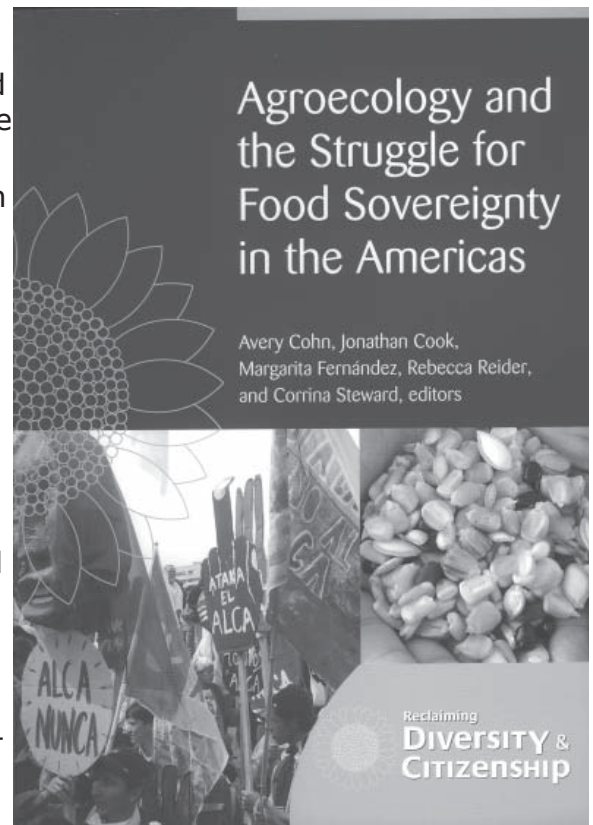
This book summarises the outcomes of a workshop entitled "Food Sovereignty, Conservation, and Social Movements for Sustainable Agriculture in the Americas", which sought:

- To provide an interactive space for the formation of cross-cultural alliances between the U.S. and Latin America
- To examine the political, economic, cultural, and ecological dimensions of food sovereignty
- To generate and exchange academically informed and practically applicable knowledge.

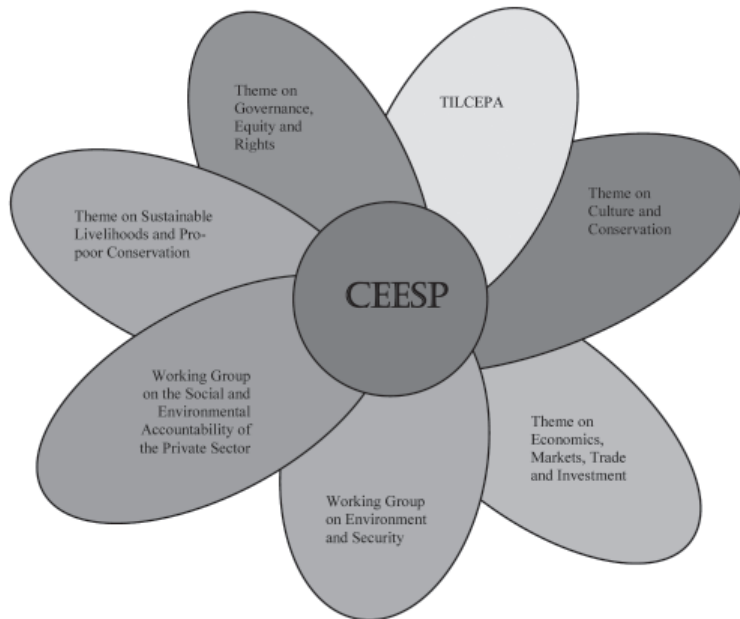
Throughout the workshop, a recurring question was how to build stronger relationships between academics and practitioners, including farmers and NGOs, working at the intersection of food, agricultural, and environmental issues. In that spirit, the organizers have compiled this report, which synthesizes workshop proceedings, expands on insights derived there, and provides concrete recommendations to academics, policy-makers, farmers' movements themselves, and other audiences.

By facilitating the exchange of knowledge, experiences, and resources, academic institutions can promote policies that better reflect lived realities in marginalized rural communities. However, this report does more than list policy options– it situates them in the rich backgrounds and diverse experiences of farmers and other workshop participants, including interviews and personal reflections alongside more recognizably academic writings. Presentations at the workshop emphasized the critical yet frequently obscured connections between abstract-sounding policies and the daily experiences of real people. Interviews with workshop participants from across the Americas put a human face on the discussions of policy and practice, portraying leaders who are working to define the food sovereignty and sustainability agendas at the local, national, regional, and international levels.

Available from: International Institute of Environment and Development (IIED@earthprint.com)



CEESP Network News



Following the mandate received at the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress in Bangkok (November 2004), the new Executive Committee of CEESP has developed the new Themes/ Groups and work direction of CEESP into a new programme for the next intersessional period. The flower petal scheme on the side, illustrates how all of CEESP's Themes/ Groups overlap to a signal shared concern and strong collaboration. CEESP has a brand new Theme on Culture and Conservation (TCC) and a brand new Working Group on the Social and Environmental Accountability of the Private Sector (SEAPRISE). We welcome them to the CEESP family!

In addition, several of CEESP's old themes/working groups have evolved considerably. Those include the Theme on Governance of Natural Resources, Equity and Rights (TGER), which has roots in the work of Collaborative Management Working Group (CMWG), and the Theme on Economics, Markets, Trade and Investments (TEM TI), which used to be the Group on Environment, Trade and Investment (GETI). In continuity with previous work, CEESP includes the Theme on Sustainable Livelihoods (TSL), the Working Group on Environment and Security (E&S), and the joint WCPA/ CEESP Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA).

The following "flagships" highlighted the new direction of CEESP in detail

Improving Governance through a Rights-based Approach

- **Assessing and improving the governance of natural resources**
 - o Power/ relations/ participation/ performance/ accountability
 - o Types of governance (including co-management & community management)
 - o Understanding "good governance"

- o Linking governance and environmental security
- o Linking governance and human rights
- **Assessing/ redressing injustices and restituting/ securing rights**
 - o Indigenous and community rights in the establishment of protected areas
 - o Protecting water as a public good
- Promoting the **equitable sharing of the benefits and costs** of conservation
 - o Equity for Indigenous peoples and local/traditional communities
 - o Gender equity

- o Relationship with poverty

Energy Revolution

- **Achieving change**-transition from a hydrocarbon energy regime to one based on renewable sources and more energy-efficient technologies.
 - o New behaviour
 - o New technology
- **Empowering society** to compel corporations and governments to change (action research, capacity building, policy change)
 - o Understanding and affecting the **macroeconomic environment** surrounding decisions on energy regimes
 - o **Citizens Councils** and **model studies** on environmental legacies (e.g., Niger Delta, Kalimantan and lower Mesopotamian marshlands)
- **Capturing resources**
 - o 1% Fund initiative

Economics, Markets, Trade & Investments

- **Rethinking the foundations of the global economy**
 - o Monetary and fiscal policies affecting capital flows, speculation and productive investments
 - o The global financial architecture
- **Trade & globalization issues**
 - o Trade policies and decisions at international level, but also at regional, national & local level
- **Economic instruments & tools**
 - o Indicators & valuation mechanisms
 - o Incentives & financing
 - o Ecosystem services & stewardship payments

A worldwide Inventory of Community Conserved Areas

- **Worldwide inventory**
 - o Mapping, demarcation and recognition

of sites, practices, protected ecosystems, species and genetic resources (participatory GIS and other tools)

- o International CCA Support Group
- o Inclusion of CCAs in the United Nations List of Protected Areas
- **Regional identification of needs**
 - o Emergency measures
 - o Technical and legal support as needed

Biodiversity, Food Sovereignty and Citizenship

- Supporting **agroecology approaches** and the regeneration of **diverse localized food systems**
 - o Including sustainable fisheries, pastoralism, forest management and responsible mining
 - o Demonstration projects in sustainable livelihood systems
- Democratizing decision-making in the food system
 - o Citizen juries for public policy and other deliberative and inclusive processes
 - o Revitalising customary institutions of resource management
 - o Power/ rights/ accountability and participation of citizens
 - o Action research for social and ecological change
 - o Private sector accountability through citizen councils, oversight panels, etc.
- **Mitigating/ compensating for environmental and social harm** by corporate sector
 - o E.g., via Aarhus convention & international human rights
- **Mobilising resources**
 - o 1% Fund, Tobin tax
 - o Community Investment Funds (for sustainable livelihoods & conservation)

Ecological Risk Zones

- **Understanding and monitoring ecological risk**
 - o Ecological risk ⇔ social conflict

- o Remote sensing and community mapping of risk
- o Model studies on environmental legacies (e.g., Niger Delta, Kalimantan and lower Mesopotamian Marshlands)
- **Redressing ecological risk**
 - o Conflict resolution and improved governance of natural resources
 - o "Environmental Lawyers without Borders" for local communities
- **Preventing ecological risk**
 - o Conservation as disaster prevention
 - o Payments for stewardship

Cultural Conservation Index

- Understanding and applying a "**culture-savvy**" approach to conservation
 - o Global Bio-cultural Diversity Sourcebook (with Terralingua)
 - o Technical support to stakeholders & rights holders
 - o Synthesis indicators
- Documenting the **relationship between cultural integrity & ecosystem resilience**
- Documenting **threatened cultural resources/ institutions integral to biodiversity conservation**

CEESP Executive Committee Meetings- May 2005 and September 2005

The new Executive Committee of CEESP held its first meetings in May and September 2005 at the IUCN Headquarters in Gland. The Committee confirmed the use of the "corolla model" (originally developed proposed by the CEESP Steering Committee in Bangkok) to represent its work in the current quadrennial period. This flower model illustrates that each of the seven Themes and Working Groups of CEESP will follow its own work plans while at the same time it will highlight common areas of concern and place special emphasis on inter-cooperation. The Committee also reviewed and consolidated the intersessional programme mandated at the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress in Bangkok, November 2004.



CEESP key partners include the International Institute of Environment and Development (IIED, UK) <http://www.iied.org/> , the Centre for Environmental Security (CES) of The Hague <http://www.envirosecurity.net/index.php> , the IUCN World Commission on Protected Areas <http://www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/> , with whom CEESP will continue pursuing the successful inter-commission work of TILCEPA <http://www.tilcepa.org/>, the Colegio de Mexico <http://www.colmex.mex> , the Centre for Sustainable Development <http://www.cenesta.org/> (NGO host of CEESP, Iran), Kalpavriksh <http://www.kalpavriksh.org/> (India) and the World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP) <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/WAMIP/WAMIP.htm> .

A new IUCN /CEESP Theme on Governance, Equity, and Rights (TGER)



The newly established Theme on Governance, Equity, and Rights (TGER) of IUCN/CEESP is dedicated to engaging IUCN members and partners in better understanding and acting about governance of natural resources, equity and human rights.

While the Theme is new, its members and accumulated experience are not. The Theme directly evolved from the work of the pre-existing CEESP Collaborative Management Working Group (CMWG), active since 1996. Its aim is now to devise and pursue action through field-based, participatory action research, capacity building initiatives, networking, and policy advocacy directed at the IUCN constituency and partners.

TGER's Three Specific Areas of Work

1. *Co-Management of Natural Resources*

TGER maintains the CMWG commitment to promoting co-management of natural resources and exploring and supporting relevant efforts throughout the world.¹ For instance, TGER is currently working in collaboration with TILCEPA,² AIPP,³ IW-GIA,⁴ FPP,⁵ FIBA,⁶ and the IUCN Mauritania office⁷ on field-based co-management initiatives in South-East Asia and West Africa. Part of the work is also related to diffusing and seeking translations for *Sharing Power*⁸—the recently published volume that synthesizes the experience of hundreds of TGER (ex-CMWG) members and partners.

2. *Understanding & Improving Governance of Natural Resources*

If one issue is central for the conservation of biodiversity and the sustainable and equitable use of natural resources this is—undoubtedly—governance. Governance has to do with power, relationships, responsibility and accountability. While governance is a relative latecomer in the conservation community, soon all parties interested in con-



Picture 1. "People planning a co-management regional initiative in Chaing Mai, Thailand, August 2004" (Courtesy Christian Erni)

conservation may have to contend with ways to assess and improve governance.⁹

TGER is working on various initiatives to explore concepts of and support improvements in natural resource governance. The Theme recently partnered with the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)¹⁰ to organize and run a side event entitled *Governance, Participation, Equity and Benefit Sharing—towards Effective Implementation of Element 2 of the CBD Programme of Work* during the meeting of the CBD Ad Hoc Working Group on Protected Areas (Montecatini, Italy, June 16, 2005).¹¹ In partnership with TILCEPA, TGER is also organising one of the five streams of workshops at the first World Marine Parks Congress (IMPAC), scheduled to take place in Australia in October 2005.¹² This stream, entitled “Shared Stewardship” is basically about governing coastal and marine protected areas. Besides policy-related events, TGER is also engaged in field practice and national implementation of initiatives to improve governance of natural resources. As an example, it is assisting the Durban Vision Group to devise appropriate and feasible ways to triple the extension of protected areas in Madagascar.

3. A Rights Based Approach to Conservation

Conservation practices and human rights are critically linked, but their relationship remains complex and ambiguous. TGER members believe it is urgent to understand the complex links that tie conservation and human rights, and to act upon these links in ways that maximise the positive

interrelations and minimise the contrasts and conflicts. TGER is keen to start such as reflection and has developed a proposal to fund a strategy-setting workshop as early as possible.

For more information and for ways to contribute your own ideas and concerns, please review TGER's website: <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/TGER.html>. The co-chairs would very much appreciate hearing your suggestions and feedback on the new Theme!¹³

Notes

- 1 http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/CMWG/CMWG.html
- 2 http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/TILCEPA.htm
- 3 http://www.hurights.or.jp/asia-pacific/no_36/04.htm
- 4 <http://www.iwgia.org/>
- 5 <http://www.forestpeoples.org/>
- 6 http://www.tourduvalat.org/news_173.htm
- 7 <http://www.iucn.org/places/mauritania/>
- 8 <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/sharingpower.htm>
- 9 <http://www.biodiv.org/decisions/default.aspx?m=COP-07&id=7765&lg=0>
- 10 <http://www.iied.org/>
- 11 http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/CBD%20Ad%20hoc%20working%20group%20n%20PAs%20June%202005.doc
- 12 <http://www.impacongress.org/>
- 13 To provide feedback on TGER, please contact TGER Co-Chairs Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org), Steve Brechin (sbrechin@maxwell.syr.edu), Chimere Diaw (c.diaw@cgjar.org) and Vivienne Solis Rivera (vsolis@racsa.co.cr).

SEAPRISE training workshop for stakeholders facing oil development in the West African Marine Eco region

Sandra Kloff and Clive Wicks

Countries of the West African Marine Eco-Region (Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Guinea) are on the verge of joining the club of African oil producers and exporters. The first oilfield will be exploited in 2006 and is situated off the Mauritanian coast. Testing results of the *Sinape* oilfield off Guinea Bissau were evaluated as promising. Offshore gas has also been found in Mauritania's marine environment, just outside an internationally important wetland, the Banc d'Arguin National Park. All countries of the region have signed deals with oil companies to look for oil and gas, mainly offshore. Specialized magazines for the oil and gas industry already talk about a new offshore hotspot.

The marine environment of the region supports one of the most diverse and economically important fishing zones in the world and is home to many unique coastal wetlands. More than 10 million people live along the coast and over 600,000 men and women depend directly on fishing and fisheries related industries. The prospect of oil and gas is prompting both hopes and fears. Oil and gas can produce vital income for the countries in the region but may, in the case of especially offshore oil exploitation, also have a detrimental effect on fisheries, coastal tourism and internationally important wetlands. Moreover, the history of oil in Africa has been fraught with serious social,

environmental and economic problems. Pollution, civil unrest, corruption and impoverishment of the poorest were some of the problems identified in the findings of the World Bank's Extractive Industries Review (EIR).



Picture 1. Fishery market in Mauritania.
(Courtesy Iñigo Akzona)

Government officials, NGO representatives, and especially people depending on fishery resources for their livelihoods have many questions about how future oil development in the West African Marine Eco-region will affect them. Some stakeholders and decision-makers are asked to comment on Environmental Impact Assessments produced by certain oil companies on exploration and future development activities. Unfortunately, many governmental and civil society organisations lack the technical knowledge vis-à-vis oil development, best available techniques and the possible impacts these new activities may have on the environment.

Consequently, they feel unable to enter in an equitable dialogue with the oil companies and to give critical feedback on the impact studies. Worse, some stakeholders feel excluded all together from dialogues and decision-making procedures. An urgent need was expressed for independent advice and capacity building activities.

In March 2005, CEESP and its newly established working group on Social and Environmental Accountability of the Private Sector (SEAPRISE) organised a training workshop in Mauritania's capital Nouakchott on environmental management of offshore oil development. This much needed workshop could be realised thanks to the financial and logistical support from FIBA (Fondation Internationale pour le Banc d'Arguin), IUCN Mauritania, WWF marine office, Senegal, WWF-UK, WWF Germany, the Mauritanian Ministry of Fisheries and the Australian Energy Company Woodside. SEAPRISE arranged for the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and the Dutch Committee for Environmental Impact Assessment to take part in the workshop as well and to provide additional training presentations.

The workshop was preceded by a lesson learning field visit to Nigeria for a more restraint but representative group of key stakeholders. This trip was organised by SEAPRISE, the Nigerian Conservation Foundation, Oilwatch Africa and financed by FIBA and WWF-UK. During a week, participants were given the chance to meet and discuss with oil companies' executives, affected people in the Niger Delta, NGOs and high ranking government officials in the capital Abuja about their experiences with 50 years of oil and gas exploitation. A report of the trip was given during the workshop in Nouakchott. Some participants were shocked by the high levels of oil and air pollution, the

insecurity in parts of Nigeria and the poverty especially in the delta area. One participant claimed: "*In spite of all this oil, the poor in Nigeria are poorer than the poorest in Mauritania*". But the participants were also impressed by the openness of Nigerian government officials about the mistakes that had been made in the past and their new policy for a more accountable system of oil and gas development. Public disclosure of oil revenues and transparency about how revenues are used are, according to the Nigerians, vital to combat and prevent the problems of the past.

Other lessons that the Nigerian officials highlighted were:

- Plan energy and transport strategy during the early stages of Oil and Gas exploration
- Avoid problems with civil society
- Ensure International Environmental and Social Standards are followed
- Avoid corruption and ensure complete transparency; G8 recommendations EITI etc
- Avoid an oil mentality
- Plan to use the oil revenues effectively
- Develop sustainable activities with oil money
- Keep a strategic reserve of funds

The Nigeria field trip fuelled the first part of the workshop with lively discussions about hopes and fears of the participants regarding social and economic impacts of future oil development in the West African Marine Eco Region. Public disclosure of contracts between the State and the oil companies, and transparency about how revenues will be used were seen as important elements to manage income from oil and gas resources properly.



Picture 2. A moment in the visit to Nigeria.

Some useful tools to help stakeholders of the region to better manage oil development from an environmental point of view were given during the second part of the workshop. Training presentations dealt with strategic environmental assessment, impacts of offshore oil development on the marine environment, best techniques available to mitigate these impacts, oil spill contingency planning, and how to protect sensitive sea areas. The participants were made aware of the loopholes in International law to regulate offshore oil and gas development and of the need to formulate a regional regulatory framework.

Stakeholder consultation processes and public oversight on oil and gas operations were discussed during the third part of the workshop. Main difficulty identified for an effective participatory process is the knowledge gap between stakeholders and the oil companies about possible impacts of oil development. Another problem identified is the lack of time certain stakeholders have to contribute to long and complicated decision-making procedures. A strong need was identified as well to have adequate enforcement mechanisms in place to ensure that all companies meet the best possible standards. In order to cope with these problems, a success story for effective stakeholder participation was present-

ed. In Alaska, key stakeholders elected by their constituencies are united in a Citizen Advisory Council. This council receives sufficient funding from oil revenues to build their own capacities and to carry out independent ecological monitoring of oil operations. The Alaska council has been responsible for many major improvements in the oil transportation system and oil spill contingency planning.

In the last part of the workshop, the participants felt better equipped to comment on future oil development in their region. The president of a Mauritanian NGO claimed: *"We finally know something about oil development, its possible impacts and how to best manage this future activity"*. Thirty five recommendations were drawn up by the participants and will be presented to each individual government in the region. Recommendations included:

- the creation of a regional commission to steer and coordinate a Strategic Environmental Assessment;
- drawing up a regional regulatory framework before 2006;



Picture 3. A working group in the workshop in Nouakchott.

- prohibition of oil exploitation in particularly sensitive zones;
- zero discharge policy for exploitation sites near marine protected areas;
- public disclosure of oil revenues;
- civil society participation in planning/negotiation phases of oil exploitation and the management of their impacts and the sharing of responsibilities and associated benefits.

The participants were given a guide,

written by Sandra Kloff and Clive Wicks, for sound environmental management of offshore oil development and maritime oil transport. This booklet gives further background information on all themes that were discussed during the workshop. The booklet was published by FIBA in French and English.

For more information or a copy, please contact fiba@tourduvalat.org, Sandra Kloff srkloff@hotmail.com or Clive Wicks Clive.Wicks@wicksfamily.plus.com

WAMIP—The World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples

The World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP) is a global alliance of nomadic peoples and communities practicing various forms of mobility as a livelihood strategy, while seeking to conserve biological diversity and use natural resources in a sustainable way. WAMIP was created in September 2003 in Durban (South Africa) during the 5th World Parks Congress. Its members include traditional collective bodies (peoples, tribes, clans), as well as "Supporting Members" with restricted membership rights comprising individuals and organisations. WAMIP currently has 89 members from 31 different countries including a Coordinating Committee of 9 members.

WAMIP at the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress, Bangkok, November 2004

In November 2004 members of WAMIP participated in the **3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress in Bangkok** (Thailand) and conducted a session on Mobility, Livelihoods and Conservation. They engaged representatives from both the IUCN conservation community and sedentary indigenous peoples in a constructive discussion on the conservation benefits of mobility as well as the environmental and cultural impacts of forced sedentarisation. The **key recommendations** arising from the workshop address the need to respect and learn from traditional forms of natural resource management and biodiversity conservation practiced by mobile indigenous peoples; the need to recognize the rights to self-determi-

nation of indigenous peoples; and the need to reform land use regimes that undermine traditional resource management practices and encourage open access situations. Members of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) were sensitive to these recommendations as they approved a Resolution on Mobility and Conservation.

Main conclusions of the workshop

- There are many myths about the destructive impacts of mobile indigenous peoples on the health of the land, that ignore the root causes of problems that were not caused by these people but with which they have to live;
- In many environments on the planet, mobility enhances conservation, it enhances culture, and it enhances livelihoods;
- MIPs around the world want at any point in their history to make their own choices, to have their culture evolve in the way that they choose.

IUCN Resolution on Mobile Indigenous Peoples and Conservation

Resolution CGR3.RES068 *Mobile Indigenous Peoples and Conservation* was submitted to the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress and approved with several amendments. This resolution endorses the Dana Declaration and highlights the value of the recently created World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples (WAMIP). It seeks to build on progress made at the World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa in September 2003 and at the meeting of the Convention of Biological Diversity in Kuala Lumpur in February 2004 where a political commitment was made "to ensure necessary participation and equitable sharing of the benefits of protected areas, particularly

with indigenous and mobile peoples, as well as local communities."

For the full text of this resolution, please see http://www.iucn.org/congress/members/adopted_res_and_rec/RES/RESWCC3018%20-%20RES068-REV1%20Final%20l.pdf

WAMIP is supported by many international organisations, including the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic, and Social Policy-CEESP <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp> and the DANA Declaration Standing Committee, <http://www.danadeclaration.org>—and is currently hosted in CENESTA, the Centre for Sustainable Development, Iran <http://www.cenesta.org/>. CENESTA is currently offering secretariat support to the Alliance. WAMIP is an independent international NGO, established in accordance with Swiss law.

For further information on WAMIP, please contact Aghaghia Rahimzadeh wamip@cenesta.org and visit the WAMIP website at <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/WAMIP/WAMIP.htm>



Picture 1. Iran Qashqai herds
(Photo by Pooya Ghodoosi)

Congreso de vías pecuarias en Madrid

Jesús Garzón

Del 4 al 6 de mayo 2005 se ha celebrado en Madrid el I Congreso Nacional de Vías Pecuarias, para conmemorar el 10º Aniversario de la Ley 3/1995, de 23 de marzo, que protege más de 124.000 Km de caminos ganaderos, con un total de 421.000 Ha de superficie. Estos caminos se denominan **cañadas** (de 75m de anchura), **cordeles** (de 37,5m) y **veredas** (de 20m) y atraviesan toda España, siendo utilizados desde hace miles de años por los pastores para conducir sus rebaños hacia las montañas en primavera y regresar a los valles en otoño. Hasta 5 millones de ovejas, cabras, vacas y caballerías, transitaban dos veces cada año por estos caminos, recorriendo frecuentemente más de 600km de distancia, en viajes de 5 ó 6 semanas de duración.

La Ley 3/95 protege estos caminos como bienes de dominio público, inalienables, imprescriptibles e inembargables, destinados prioritariamente al tránsito ganadero e inspirándose en el desarrollo sostenible y el respeto al medio ambiente, al paisaje y al patrimonio natural y cultural. También considera las vías pecuarias como auténticos corredores ecológicos, esenciales para la migración, la distribución geográfica y el intercambio genético de las especies silvestres así como para la preservación de las razas autóctonas.

El Congreso reunió a unas 200 personas, entre técnicos del Gobierno Central y de las Comunidades Autónomas, investigadores de las Universidades,



Foto 1. En España trashuman actualmente unas 700,000 ovejas, 200,000 cabras y 100,000 vacas. Las vías pecuarias españolas tienen una longitud de más de 125,000 km y 400,000 ha de superficie. Se clasifican en a) cañadas de 75 m de anchura, b) cordeles de 37.5 m y c) veredas de 20 m.

ganaderos, pastores y conservacionistas, que debatieron durante tres días la aplicación de la Ley durante ésta década y los problemas planteados, tanto en sus aspectos jurídicos, como ambientales, culturales y para la ordenación del territorio. Los principales problemas son la destrucción de las vías pecuarias por cultivos y construcción

de infraestructuras, la falta de agua y abrevaderos, las malas condiciones de viviendas en las montañas y la falta de relevo generacional para la práctica del pastoreo extensivo.



Foto 2. Cristina Narbona, en la inauguración del Congreso con el Secretario de Estado de Agricultura y el Consejero de Desarrollo Tecnológico. (Cortesía Jesús Garzón)

Los ganaderos participantes lamentaron las dificultades existentes este año para realizar la trashumancia por las vías pecuarias, debido a las medidas veterinarias que impiden el movimiento de ganados por causa de la enfermedad de la "lengua azul", así como la descoordinación existente entre las Comunidades Autónomas para la recuperación de las cañadas que atraviesan las diferentes regiones. Consideraron que actuaciones para facilitar otros usos no ganaderos, como plantaciones de arbolado o adecuaciones turísticas en las vías pecuarias, crean problemas crecientes para el manejo del ganado y suponen un riesgo para los usuarios.

Jesús Garzón (pastores.sinfronteras@pastos.org) es el Presidente de la Asociación Concejo de la Mesta, para la recuperación de la trashumancia tradicional en España. El Concejo de la Mesta fue creado por el Rey Alfonso X El Sabio en 1273, para defender los derechos de los pastores, principalmente de ovejas merinas, que hasta la invasión napoleónica constituyeron la mayor riqueza del reino de España.

A Farmer Exchange for Mutual Learning Workshop on Sustaining Local Food Systems, Agricultural Biodiversity and Livelihoods

Dr. Michel Pimbert

This International Learning workshop took place in a rural setting in South India (Medak District Andhra Pradesh), on 14-28 February 2005. Small farmers from Indonesia and India, nomadic

pastoralists from Iran and indigenous peoples from Peru were centre stage in this international event, with outside professionals playing support and facilitating roles. This was a timely and exciting opportunity for all present to

share experiences and lessons learnt from the participatory action research they are doing on "Sustaining Local Food Systems, Agricultural Biodiversity and Livelihoods" (see Box 1). A very rich and exciting menu of verbal presentations, songs, video films, power point presentations, and exhibits/displays was used by participants to communicate what is emerging from this collaborative project in Peru, India, Iran, and Indonesia. It was a time of holistic and experiential learning in a convivial atmosphere, a joyful expression of our shared humanity and a search for unity in diversity. We mostly discussed the following:

- The cosmology and the traditional resource rights of Quechua indigenous peoples, which inform the work in the Peruvian Andes where participatory and people-centred processes are key in sustaining local food systems, diverse ecologies, livelihoods and culture.
- A pioneering approach to farmer training in Indonesia - the Farmer Field Schools - which regenerates functional biodiversity in rice based agro-ecosystems and promotes coor-

ordinated action by farmers to sustain local livelihoods and change policies.

- Joint work between local farming communities and women collectives (sanghams) In India, which focuses on regaining local control over biodiversity important for food and agriculture.
- A 'learning by doing' approach in Iran, which is helping to revive nomadic pastoralism, local livelihoods and agricultural biodiversity in traditional rangelands.



Picture 1. International Learning Workshop India, 2005

Box 1. Action research on sustaining local food systems, agricultural biodiversity and livelihoods.

How – and under what conditions – can biodiversity rich and culturally diverse, localised food systems be sustained in the twenty-first century? Which forms of decentralised governance, farmer participation, and capacity building can best promote the adaptive management of agricultural biodiversity in the context of localised food systems and livelihoods. Who gains and who loses when local food systems are strengthened? These are some of the questions examined by the *Sustaining Local Food Systems, Agricultural Biodiversity and Livelihoods* project.

This international project combines a political ecology perspective on food systems and livelihoods with action research grounded in local practice. Research is done *with, for* and *by* people – rather than *on* people – to bring together a wide range of ways of knowing and types of knowledge for learning and change. As such, this action research seeks to bridge the gap between the academic orientation of political ecology and the largely activist focus of food sovereignty, human rights, and environmental justice movements.

The action research is coordinated and facilitated by the UK based International Institute for

Environment and Development (IIED), together with partners and co-researchers in India (the Deccan Development Society, DDS), Peru (Asociacion Quechua-Aymara para la Conservacion de la Naturaleza y el Desarrollo Sostenible, ANDES), Iran (Centre for Sustainable Development, CENESTA) and Indonesia (Farmer Initiatives in Ecological Literacy and Democracy, FIELD). Funding for the project is provided by The Government of the Netherlands.

For more information see: www.diversefoodsystems.org and contact Michel Pimbert michel.pimbert@iied.org

This event was about peoples' voice, knowledge, priorities and struggles to sustain diverse local ecologies, culture and food systems, on their own terms. It represented a citizen contribution to the search for a new approach to conservation and development— an approach based on diversity, decentralization, social inclusion, democracy,

dynamic adaptation and informed freedom. The proceedings of the event will be published soon.

Michel Pimbert (michel.pimbert@iied.org) is an agricultural ecologist by training and is currently Acting Director of the Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods Program at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in London. He is Co-Chair of the CEESP Theme on Sustainable Livelihoods and a long time member of TGER and TILCEPA.

The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group

A new initiative coordinated by IIED

Over the last decade – and increasingly over the last few years – there has been **continuing debate surrounding the links between biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction** and considerable polarisation between the conservation and development communities.

On the one hand, **conservation organisations do not see poverty reduction as their core business** (arguing that conservation interventions such as protected areas struggle even to finance themselves, let alone to provide benefits to poor people) and many see previous attempts to link

conservation with local benefits – for example through community-based conservation or integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) – as conceptually flawed. On the other hand, because the goods and services generated by biodiversity are generally unaccounted for in national statistics, **development agencies** (including governments, donors, and NGOs) **have often undervalued the potential role that conservation can play in poverty reduction and economic development.** Furthermore, the perception amongst many development practitioners is that traditional approaches to conservation have sometimes exacerbated poverty. In

particular, protected areas and other mechanisms which aim to restrict local peoples' access to, and use of, natural resources, while generating significant social, economic, and environmental benefits at the national and international level, have in many cases had a negative impact on the food security, livelihoods and cultures of local people.

Recently however, a number of different organisations – conservation NGOs, development agencies, civil society organisations, donors, and developing country governments - have started to explore the linkages between conservation and poverty reduction and experience is beginning to emerge. With so many different players acting independently, though, **there is a danger of reinventing the wheel, duplication of effort and repeating past mistakes.**

Furthermore, the absence of a forum by which **organisations representing those who are directly affected by conservation activities** and have first-hand experience of conservation-poverty linkages – **can contribute to this new debate.** This means that any change in conservation policy - however well intentioned – is likely to be guided by other's interpretations of what is good for poor people rather than being driven by its intended beneficiaries.

With these issues in mind, the Ford Foundation is funding the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) to explore the establishment of a "Learning Group" which could provide **a recognised forum that facilitates the sharing of information, experience, analysis, and mutual learning** between key stakeholders, from a range of backgrounds, on conservation-poverty linkages.

At this stage, we are exploring different structures that the Learning Group might take: it could be an international association of key actors that meets on a regular basis with learning events focussed on key thematic issues. It could also be a virtual network that shares information via electronic discussion fora, newsletters, etc. Alternatively, it could be a set of national level networks or associations that vary in structure and function depending on the specific requirements of each country. Overall, however, it is envisaged that The Learning Group will operate in two key dimensions:

1. *Bridging the conservation – development divide*: Encouraging learning between and within organisations working on these issues at the international level. This would include players both in the conservation and development domains within government, NGOs, academia, international agencies, etc.
2. *Addressing the North-South power imbalance*: Facilitating participation in international conservation policy processes by civil society organisations – representing indigenous peoples, local communities, and other traditionally marginalized groups in developing countries so that traditional "policy-takers" become new policy-makers.

Throughout this year, IIED has been working with a wide range of organisations to:

- scope out the need and demand for such a Group;
- identify potential members;
- document the development of the conservation-poverty debate over time;
- map the ongoing initiatives of existing institutions and networks;
- conduct a preliminary review of

on-the-ground experience in linking conservation and poverty reduction;

- explore alternative models and structures for the Group; and,
- investigate its potential research, learning and communications activities.

At the end of this process, the Learning Group will be formally constituted, and an inaugural meeting will be held.

This first meeting will serve to confirm commitment to an ongoing process of learning, to shape an agenda for future research and to discuss options for the future structure, reach, and ongoing operation of the Group.

We are actively seeking the involvement of key stakeholders in this process. Interested parties are encouraged to contact **Dilys Roe**, the Project Coordinator at IIED (dilys.roe@iied.org)

Appendix

Preliminary list of initiatives by conservation and development organisations on biodiversity-poverty linkages

- A large body of work has been conducted by and with indigenous people's organisations to examine the impact of national and international conservation policy on their traditional livelihoods (for example the Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA), a joint initiative of IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) and Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy (CEESP) to mobilise indigenous peoples' participation in the 2003 World Parks Congress)
- DGIS grants to Birdlife, Wetlands International, FFI
- Nature Conservancy paper on biodiversity and poverty
- CI flier on biodiversity and poverty
- USAID seminar series on biodiversity and poverty
- IUCN HQ has recently conducted an internal exercise to examine how to best incorporate pro-poor conservation into its work agenda for the next 5 years
- WWF-UK has a partnership with the UK Department for International Development to explore how best to integrate sustainable livelihoods into its conservation work
- The US-based Wildlife Conservation Society has been engaged in an internal exercise to examine how best to deal with the poverty reduction imperative
- UNDP has established the Equator Initiative to showcase community-based initiatives that have successfully linked biodiversity conservation with poverty reduction
- The UK Department for International Development has recently undertaken a study of wildlife -poverty linkages
- The Swedish International Development Agency is supporting work on linkages between biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction through its biodiversity implementing agency - SwedBio
- Care International is one of the few development NGOs to deal with biodiversity conservation and has a significant programme of work on integrated conservation and development
- Worldwatch Institute article and ongoing seminar series with Syracuse University
- Social Impacts of Conservation project (Dan Brockington and Kai Schmidt-Soltau)
- MacArthur Foundation is supporting a major research programme on "Conservation in a Social Context"

Advancing Conservation in a Social Context: Developing an Interdisciplinary Research Initiative

Thomas O. McShane

International Institute for Sustainability, Arizona State University

The global community faces tremendous challenges in striving to ensure that the earth's rich natural heritage is preserved and sustained over time. Species and habitats continue to be lost, and the ecosystem services vital to their survival and that of humankind are increasingly disturbed. While the erosion of global biodiversity is well documented, uncertainty about appropriate responses has led to serious debate within the conservation field. Many of the people living in areas of high biodiversity value are economically impoverished and politically marginalized, and their livelihoods are negatively impacted by the ongoing degradation of the natural environment. Given this reality, the need to work to enhance the well-being of local people in tandem with stopping the destruction of ecosystems seems obvious. In practice, however, attempts to meet the twin goals of conservation and human development have met with mixed success. The issue of how to more effectively practice conservation in a context that is unmistakably and inextricably social has emerged as a dominant unresolved question in conservation.

In an effort to address this issue the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation is supporting the development of an interdisciplinary research initiative on advancing conservation in a social context. Bringing together a

diverse and internationally dispersed network of thinkers from conservation and other relevant fields, this process aims to reexamine complex ecological and social relationships and draw on an extensive body of academic and practical experience in order to review past history, question fundamental strategies, and reconsider the underlying assumptions about how the conservation field attempts to reach its goals. Ultimately, it is hoped that this process and the resultant program of research will contribute to improved conservation practice through a better understanding of the conditions and the trade-offs required if natural resources are to be sustained over time, at a meaningful scale, and in complex social-ecological contexts.

The first phase of this initiative, which began formally in January 2005, is being administered by the International Institute for Sustainability at Arizona State University and brings together different disciplines and perspectives to suggest practical, informed approaches to achieve conservation-development goals. We are currently undertaking an 18-month period of consultation, reflection and planning for a longer-term program of research designed to help a range conservation actors reflect on their practice and develop effective approaches to conservation in a social context. The goal of this initial phase is to define the parameters, participants, and priori-

ties of the research initiative.

The following objectives have been identified:

First, we are working to identify the key research and synthesis questions that will be the focus of the longer-term research initiative. Through a series of advisory meetings, three initial hypotheses attempting to better describe the underlying assumptions and strategies about how conservation takes place in a social context have been developed:

1. The conservation field has an incomplete theoretical understanding of ecological and social complexities and their interactions, which causes actors addressing conservation and development issues to use insufficiently nuanced approaches or models of the way the world works, and therefore to promote and implement ineffective or inappropriate solutions;
2. Internal rules and incentives in implementing agencies lead to insufficient investments of time and personnel leading to inadequate solutions being implemented, a lack of agreed standards, weak institutional learning and limited accountability, and as a result, practice is not improved despite experience; and
3. External social, political and economic constraints or different priorities override the proposed solutions, and actors in the field have not developed the tools to anticipate and address these constraints.

One of our next challenges will be to determine whether any these broad hypotheses, or possibly others not yet specified, help to explain the under-

lying causes of the mixed record to date. For example, implicit in these hypotheses is the notion that conservation-development expectations have exceeded outcomes (or as is more bluntly put in the literature "failed"). This requires more in depth exploration on our part, as does the issue of values. We need to better understand the spiritual, moral and aesthetic pressures that drive a society towards significant conservation goals. Based on what we find, a specific set of questions will then be developed to form the basis for a more in-depth exploration.

Second, we are organizing and collaborating with a range of expertise to help to articulate the structure of this interdisciplinary research initiative. This has involved increasing the size and reach of a core planning group to ensure a mix of academics and practitioners, North and South, and natural and social scientists (figure 1). We are also expanding the array of individuals participating in the design and implementation of the broader research initiative; through the identification of a Dialogue Group as well as an Advisory Group to peer review the results of the first 18 months. This process includes learning from and engaging with a number of existing networks and groups working on issues closely related to this subject.

Third, we are designing a specific framework for the longer-term program of research and describing its implementation. The research design and framework is being developed by engaging with the above mentioned groups ensuring involvement of a variety of different disciplines and backgrounds. The initiative is concentrat-

ing on areas of high biodiversity value where poverty and disenfranchisement are defining features and conservation is a key issue. Given the global nature of the conservation and development agenda, this effort places a special emphasis on integrating a wide diversity of experiences, perspectives, and values, particularly those from the Global South.

A series of workshops being held at different locations around the world are the central vehicle for achieving interdisciplinary synergy and accomplishing the objectives set forth for this planning period. These meetings are each organized around particular themes, research questions and hy-

potheses, and practical needs. The strategy for inquiry is designed to engage with a broad range of individuals and institutions, including community-based organizations, government departments, development agencies, conservation and development NGOs, foundations and other donors, and academic institutions.

In conclusion, Advancing Conservation in a Social Context (ACSC) is very much a work in progress. The primary intended outcome from the 18-month planning period is a specific proposal mapping out a longer-term interdisciplinary program of research to advance conservation in a social context. The result will be a research and development initiative organized by and benefiting from a global network of researchers and practitioners from a variety of different disciplines and backgrounds. In the long run, the goal of this initiative is to contribute to a reshaping of understanding in this field and the development of policies and practices that support effective and long-lasting conservation.

Further details about ACSC and those involved can be found at <http://acsc.anthro.uga.org>. Or you may contact Thomas O. McShane at mcsbane@bluewin.ch

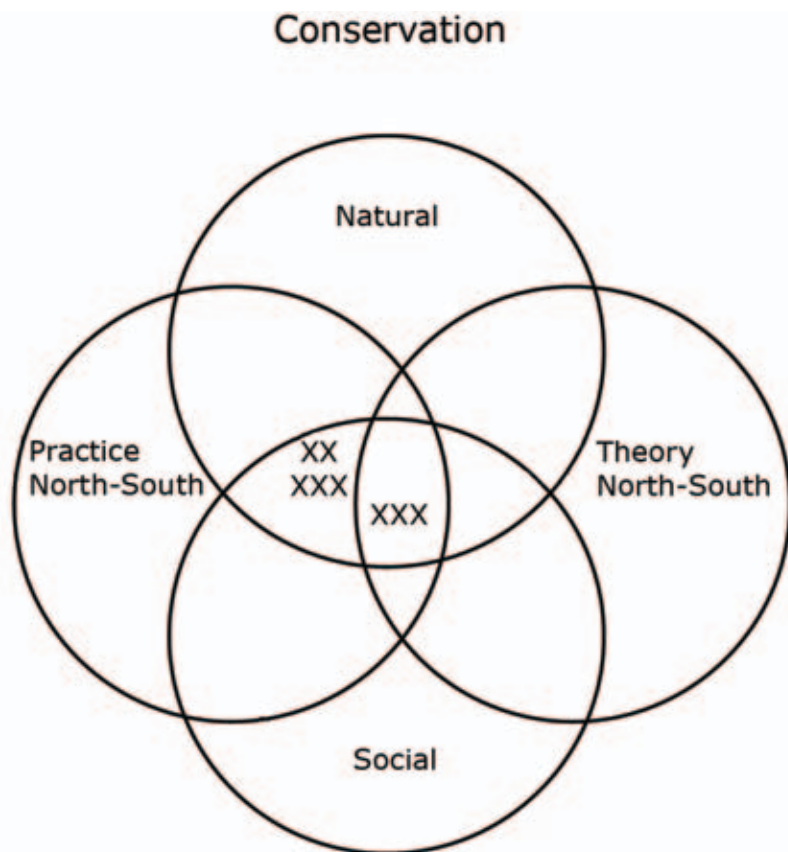


Figure 1. Positioning of the ACSC Research Initiative within the practice of conservation: at the intersection (XXX) of different disciplines and perspectives.

'Governance, Participation, Equity and Benefit Sharing: Implementing Element 2 of the CBD Programme of Work on Protected Areas'

Side Event organized by TILCEPA and IIED
at the first meeting of the CBD Ad Hoc Working Group on
Protected Areas

June 16, 2005 Montecatini (Italy)

Governance is becoming an increasingly central component of protected areas (PA) management, and is a focal point of the UNEP Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) Programme of Work on Protected Areas (PoW). On June 16, 2005, the CEESP/WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity, and Protected Areas (TILCEPA)¹ partnered with the International Institute on Environment and Development (IIED)² to host a side event at CBD Ad Hoc Working Group on Protected Areas.³ The event, entitled **Governance, Participation, Equity & Benefit Sharing: Implementing Element 2 of the PoW**, was the best-attended side event at the meeting.

In its broadest sense, protected areas governance refers to the processes, traditions and rules involved in establishing and managing PAs. Principles for "good governance" of protected areas include respect of human rights, participation, performance, transparency and accountability. Researchers, practitioners, and policy makers are beginning to realize the importance of these principles, and PA governance systems are increasingly open to a range of governance types, including co-management and community conservation.



Picture 1. "Side Event on 'Governance, Participation, Equity and Benefit Sharing: Implementing Element 2 of the CBD Programme of Work on Protected Areas' organized by TILCEPA and IIED at the first meeting of the CBD Ad Hoc Working Group on Protected Areas June 16, 2005 Montecatini (Italy)", (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)

"The global surface area covered by protected areas could probably be doubled from the current 11.5% if all types of governance were taken into consideration," said Ashish Kothari, Co-Chair of the Theme on Indigenous & Local Communities, Equity & Protected Areas (TILCEPA) of IUCN Commission on Environmental Economic and Social Policy.

The side event presenters were affiliated with various indigenous peoples and local community organisations, government ministries and conservation bod-

ies. Together, they:

- reviewed concepts of protected areas (PA) governance “quality” and “type”;
- described how the full set of governance types and the full set of IUCN PA categories, together, can contribute to national PA systems;
- provided examples of benefits and challenges in implementing innovative PA governance; and
- introduced participants to existing guidelines, manuals, collections of papers, and case examples that can support the effective implementation of Element 2 of the PAs Programme of Work.

The case studies presented addressed various governance types, including co-managed areas, community conserved areas, and protected landscapes. For example, Chachu Ganya (PISP and the World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples, Kenya) discussed the biodiversity benefits of, and current threats to, the protected landscapes of the Gabbra mobile indigenous peoples of Kenya and Ethiopia. Guy Suzon Ramangason (ANGAP, Madagascar) explained how the President of Madagascar engaged the country to triple the size of its protected areas in a relative short time span through taking full advantage of the full set of IUCN PA categories and governance types, including Community Conserved Areas. Alejandro Argumedeo (IPBN, Peru) introduced the concept of Indigenous Bio-cultural Heritage Site. He focused on Indigenous Protected Areas in Latin America, including the indigenous-run “Potato Park” in Peru.

The wide array of participants, including indigenous peoples and local and mobile community representatives, and government officials, reflected the emerging global focus on PA govern-



Picture 2. “Side Event on ‘Governance, Participation, Equity and Benefit Sharing: Implementing Element 2 of the CBD Programme of Work on Protected Areas’ at the first meeting of the CBD Ad Hoc Working Group on Protected Areas June 16, 2005 Montecatini (Italy) (Event organized by TILCEPA and IIED) (Courtesy Ashish Kothari)”

ance. The experiences and learning shared through case studies, publications, and tools demonstrated key promises and challenges within PA governance. Further, the tools and publications were produced by the collective effort of hundreds of members of TILCEPA and the Co-management Working Group of CEESP. For an example of a particularly important tool, please see *Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas: Towards Equity and Enhanced Conservation*, the latest volume (No. 11) of the IUCN Best Practice Protected Areas Guidelines, a joint publication of the WCPA and CEESP Commission. This publication can be downloaded at:

<http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/guidelinesindigenouspeople.pdf>.

Notes

- 1 http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/TILCEPA.htm and <http://www.tilcepa.org/>
- 2 <http://www.iied.org/>
- 3 <http://www.biodiv.org/doc/meeting.aspx?mtg=PAWG-01%20>

Seminar on Policy Approaches, Practical Interventions and Lessons on Poverty-Environment Links in IUCN and Swiss Institutions

23-24 June, 2005, IUCN

A Summary Report

In anticipation of the MDG+5 Review, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) organized a two-day seminar in June 2005 for conservation and development organizations, practitioners, researchers, and others to discuss and identify recommendations for future actions addressing the links between poverty and conservation.

Background & Impetus for the Seminar

Many practitioners, researchers, and theorists in both the conservation and development arenas have tended, until recently, to approach environmental protection and poverty reduction as separate, and even opposed initiatives. For some, environmental protection in developing countries continues to be something worth pursuing only once basic poverty reduction and economic development goals have been met.

The conceptual and practical separation between poverty and environmental concerns is reflected in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a concerted agenda of the international community for poverty reduction. The MDGs present environmental sustainability as one of eight primary goals, while ecosystem goods and services are fundamental to all the MDGs, including MDG 1 on the eradication of extreme poverty.

Environment-poverty linkages exist

more often, and in deeper ways, than common convention would suggest. According to IFAD, 75% of the world's poor people live in rural areas.¹ Poor rural households often depend directly on local natural resources for subsistence, income generation, and risk management. The livelihoods and the human well-being of the poor are thus deeply linked with access to and availability of those resources. Resource sustainability is threatened by poor governance, poorly designed policy, unsustainable development and consumption patterns, lack of appropriate evaluation, and a host of other factors. Further, actions of the private sector, the non-poor, and other nations and communities – not actions of the poor alone – undermine resource sustainability.

In September 2005, the United Nations will review Millennium Declaration implementation to date and examine progress toward the MDGs. IUCN, SDC, and the other seminar participants recognize that, if they act now, they have a key opportunity to clarify and make

a case for better addressing poverty
- environment linkages within the MDG
framework.



Picture 1. A char fish caught by an Inuit in the Northwest Territories Province, Canada (*Courtesy IUCN Photo Library © Jim Thorsell*)

Objectives & Organization of the Seminar

Seminar participants explored a broad and as yet ambiguous set of issues surrounding environment-poverty linkages. The seminar agenda was comprised of over 25 presentations and three intensive working group sessions over the course of two days. Presentations and working groups were organized around **five main seminar objectives**:²

- Learning on poverty-environment linkages (including gender) from the experience of Swiss institutions and various international organizations.
- Providing inputs to IUCN and Swiss institutions for their participation in negotiations at the MDG+5 Review, and identifying means for strengthening engagement with implementation of the outcomes of the Review.
- Providing inputs to the research agenda of Swiss academic institutions on poverty-environment linkages.
- Strengthening approaches to include a gender perspective in poverty-environment linkages.

- Exploring possibilities of further collaboration between IUCN and Swiss institutions.

Key Themes Emerging from the Seminar

It is not possible in this brief report to provide an exhaustive account of the perspective and insight offered during the seminar. However, a few key themes did emerge through the presentations, working groups, and discussion. Each of the themes listed below was addressed in various ways throughout the seminar. This list is not exhaustive, and is not presented in order of priority.

- *SDC and IUCN have a mandate to develop strategies and, acting with their many partners, address the poverty-environment area.*
- *Equitably and effectively addressing poverty-environment links requires consideration of governance and human rights, including recognizing the roles and rights of women. To ensure outcomes, practitioners should pursue environmental sustainability in ways that support improved governance and reflect links between the human rights and environmental arenas.*
- *Poverty-environments links are complex and inconsistent in nature. Environmental and poverty goals may complement one another, but will also often conflict and require difficult trade offs.*
- *Contending with poverty-environment links should include addressing the ways that the non-poor limit resource access and environmental benefits for the poor. Poor people and communities are not the sole, or even primary actors, contributing to degradation of local resources in many instances.*
- *The MDG framework could be*



Picture 2. Group photo in Poverty Environment seminar. (Courtesy Caterina Wolfangel IUCN)

strengthened by better integrating poverty and environment goals. While the MDGs include both poverty and environmental goals, but present them as largely separate goals. Several seminar participants pointed out the cross-cutting nature of the environmental sustainability goal. Further, some participants expressed concern that the MDG indicators are too top-down and quantitative to capture important changes on the ground. Other participants suggested that the quantitative indicators be amended to better reflect environmental goods and services and also to better reflect local level realities and the "voice" of the poor.

- For many indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities, local knowledge and customary institutions are connected to a long tradition livelihood security and resource management. Addressing poverty-environment linkages within such communities should include recognition, support, and, where appropriate, revitalization of local knowledge and institutions.
- There is a need for greater learning exchange and partnership between development organizations, environment organizations, indigenous peoples, and local and mobile communities. Effectively and equitably addressing trade-offs between environmental and poverty goals, or leveraging synergies between the goals, will require incorporating the unique perspective and knowledge of each group.
- Researchers and practitioners could contribute to greater understanding of the impacts of environmental protection on poverty and vice versa by undertaking environmental valuation initiatives. Appropriate tools for such valuation should include, but also go beyond economic considerations.
- Conservation and poverty research could have more immediate impacts if it were more action and practice oriented. One group of participants suggested creating networks between practitioners and researchers to allow practitioners' experience to more directly inform the focus of new research.
- Environment-poverty linkages exist at international, national, regional, and local levels; effectively addressing these linkages will thus require multi-level and scalable actions. The links between the global level and local realities are often missing. While action in any particular place should consider and reflect local context, locally appropriate solutions are unlikely to work across contexts. Participants discussed several possible solutions to this challenge, including establishing better learning networks and addressing poverty and conservation at the regional, or "meso" level.
- Conservation and development organizations need more and better directed communication with policy makers, other organizations, and poor communities. Communication

should be meaningful for specific audiences. Improved communication can contribute to changing ideas, and to positively changing actions and outcomes.

- *Provision of environmental goods and services and their appropriate marketing can bring new opportunities and new challenges to poor communities.* Such products can contribute to local development and provide an economic safety net. However, in the absence of clear and reliable market agreements, the benefits of commercialization may not be delivered to or distributed among the poor in an equitable manner. Further, without careful control, commercialization can also lead to over-exploitation of the resource.

Conclusions

This seminar brought together a diverse group of over 60 development and conservation organization representatives, practitioners, researchers, and others from Switzerland and around the world. This diversity was reflected in the multiplicity of perspectives (e.g., rights-based, anthropological, historical, economic, cultural, etc) from which poverty-environment

linkages were examined. This rich dialogue also left seminar participants with a challenge. As Achim Steiner (IUCN/ Director General) pointed out in closing remarks, 99.9% of the people for whom poverty-environment linkages are a critical concern were not at the seminar. The challenge of understanding, assessing, and effectively and equitably addressing the relationships between poverty and environmental sustainability may be daunting. However, it is also critical that we take up this challenge. As Paul Steele (DfID, IUCN Consultant) suggested in his closing remarks, we need to continue to better communicate what we know in a positive and effective manner, apply what we know in targeted and meaningful action, and better analyze and address our knowledge gaps to move forward.

Notes

- 1 International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). 2002. *Enabling the rural poor to overcome their poverty: strategic framework for IFAD 2002-2006*. Rome: International Fund for Agricultural Development. Cited in Fisher, R.J. et al. 2005. *Poverty and Conservation: Landscapes, People and Power*. Gland: IUCN, p. 4.
- 2 IUCN-SDC Seminar on Policy Approaches, Practical Interventions and Lessons on Poverty-Environment Links in IUCN and Swiss Institutions, 23-24 June, 2005 : Introduction & Objectives

Portal sobre
Conservación y equidad social
 Compartiendo lecciones aprendidas en Latinoamérica

“La pobreza no es un estado natural, sino un resultado de la exclusión social. La división creciente entre países ricos y pobres sigue siendo el mayor peligro ambiental del mundo moderno. La equidad social está en la base del equilibrio ambiental.”

Manifiesto por la Vida – Por una Ética para la sustentabilidad, 2002.

La Oficina Regional para América del Sur de UICN en un esfuerzo conjunto con la Oficina Regional para Meso-América ha desarrollado el portal sobre Conservación y Equidad Social: www.sur.iucn.org/ces

Se busca a través de esta iniciativa promover al interior de la comunidad ambiental los principios de equidad social en la gestión de los recursos naturales. Para alcanzar este objetivo, el portal:

- Promueve un proceso de aprendizaje conjunto en temas relativos a conservación y equidad social. Proporciona a los profesionales de la región y a través de foros electrónicos un espacio de intercambio y discusión sobre temas específicos, sobre el trabajo que se ha llevado a cabo en la región y las necesidades para el futuro.
- Sistematiza y socializa resultados de investigaciones, iniciativas, proyectos o procesos conducidos por la academia, gobiernos y organizaciones no gubernamentales.

América Latina es una región rica en

diversidad cultural – se estima que la



Picture 1. Danza indígena de Carnaval. Chimborazo, Ecuador. (Credit a Nadesha Montalvo)

región contiene alrededor de 400 grupos étnicos¹ que viven dentro o alrededor de importantes ecosistemas. Además en sus más de 20 millones de kilómetros cuadrados (FAO, 2002) contiene una diversidad de ecosistemas: bosques tropicales, bosques secos, bosques nublados, savanas, áreas marino – costeros, islas, desiertos, etc.

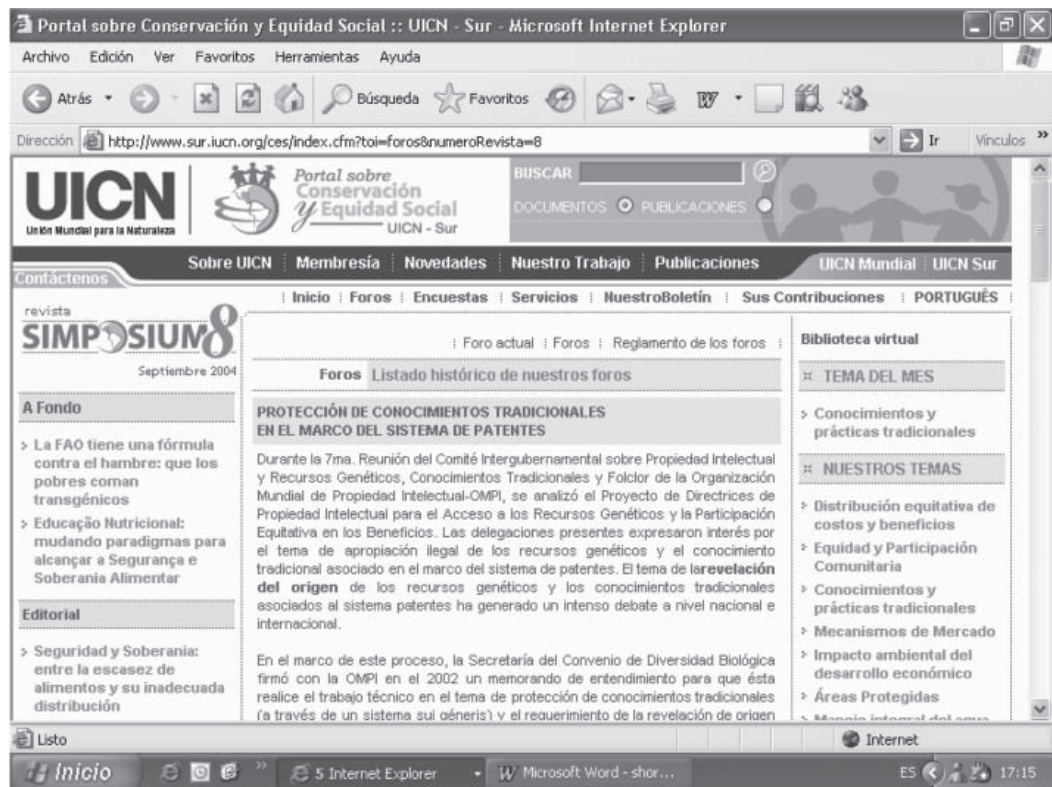
No es una coincidencia que las poblaciones más vulnerables son afectadas por una variedad de iniciativas de conservación de la biodiversidad. En

este contexto, las organizaciones locales y nacionales de la región han enfrentado la necesidad de abordar la problemática social en sus acciones de intervención. En este tránsito hacia un desarrollo sostenible con equidad, han abordado temas como la participación comunitaria en las iniciativas de conservación, la equidad de género, los derechos de los pueblos indígenas, y la distribución de costos y beneficios derivados del uso de la biodiversidad, entre otros. De aquí surgen innumerables experiencias, lecciones aprendidas y rumbos para el futuro.

El portal sobre conservación y equidad social provee a la comunidad ambiental alrededor de 1000 documentos en línea y 300 fichas técnicas sobre publicaciones. Cuenta con una red de alrededor de 500 profesionales desde México hasta Argentina.

Los temas que aborda esta iniciativa son:

- Distribución equitativa de costos y beneficios**
- Participación comunitaria**
- Conocimientos y prácticas tradicionales**
- Mecanismos de mercado**
- Impacto ambiental del desarrollo económico**
- Manejo de áreas protegidas**



- Manejo integral de agua**
- Políticas ambientales**
- Poder y gobiernos locales**
- Tenencia de la tierra**
- Pueblos indígenas**
- Equidad de género**

Invitamos a profesionales, ONGs y redes que trabajan estos temas a contribuir con sus materiales e inquietudes para el portal. Para suscribirse a los servicios del Portal sobre Conservación y Equidad Social de UICN, favor enviar un correo electrónico a: ces@sur.iucn.org.

Tamara Montalvo Rueda (CES@sur.iucn.org), Coordinadora Portal sobre Conservación y Equidad Social. UICN-Sur.

Notes

- 1 Deruyttere, Ann. *Indigenous peoples and sustainable development, the Role of the IADB*. Washington, 1997.

Wetlands and Poverty Reduction Project

Reducing poverty in wetland areas through integrated environmental and poverty alleviation initiatives

Linking wetland conservation and poverty reduction

The livelihoods of many poor people in the developing world depend to a large extent on intact and functioning wetlands. Many of the poor rely on wetlands for food, water, construction materials and similar necessities. Wetlands also act as transport corridors and provide protection against flood, drought and saltwater intrusion – all functions crucial to environmental and food security. Hence, the maintenance of healthy wetlands is important for poverty alleviation, and because wetlands are critical to water supply, they are literally the source of life.

Experience has shown that solutions to wetland degradation and over-exploitation must be based on a thorough understanding of how wetlands contribute to people's livelihood strategies. This concept challenges conventional approaches to conservation and development.

With so many people directly dependent on wetlands and wetland resources for their livelihoods, protecting and restoring wetlands is clearly in the interests of reducing poverty and vulnerability to poverty. The conservation and development-aid sectors have a responsibility to form collaborative partnerships that develop pro-poor approaches to wetland management. This concept forms the foundation of the Wetlands and Poverty Reduction Project (WPRP).

Wetlands International, in association with a range of international partner organisations represented by the Wetlands and Livelihoods Working Group, aims to contribute to poverty reduction and wetland conservation by encouraging the development-aid sector to recognise wetland values in its planning and implementation processes. Similarly, the WPRP endeavours to work with the conservation and environment sectors to integrate socio-economic development and poverty-reduction issues into their planning and actions. The WPRP will achieve this by facilitating dialogue between these sectors, and identifying a common agenda that provides complementary solutions for wetland conservation and poverty reduction.



Objective

Wetlands International will contribute to achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals by catalysing the integration of sustainable wetland management into poverty reduction strategies and sustainable development plans. In addition, Wetlands International aims to influence regional, national and international policies and conservation and

development planning processes by enhancing recognition of the dependence of the poor on sustainable wetland resource management.

Geographic Focus

The WPRP will focus its activities on wetland conservation and poverty reduction in sub-Saharan Africa, South-east Asia and Latin America. However, the Project will also endeavour to

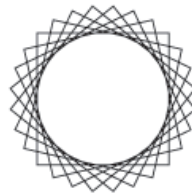
influence inter-sectoral development for poverty reduction and sustainable wetland management in all parts of the world.

For more information on the WPRP, please contact:
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The Ring Alliance – A Quick Introduction



The Ring is an alliance of sustainable development research institutions based in 14 countries – 4 in South and Central Asia; 4 in Africa; 2 in South America; 2 in Europe and 1 in North America. The Ring was established in 1991 in preparation for the Rio Summit. As part of a coordinated programme of activities, each Ring member prepared national sustainable development reports to complement their own government's contributions, and a number of Ring institutions were represented in their government's national Earth Summit delegations.

Members of the Ring share a common focus on policy research which can make a difference to the lives and livelihoods of the poorest people and communities. Most of the organisations work primarily at local and national levels, and often act as convenors, bringing together a diverse range of actors

The RING alliance of policy research organisations

to address problems and identify shared approaches to address them.

Over the 14 years the Ring has existed, it has developed collaboration in a number of areas as well as strong institutional ties between members. Joint initiatives have mainly entailed identification of international processes or developments which could significantly affect achievement of greater equity and sustainability in our countries and regions. Some examples from recent years include:

- **EU Strategy for Sustainable Development**

The Ring has led a programme of work focusing on the European Union's impacts on the rest of the world, and the ways in which these could be made more sustainable and accountable. This project generated Asian, African and Latin American perspectives on the EU Sustainable Develop-

ment Strategy's external dimensions, and on some of the key policy instruments and processes which shape the interaction of the European Union with other regions.

- **Capacity strengthening in the Least Developed Countries for Adaptation to Climate Change (CLACC)**

Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to their geographical location in some of the most vulnerable areas and their low capacity to cope with drought, floods, and cyclones, etc.

CLACC aims to strengthen civil society in order to support the official NAPA process and support implementation of adaptation projects in the LDCs over the coming years. The initiative focuses in 12 LDCs, and in each country it works with a lead organisation which is responsible for building broader links with civil society organisations, government departments and other key institutions. The project focuses particularly on offering fellowships for members of this CLACC network to facilitate sharing existing knowledge and approaches and to build understanding in both North and South about the ongoing impacts of climate change and the strategies which can help to reduce vulnerability.

- **A Southern Agenda on Trade and Environment**

The International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD), the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), and the Ring have completed two phases of the project 'A Southern Agenda on Trade and Environment'.

Phase I of the project sought to gather and present Southern perspectives on

the trade and environment link, building on consultations with developing country trade policy representatives in Geneva. The results of the Phase I were presented in May 2002 at the WTO Symposium on 'The Doha Development Agenda and Beyond'.

Phase II aimed to respond to the opportunity offered by the Doha mandate. This was to strengthen the capacity of trade negotiators, key national policymakers and regional actors in developing countries to determine priorities for promoting and negotiating proactive positions which reflect their own 'Southern Agenda' on environment and trade in the multilateral trading system. It included six regional dialogues that brought forward regional priorities in trade and environment. In addition, policy papers were prepared on key trade and environment issues from a Southern perspective, as well as regional think-pieces from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

- **Civic Entrepreneurship**

Coordinated by the Stockholm Environment Institute –Boston Center— this Ring project brought together more than 350 individuals from more than 70 countries to identify successful examples of sustainable development in practice, to explain the nature of this success, and to outline what one could learn from these examples for the future of sustainable development. The resulting compilation of hundreds of stories and in-depth case studies is captured in a seven-volume book series, *Civic Entrepreneurship*.

Further information on the work of Ring is available online at www.ring-alliance.org, or from Tom Bigg, Ring Coordinator at the International Institute for Environment and Development – tom.bigg@iied.org.

For the full list of Ring members and their organisation websites, please visit <http://www.ring-alliance.org/members.html>

A Citizen's Jury— a Space for Democratic Deliberation on GMOs and the future of farming in Mali

What is the Citizens' Jury on GMOs? When and where did it take place?

The Citizens' Jury is a space to share knowledge, dialogue and inform decisions on genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in relation to the future of farming in Mali. This has involved farmers—men and women— from all districts of the Sikasso region. The Jury on GMOs took place in Sikasso (Mali) between 25 and 29 January 2006.

Who organised it?

The Citizen's Jury on GMOs has been organised by the Regional Assembly of Sikasso, with conceptual and methodological support by the Réseau Interdisciplinaire Biosécurité (RIBios) of the Institut Universitaire d'Études du Développement in Geneva and by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in London. The project is supported by the Swiss Development Cooperation and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A Steering Committee was set up in June 2005 to develop and plan the Citizen Jury. This Steering Committee is made of approximately 15 members representing the following institutions:

- Regional Assembly of Sikasso
- Centre Djoliba
- Jubilé 2000
- Institut d'Économie Rurale (IER)/Comité Régional de la Recherche Agronomique
- Compagnie Malienne de Développement des Textiles
- Association des Organisations Professionnelles Paysannes
- Union Rurale des Radios et Télévisions/Radio Kene
- Comité Régional de Concertation des Ruraux
- Coordination Régionale des ONG

- Jekasy/ Intercoopération
- Chambre d'Agriculture
- Commission Régionale des Utilisateurs de la Recherche
- Syndicat des Producteurs de coton et vivriers
- Syndicat pour la Valorisation des Cultures Cotonnières et Vivrières

What were the objectives of the Citizen's Jury?

The Citizen's Jury allowed farmers of the region:

- to better understand what are GMOs and what risks and advantages they carry;
- to confront view points and cross examine expert witnesses, both in favour and against GMOs and the industrialization of agriculture,
- to formulate recommendations for policies on GMOs and the future of farming in Mali.

Who has been involved?

The Citizen's Jury focused on the active involvement of farmers/producers of the Sikasso region. The population of the region is more than 1,600,000 inhabitants, so it has been necessary to en-



Picture 1. Citizen's Jury on GMO in Sikasso, Mali.

gage in a selection process to determine the participants of the Citizen's Jury. Approximately 43 persons coming from the 7 districts of the region have been chosen as jurors. This selection has been made with the support of local organizations and structures, on the basis of a pre-selection of 290 farmers from all districts. A set of clear and transparent criteria have been defined to allow a fair representation at the Citizens' Jury of the diverse types of farmers of the region (e.g. small, medium size farms).

The jury selection process emphasised the need for equal representation of different farmers, in particular women and small scale producers.

What has the verdict been?

The verdict has now been cast and you can consult it, see pictures of the event, note the response of the media, etc. by going to:

http://www.iied.org/NR/agbioliv/ag_liv_projects/GMOCitizenJury.html

Poverty and Conservation: sharing perspectives, building common understanding, promoting good policy and practice

The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group is a forum for developing better understanding of, and sharing experiences on, poverty-conservation linkages. Members of the Learning Group are organizations from a wide range of backgrounds including conservation, development, indigenous peoples, with a shared interest in understanding the links between poverty and conservation in order to better manage the trade-offs and synergies between them. The Group promotes good practice by providing access to comprehensive information and contributes to policy change by providing learning activities to organizations actively working in this area. It is open to membership by individuals from organisations that develop or influence conservation and poverty reduction policy and those that are affected by it.

The new online information portal **www.PovertyandConservation.info** of the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group is the key mechanism for sharing information and experience on

poverty-conservation linkages. It is accessible to anyone with an interest in the subject or wanting to build a greater understanding of the issues. The website provides: a bibliographic database; an organizations database; an initiatives database; and a database of case studies. In addition you can sign up to receive the Group's monthly newsletter - BIOSOC (the Biodiversity and Society Bulletin) in English, French or Spanish. The www.PovertyandConservation.info was launched at CoP8 in Curitiba, Brazil during two-side events on Protect Areas and Equity. The website attracted interest at the CoP from a diverse range of actors, with many signing up to the bulletin.

The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group is coordinated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and supported by the Ford Foundation, Development Cooperation Ireland, and the Africa Wildlife Foundation. CEESP has been one of its earliest supporters.

Response to Altieri and Farvar articles

Dear Members of CEESP,

Recent articles by Miguel Altieri and Taghi Farvar critiquing the concept and vision of ecoagriculture and the initiative of Ecoagriculture Partners have been widely circulated by CEESP. These papers misstate our positions and mischaracterize the activities and philosophy of Ecoagriculture Partners. Moreover, they unfortunately look past the significant overlap between ecoagriculture and agroecology, thus impeding a natural and desirable alliance. We appreciate the opportunity to provide a response based on the facts and to help correct misconceptions.

'Ecoagriculture' applies an ecosystem approach to entire agricultural landscapes, rather than just individual farms. It is not a technology, but a broad framework that calls for land use transformations that enhance rural livelihoods and agricultural production systems (of crops, livestock, fish and forest), and also conserve or restore ecosystem services and biodiversity at a meaningful landscape scale. Most existing ecoagriculture strategies rely on an understanding and application of the ecological synergies between farming and natural systems management, at plot, farm and landscape scales. Ecoagriculture embraces agroecology, organic agriculture, agroforestry and numerous other innovative approaches emerging worldwide. But we consider that these efforts need to be scaled up and coordinated among land users to address landscape-scale conservation challenges. We need to reach out to a variety of actors—including conservation organizations, the food industry, municipal planners, and innovative agribusinesses—whose involvement is required to address the challenges of food production, rural poverty and biodiversity loss. We also need to work at the policy level to promote viable alternatives to industrial agriculture, backed by a strong international ecoagriculture movement.

Miguel **Altieri's** paper invents a version of 'ecoagriculture' that does not correspond to our definition. Furthermore, he ascribes virtues to agroecology which are, in fact, largely shared by ecoagriculture. References to some of our core texts (full citations below) show that, contrary to the assertions in Miguel's paper:

- Ecoagriculture fully recognizes and promotes the role of crop, livestock, and tree genetic diversity in ecoagriculture systems—this is a central feature of ecoagriculture (McNeely and Scherr 2003, pp. 7, 176-180; Nairobi Declaration).
- We especially emphasize the importance of conserving forms of biodiversity of greatest importance to local people and their livelihoods and cultures (McNeely and Scherr 2003, pp. 12-15, 231-237; Nairobi Declaration; Molnar et al. 2004). A major strategy we highlight is to build on traditional production systems (McNeely & Scherr 2003: Cases 4, 5, 7, 17, 21, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36; Molnar et al. 2004).
- Ecoagriculture Partners is deeply concerned with rural equity. The desire to find a way to achieve equity and livelihood security in agricultural regions with high conservation values was a key motivator for developing the ecoagriculture concept (McNeely and Scherr 2003, pp.5, 44-50; Molnar et al. 2004). We do not blame the poor for most environmental degradation in agricultural landscapes—quite the opposite (McNeely & Scherr, Chapter 4; Molnar et al.).
- Jeff McNeely and I are both longstanding critics (not champions!) of strategies purporting to save global biodiversity through high-yield monocultures in high-potential lands (McNeely and Scherr, pp. 5, 136-140). In some landscapes, sustainable agricultural intensification may be one element contributing to ecoagriculture (op.cit, pp. 136-146).
- Ecoagriculture Partners does not promote the use of agrochemicals, but rather identifies and encourages numerous options to reduce, eliminate or minimize the impacts from their use (McNeely and Scherr, pp. 150-161; Nairobi Declaration).
- Ecoagriculture Partners does not endorse or promote GMOs (McNeely & Scherr, p.83, Nairobi

Declaration). Nor do we not rule out the possibility that GMOs could in the future play some role in ecoagriculture systems if designed explicitly to benefit rural communities and protect biodiversity (McNeely & Scherr, p. 153). To deny the possibility of such a role is without scientific foundation

Miguel's pre-publication review of our core text, *Ecoagriculture*, was sufficiently positive that the publishers quoted it on the back cover! His paper could be prompted by a perception that ecoagriculture is a competitor to agroecology, which Miguel has energetically championed for several decades. His attack on ecoagriculture is surprising and hard to explain, as while not synonymous the two visions have much in common.

The Farvar article, while raising broader questions related to IUCN collaboration with the private sector, alleges in its title ("Trojan Horse") and text that the agenda of Ecoagriculture Partners has been secretly shaped by agribusiness and against community interests. These claims are completely unjustified.

Ecoagriculture Partners focuses most of its attention on supporting ecoagriculture strategies for low-income rural communities. Participation by community-based organizations has been important in every Ecoagriculture Partners meeting since our inception. A fifth of the more than 200 participants at our recent Ecoagriculture Conference in Nairobi were from such organizations (far more than the small group from the corporate sector), and nearly all were actively involved in developing our recommendations. The Nairobi Declaration calls for action: "1) incorporating and enhancing the wide range of grassroots and rural community innovations...; 2) recognizing the importance of local and indigenous knowledge, their institutions and decision-making processes...; 3) integrating and scaling up farm-level and landscape-wide initiatives of sustainable land and water management...; and 4) supporting and building capacity of farmers and pastoral communities for collective action..." Ecoagriculture Partners is more confident than our critics about the capacity of low-income rural communities to play a globally important role in the conservation of wild biodiversity, as well as in protecting crop genetic and associated biodiversity (Molnar et al 2004).

Our program was initiated and developed by highly reputable NGOs with committed public mandates, and our work has been fully transparent. Ecoagriculture Partners has received funds or substantive in-kind support from over 40 organizations - mostly NGOs, foundations, and governmental organizations. Corporate contributions accounted for less than 5% of total resources. Moreover, there is no need to make apologies for actively engaging with the private sector in such an endeavor. If we are going to improve land and resource uses substantially, there will need to be changes in the thinking and activities of corporate and other private sector actors. All key actors in a landscape must be involved in planning and negotiations to achieve multiple goals at scale.

Ecoagriculture is still an emerging paradigm. There is need for an organization like Ecoagriculture Partners that can help innovators working in different locations, farming systems and sectors to learn from one another. We seek to document ecoagriculture innovations, build capacity, and support policy and institutional changes that will expand ecoagriculture to a globally meaningful scale. I encourage you to assess our approach and organization yourself:

- To order a copy of the *Ecoagriculture* book by McNeely and Scherr, (Island Press, 2003) see: www.islandpress.org;
- To download a free copy of the initial ecoagriculture report "Common Ground, Common Future" by McNeely and Scherr (IUCN and Future Harvest 2001, 24 pp), www.ecoagriculturepartners.org/pdfs/FinalPrintingReport2.pdf
- To see the Nairobi Declaration on Ecoagriculture developed as a consensus document of more than 200 participants at the recent International Ecoagriculture Conference and Practitioners' Fair, see www.ecoagriculturepartners.org/Meetings/Nairobi2004/nairobi_dec.php (2 pp)
- For an independent report of the Nairobi Conference, see the Earth Negotiations Bulletin: www.iisd.ca/sd/sdeac/sdvol96num2e.html.
- To learn about Ecoagriculture Partners, see our website: www.ecoagriculturepartners.org.

Members of CEESP may have particular interest in our most recent publication:

- "Who Conserves the World's Forests: Community-Driven Strategies to Protect Forests and Respect Rights" by Augusta Molnar, Sara Scherr and Arvind Khare (co-published with Forest Trends, 2004, 28 pp), which can be downloaded from http://www.ecoagriculturepartners.org/pdfs/Who_Conserve_final_11-04.pdf

We trust that you will come away with a better understanding of ecoagriculture, the emerging ecoagriculture movement, and Ecoagriculture Partners. Given the very diverse views and interests and historical distrust among key actors, Ecoagriculture Partners is taking on a challenging task fostering cross-sectoral dialogue and action at a landscape scale. While we anticipate serious struggles ahead, our hope is that these can be fought more effectively with a "united front" among natural allies. We are heartened by the inspiring group of ecoagriculture innovators who have enthusiastically begun to work and learn with us, and hope that many other IUCN members will be interested in collaborating in the near future.

Sincerely,

Sara J. Scherr, Director, Ecoagriculture Partners

Email: SScherr@ecoagriculturepartners.org

Response to Scherr's rejoinder to Altieri's paper *Agroecology versus Ecoagriculture: balancing food production and biodiversity conservation in the midst of social inequity*¹

In her response to my paper Sara Scherr argues that I invented a version of *ecoagriculture* and states that many of the virtues of *agroecology* are shared by *ecoagriculture*. She does this by listing a number of the Chapters of her book with McNeely and other documents where they assert that *ecoagriculture* promotes biodiversity, is concerned with rural equity and does not promote large scale monocultures or genetically modified crops.

In a nutshell my arguments were as follow:

- *Ecoagriculture* may have the same profound negative ecological, health and social impacts as industrial farming if it promotes monoculture systems that lack in functional biodiversity and self regulatory mechanisms, and which are genetically homogenous and species-poor systems making them greatly vulnerable to diseases and pest outbreaks. The fact that an agriculture is friendly to wildlife does not necessarily make it resilient or less input dependent unless an *agroecological* design is used. Due to this increased vulnerability, a large quantity of pesticides has to be applied, bringing enormous environmental and health costs. An example of this is no-till agriculture which protects the soil but relies on large quantities of herbicides and still maintain the monocultural structure of the production system.
- *Ecoagriculture* indirectly promotes the use of agrochemicals and GMOs. In fact *ecoagriculture* advocates do not dismiss the wrong assertion of corporations that certain GMOs can lead to greater biodiversity. They believe that certain forms of the technology can bring benefits to poor farmers ignoring that nearly all biotechnologies are designed only to provide substantial private benefits to the companies producing them. According to *ecoagriculture* advocates the contribution of biotechnology to sustainable agriculture depends on the technologies that GMOs

¹ See Altieri, Miguel, *Agroecology versus Ecoagriculture: balancing food production and biodiversity conservation in the midst of social inequity*, IUCN-CEESP Occasional Papers, 3, November 2004 with foreword by M. Taghi Farvar.

would replace. For example in the case of soybean they argue, a technology resulting in the reduced use of herbicides would be more sustainable than a conventional system relying on herbicides, because herbicides reduce weeds, seed production and insects which in turn explain bird decline in farmlands. But using pesticide reduction as a proxy for environmental benefits is ecologically flawed. Herbicide tolerant soybean facilitates the expansion of monocultures which is driving a new wave of deforestation in Latin America; moreover soybean continues still using tons of insecticides, fungicides and fertilizers which have major impacts, in addition to the ever-increasing reported impacts of the herbicide glyphosate or more commonly known as Roundup. *Biotechnology* is contributing to greater consolidation of corporate power in the food system. Such globalised operations no matter how much wildlife they may conserve—let us say because of using IPM techniques—still attempt against the livelihoods of poor rural communities.

- The real causes of hunger are poverty, inequality and lack of access to food and land, and not necessarily the lack of production; and as most methods of production intensification (including those proposed by *ecoagriculture*) deepen inequalities, they will fail to reduce hunger. An expensive, patented technology in the hands of corporations will never support peasant or family farmers who rely on their own local seeds—which are endangered by transgenic contamination—and need free access to public good technologies. As universities and research centres including the CGIAR centres that endorse *ecoagriculture* become dominated by corporate sources of funding, small farmers throughout the world have initiated their own process of farmer to farmer extension and outreach to scale-up hundreds of *agroecological* technologies designed to provide food security, natural resource conservation and income through the promotion of local market circuits.

On the contrary, *agroecology* provides the scientific and technical basis for a truly sustainable rural development agenda and is committed to the vision of peasant and indigenous groups around the world such as Via Campesina who claim that:

- Biodiversity should be the basis to **guarantee food security** as a fundamental non-negotiable right of all peoples. This right must prevail over the directives of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and strategies should emphasise use of local foods which diversity offers, supporting regional and local markets, and applying research and technology more equitably.
- Protect and promote the **rights of farmers** to genetic resources, access to land, work and culture. This must be done through a broad informational and participatory process involving the actors in biodiversity; for this purpose a process and mechanism of permanent consultation and monitoring with the organizations of producers, indigenous people and their communities must be established.
- **Agrarian reform** is a fundamental process to ensure the livelihoods of rural peoples and access to the land by peasants. This has to be understood as a guarantee for survival and the valorisation of their culture, the autonomy of their communities and a new vision on the preservation of natural resources for humanity and future generations. Ownership of land has to be submitted to the criteria of those that work the land, depend on it and live there with their families, and not to the interests or views of outsiders (including *ecoagriculture* advocates) who prioritise other values such as wildlife conservation above the interests and need of the local people, a form of ecological imperialism.

Scherr views my opposition to the *ecoagriculture* concept because she thinks that I perceive *ecoagriculture* as a competitor of *agroecology*. It is obvious that the two visions have very little in common, and it is important to highlight the differences, because when agroecologists clearly state their political views and the social function of their science, *agroecology* is thus protected from being appropriated by interests that are foreign to local rural peoples needs and which usually promote corporate green wash versions of sustainable agriculture. Unfortunately by associating with partners such as the Syngenta Foundation or Future Harvest, *ecoagriculture* lends itself to becoming— directly or indirectly— one such version.

Miguel A. Altieri

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Policy Matters is the newsletter of the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy (CEESP). It is published at least twice a year and distributed to CEESP's 600 members, as well as the IUCN Secretariat and at conferences and meetings throughout the world. When possible, it is published concurrently with major global events as a thematic contribution to them and to the civil society meeting around them.

IUCN, The World Conservation Union, is a unique Union of members from some 140 countries include over 70 States, 100 government agencies, and 800 NGOs. Over 10,000 internationally-recognised scientists and experts from more than 180 countries volunteer their services to its six global commissions. The vision of IUCN is "A just world that values and conserves nature".

IUCN's six Commissions are principal sources of guidance on conservation knowledge, policy and technical advice and are co-implementers of the IUCN programme. The Commissions are autonomous networks of expert volunteers entrusted by the World Conservation Congress to develop and advance the institutional knowledge and experience and objectives of IUCN.

CEESP, the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, is an inter-disciplinary network of professionals whose mission is to act as a source of advice on the environmental, economic, social and cultural factors that affect natural resources and biological diversity and to provide guidance and support towards effective policies and practices in environmental conservation and sustainable development. Following the mandate approved by the Second **World Conservation Congress** in Amman, October 2000, CEESP contributes to the IUCN Programme and Mission with particular reference to seven thematic areas:

- Theme on Governance of Natural Resources, Equity and Rights (**TGER**),
- Theme on Sustainable Livelihoods (**TSL**, including poverty elimination and biodiversity conservation)
- Working group on Environment and Security (**E&S**)
- Theme on Economics, Markets, Trade and Investments (**TEMTI**)
- Theme on Culture and Conservation (**TCC**)
- Working Group on the Social and Environmental Accountability of the Private Sector (**SEA-PRISE**)
- Theme on Indigenous Peoples & Local Communities, Equity, and Protected Areas (**TILCEPA**, joint between CEESP and WCPA)

Each issue of **Policy Matters** focuses on a theme of particular importance to our members and is edited by one or more of our working groups focusing on the five thematic areas. Past issues have focused on themes such as "Collaborative Management and Sustainable Livelihoods", "Environment and Security" and the Caspian Sturgeon, including issues of trade, conflict, co-management, and sustainable livelihoods for communities of the Caspian Sea ("The Sturgeon" issue). For more information about CEESP and to view past issues of **Policy Matters**, please visit our website: <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp>.

CEESP is hosted by the Iranian Centre for Sustainable Development and Environment (**CENESTA**). For more information about CENESTA please visit <http://www.cenesta.org>. Please send comments or queries to ceesp@iucn.org. We look forward to hearing from you!

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CEESP at the First International Marine Protected Areas Congress

CEESP participated in the first International Marine Protected Areas Congress (Geelong, Australia, October 2005). It coordinated one of its five main themes ("Shared Stewardship") and helped organise the Cross-cut Issue "Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities" as well as a space called the "Community Lagoon", at the disposal of indigenous and local community delegates. TGER, TILCEPA and Sustainable Livelihoods were the main concerned areas of CEESP. Many CEESP members participated as presenters and discussants of papers.

Please visit

<http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/TGER.html>
and the report with the distilled recommendations and strategic advice from our members and partners!



STEWARDS OF DRYLANDS Nomadic Pastoralists Community Conserved Areas (CCAs)



Dashte-Namdan Wetland is in the summering grounds of Qashqai nomadic people in Iran. A project implemented by CEESP's host CENESTA is working with these & other nomadic indigenous peoples to help them restore customary range management institutions & to recognise their territories as community conserved areas (CCAs).

Highlights of the project include:

- Conservation of biodiversity
- Protection of the wetlands and rangelands to continue to provide ecosystem services—fodder, water, fish, recreation, game, reeds, quality pastures...
- Alternative livelihoods—ecotourism, nature guards, handicrafts, medicinal plants... through a community investment fund (sanduq)
- Community empowerment—negotiation with government, conflict resolution, community management and co-management...
- A pilot experience leading to formal recognition of CCA's in Iran.

The project is sponsored and supported by:



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