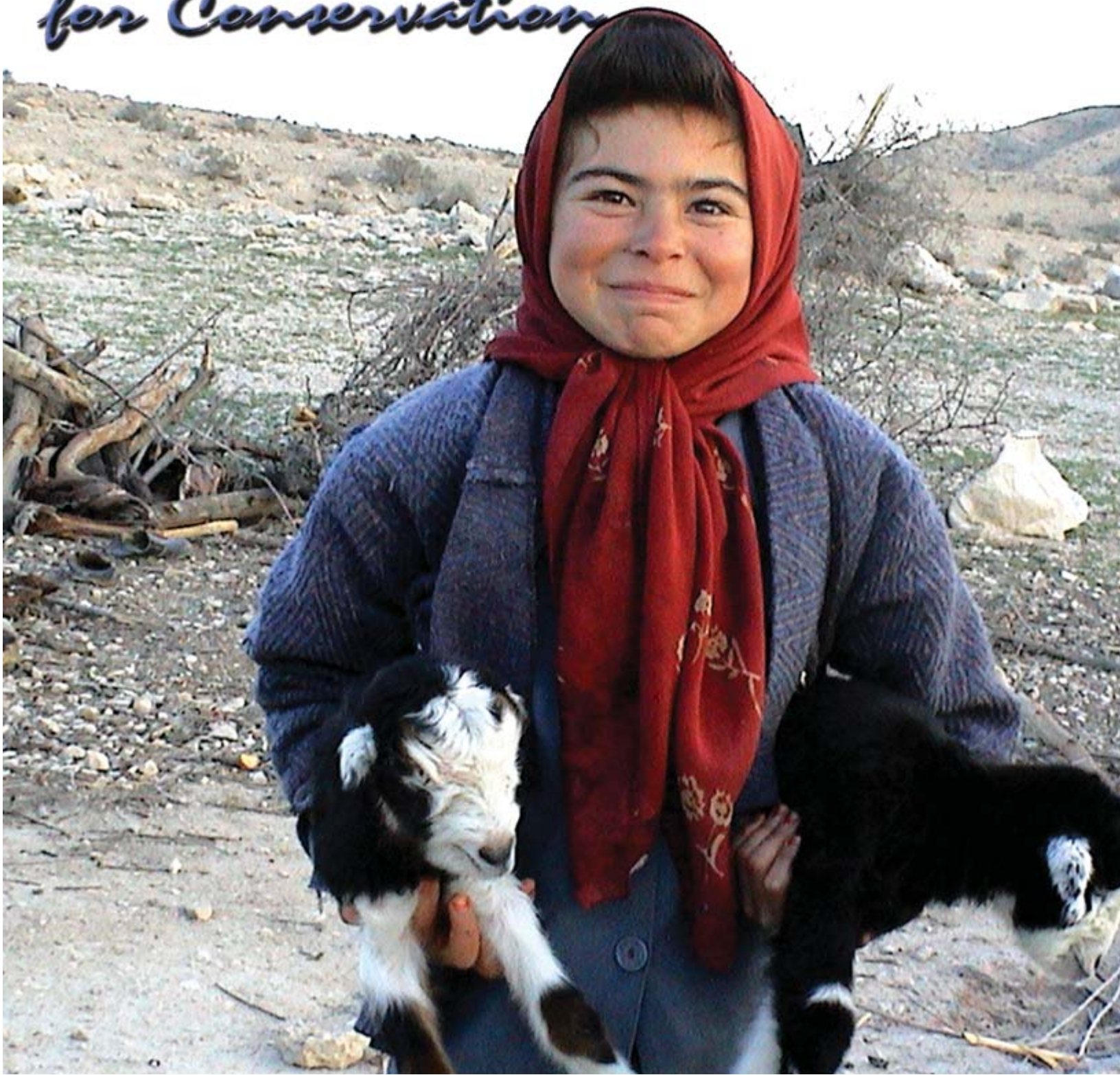


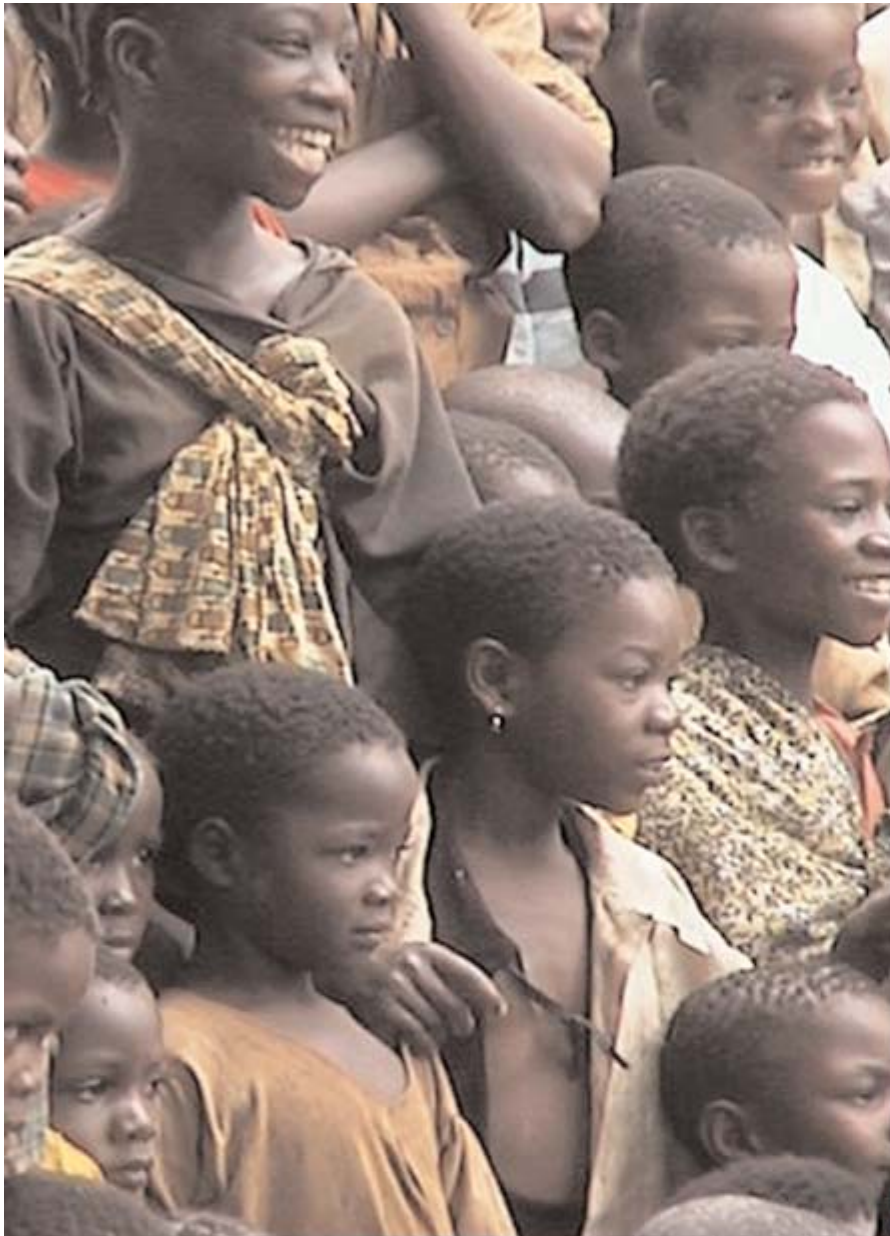
IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic & Social Policy

Issue 12, September 03

Policy Matters

*Community Empowerment
for Conservation*





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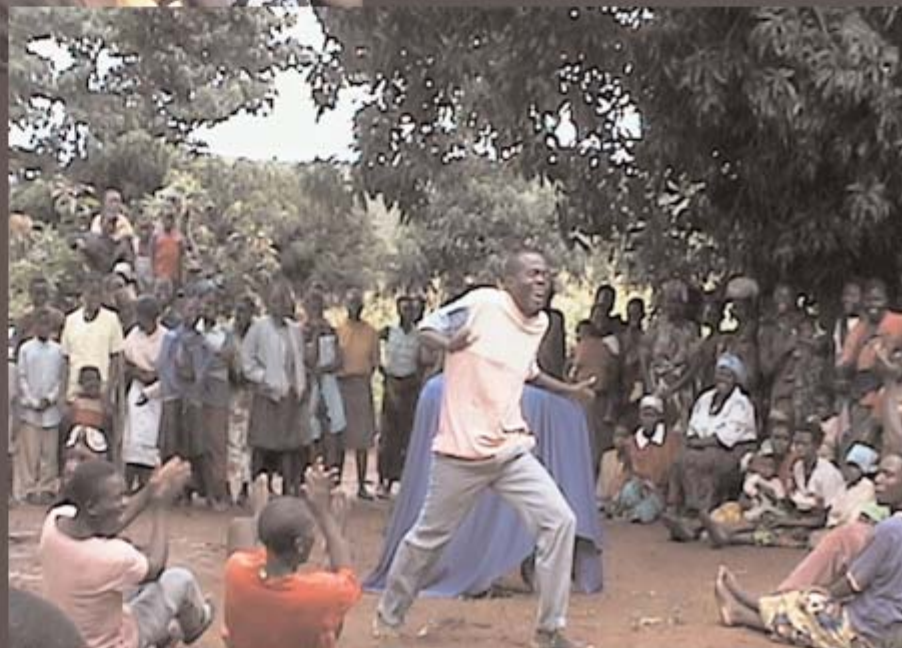


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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

M Taghi Farvar

Dear CEESP members and partners,

This issue is the largest ever published by our journal (over 320 pages!) despite having asked for and often imposed an upper limit to individual articles. To us, this is signalling two facts. On the one hand, that the theme of **community empowerment** and the debate on the **governance of protected areas** are central to conservation. On the other hand, that a forum to air such a debate is bubbling, useful and in demand. We believe that such a forum should host the reflections of conservation stakeholders, practitioners, decision makers and policy makers at various levels and address broad issues and concerns rather than narrow technical points. It should be a forum where people can draw practical sense out of the large amount of conservation information they receive. A forum where we can find out that others share our own predicaments and still others have devised solutions applicable also to our case. A forum where we can air ideas that have political as well as technical meaning; where we can share knowledge but also advocate principles, pathways and ideas. Even a forum where controversial opinions can be launched, as nothing dulls the mind more than a sequence of platitudes and innocuous propositions...

This journal also wishes to be a forum where barriers can be overcome and partnerships can be established, among others with other IUCN Commissions. As a matter of fact, this is the third joint publication with the IUCN World Commission on Protected Areas in a space of a little more than a calendar year. Two previous issues of *Parks* had editors who are members of both CEESP and WCPA. They dealt with

"Communities and Conservation" (no 12.2) and "Conservation Partnerships in Africa" (no. 13.1). **We like to work this way**, as we believe that CEESP does not have a "turf to defend" in IUCN but lots of concerns, experiences and insights to share, develop and set to operation jointly with others.

As a matter of fact, this issue is being prepared for the World Congress on Protected Areas, Durban (South Africa) September 2003. I should also say that this issue is being prepared with that Congress, as some of the key players in the Congress have been contributing to shaping this issue, editing its content, and making sure that its "message" transpires from it loud and clear. Together with **Kenton Miller**, the Chair of WCPA, and **David Sheppard**, Secretary-General of the World Parks Congress, I am very thankful to all the authors of the papers in this issue and to the co-editors and in particular to **Grazia**, who has inspired and coordinated the work all along. See you all in Durban!

M Taghi Farvar
Chair, CEESP



EDITORIAL

An issue with a message!

When *Policy Matters* 12 was started several months ago, it did not have a “message”. It was possibly searching for one, but the call for papers was broad, spanning various experiences of protected area governance involving local and indigenous communities. We asked CMWG, TILCEPA and SLWG¹ members to let us know about interesting and inspiring stories related to a particular site or issue of relevance and they did, from all over the world and with quite some gusto!

Over the past eight months, as papers poured in, discerning a coherent if composite collective message from them all became less and less difficult. A number of the articles, which we gathered in **Section 1**, dealt with **the complexities inherent in governing protected areas** (PAs)—the richness of traditions and experiences but also the wisdom, flexibility, ingenuity and sense of fairness required to understand and deal with, matters that impact upon biological wealth, nature’s support to life and cultural values. We heard about the powerful interplay among actors *de facto* in charge of PA management. We heard about the uncommon human qualities required by PA managers. We heard that some conservation NGOs have learned to trust indigenous peoples more than any other environmental caretakers. We heard about the persistence of injustices on the ground— despite well-written mission statements and objectives of conservation projects and programmes. We heard about the need to reverse pernicious myths that exclude key conservation experts, such as mobile peoples, from conservation alliances and action. We heard about the need to halt, once and for all, forcible resettlements for conservation. We heard about the need to understand and deal with poverty along with conservation concerns. We heard about the roots of much potential success—common property resources still existing throughout the world, powerful cultural values embedded in nature, the abundance of management diversity, the possibility of win-win situations (pro-poor conservation) and the current mounting interest in good governance principles and practices. The experiences and values conveyed by the authors of the papers point towards a re-assessment of what

protected areas are and do for society; they render the debate richer, more realistic and consequential.

Some of the documents we received were actually **distilled debates**, often with a **regional or sub-regional perspective**. Thus the reports from large meetings in Africa and Central America and from legal decisions in Australia bring forward the essence of long-term processes, nourished by many people and organisations. We gathered these documents in **Section 2**.

Very telling, the individual **case examples of community conserved areas and co-managed protected areas** we assembled in **Section 3** of this journal signal the crucial conservation importance of the relationship between communities and the state. Community conserved areas can be born in opposition to national conservation agencies, or because of their will and support. They can be socially celebrated, or resented and violently struggled against. They can be the result of a conscious choice towards more profound community autonomy, or be eagerly waiting for the state’s recognition. We received illustrations of areas in-between community-conserved and co-managed, some caught within long-term power struggles, others striving to master the complex scientific details of sustainable resource management, and still others enormously benefiting from unlikely partnerships such as those between the oil and gas industry, state conservation agencies and indigenous communities. We received examples of areas conserved for livelihood reasons, political reasons, cultural reasons, spiritual reasons or purely economic reasons. We heard about long-standing and cohesive communities and about communities made up of loose aggregations of individual landowners with similar interests and concerns. We heard about large communities devising complex institutional mechanisms to develop a common conservation vision and related initiatives, such as environmental charters or public-private committees. We heard about the important and often determining influence of supporting projects and about slow adjustment of management rules through time. We heard about ambitious programmes of exchanges and learning by doing through similar conservation initiatives. We heard

some rather self-congratulatory notes about the achievement of participatory approaches from a government point of view. But we also published more critical assessments, including complaints about the slow pace of progress in the relationship between governments and local actors, and the

lack of inspiring vision and commitment.

“Wait a moment,” you may say, “How can a single message be extracted from this enormous variety of experiences and insights?” We believe it can. And it is the following.

Alongside inspiring examples of collaboration and joint action, unresolved ideological and power conflicts exist between governments and their specialised conservation agencies and indigenous and local communities throughout the world. The latter, in contrast to what has all too often been assumed, have long had their ways, means and institutions of conservation, but generally at a different scale and responding to different values than the state. Central to the conflicts have been the tendency to centralise decision making in the hands of non-local experts and the tendency to separate conservation from natural resource use— tenets of state practices generally alien to community practices. *De facto*, an enormous potential of community-based knowledge, skills, resources and institutions has been squandered or rendered hostile to conservation. This is true in both the so-called South and North of the world. ***The single most important missed opportunity for conservation today may well be the misunderstanding, neglect and disaffection of civil societies— and of indigenous and local communities in particular.***

Recognizing the above is enormously important in the context of the global changes upon us, when conservation needs all the allies it can get and all the resources it can muster. The approach of choice is one of adaptive management, which demands maximum management flexibility and responsiveness and the willingness of society to invest the required resources and sustain sacrifices and changes. For that, a broad social consensus is indispensable. Challenges include extending current systems to close gaps in protection of specific ecosystems and species, and to ensure the physical connectivity essential to long-term efficacy of protected areas. They also involve dramatically improving management practices and fairly distributing benefits and costs. Fortunately, a diversity of models delivering conservation exists throughout the world. Besides state-managed PA systems there are areas managed by provincial or local governments, co-managed arrangements with local communities and other stakeholders, community conserved areas, private protected areas, and others. Community Conserved Areas, in particular, remain an important mechanism for conservation despite poor recognition and neglect and in the face of serious threats. And Co-managed Protected Areas are an impressive world-wide laboratory to improve governance in conservation.

“Conservation” can respond to the interests and concerns of a variety of social actors, rediscover its profound link with cultural identity and work in harmony with other important goals, such as livelihoods, cultural strength, social development and social equity. Fundamental changes *are* happening, carried along by various global changes, and yet they cannot be sustained lukewarmly.

Empowering indigenous and local communities in conservation may require a difficult sharing of authority and responsibility, but conservation can no longer afford to consume its precious resources fighting its most promising allies. The challenge of community empowerment for conservation is a most powerful opportunity. We need to nurture it with all the capacities and strengths we can muster.

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org), **Alex de Sherbinin** (adesherbinin@ciesin.columbia.edu), **Chimère Diaw** (c.diaw@cgiar.org), **Gonzalo Oviedo** (gonzalo.oviedo@iucn.org) and **Diane Pansky** (diane@cenesta.org) are the co-editors of this issue. The co-editors express their warmest thanks to **Jeyran Farvar** (Jeyran@cenesta.org) for her art work and layout for this very long special issue!

¹ **CMWG** is the Collaborative Management Working Group of CEESP;

TILCEPA is the joint Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas of CEESP and the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA);

WGSL is the Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods of CEESP.



Section 1: The complexities of governing protected areas

Your Biosphere is my backyard—the story of Bosawas in Nicaragua

David Kaimowitz, Angelica Faune & Rene Mendoza

Despite efforts to establish protected areas around the world, the authority of government remains weak in forested areas. We examine here the largest protected area in Central America, 'Bosawas' National Natural Resource Reserve in Nicaragua, to demonstrate how overlapping systems of governance have encouraged rapid ecological destruction and social differentiation, as well as corruption and violence. We will conclude that Migdal's observation about forest governance as being guided by 'strong societies and weak states' (1988) is unlikely to change and must be the starting point for future efforts in decentralized natural resource management.

With one fell stroke of the pen, on October 31, 1991 Nicaragua's President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro created the largest protected area in Central America, the 8,000 square kilometers

Migdal's observation about forest governance as being guided by 'strong societies and weak states' (1988) is unlikely to change and must be the starting point for future efforts in decentralized natural resource management

Nicaragua's central authorities did not really govern the area they had just declared a reserve, probably did not own it, and certainly did not 'possess' it in any real sense. A few years earlier, the government handed over much of its authority over the eastern portion of the reserve to a regional government. Theoretically, at least, it had also recognized the rights of indigenous communities

living in the area, none of whom were consulted about the decree. Equally importantly, the national government had little effective control over any of the reserve area.

This situation illustrates the contradictory and partial nature of many government efforts to establish protected areas, especially where they coincide with policies that 'devolve' control over natural resources to local authorities and communities. Protected areas advocates who continue to view conservation needs from a 'top-down' perspective, greatly overestimate and over simplify the central government's ability to control protected areas. From a local or regional perspective, it quickly becomes apparent that central governments are only one of many actors and often not among the most powerful. As 'non-state spaces', i.e., places beyond the effective control of government¹ many forested areas have been too impenetrable and remote, rebellious, sparsely populated, economically irrelevant or hard to tax to justify the central government's presence. Under such circumstances, it is misleading to talk about central governments managing protected areas. Our key message for policy analysts and conservationists is that they should stop assuming that policy documents and laws reflect reality on the ground. A decree is not a park. Management plans generally have little to do with how things are managed. Just because a ministry or project has fancy brochures and a large office in the capital does not mean it influences daily life in the interior.

Nicaragua's central authorities did not really govern the area they had just declared a reserve, probably did not own it, and certainly did not 'possess' it in any real sense.

This paper traces the history of the Bosawas Reserve to illustrate these points. The area provides a good example because it involves numerous failed government efforts to exert centralized control. The paper covers the period until 2001. We begin by offering some background about the region. For convenience sake, we refer to the area of the Bosawas Reserve as Bosawas. Following that we analyze aspects of the region's history that explain why the government's rule over the area and its perceived legitimacy there remain tenuous. Then we focus on the government's current ability to govern the reserve. We end with a few concluding remarks.

Cowboys and indians in the humid tropics

When the government finally measured the Bosawas Reserve several years after 'creating' it, the area within the boundaries it had defined was only 7,400 square kilometers, not the 8,000 it first imagined. About half the area belonged to three municipalities of the Northern Autonomous Atlantic Region (RAAN), Bonanza, Siuna, and Waspam. The other half fell under the jurisdiction of the municipalities of Cua-Bocay and Wiwili in the Department of Jinotega². Historically and culturally, most of the RAAN forms part of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, while most of Jinotega forms part of Nicaragua's predominantly mestizo "Interior" Region. As we explain below, the history, government institutions, production systems, and ethnic composition of these two regions are markedly distinct.

As one moves from the southwest portion of Bosawas to the northeast the elevation slowly descends from over 600 meters down to almost sea level. The highest elevation is in the reserve's southeast corner where the peaks of Saslaya and El Toro are each above 1,600 meters. Smaller mountains surround them and contribute to a landscape that ranges from rolling hills to quite rugged terrain. The rest of



Map 1. A map of Nicaragua showing the nucleus and buffer zone of the Bosawas biosphere reserve

Bosawas is rather flat.

A dense network of rivers, streams, and creeks flows down from the mountains out to the Atlantic Sea. Historically, the Amaka, Bocay, Coco, Lakus, Wina, and Waspuk Rivers formed the central axes of traditional indigenous settlements in the area. The name Bosawas itself, invented by Incer and his colleagues, takes the first letters of the Bocay River, the Saslaya Mountain, and the Waspuk River. The Coco River demarcates Nicaragua's northern border with Honduras. Both it and the Bocay River are navigable over long stretches. The climate gets wetter as you move east or go into higher elevations. Yearly rainfall averages 1,600 to 2,000 mm in the western areas, but rises to over 3,000 mm in some eastern areas and higher locations³.

As of 1996, humid tropical broadleaf forest still covered 77% of Bosawas, with most of the remainder already converted to crops and pastures⁴. Together with the adjoining area on the Honduran side, this constitutes the largest remaining more or less continuous forest area in Central America. These forest still house a large percentage of the country's 2,500 tree species, including highly coveted species such as mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*), royal cedar (*Cedrela odorata*), and "blond cedar" (*Carapa guianensis*). They also constitute the habitat for a diverse and colorful collection of animals, including jaguars, monkeys, deer, tapirs, crocodiles, parrots, toucans, and hawks.

A decree is not a park. Management plans generally have little to do with how things are managed. Just because a ministry or project has fancy brochures and a large office in the capital does not mean it influences daily life in the interior.

About 250,000 people live in Bosawas, more or less equally divided between indigenous people and mestizos. Due to rapid in-migration, in recent years on average the mestizo population has grown 17% each year. Over two-thirds of them moved into the area after the end of Nicaragua's civil war in 1990 and most arrived

after the 1991 Bosawas decree. Most mestizos settled in the south, along the Bocay, Iyas, and Wina Rivers. The only increase in the indigenous (Mayangna and Miskito) population comes from natural fertility, which amounts to some 3.5% yearly. The Mayangnas live chiefly to the north of the mestizos along the Waspuk, Lakus, Bambama, and Wawa Rivers as well as to the north of the mestizos on the Bocay River. Most Miskitos dwell along the banks of the Coco River⁵. Mestizo farmers have lain claim to the bulk of Bosawas' southern quarter, most of which is in Jinotega. Even though a great majority lacks 'valid' legal titles, their informal property rights carry a great deal of weight locally. These farmers grow corn, beans, and rice and raise cattle. Although at present, the region still has less than 2,000 heads of cattle, most mestizo farmers aspire to own more cattle in the future⁶. Some communities rely on logging for an important part of their income but reliable data on timber extraction are not available.

Mayangna and Miskito households have much more diversified livelihood strategies. They grow a wider variety of crops including more plantains, tubers, and rice; they hunt and fish more; they harvest timber and they pan for gold. Although a few families own cattle, it plays a minor role in village life⁷. Outside loggers regularly enter the area, mostly looking for mahogany and cedar. In the Miskito areas along

the Coco River, a large Dominican company practically monopolizes the timber trade. Sometimes it logs itself; more often it purchases timber from local farmers. Wealthy Nicaraguan timber merchants dominate the trade in most of the rest of Bosawas. They generally buy boards cut with chain saws from small farmers who live near the reserve and log inside it. On occasion, the merchants also hire their own logging crews or purchase wood from the reserve's inhabitants.

A Miskito kingdom, a forgotten hinterland, and a couple of wars

For most of their history, the indigenous people of what is now Bosawas largely governed themselves. Even under the colonial regime of the British, the British crowned a Miskito leader as king around 1680 and recognized the Mosquito Kingdom as the government of the Atlantic coast, acting under British rule⁸. After Nicaragua gained sovereignty over the region in 1860, the Nicaraguan government's only real attempt to govern the Atlantic coast occurred in 1894 when President Jose Santos Zelaya sent troops to occupy the region and created a new department called Zelaya. But in 1909, the United States government forced Zelaya out of office and for the next twenty-five years, the country was racked by civil war. Between 1928 and

In the indigenous villages, governance was largely in the hands of the traditional indigenous authorities (council of elders, *sindicos*, and judges), the Yatama commanders, and church leaders. In the mestizo areas, municipal governments, community 'peace commissions', commanders of armed bands, priests, NGOs, the farmers union (UNAG), and donor projects with little connection to Managua were all important in different ways.

1934, only the troops of Nicaraguan guerilla leader General Augusto Cesar Sandino maintained a regular presence in Bosawas. Under the Somoza regime (1934 to 1979), although

the National Guard maintained a regular presence only on the Jinotega (mestizo) side of the present-day Bosawas Reserve, they met with fierce resistance in several locations.

When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, the government's policy shifted from (not so benign) neglect to (perhaps even less benign) massive government presence on the Atlantic coast. The Sandinistas created dramatic improvements in education, health, and rural credit, however imposed many measures and authorities without taking into account the region's cultural characteristics. The Miskitos subsequently developed a militant ethnic consciousness and with other indigenous groups on the Atlantic coast began to demand regional autonomy. MISURASATA (Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas, and Sandinistas United), an indigenous organization formed just months after the Sandinistas came to power, gave political expression to these demands. The Sandinistas, however, jailed and harassed their leaders⁹ and sought to repress the Miskitos generally, who had begun receiving arms, money, and training from the Reagan Administration in the United States. Within a few years practically the entire Miskito and Mayangna population, including those living in Bosawas, had fled to Honduras or been forcibly or voluntarily relocated to resettlement camps by the Nicaraguan government¹⁰.

In the mid-1980s the Sandinistas sought to regain political support of these groups and offered the Atlantic coast's leaders major concessions, including regional autonomy under the 1987 Atlantic Coast Regional Autonomy Law. The law established two separate autonomous regions (RAAN and RAAS), each with its own multi-ethnic government (CRAAN and CRAAS), and gave those governments substantial authority over their affairs. Together, the two regions covered an area of 57,000 square kilometers, 43% of the national territory. Of the 186,354 inhabitants of the RAAN, where Bosawas was to be located, 42% were mestizos (a large portion of whom lived in Siuna), 40%

Miskitos, 10% Creoles, and 8% Mayangnas¹¹. As part of this same process, the government recognized the communal property rights of the regions' villages over the 'lands, waters and forests that traditionally belonged to the communities'. According to the new law, communal property could not be sold, seized, or taxed. The government also acknowledged the communities' rights to 'use and enjoy the waters, forests, and

The implicit deal was that TNC would support the indigenous peoples' rights to their territory and provide financial support for the fledging indigenous organizations as long as indigenous leaders adopted TNC's conservationist rhetoric and helped prepare management plans based on their traditional land uses and practices.

communal lands for their own benefit'¹². This reflected a broader concurrent trend in Latin America towards greater recognition of indigenous territorial rights¹³. A new Nicaraguan constitution promulgated by the Sandinistas in 1987 further strengthened the legal principles of regional autonomy and indigenous peoples' communal land rights.

These and other reconciliation measures contributed to a more favorable atmosphere for negotiations between the Nicaraguan government and the insurgent Miskito organizations. (By then, MISURASATA had evolved into several separate factions, the largest of which was called Yatama.) By the time the government held the first regional elections in 1990, most of the indigenous population had returned to their villages. The mestizo portion of Bosawas followed a surprisingly similar path. The Sandinistas lost local support when they imposed controls on markets for food and basic manufactured goods and expropriated the farms of landholders with local ties¹⁴. The Reagan Administration exploited the growing discontent by supporting local armies, thereby setting off another cycle of insurgency and repression and transforming the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) or so-called 'contras',



Figure 2. A household in a Mayangna community in Bosawas (Courtesy Ralph Buss)

into a veritable peasant army. As the years passed, and a severe economic recession hit in 1987-88, the population became increasingly war worn and desperate and the Sandinista leadership again recognized they had to seek a negotiated solution. This culminated in the 1990 elections, where opposition candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro defeated Daniel Ortega, and shortly after assumed the presidency.

Under the Chamorro government, 22,000 former insurgents and their families were resettled in a number of 'development poles' and security zones¹⁵, mostly near the agricultural frontier in the large expanses of unclaimed forest. These included Ayapal in Cua-Bocay and El Naranjo in Waslala, both near what would later become the Bosawas Reserve¹⁶. The government also resettled many of the tens of thousands of army officers and enlisted men in the frontier areas. A large number relocated in Siuna, particularly in El Hormiguero, adjacent to the reserve, taking advantage of the available land there¹⁷.

The result was extremely problematic. In the early 1990s, Bosawas was full of heavily armed indigenous and mestizo ex-combatants. The regional government of the RAAN had significant legal authority over the region's natural resources, but little institutional capacity. The region's indigenous communities had never felt

particularly attached to Nicaragua, nor received services from its government, and now had a constitution and an Autonomy Law that legitimated their rights over the territory. Several thousand indigenous combatants in the region had fought the Nicaraguan government to a standoff and returned to their villages with pride and a strong sense of independence. The mestizo farmers had fought a war of their own, on both sides of the barricades, for the right to command respect and determine their own destinies.

The central government in Managua offered little in the way of schools, clinics, credit, or infrastructure; and was about to declare all these peoples' land a reserve for monkeys, parrots, trees, and foreign tourists.

To complicate matters further, Chamorro systematically undermined the autonomy process. The new president created a new quasi-ministry, the Institute for the Development of the Autonomous Regions (INDERENA) to implement policies in the autonomous regions. Her government avoided developing implementing regulations for the Autonomy Law and openly flaunted the Autonomy Law by naming regional delegates for its different ministries without regional government approval. For the first five years of its six-year term it also avoided demarcating and titling indigenous territories. Then, in 1996 it created a National Commission to Demarcate Indigenous Lands, with Swedish financing¹⁸ in part a response to pressure from the Swedish Government and the CRAAN, and in part to identify non-indigenous public forest that could be sold as forest concessions.

Who rules Bosawas?

Even though the central government in Managua claims to govern Bosawas, anyone who actually *went* there might find that hard to

believe. For most of the 1990s, the army co-existed in Bosawas with several autonomous armed forces, each of whom established regulations, charged 'taxes', and imposed 'order' in the areas under its control. The Ministry of Environment's (MARENA) and Forestry Institute's (INAFOR) presence in Cua-Bocay, Waslala, and Wiwili consisted of a handful of unarmed local delegates, who preferred seeking opportunities for petty corruption than open confrontation with local armies¹⁹. As of 1999, the entire Bosawas Reserve had only 12 paid park guards and most of the Bosawas project's senior staff had their offices in Managua, several hundred kilometers from the zone²⁰.

On the ground, a variety of overlapping local authorities and individual producers made most decisions about who lived where, how much land they could claim, what they could produce, and how they could produce it. In the indigenous villages, governance was largely in the hands of the traditional indigenous authorities (council of elders, *sindicos*, and judges), the Yatama commanders, and church leaders. In the mestizo areas, municipal governments, community 'peace commissions', commanders of armed bands, priests, NGOs, the farmers union (UNAG), and donor projects with little connection to Managua were all important in different ways. These groups maintained a shifting set of alliances and used a complex mixture of financial, ideological, military, legal, organizational, and technical means to achieve their goals. Bonanza has an active natural resource commission and other municipalities have had them in the past. The NGOs and donor projects provide credit and technical assistance and get involved in local politics. Various groups give 'permits' to harvest timber and transport logs. While the central government has internationally recognized sovereignty over the Bosawas Reserve, these people actually 'possess' the area. If they want a mining company or a logging company out of their area, they usually managed to get rid of it. If there are conflicts between farmers or communities over boundaries, they resolve them.

Autonomy and indigenous territories in practice

The Bosawas Reserve got off to an inauspicious start. For the first two years the reserve's technical secretariat (SETAB) had practically no resources. In addition, "the indigenous people felt that the designation of the reserve was a violation of their historical rights to their land" and insisted that they manage the reserve themselves²¹. The reserve idea might have collapsed completely if it were not for the fact that TNC decided to seek a strategic alliance with the Mayangna and, to a lesser extent, Miskito Indians. The implicit deal was that TNC would support the indigenous peoples' rights to their territory and provide financial support for the fledgling indigenous organizations as long as indigenous leaders adopted TNC's conservationist rhetoric and helped prepare management plans based on their traditional land uses and practices. Underlying this alliance was TNC's belief that the indigenous peoples' traditional livelihoods were compatible with conservation of the reserve and that the best way to protect those resources would be by helping the indigenous people defend their territorial rights against outside intruders.

TNC's efforts to strengthen indigenous territorial rights focused on: 1) participatory land use planning exercises that including mapping and preparation of management plans based on traditional practices and land uses; 2) legal assistance and lobbying to convince the Nicaraguan government to title indigenous territories; 3) technical and financial support for indigenous organizations; 4) support for voluntary patrols to monitor and dissuade intruders in indigenous

Much effort to create protected areas focuses on central government policies and ignores issues of local governance. In Bosawas both indigenous and mestizo inhabitants and their leaders have created local governance systems far more powerful in the reserve than the central government.

areas; and 5) assistance in establishing dialogues between indigenous organizations, Mayors, the CRAAN, the Parish of Siuna, the police, MARENA, GTZ, and the agrarian reform institute (INRA)²². TNC organized its activities around six separate – and partially artificial – indigenous territories. Geographically, the Bosawas Reserve and the indigenous territories did not fully coincide. The six proposed territories covered 6,239 square kilometers. The majority of this area fell within the Bosawas Reserve, but some did not. Similarly, parts of the reserve fell outside the six territories²³.

The Nicaraguan government reacted ambiguously to these initiatives. MARENA reportedly did not want to 'give up' its control over the reserve to indigenous authorities and was not convinced indigenous people would conserve the area's natural resources²⁴. Despite this reluctance, TNC persistence and strong lobbying from the US Embassy eventually allowed it to make headway. By June 1996, SETAB had produced a set of general norms and conceptual principles for land use in Bosawas that recognized 'the claims of the Mayangna and Miskito ethnic groups over the lands they had historically occupied, based on the legal doctrine of the right of ancestral possession'²⁵. Around that same time, MARENA, the CRAAN, the national territorial institute (INETER), the Attorney General's office, and community leaders all signed an agreement to support the demarcation and titling of the indigenous territories within Bosawas.

The complex negotiations that ensued were brought to an abrupt halt when in 1996 a World Bank study concluded that the laws regarding indigenous land rights were vague and contradictory and that Nicaragua needed a new law²⁶. The Bank made their \$US 7.5 million dollar donation for an Atlantic Biological Corridor project contingent on the drafting of a new law. In October 1998 President Aleman sent a draft law to the Assembly without consulting the main stakeholders on the Atlantic

coast, who all considered it unacceptable. The World Bank then responded to pressure from indigenous organizations and their allies and insisted the government sponsor formal consultations. As of 2001, when this analysis was prepared, no titling had taken place.

The Mestizos 'devolve' power to themselves

By 1998, mestizo farmers occupied around one-quarter of the Bosawas Reserve and more farmers poured in each week. These farmers' production systems were less environmentally-friendly than those of their indigenous neighbors²⁷. The central government and their foreign allies, helpless to prevent the mestizos' arrival, largely ignored it. This first became clear when the bilateral agencies and international NGOs decided where to work. Both GTZ and TNC concentrated on Bonanza, Siuna, and, to a lesser extent, Waspam. None of these municipalities had many mestizo farmers in the reserve, although Siuna had a large group outside the reserve that harvested timber there. The Germans stayed away from Cua-Bocay, Waslala, and Wiwili, the main focal points for mestizo entry into the reserve. They financed roadblocks to control illegal log shipments and invited the mayors to a few meetings, but little more. TNC surveyed the mestizo areas and worked for a while with one of the mestizo organizations in Ayapal around 1995. Then they left.

Initially, security considerations drove the decision to stay out of mestizo areas with active

The reserve includes an autonomous and a non-autonomous region, five municipalities, six indigenous territories, an area in dispute between indigenous people and *mestizos*, and other areas of *mestizo* settlement. If one overlays on all this the areas of influence of the different ethnic groups, the armed bands, and powerful churches and donor projects one can sense the amazing complexity of power relations on the ground.

agricultural frontiers inside the reserve. As noted earlier, the Army either could not or would not control the Northern Front 3-80 and its offshoots that operated there. GTZ, TNC, and MARENA personnel feared they would be killed or have their vehicles burnt if they entered the area. Howard (1997, p. 132) reports that when she did her research in 1995 the only two forest guards in the Bocay area 'stopped working after receiving death threats from Mestizo settlers'.

Early on, TNC identified an area of 762 square kilometers, roughly 10% of Bosawas, which indigenous communities claimed but mestizo farmers occupied. Given all its other problems, TNC decided that to focus on these areas would be too conflictive and concentrated instead on the other indigenous territories. It hoped that if the first six territories received title it could shift to the more conflictive areas. As of 2001, this had yet to happen.

In mid-1997, a large portion of the Northern Front 3-80 supposedly disarmed after lengthy negotiations with the government²⁸. Nevertheless, MARENA, GTZ, and TNC still did not move into the area because the local population was too hostile. Howard 1997 notes that of the 42 mestizo farmers she interviewed in Tunawalan, a village inside the reserve, only one supported the idea of a reserve. The rest either opposed it or did not know what it was. The agencies had nothing concrete to offer the mestizos.

Devolution from below

Much effort to create protected areas focuses on central government policies and ignores issues of local governance. In Bosawas both

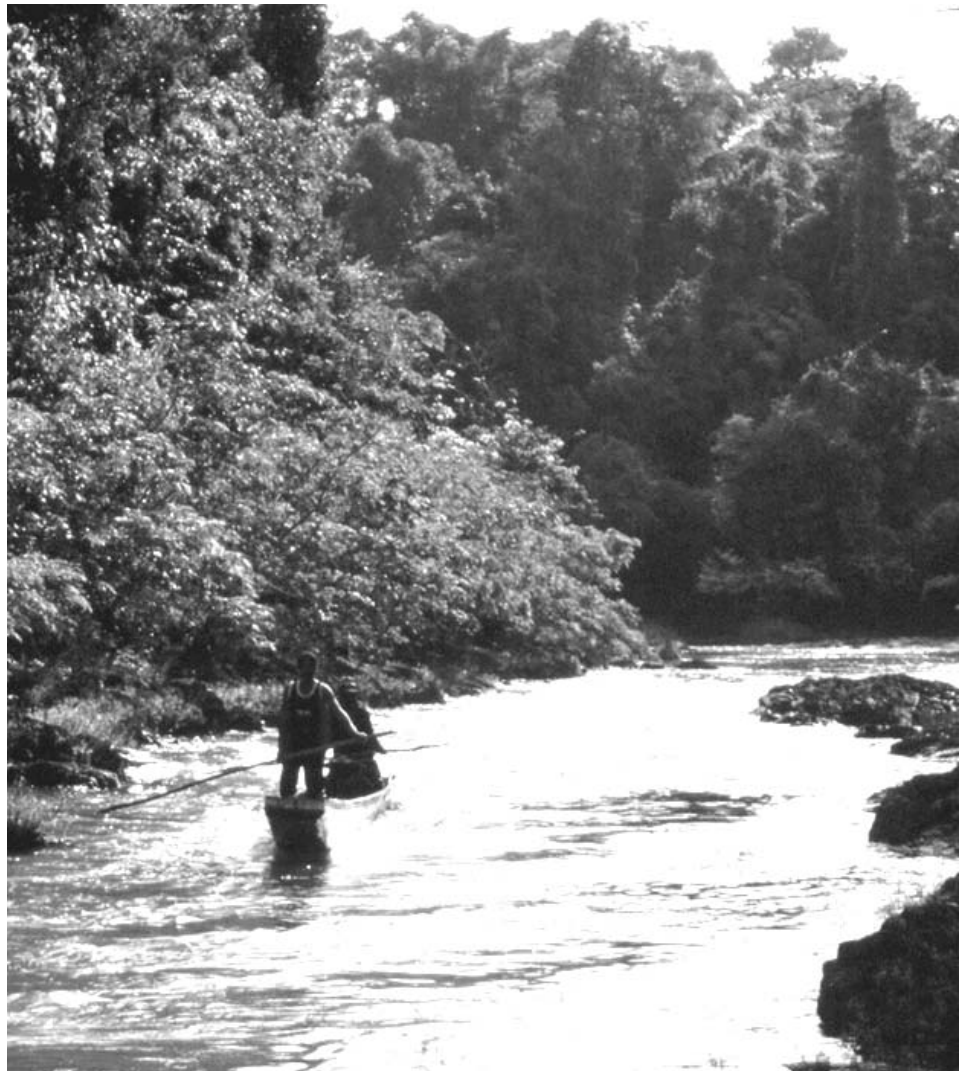


Figure 1. The river is very important for the Mayangna communities in Bosawas. (Courtesy Ralph Buss)

indigenous and mestizo inhabitants and their leaders have created local governance systems far more powerful in the reserve than the central government. They have derived their power from direct knowledge about and possession of the resources on the ground, the local legitimacy of their governance structures, the balance of military power, their organizational capacity, their ability to obtain favorable press coverage, and their alliances with international NGOs and national political parties. Indigenous communities and the residents of the RAAN can also appeal to legal arguments based on the 1987 Constitution and Autonomy Law.

A second interesting aspect of the Bosawas case is the overlapping nature of the governance structures, involving regional governments, municipal governments, indigenous territories, and the Bosawas Reserve itself. The

indigenous territories span various regions and municipalities and only portions of them are contained within the reserve. Similarly, the reserve includes an autonomous and a non-autonomous region, five municipalities, six indigenous territories, an area in dispute between indigenous people and mestizos, and other areas of mestizo settlement. If one overlays on all this the areas of influence of the different ethnic groups, the armed bands, and powerful churches and donor projects one can sense the amazing complexity of power relations on the ground.

Some proponents of local management commonly suppose that local groups' claims over forest resources and their local governance institutions are somehow inherently more just, legitimate, or environmentally-friendly than the rules imposed by the central government. The Bosawas case, however, lends only partial support to that idea. Strengthening Mayangna land rights and institutions probably would help conserve the forest and certainly would be more democratic than allowing other ethnic groups to completely dominate and marginalize them. This also applies to the Miskito Indians, although not as strongly. But even in these cases one cannot ignore the rampant corruption and undemocratic features common in many communities, nor the underlying tensions between the two groups. The argument is even less evident in the mestizo areas, where local control may lead to rapid ecological destruction and social differentiation, not to mention corruption and violence. Although centralized control may have equal or worse repercussions, appealing to or favoring "*the less of two evils*" is a weak foundation for sustainable development, conservation, or social justice. Thus, we argue that in most forested areas one confronts what Migdal (1988) refers to as '*strong societies and weak states*'. That is unlikely to change and must be the starting point for future discussion.

Some readers may shrug the Bosawas case off as a curious exception. Nicaragua is famous for its political instability and military conflicts and one might certainly question whether it

represents a 'typical' case. Surely, central governments must not lack territorial presence and political hegemony in all heavily forested area and not all have free-roaming armed bands or other strong local authorities. As one looks across the humid tropics it quickly becomes

apparent that situations where the central government lacks authority in forested areas are far more common than generally recognized. In many, though by no means all, of these situations, autonomous armed groups have

sprung up to fill the vacuum. The Peten in Guatemala, the Colombian and Peruvian Amazon, South Para in Brazil, the two Congos, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Angola, Burundi, Cambodia, Burma, Aceh in Indonesia, Mindanao in the Philippines, Nagaland in India, and parts of Thailand appear to fit into this model. Even in countries with more apparent political stability, central governments often lack operative governance structures in forested regions, much less effective control. In these situations devolution must be understood not as a process through which governments hand over authority to local groups, but rather a means to try to gain some minimal authority in contexts where they traditionally have had none.

There are, of course, exceptions; countries with 'strong states' in forested areas and well-meaning devolution policies that transfer authority from central governments to local actors. Many central government decisions regarding whether to place forest and mining concessions, dams, roads, troops, settlement projects, and even national parks have direct impacts on the ground. We would argue, however, that these are the exceptions; the rule is the contrary. The same things that historically have allowed tropical humid forests to persist are those that have limited the political hegemony and authority of the central state. If

The same things that historically have allowed tropical humid forests to persist are those that have limited the political hegemony and authority of the central state.

efforts to protect forests on the ground lose sight of this fact, they will be little more than wishful thinking.

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Notes

- 1 Scott, 1998.
- 2 The Nature Conservancy, 1997.
- 3 GTZ/DED, 1992.
- 4 Anonymous, 1999.
- 5 Stocks, 1996.
- 6 Stocks, 1998.
- 7 Stocks, 1998.
- 8 Hale, 1994.
- 9 Hale, 1994.
- 10 CAPRI, 1998; Hale, 1994.
- 11 Acosta, 1996.
- 12 Hale, 1994, pp. 231-238.
- 13 Tresierra, 1999.
- 14 Bendaña, 1991.
- 15 Cuadra and Saldomando, 1998.
- 16 Stocks, 1998.
- 17 Stocks, 1998.
- 18 Hooker *et. al.*, 1996.
- 19 Olivares, 1999.
- 20 Guevara, 1999.
- 21 Howard 1996, p.6.
- 22 TNC, 1995.
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Gouvernance des aires protégées—

l'importance des «normes pratiques» de régulation de la gestion locale pour la faisabilité des réformes dans le Bassin du Congo

Jean-Claude Nguinquiri

La gouvernance est aujourd'hui une notion très floue. Dans la définition normative donnée à ce concept par la Banque Mondiale vers la fin des années 1980, la gouvernance correspond à une situation idéale de bonne administration. C'est la raison pour laquelle elle est assortie d'un adjectif qualificatif - bonne gouvernance. Cette perception implique un

L'équipe chargée de gérer l'aire protégée se situe à l'interface d'un certain nombre de "mondes" Il y a le "monde des populations locales", le "monde de l'Administration des eaux et forêts", le "monde des donateurs et des bailleurs de fonds", le "monde des ONG", le "monde des grands groupes industriels" qui exploitent le bois d'œuvre en périphérie de l'aire protégée...

changement de la "gouvernance" telle qu'elle est, vers la "gouvernance" telle qu'elle devrait être. Dans ce raisonnement, les aires protégées seraient aujourd'hui (tout comme les États africains) dans une situation soit "d'ingouvernabilité" soit de "sous administra-

tion" ne favorisant pas une gestion des ressources naturelles.

Dans cette contribution, nous essayerons d'évaluer la faisabilité de la bonne gouvernance à partir d'une analyse des comportements des gestionnaires des aires protégées. Nous emprunterons pour cela, le modèle exploratoire proposé par Olivier de Sardan (2001). Ce modèle tente d'interpréter les comportements des agents publics comme renvoyant à des normes pratiques et non comme un simple écart par rapport aux normes officielles. On esquissera d'abord, l'image d'une aire protégée supposée faire l'objet d'une bonne gouvernance. Ensuite, nous opposerons à cette image les mécanismes concrets par lesquels les aires protégées sont gérées au quotidien. Enfin, les normes pratiques révélées par cette lecture nous per-

mettrons de discuter de la faisabilité des pistes d'action privilégiées pour améliorer la gouvernance des aires protégées dans le Bassin du Congo.

Représentation normative de la gouvernance

L'idéologie de la "bonne gouvernance" a été à l'origine centrée sur la bonne administration publique à l'échelle nationale. Sa transposition du niveau national au niveau local se fait aisément, comme dans le cas de la gouvernance urbaine ou de la gouvernance d'une aire protégée. Certaines initiatives tentent aussi de "verdir la gouvernance" ou de conceptualiser la gouvernance environnementale. Au delà de ce schéma conceptuel, le design de bonne gouvernance d'une d'aire protégée répondrait aux caractéristiques suivantes:

1- Une politique de proximité qui insiste sur la décentralisation et le mode de gouvernement par délégation. Dans cette perspective, de la gestion des ressources naturelles est de mise. Une loi (comme la GELOSE - Gestion Locale Sécurisée des ressources naturelles renouvelables à Madagascar) précise les règles du jeu, définit les obligations et les devoirs de chaque partie prenante et veille à ce que la sécurisation de l'aire protégée n'entraîne pas l'insécurisation des populations locales, et vice versa. Un plan d'aménagement est élaboré et mis en exécution.

2- Une autorité dans laquelle chaque partie prenante se reconnaît veille au respect du cadre légal. Elle est représentative de tous les groupes d'intérêts, de tous les modes de représentations. Elle est non seulement légitime, elle est aussi légale. Elle respecte les lois en place et les fait respecter, s'il le faut au moyen de la force publique. La corruption ou les abus de pouvoir, qui caractérisent les rela-

tions de connivence entre braconniers et Conservateurs des aires protégées relèvent du passé; un code d'éthique est appliqué à la lettre.

3- La responsabilisation de toutes les parties prenantes est effective. Celles-ci participent à l'émergence d'une forme de citoyenneté locale en rapport avec un référent identitaire commun qui est l'aire protégée. Les populations locales et les autres groupes d'utilisateurs participent à la prise de décisions et à la répartition des coûts et des bénéfices de la conservation.

4- Toutes les parties prenantes ont accès à l'information disponible. Les lois sont vulgarisées, le plan d'aménagement est connu, bref, les parties prenantes savent où elles vont, comment elles vont procéder, quels résultats ont déjà été obtenus. En définitive, la transparence est totale.

Cette image "virtuelle" apparaît comme une vision; elle oriente les réformes de la gouvernance des aires protégées.

La gouvernance des aires protégées au quotidien

L'aire protégée est considérée dans son acceptation normative, c'est à dire un espace classé avec des objectifs spécifiques de conservation des ressources naturelles et de développement durable. Elle est administrée par une équipe qui comprend des fonctionnaires (le Conservateur, les gardes forestiers,

les éco-gardes, etc.), des Conseillers techniques affectés dans le cadre des projets de conservation/développement et parfois des bénévoles (ONG, Comité de gestion multipartite, Comité

La gouvernance des aires protégées est assez proche des résultats escomptés lorsque les normes pratiques sont produites en tenant compte des objectifs officiels mais aussi de la présence des autres "mondes".

consultatif, etc.). Son fonctionnement est régi par des normes officielles (lois et règlements,



Figure 1: Chef Traditionnel, Nord du Cameroun.
(Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

plan d'aménagement, document de projet, règlement intérieur de l'aire protégée, etc.) qui sont appliquées dans un contexte caractérisé par:

- la diversité d'acteurs: autour d'une aire protégée plusieurs acteurs et groupes d'acteurs entrent en confrontation, chacun défend des intérêts particuliers;

- la pluralité des normes: normes officielles (étatiques) qui ne sont pas toujours claires, normes locales (dites traditionnelles), normes internationales (conventions), etc.;

- un empilement des centres de pouvoirs et des centres de décisions: le Conservateur, mais aussi le Chef de lignage propriétaire d'un territoire clanique situé à l'intérieur de l'aire protégée, le Chef du village riverain dont le terroir est recouvert par une partie de l'aire protégée, le Commandant de Gendarmerie, le Sous-Préfet, etc.

Dans ce paysage, l'Equipe chargée de gérer



Figure 2: Les relations humaines sont un des éléments clés de la bonne gouvernance. (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

l'aire protégée se situe à l'interface d'un certain nombre de "mondes" ou mieux de configurations de représentations. Il y a le "monde des populations locales", le "monde de l'Administration des eaux et forêts", le "monde des donateurs et des bailleurs de fonds", le "monde des ONG", le "monde des grands groupes industrielles" qui exploitent le bois d'œuvre en périphérie de l'aire protégée, etc.

Dans un tel contexte, l'application des normes officielles ne dépend pas seulement du recours à l'autorité publique dont le Conservateur et ses collègues sont dépositaires. Au contraire, elle renvoie aux enjeux de pouvoir, c'est-à-dire à la capacité d'influer sur la décision des acteurs qui font partie des "autres mondes". Les résultats réels sont, dans ce cas, étroitement liés au "savoir faire" personnel de chaque membre de l'équipe de gestion, c'est-à-dire à l'art d'ajuster les éléments du modèle officiel au contexte local, bref aux normes pratiques, si l'on veut reprendre les

Le changement s'effectue par la capacité des acteurs à manipuler des systèmes différents de règles et à construire de nouvelles bases institutionnelles sans éliminer les anciennes.

protégées qui se sont distingués par une con-

termes de Olivier de Sardan (2001). Trois cas de figure vont nous permettre d'illustrer ces propos (voir schéma 1).

Le premier cas de figure se rapporte aux gestionnaires des aires

duite que l'on peut qualifier de consciente. Ils sont agents des Services des eaux et forêts, Conseillers techniques ou mem-

bres du Comité multipartite de gestion de l'aire protégée; ils ont eu le mérite de déployer des efforts particuliers pour faire appliquer les lois et règlements au pied de la lettre. Les observations menées au Congo et au Cameroun ont montré que ces individus finissent dans des conflits, d'abord avec leurs collègues qui les traitent de naïfs et ensuite avec les acteurs "des autres mondes". Humiliations et bien d'autres maux ont été affligés à ces gestionnaires "rigoureux". La position de victime dans laquelle se retrouvent ces gestionnaires, contribue à accroître la vulnérabilité de l'aire protégée et compromet ainsi les objectifs de "bonne gouvernance".

Le second cas de figure se situe à l'opposé du premier. Il correspond à une situation caractérisée par des pratiques illicites liées à la mise en négociation des normes officielles par le Conservateur ou les éco-gardes. Les arrangements pratiques conclus ainsi entre braconniers et gestionnaires de l'aire protégée s'inscrivent dans le registre de la corruption. Ces comportements qui consistent à monnayer l'autorité publique dont les gestionnaires de l'aire protégée sont dépositaires vont à l'encontre des objectifs de "bonne gouvernance".

Le dernier cas de figure est lié aussi à une situation de mise en négociation des normes officielles par les éco-gardes ou le Conservateur, mais en veillant aux objectifs de la planification normative. En d'autres termes, ils essaient d'atteindre les objectifs poursuivis en manipulant les normes officielles et en consolidant leur pouvoir sur des nouvelles bases. Nous pouvons citer ici, l'exemple de ce Garde forestier qui au lieu de sanctionner le braconnier pris la main dans le sac, décide de fermer

Les arrangements institutionnels (accords de gestion) ne sont approuvés par l'ensemble des parties prenantes que si le processus qui a permis de les générer a été "démocratique" et légitime.

les yeux parce qu'il juge que la faute n'est pas aussi grave. Il privilégie un règlement à l'amiable et selon le principe de l'oralité. Il ne fait

La mise en place d'institutions de cogestion n'étant qu'une étape du processus, ces performances sont étroitement liées à la capacité personnelle des leaders à faire usage des règles pratiques dans un environnement incertain et fluctuant.

pas prévaloir ses pouvoirs, mais au contraire les met en négociation. En procédant ainsi, le Garde forestier convertit le pouvoir qu'il détient des normes officielles, en capital

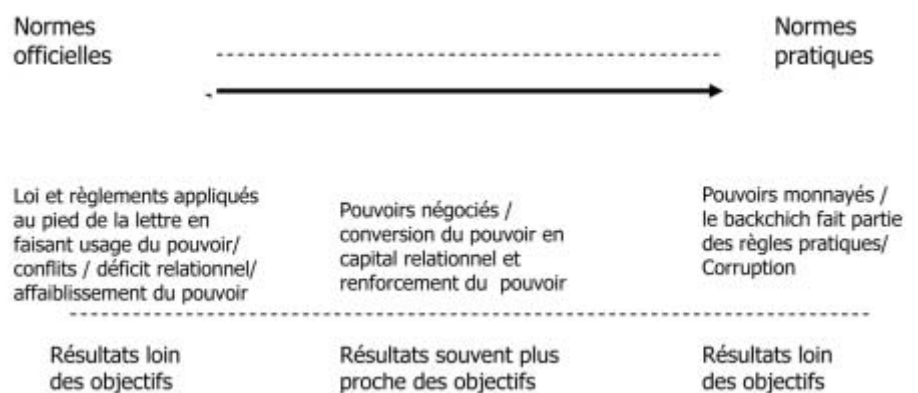
relationnel (recrutement des clients dans les "autres mondes") qu'il pourra ensuite mobiliser pour renforcer son pouvoir et donc pour atteindre les objectifs professionnels. Dans cette perspective, les cas d'humiliations cités précédemment sont la marque d'un déficit de capital relationnel.

Dans ce registre d'échange généralisé de biens donnés et de service rendus, on peut citer d'autres exemples, comme le bon de carburant offert de temps en temps au Sous-préfet ou au Commandant de brigade, les indemnités payés aux autorités locales pour leur présence à la cérémonie d'ouverture d'un séminaire de formation des éco-gardes, ou encore l'implication des chefs locaux dans la désignation des futurs éco-gardes. Ces normes pratiques contribuent à l'insertion du Conservateur dans les réseaux sociaux existants et donc lui permettent d'acquérir plus de pouvoir que celui conféré par les normes officielles.

Ces trois cas de figure introduisent l'idée d'un continuum dans la lecture de la gouvernance. Les extrémités sont occupées respectivement par les normes officielles et par les normes pratiques. Le premier cas de figure correspond à une situation dans laquelle les normes pratiques se confondent aux normes officielles. Le second cas de figure renvoie à une situation

caractérisée par des normes pratiques qui sont assez distinctes des normes officielles. Nous avons vu que les résultats réels en terme de gouvernance au sens normatif laissent à désirer dans l'un ou l'autre cas extrême. A l'inverse, il est apparu que la gouvernance des aires protégées est assez proche des résultats escomptés lorsque les normes pratiques sont produites en tenant compte des objectifs officiels mais aussi de la présence des autres "mondes". Ces effets, ainsi que la manière dont ils sont produits, nous rappellent les observations antérieures sur le changement des formes économiques et dans le domaine politique. Le changement s'effectue par la capacité des acteurs à manipuler des systèmes différents de règles et à construire de nouvelles bases institutionnelles sans éliminer les anciennes.

Schéma 1: La gouvernance des aires protégées. un continuum



L'analyse qui vient d'être faite montre que la gouvernance est un processus en construction permanente. Elle adhère ainsi à la définition de la gouvernance telle qu'elle est utilisée en sociologie politique et notamment à ses quatre propriétés.

1. la gouvernance n'est ni un système de règles ni une activité mais un processus;
2. la gouvernance n'est pas fondée sur la domination mais sur l'accommodement;
3. la gouvernance implique à la fois des acteurs privés et publics;

4. la gouvernance n'est pas formalisée et repose sur des interactions continues.

La compréhension de ces normes pratiques est capitale pour la réflexion sur la gouvernance des ressources naturelles.

Implications pour les réformes sur la gouvernance des aires protégées

La gouvernance des aires protégées dans les pays du bassin du Congo est au centre de plusieurs initiatives nationales et régionales faisant usage de la gestion participative . En termes d'action, cela renvoie à la création d'une nouvelle institution de gestion multipartite de l'aire protégée qui s'ajoutent aux institutions préexistantes. Toutefois, toutes ces initiatives ne partagent pas la même approche. D'une manière générale, on peut distinguer celles qui procèdent par une offre d'innovation institutionnelle de celles qui privilégient l'émergence d'arrangements institutionnels à partir d'une logique de négociation.

L'offre d'innovation institutionnelle est la pratique la plus courante. Elle est facile d'utilisation et consomme peu de temps et de ressources. D'une façon caricaturale, elle consiste à plaquer un modèle d'organisation élaboré par une agence d'appui (projet, bureau d'étude, consultants, etc.) sur la base des résultats d'enquêtes socio-économiques . L'application de ce modèle d'organisation se fait souvent en mettant en avant des incitations (promesses d'appuis multiformes) et parfois des menaces (conditionnalités). Des mécanismes de contrôle sont également mis en place. Contrairement au secteur forestier , on n'assiste pas encore dans les aires protégées, à la présence d'observateurs indépendants imposés par les institutions internationales pour garantir la bonne gouvernance.

Cette approche qui relève d'une logique technique prédispose les gestionnaires des aires protégées à appliquer les lois et les règlements tel qu'illustré dans le premier cas de figure analysé précédemment. Cette approche a per-

mis, certes, de faire avancer les réformes dans certaines aires protégées et dans la gestion forestière , mais la question de l'appropriation (ownership) du processus de réformes par les parties prenantes n'est pas encore résolue.

La seconde approche privilégie une logique de renforcement des capacités des parties prenantes à construire leurs propres systèmes de gestion. Elle s'investit dans le processus de définition des règles par l'ensemble des parties prenantes et dans leurs capacités à les faire appliquer, les modifier au besoin et les adapter aux évolutions du contexte. En pratique, le cheminement suivi comprend trois phases : organiser le partenariat, négocier les plans et accords, et apprendre par l'action. Ensuite, il se poursuit dans le cadre d'un cycle d'apprentissage qui s'organise autour des deux dernières phases.

Cette dernière approche a été privilégiée sur un certain nombre sites . Il est apparu que les arrangements institutionnels (accords de gestion) ne sont appropriés par l'ensemble des parties prenantes que si le processus qui a permis de les générer a été "démocratique" et légitime. Cependant, l'efficacité de ces nouvelles institutions n'est pas garantie d'avance; les résultats sont plus intéressants lorsque le leader dispose des capacités personnelles de négociation d'une partie de ses pouvoirs avec les institutions préexistantes. Cela sous-entend que le leader bénéficie d'une marge de manœuvre lui permettant d'exprimer sa créativité. Ces conditions renvoient à l'aménagement d'un "espace d'anarchie" dans les arrangements institutionnels, si l'on veut reprendre l'expression de Borrini Feyerabend (1998). Cette approche correspond à la situation décrite dans le cas de figure 3.

Conclusion

Dans cette contribution, nous venons de montrer que les normes officielles, considérées isolément, ne peuvent pas garantir la gouvernance des aires protégées. La gouvernance, en

effet, ne se décrète pas. Au contraire, elle est la manifestation de l'usage syncrétique des règles officielles et des normes pratiques. Ces dernières ne peuvent être observées directement, mais sont reconstruites à partir de l'analyse des comportements qu'elles régissent. Ces comportements peuvent aller à l'encontre des objectifs attendus (cas de la corruption) tout comme ils peuvent produire des résultats proches de ces objectifs. Dans cette perspective, la connaissance de ces règles pratiques est indispensable pour la bonne gouvernance des aires protégées. Elle permet de cibler les règles pratiques sur lesquelles l'action peut être organisée et d'appréhender celles qui peuvent annihiler les effets de cette action.

Cette lecture a permis d'évaluer la faisabilité de la gestion participative des aires protégées, notamment des deux principaux chemins empruntés dans les initiatives en cours dans le bassin du Congo. Il est apparu que la gestion participative, perçue sous l'angle d'arrangements institutionnels façonnés par les parties prenantes peut permettre d'obtenir de bonnes performances. La mise en place d'institutions de cogestion n'étant qu'une étape du processus, ces performances sont étroitement liées à la capacité personnelle des leaders à faire usage des règles pratiques dans un environnement incertain et fluctuant.

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Notes

³ Expression empruntée à Peter Veit (1999), éditeur du n°2 du volume 6 de la revue *Innovation* (octobre 1999) qu'il a intitulé "Greening governance".

⁴ Ribot, 1999.

⁵ On peut souligné ici la prépondérance du droit positif.

⁶ Il peut aussi décider de le sanctionner mais tout en s'arrangeant sur le montant de l'amende

⁷ Chauveau et Jul-Larsen, 2000.

⁸ cf. Smouts (1999)

⁹ Aucune initiative ne se réclame aujourd'hui de non participa-

tive.

¹⁰ On cherche à rendre participatif l'application d'un modèle " prescrit ".

¹¹ Au Cameroun, notamment, le contrôle est assuré par une ONG (Global Witness) qui joue le rôle observateur indépendant dans les commissions d'attribution des titres d'exploitation forestière et dans le contrôle des opérations d'exploitation forestières.

¹² Voir Brunner et Ekoko (2000) en ce qui concerne le secteur forestier au Cameroun, par exemple.

¹³ Karsenty, 2002.

¹⁴ Voir Borrini Feyerabend G. et al. (2000).

¹⁵ Conkouati et Lossi au Congo, Waza, Nta ali, Bomboko, etc. au Cameroun.

¹⁶ Entendre par leader ici, le coordonnateur ou les membres de l'organisation de gestion (ou comité mixte de gestion).

¹⁷ Au sens de " crafting institutions " (Ostrom, 1992).

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Injustice and conservation— is “local support” necessary for sustainable protected areas?

Dan Brockington

Local support is not necessarily vital for the survival of protected areas. Conservation can be imposed despite local opposition and protected areas can flourish notwithstanding resistance to them. Rural poverty and injustice do not undermine the foundations of conservation. Indeed they can underpin them.

The thesis proposed here is that conservation can be imposed because the rural poor are weak, and resistance to conservation, though constant, may be ineffective [...] local groups can be ignored by protected areas and with impunity!

These are shocking ideas, unwelcome in many quarters. The new (and welcome) ideology is that the rural populations living around places of high wilderness and biodiversity must be encouraged, and supported to value these places as their own and desire their protection. Otherwise protected area policies will fail. By embracing these challenges conservation has acquired a human face. In doing so it has become firmly established in the range of development options facing rural people and governments.

Denying a current fundamental tenet of conservation may be unpopular. But doubts need to be voiced lest the ideology's unexamined repetition undermines the entire project. The argument proposed here is that conservation can be imposed because the rural poor are weak, and resistance to conservation, though constant, may be ineffective. We have to understand the forces that make conservation powerful if we are meaningfully to meet the needs of protected areas' neighbours and win their support for conservation.

I should declare my allegiances. I believe that the goals of community conservation deserve support but that its necessity for the success of conservation has been over-rated. Protected areas do not all require the backing of their neighbours in order to survive in the long run.

Instead local groups can be ignored by protected areas and with impunity; ignoring them may make no long term threats to protected areas' security.

The purpose of this paper is to explain the reasoning behind this argument, to present data which have informed this thinking and the limitations to generalising from this experience. First I will examine the vigour of ideas insisting on the requirement of local support for protected area's survival. Second I will outline the circumstances in which local opposition may not matter. Third I will discuss one case study, the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania, which illustrates the contingency of opposition. Finally I will discuss the consequences of this argument for the practice of community conservation.

Power, inequality, resistance and the “principle of local support”

The importance of local support for the survival of protected areas has been expressed in the strongest terms. David Western writes that “a fallacy of protectionism is that we can ignore costs locally”¹. Ed Barrow and Christo Fabricius state that “[u]ltimately, conservation and protected areas in contemporary Africa must either contribute to national and local livelihoods, or fail in their biodiversity goals”². Adrian Phillips, when asked to name one key lesson to be gleaned out of interactions between protected areas and their neighbours found the answer “very simple”, it was “the iron rule that no protected area can succeed for long in the teeth of local opposition”³.

In this essay I will call this idea ‘the principle of local support’. It is a principle to which there is little

Opponents of community conservation may vigorously deny the effectiveness of development programmes in achieving conservation's goals ... [but] ... they do not provide a challenge to the “principle of local support” i.e. the belief that local support is necessary for protected areas to be sustainable.

opposition. Sceptics of community conservation may vigorously deny the effectiveness of development programmes in achieving conservation's goals⁴. They urge conservationists to continue to preserve nature as they did when protected areas first flourished, to not get side-tracked into development. But in their frustration over the challenges to protected areas they do not provide a challenge to the principle of local support. Indeed many admit the importance of winning local people to the cause, preferring education programmes, and perhaps some benefit sharing, to the more radical measures of community empowerment in conservation.

Nor is the principle challenged in social scientists' criticisms of community conservation. Observers of the CAMPFIRE project in Zimbabwe have found flaws in the project's intent that wildlife revenues will encourage local people to treasure wildlife. They have found that people's expectations of development meant that they wanted wilderness to be tamed, the wildlife to withdraw, more people to come in, and the tangible benefits of development and modernity to be made available. Denser settlements meant better shops and more services⁵. This is a possible consequence of participatory approaches, namely that people who do not value the existence of wild fauna and floras are empowered to reject them. But the principle that local support is needed for conservation measures is not challenged. Rather the difficulty of winning support and changing values is emphasised.

Indeed the principle of local support seems precisely the sort of idea which ought not to be challenged. If protected areas perpetrate injustices by meting out inequality, poverty, homelessness and rootlessness on their neighbours, should they "get away with it"? Questioning the necessity of community empowerment in conservation may appear to deny it as a moral imperative. On what grounds can it be challenged?

The nub of the argument is this. The local communities that oppose the existence and policies of their neighbouring protected areas tend



Figure 1. A resident in the vicinity of Bwindi National Park (Uganda)
(Courtesy Richard Nuwasasira)

to be relatively weak. They can face powerful alliances of central and local government, the police, park guards and paramilitary units, and national and international NGOs raising money and awareness for the cause of the protected areas. These are contests that the rural communities may be ill-equipped to win. Asserting the "necessity" of their co-operation simply ignores the realities of power. Weak actors can be ignored.

To put it another way, there are countless examples throughout history of inequalities and injustices being perpetrated and perpetuated despite resistance to them, and despite the opposition and hatred they generated. The Roman Empire was not brought down by its slaves, enclosure in England was not prevented by the people who lost their rights to the commons, nor were the iniquities of England's factory system overturned by a workers' revolt. Indigenous peoples in Latin America, North America and Australia have been removed from their lands, discriminated against and violently treated for hundreds of years. Why should the injustices perpetrated by conservation be any different?

Numerous responses are possible to this argument, which I will summarise below. But I feel that none suffice to refute it. I will deal with two weak and two strong objections below.

The first weak objection is that the examples I have offered above are simply invalid. It is outrageous even to suggest that the establishment

of protected areas, which is a right and proper cause, could be compared to the ills of slavery; this invidious comparison does not deserve consideration. But this argument does not deal with the point made here. Slavery and conservation have occasioned misery on different scales, but the point I raise is whether the consequences of this misery will be visited upon the perpetrators. Indeed, the fact that societies can get away with perpetrating such severe injustices as slavery strengthens my argument. Why should they not get away with perpetrating milder injustices imposed in the name of conservation?

A second objection is that the importance of equitable development is not just found in conservation circles. It is common in all of sustainable development. Many experts from all sorts of disciplines constantly reiterate that inequity is unsustainable, and the search for a more sustainable planet must involve a search for a more equitable world. But does this common link with sustainable development defend the principle of local support or incriminate it further?

Sustainable development is a ridiculously broad notion, meaning all things to all people. It is hardly a useful analytical tool. For reasons I find hard to understand, the mantras of equality rarely acknowledge the fact that inequality is inevitable in our economies. All economies are divided between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour. Without that fundamental inequality they could not function. It was the economies aspiring to socialism, those trying to establish themselves on a more equitable basis, which proved unsustainable. When people talk about limiting inequality they are really asking how much can be kept, not trying to do away with it altogether.

Adherents of the principle of local support make two more substantial challenges. First, they object that the alliances described above—of governments, enforcement agencies and international support—are weak and fickle. Their strength has never been denied, but it has proven too unreliable too often to form the basis of a credible conservation policy. The history of national parks is replete with examples of paper parks for which there is little government sup-

port, where there is no enforcement of the conservation law and about which the international community has forgotten. Local groups will have their way in these places, often to the detriment of conser-

vation. Oppression now will therefore just store up trouble for the future.

This cannot be denied, but nor is it the complete story. Just as there are failures there are also successes, places where the alliances which have sustained fortress conservation have persisted for a long time. Our theories of power and local resistance must be able to incorporate both. Where things have broken down it is wrong to assume that the resulting damage to the protected area is entirely locally driven or locally endorsed. Much serious elephant and rhino poaching in Africa is driven by international gangs not local people. Locals may be disinclined to resist them, but this may be because they are violent and heavily armed as much as because



Figure 2. Urban squatters in Brazil have often lost their land in the country, for a variety of reasons. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

The local communities that oppose the existence and policies of their neighbouring protected areas tend to be relatively weak social actors [...] Asserting the "necessity" of their co-operation simply ignores the realities of power. Weak actors can be ignored.

Sustainable development is a ridiculously broad notion, meaning all things to all people. It is hardly a useful analytical tool. [...] All economies are divided between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour.

mean the irreversible destruction of a protected area. Nature's resilience can provide some cushion; there are many examples of restored Reserves which have been saved from the brink of disaster and restored to new life.

In short this response does not quite meet the point I am making. The argument is not that all protected areas' neighbours can be ignored with impunity. Rather it is wrong to assume that doing so will *necessarily* be unsustainable. We will need to look at the circumstances and politics of oppression and resistance to understand how resistance arises, whether or not it mounts a credible threat to protected areas, and the conditions under which it could.

The second objection posed by the principle of local support is that even where the alliance between the government, the guards and the international community remains strong it is not equipped to guard against the seething mass of resentment of numerous hostile neighbours. These conflicts will not be expressed so much in direct confrontations, but rather in the 'weapons of the weak', in the numerous opportunities to express their opposition on the landscape, flora or fauna of the protected areas through acts of vandalism and sabotage⁶. Few systems of oppression and surveillance are sufficient totally to extinguish these weapons. And around protected areas their expression can mean the slaughter of valued animals, attacks on tourists, fires and mass disobedience that are simply beyond the ability of the state and its international allies to control. The archetype here is the opposition to Amboseli National Park, described by David Western, where local Maasai herdsmen expressed their opposition to conservation measures through the large-scale slaughter of wildlife⁷. In the face of such disturbing violence it may seem downright perverse, to put it kindly, to suggest that local people can be ignored.

of popular opposition to the protected area. Further, breakdown of the state alliance does not necessarily

As before, this is sound reasoning, but again before we draw our conclusions on the basis of this experience we must consider more carefully how local resistance to a specific park came to be so united and focused. What were the politics of this relationship, and what might have made it unusual? What were the factors that allowed people near Amboseli to find common cause in their opposition to the Park, and to overcome all the divisions and diversity found in 'communities'? We cannot assume that opposition will always be so united. Rather I suggest the opposite: that it is in the divisions and diversity within protected areas' neighbours that the means to a political alliance in support of conservation may be found.

All societies distribute misfortune unequally, the least powerful people tending to experience it most. Misfortunes inflicted by protected areas may be concentrated upon a minority, who in their weakness and want of numbers will be unable to do anything effective about it. In such situations, even if the protected area generates few benefits, the unaffected majority may be able to ignore the ill effects of its presence. Fortress conservation will be strong not despite the misfortune it causes, but because of the way in which this is misfortune is *distributed* amongst its neighbours. This can be seen in the case of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, in north-eastern Tanzania which demonstrates this mix of power and injustice. Mkomazi is noteworthy because it illustrates the two-fold exclusion of people, materially and symbolically, because of the patent injustices involved and because of the failure of local resistance to these policies and the contrasting success of fortress conservation policies⁸. It provides an interesting counterpoint to Amboseli particularly because it is located quite close to it and involves some of the same ethnic groups.

Fortress conservation will be strong not despite the misfortune it causes, but because of the way in which this misfortune is *distributed* amongst its neighbours. This can be seen in the case of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, in north-eastern Tanzania which demonstrates this mix of power and injustice.

Mkomazi – a conservation fortress

Mkomazi borders Kenya and the Tsavo National Park⁹ (Map 1). It is valuable for its diversity of vegetation, birds and insects, its beautiful landscapes of hill and plain, and for the wet season dispersal it provides to large mammals from Tsavo¹⁰. In conservation circles Mkomazi is famous because it is a black rhino sanctuary (set up in the late

Myths are powerful. They guide and structure our world views. In Bourdieu's words, they 'obtain belief'. Myths shape our thoughts and interventions, they determine our interpretations about what is wrong with the world and what needs to be done about it. Myths are, in short, incredibly influential. Indeed policies with things as powerful as myths behind them may be bound to succeed

1990s) and for a wild dog breeding programme established a few years earlier. It is also well known as a place where space has been won back for Nature from increasing human presence. It is celebrated as a fragile wilderness that was once threatened with destruction by people but has now been restored¹¹.

But with the success story there exists a story of deprivation. Mkomazi is also known for the several thousand pastoralists who were turned out of the Reserve in the late 1980s. The consequences of the evictions were severe on pastoral livelihoods and the regional livestock economy. Milk yields and stock performance are low compared to pastoralists elsewhere, average herd size crashed, and livestock markets lost considerable business. The effects have been felt especially by women, whose income-earning activities are now required to feed families once sustained by livestock sales.

Fortress conservation policies preserve not just wilderness, but also a dream of Africa, and in the process they reproduce and sustain its supporters...

Court cases were launched to contest the evictions but they were unsuccessful.

The Reserve has a long history of human resi-

dence. When it was first established in 1951 several hundred pastoralists and their stock were allowed to continue living in it in recognition of their traditional presence. But the government, both before and after independence, was always uneasy about the consequences of these herders' presence on the environment. After herders' and livestock numbers drastically increased evictions were ordered because officials felt that they were causing degradation and desertification.

There are good grounds to dispute the inevitability of degradation caused by livestock in semi-arid environments like Mkomazi¹². The relationship between cattle and vegetation change is far from clear, but suggests much more resilience than has hitherto been supposed. Compromises that could accommodate people's needs, and allow some use of some of the Reserve, could still be reached.

But there has been little need to do so. The politics of the Reserve mitigate against compromise. On the one hand the ethnic groups who make up most of the pastoralists (Maa-speaking Parakuyo and Maasai) are a minority in the area. The Reserve, which is generally dry, makes for excellent pasture but is not so suitable for agriculture. Although more than 50,000 people live within a days walk of the Reserve, families without stock have been less severely affected by the evictions and have not felt the need vigorously to oppose them. This is despite the fact that there are no tourist hotels at the Reserve and it therefore earns almost no revenue. Indeed some of the more numerous groups in the area resent the pastoralists' presence. The pastoral NGOs working with the evictees did not link with these other groups.

On the other hand the alliance of international interests and the state at Mkomazi have had no cause to negotiate with the evictees. Instead there has been an extraordinary process of erasure and diminishment of evicted pastoralists. At one point the fund-raising literature of the Trusts supporting the conservation of Mkomazi claimed that the people evicted from Mkomazi were not indigenous to the area¹³. In other literature the

needs of the Reserve's neighbours and the vital importance of projects such as primary and secondary schools, are highlighted, but the costs of the evictions are not mentioned. There is no assessment of whether the gains offered by school support match the losses to livelihoods and cattle markets.

Indeed to some extent the success of the international programme and the marginalisation of the herders are interdependent. Mkomazi's restoration was in part facilitated by the herders' marginalisation. When the rhino sanctuary was first planned, two South African rhino specialists concluded that

"There appears to be limited resentment towards the Mkomazi Game Reserve by the Msaai [sic], as they were well aware that their permission to graze within the reserve was only a temporary one (Harrie Simons and Truus Nicolson pers. comm.) ... it would appear that the introduction of black rhino into the MGR would be ... little affected by the limited to dwindling negative feelings towards the reserve by surrounding communities." 14

The nonsense of this assessment is apparent from the fact that it was written just three months after

There are many injustices which remain unsolved in the world. The daily abuses of structural power and inequality wreak unanswered havoc on the lives of millions of people every day. The belief that oppression and injustice is inherently unsustainable is [not only] ahistorical... [it is] also apolitical, and indeed naïve

aggrivated pastoralists met with lawyers to prepare their court cases, claiming rights to Mkomazi and compensation. When concern over the move of South African rhino to Mkomazi resurfaced in 1998 the Tanzanian government was able to allay South African fears by assuring worried conservationists that the court cases brought against the government were from "a group of Maasai who originally came from Kenya"¹⁵. This was not



Figure 3. A family in the heart of Conkouati National Park (Congo Brazzaville)—allowed to stay, for now. (Courtesy Christian Chatelain).

true. But the international presence of Mkomazi's conservation success was well served by the absence on the ground, and in people's imagination, of its former residents.

The point is that the misfortune caused by conservation policies at Mkomazi has been visited upon people who are marginal to Mkomazi's local, national and international politics. In such circumstances it is possible for conservation policies which cause impoverishment and injustice to survive. Indeed they thrive. Mkomazi is now a considerable "conservation success story".

Conclusion

What is the significance of this case for the debate about community empowerment in conservation? I suggest that there are four lessons.

First, writings by conservation progressives appear to suggest that injustice is inherently unsustainable. In doing so they attribute too much power to weak rural communities. They overlook some of the ways in which fortress conservation can be successful, and the way in which oppression works. For example Stuart Marks wrote that:

"The romantic vision of keeping Africa as an unchanged paradise teeming with wildlife is a foreign nonsense, for to ask East Africa to perpetuate such an image is to ask it to stay poor and undeveloped." 16

But does this mean that poverty will cause the

vision to fail? If the poverty is unequally experienced, and if the benefits are experienced by elites at home and abroad, then the vision has a good chance of success. East Africa is not one unit with the sentience to accept or reject protected areas. It is profoundly divided. The distribution of misfortune and benefit from protected areas is therefore vital to conservation's prospects in the region.

Similarly Jonathon Adams and Thomas McShane argued that a more realistic understanding of Africa's history and the role of people in its landscapes is necessary because they believe that "conservation based on myth is bound to fail"¹⁷. But why should projects fail because they are historically wrong? If they can generate money, gain the support of foreign and political elites and widespread public sympathy ('global' opinion), then these provide enough grounding for their success.

Indeed there is a double meaning to the word 'myth' which makes it even more unlikely that policies based on myth will fail. Myths can refer to ideas which are simply and totally wrong. But myths are also powerful. They guide and structure our world views. In Bourdieu's words, they 'obtain belief'¹⁸. Myths shape our thoughts and interventions, they determine our interpretations about what is wrong with the world and what needs to be done about it. Myths are, in short, incredibly influential. Indeed policies with things as powerful as myths behind them may be

bound to succeed¹⁹.

The idea of wilderness and wild Africa is an example of this power²⁰. The wilderness myth is powerful because it invokes ideas of pristineness, purity, unspoilt origins, a time when the world was not marred by people. When fund-raising literature for Mkomazi invokes an image of a wilderness restored to its

former glory (and implicitly or explicitly writes people out of the Reserve's history) it does not

matter that the account may be a poor reflection of the area's recent history or people's place there. It works because it invokes a Great Idea, it responds to a powerful need in the West, and it raises money that can make the idea a reality. This sort of literature, and the great mass of novels, coffee-table picture books, films and popular literature that Adams and McShane were attacking, live in symbiosis with the protected areas they describe. Each shelters the other. Fortress conservation policies preserve not just wilderness, but also a dream of Africa, and in the process they reproduce and sustain its supporters²¹.

Adams and McShane called for people to pay attention to the realities of the world in which conservation works and to understand the facts, histories and processes which are really operating and with which conservation has to deal in order to succeed. I would endorse their call, but add that one of these realities is the power of myth. The inequalities that accompany conservation policies may not threaten conservation areas if there are myths to sustain them.

Second, the presence of social injustice perpetrated by conservation does not mean that, automatically, these injustices will be rectified and conservation values suffer as a result. It is perhaps in our human nature to absorb abuse as much as it is to challenge it. There are after all many injustices which remain unsolved in the world. The daily abuses of structural power and inequality wreak unanswered havoc on the lives of millions of people every day.

The belief that oppression and injustice is inherently unsustainable is ahistorical. There are many examples when justice has won out – such as the ending of slavery, the successes of the US civil rights movement, the ending of apartheid. But we cannot conclude that these causes were successful because they were right. This would not only be ahistorical, but also apolitical, and indeed naive. Where such change occurs it is not always the struggles of the oppressed which drive it. The abolition of international African slavery was brought on by the moral decisions of English politicians, not the battles of slaves. Nor can we assume that progress is permanent,

Citing 'unsustainable inequality' as the motivation for community conservation is limited. It does not adequately engage the causes of the inequality nor the ethical dilemmas involved.

as the re-occurrence of slavery shows. The battle for civil rights in the States had been pursued for a long time before concessions were won, and even then these were vulnerable to a renewed white backlash²².

The point is not to accept that these just causes were successful, but to ask how and why, to establish what configuration of circumstances lead to these changes. If conservationists are to challenge inequality and injustice then this will require a pro-active engagement with the political, social and economic forces that cause and reproduce them. Citing 'unsustainable inequality' as the motivation for community conservation is limited. It does not adequately engage the causes of the inequality nor the ethical dilemmas involved.

The social injustices of conservation do not become tolerable if they cease to hinder conservation²³. Adrian Phillips'iron rule does exist, but it is a moral, not merely a practical necessity. This is the third point. The statements endorsing the principle of local support quoted at the start of the paper were all pragmatic. They argued that we have to take the principle of local support seriously or lose that which we value as conservationists. But this stance means that the imperative to reform is lost should conservation values not be threatened by injustice. It would be possible for these statements to be interpreted to mean that we can worry less about injustice if it does not impede our goals. I doubt this is their authors' intention. We will have, therefore, to insist that these social injustices are addressed because they are unjust, not because they are inconvenient.

Fourth, and most importantly, is the practical lesson drawn from this discussion. The politics of inclusion, participation, and distribution of conservation benefits will be similar to the politics of distributing conservation's costs and misfortunes. Both will consist, in John Lonsdale's words, of peoples' attempts "to deflect the costs ... onto

their fellows and to appropriate its benefits as their own"²⁴. Community empowerment for conservation may even consist of a myriad of marginalisations and inequalities enforced on smaller and smaller scales. Men and large animals might be included but women and the products they value may be left out²⁵. Local government is empowered – but only to district level and not to ward level²⁶. Inequality, injustice and exclusion will be inherent in the solutions to larger scale injustices that protected areas have imposed. There is no way out of them. This is what participation entails. The challenge, therefore, is to understand who will win and who will lose from whatever solutions conservation offers.

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Notes

- 1 (Western 2001: 202)
- 2 (Barrow and Fabricius 2002: 78)
- 3 (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2002: 11)
- 4 (Kramer *et al.* 1997; Struhsaker 1998)
- 5 (Alexander and McGregor 2000)
- 6 (Scott 1985; Neumann 1998)
- 7 (Western 1994)
- 8 This summary is principally based on the following: (Homewood *et al.* 1997; Kiwasila and Homewood 1999; Brockington 2001; 2002)
- 9 The Reserve is technically composed of two Reserves – the Uмба Game Reserve in the east, and the Mkomazi Game Reserve in the west – and is properly known as the Mkomazi/Uмба Game Reserves. Both are commonly called 'Mkomazi', but the distinction between the two is important. I shall refer to the two halves as 'east' and 'west'.
- 10 (Coe *et al.* 1999)
- 11 (Watson 1991)
- 12 (Brockington and Homewood 2001)

¹³ The main organisations involved are the George Adamson Wildlife Preservation Trust registered in the UK, and its sister trust in the USA the Tony Fitzjohn/George Adamson African Wildlife Preservation Trust. There are also supporting groups registered in Germany and Holland.

¹⁴ (Knight and Morkel 1994: 6-7). An updated version of Knight and Morkel's report has since appeared (– see <http://www.georgeadamson.org/projects/mkomazi/rhino/1994/sanctuaryassessment.htm> viewed 13th February 2003). It was written sometime (at least 2 years) after the weaknesses of the original had been pointed out. Curiously, however, the new version is just dated 'June 1994 – updated version'. This revised version corrects some of the spelling mistakes of the section quoted above and makes the source of these ideas clear. But it repeats the statement that the introduction of black rhino into the Reserve will be 'Little affected by the limited to dwindling negative feelings towards the reserve by surrounding communities.' I doubt whether negative feelings to the Reserve are limited to dwindling. They were certainly not dwindling while the court cases were in progress between 1994 and 1999. But my argument is that Knight and Morkel could have made their case more aggressively. Even if there is strong and active resentment to the rhino reintroductions, this will not pose a significant threat to the rhinos' security. This has proved the case so far, and the animals' re-introduction has served to strengthen the government's support for the Reserve and its sanctuary. .

¹⁵ (Koch 1997: 109)

¹⁶ (Marks 1984: 130)

¹⁷ (Adams and McShane 1992: 245)

¹⁸ (Bourdieu 1998)

¹⁹ The phrase is Stephen Tuck's.

²⁰ (Anderson and Grove 1987; Cronon 1995)

²¹ (Brockington 2002)

²² (Tuck 2001)

²³ (Brown and Kothari 2002)

²⁴ (Berman and Lonsdale 1992: 71)

²⁵ (Sullivan 2000)

²⁶ (Murombedzi 2001)

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Mobile pastoralism in West Asia— myths, challenges and a whole set of loaded questions . . .

M. Taqhi Farvar

Despite important differences in climate, culture and contemporary political history, pastoral communities in Asia still have much in common. These communities include the "kuchi" of Afghanistan, the "ilaat-o-ashayer" of Iran, many tribal peoples of Pakistan and Anatolia, the *Bedouin* of the Arab regions of West Asia and hundreds of other tribes in Mongolia and Central Asia. In Iran alone there are some 700 nomadic pastoral tribes totalling some 200,000 tentholds (households) that qualify as nomadic pastoralists according to the following conditions:¹

Having a common territory and recognisable rangeland zones for their seasonal migration;

Possessing a social structure consisting of typical tribal levels of organisation;

Each member of the tribe being conscious of his or her place within this system and having a feeling of belonging to it;

Having a cultural domain common to each major tribal grouping, and

Reliance on more or less traditional migratory animal husbandry as a main mode of subsistence.

Attitudes towards nomadic pastoralists differ widely. During the Pahlavi regime in Iran (1921-1979) there was an irresolvable enmity between the state and the nomadic pastoral peoples. The entire two decades of rule of Reza Shah, and over two-thirds of the reign of his son Mohammed Reza Shah were spent at war and conflict with the tribes. While Reza Shah's main weapon for sedentarisation of nomads was brute military suppression, his son was more clever, employing a mental alienating system of mobile schools with an urban curriculum in Persian (a language most of the tribal populations did not know), coupled with physical alienation from rangelands—the very base of pastoralists' subsistence and economic strength—through the nationalisation of natural resources. The dis-



Figure 1. The Qashqai women accompanying their tents and belongings in their seasonal migration. (Courtesy Ali Aghili)

dain for tribal peoples was replaced with admiration and moral and even material support during the time of the late Imam Khomeini who called them the "reserves" of the revolution, and referred to them in his political will as the fourth branch of the armed forces of Iran (on a par with the Army, the Revolutionary Guards and the Police). This brief period of exaltation, however, was soon replaced by single-minded—and equally unsuccessful—renewed attempts to sedentarise and control the nomadic pastoralists. The mental and physical alienation methods employed by the Pahlavis continued and at times intensified under the Islamic regime. With the encouragement of the World Bank, a dual policy of support (with subsidies and services) and a relentless effort at sedentarisation has been the main government policy for years. With variations regarding means and intensity of efforts, sedentarisation has been promoted, among other countries, also in Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen.

Myths

Myths and misunderstandings concerning nomadic pastoralism abound, at times with a touch of schizophrenic attitude. On the one

hand, the culture of nomadism is exalted and praised to epic proportions. Films and TV series play on the virtues of the *Ashayer* (Iran) and the *Bedouin* (Arab countries). The local languages are full of proverbs and epic stories of the simple, honourable, hospitable, valiant, gallant, tough and indomitable *Bedou* or *Ashayeri*. On the other hand, they are considered by many, and certainly by the administrative branches of government, to be backwards, out of place, uncontrollable, eking out a miserable living out of meagre and marginal resources of the degraded rangelands, for the deplorable condition of which they are held responsible. The nature conservation establishments hold the pastoralists and their animals, especially their goats and camels, to be the enemies of wildlife, and the departments of range management in the ministries of agriculture usually think the nomads are overgrazing their land. The planning departments' staff is constantly alienating their lands

Throughout West Asia and the Sudano-Saharan region, a system of community conserved areas of both range and woodlands has been practiced by nomadic pastoralists from time immemorial. Such systems—which are known to pre-date Islam and are sanctioned by it—are called *hema* (from the Arabic word *hemaya*= conservation or protection), *mahmiyya* (conserved area), *mahjar* (protected area marked by stone border marks) and *qoroq* (exclosure in Turkish and Persian), and have an associated set of customary laws regarding community benefits, responsibilities and sanctions.

Myth 1: Pastoralism is an archaic form of production not adapted to modernity

This is simply not true in West Asia. The rangelands are seasonally productive and need to be grazed seasonally. Many experiments to settle nomadic pastoralists have resulted in disaster because the environment of the rangelands

and deploring that they do not settle down to “benefit” from nationally designed programmes such as schooling and human and animal health services. Some of these prevalent myths will be examined below from the perspective of the greater West Asian region.

is not suitable for animal production on a sedentary basis. Many valuable breeds of animals are possessed and maintained by nomads which would not survive a settled life. At times this myth is based on a bias for modern amenities such as electric lights, television

sets and telephones. In fact, advances in technology have now made these claims themselves to be outdated and not adapted to modernity, as modern amenities are all available in portable versions. For instance:

In Mongolia and Iran experiments with the provision of solar energy through the use of portable photovoltaic equipment has made it possible for students to have electric lights to do their homework, and for adults to receive visitors after sunset without having to settle for dim lights. An effective alternative is also paraffin (kerosene) fuel lamps.

Liquid gas in bottles, same as those available in towns, has been made available to nomadic pastoralists in Iran through programmes that have established distribution networks and local storage points. Training of nomadic pastoralist women for use of gas-burning equipment, including safety training, has made it possible for this system to be met with enthusiasm.

Mobile refrigeration run by solar panels has been available for a long time for health centres, for example to store vaccines for human and livestock, thanks to the development of 12 volt systems.

Television is now available relatively easily, and



Figure 2. A Qashqai elder in Iran (Courtesy CENESTA)

the coverage for many TV stations is constantly improving. In some regions satellite TV has started to be more commonly available in nomadic tents and houses.

Myth 2: Mobility is inherently bad

This great myth of our region has been created by government sponsored propaganda, formal school systems with urbanised teachers, false modernisation and misinformation.² It is taught in nomadic schools, planning ministries and bought and spread by "first generation sedentarised" folks, who, like first generation immigrants, do their best to get away from their origins and their past. A recent session with a mobile primary school group of students in Iran showed these tribal youngsters (and their teachers) had developed great disdain and contempt for their parents' way of life. Every one of the



Figure 3. Nomadic pastoralist men crossing the river at a natural ford with their flocks. (Courtesy Ali Aghili)

students wanted to become a pilot, doctor, engineer or lawyer. When asked who would then do animal husbandry and agriculture for the country and their region, they responded: "These occupations are for the dumb and the stupid! We are educated." This is the ethos of a society that has gone through a forced transition, to the point of internalising the ideology of the more powerful oppressive system.³

Myth 3: All conflicts are caused by pastoralists

In fact most conflicts are caused by the fact that sedentary rural populations, the private sector and government moved into the land traditionally owned and used by pastoralists.

"Protected areas" have been set up without consulting them, military bases and oil and gas extraction or refining outfits have been placed in the middle of their pastoral routes, roads have been crisscrossing the same routes without regard to the need of passage for the animals and the inevitable accidents going to be caused, housing developments have been set up as if urban people were going to use them, and so on. A thousand impediments exist to nomadic lifestyles simply because planners are usually sedentary people who do not understand the mobile peoples and their needs. In addition, when conflict happens, instead of the traditional systems of conflict resolution, the police and urban courts (usually well linked to settled people) are now called in as arbitrators. Their judgements often leave the pastoral nomads spellbound, as their rights are stripped away without any meaningful recourse to remedial action.

The old systems were based on a complex understanding of the ecosystems and their varying carrying capacity coupled with a fine-tuned opportunistic approach to using available resources in micro-environments, and moving away from them before they are destroyed.

Myth 4: Rangelands are degraded because of over-stocking and overpopulation

The very concept of degradation of rangelands has been called into question by modern range

ecology and management schools. If there is one feature that sets out the traditional *ashayer*, *bedouin* or *kuchis* from the rest of the crowd, it is their superb and meticulous ability to use the rangeland resources sustainably and maintain their productivity and biological diversity. As an example, in the Bahmaee tribe of south-western Iran, it has been documented that the clan elders have had a system of range management that has worked like clockworks. Following scouting information ahead of the season of migration, the elders do an accurate assessment of the carrying capacity of the range expected to welcome them and decide the size and composition of the flocks that it can nourish. The size of the human population to follow the flocks is determined by the labour needs for the flocks, starting with one woman per 35 lactating ovine (sheep and goat) population. For each woman, of course, a number of children and male members of the tenthold and camp are needed to service the grazing and protection of the whole

Can we help nomadic pastoralists mitigate the impact of the climate change upon them by allowing them to regain access to the entirety of their migratory landscapes, including the special ecological niches and buffer zones so important for the functioning of their overall livelihood and management strategies?

flock. Among the Qashqai pastoralists, sophisticated manoeuvres have been planned and carried out to cope with seasonal climatic variation (droughts, abundant rain-

fall) and equally sophisticated marketing decisions are made in the summering grounds—based on the expected carrying capacity of the rangelands in the wintering grounds during the following season. The Lurs of the Zagros Mountain range have had elaborate techniques of rangeland rehabilitation including reseeding with wild germplasm and manuring, using both ovine and human power.

Throughout West Asia and the Sudano-Sahelian region, a system of community conserved areas of both range and woodlands has been practiced by nomadic pastoralists from time

immemorial. Such systems—which are known to pre-date Islam and are sanctioned by it—are called *hema* (from the Arabic word *hemaya*= conservation or protection), *mahmiyya* (conserved area), *mahjar* (protected area marked by stone border marks) and *qoroq* (enclosure in Turkish and Persian), and have an associated set of customary laws regarding community benefits, responsibilities and sanctions.

The landscapes under the use of the nomadic pastoral groupings (Camps, Lineage Groups, Clans, Subtribes and Tribes) include their wintering and summering grounds as well as the migratory paths in between. Under traditional management, there are special areas used only in time of severe climatic stress or special conditions, wetlands of crucial importance, etc. In their original indigenous form, the total landscape of each tribal group is well qualified to be considered a Protected Landscape according to IUCN Category V.

As for population growth, this is not an issue for the pastoralists in the west Asian region. Following a long standing pattern, as a pastoral population grows beyond the carrying capacity of the rangelands that support them, the excess population stays behind, or gets into what the late Nader Afshar has called “nomads on the waiting list” until the climate and carrying capacity improve. These people busy themselves with handicrafts, grain production, seasonal wage labour, etc., waiting for their turn to travel. If the population increases beyond the overall absorptive capacity of the region, the excess population migrates more permanently into other zones and pursues different livelihoods. Some believe that most of the villages and urban civilisations of West Asia developed this way. The statistics about the number of migratory pastoralists, where available, seem to confirm this fact. In Iran, while the percentage of nomadic pastoralists in the country has steadily declined from at least a quarter of the total population a century ago to some 2% today, their absolute number has remained dynamically constant, ranging between some 1.2 to 2.5 million depending on climatic and political factors. This is estimated to be the real carrying capacity of



Figure 4. A Bedouin tent in Jordan (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

the rangelands of the country. This marvellous self regulation of nomadic pastoralism in the region renders any advocacy of policies for population or even flock reduction in the rangelands of this region devoid of any grounding in objective data.

Myth 5: Pastoral production has very low productivity

By almost all standards, rangelands are considered generally best suited for animal raising, and a nomadic lifestyle renders the highest possible productivity in the region, averaging between 1/3 and 3/4 of livestock productions in given countries. Where other livelihood and land tenure systems are substituted to nomadic pastoralism, it is usually by groups with political power in the country. Examples of the latter

include the sedentary landlords of Iran. At the time of the land reforms of the 1960s, they took advantage of a loophole in the law exempting "mechanised lands" from being distributed. They ploughed up marginally productive rangelands in order to lay claim to them. In the Iranian Province of Fars alone some 20% of the rangelands were lost to this loophole. This trick is actually known

Now that many governments have experienced the futility and tragedy of taking away lands from the careful management of nomadic pastoralism, can they decide to reverse their nationalisation policies, give back the rights and ownership of land to the tribal groups on a common-property basis, and make them responsible again for its maintenance and sustainable use?

even outside Asia. In Sudan powerful politicians mechanised huge tracks of land that belonged to the pastoralists of eastern Sudan to bring them under very marginally productive staple grain cultivation. In most cases, they

abandoned a heavily degraded land after a few growing seasons and moved on to other areas. This same land, under a pastoralist production system, was highly productive for longhorn cattle and camels, including some of the most expensive racing breeds that fetch extremely high value in export.

Myth 6: Pastoralists have to settle down in order to benefit from modern services

This is one of the most baseless allegations, and experiences amply show the contrary. In Iran, a system of mobile schools using tents and trained teachers recruited from the nomadic tribes has operated with success for nearly a half-a-century and achieved high educational standards. Many of the graduates of these tent schools have gone on to higher education and today occupy places of prestige in government, politics, education, literature, academia, medicine, engineering, law, the arts, and private services.⁴ The now-pervasive national system of *behvarz* (front line rural health workers) had its first pilot experience among the Qashqai pastoralists in the early 1970s. Mobile veterinary assistants in Iran and Afghanistan have been trained and supported by the government and universities (Iran) and NGOs (Afghanistan). Likewise, work in support of mobile handicrafts (such as the highly valued wool rugs, carpets and kilims) has been carried out in many areas.

Myth 7: Pastoralism destroys biodiversity and leads to desertification

Far from being a destroyer of biodiversity, pastoralist range management systems are a *pre-*

requisite of biodiversity. Most range that does not receive the benefits of livestock stomping, gentle ploughing, browsing, seed spreading and fertilisation will turn into lower biodiversity wooded shrub land.⁵ The highly diverse vegetation of the rangelands of the region has evolved together with the livestock and land management systems of the pastoralists. The sophisticated techniques of using scouting and early warning systems to predict droughts, take preventive measures and adopt coping strategies are well known among the nomadic pastoralists of the region. In fact, pastoralists value much more highly than either villagers or urban folks the biological and genetic diversity of their landscape. Most know by name and properties every single botanical species and can give long descriptions of their medicinal, food, feed and industrial properties for animals and people, as well as their place in the ecosystem. They have developed irreplaceable techniques of habitat management and rangeland rehabilitation for

Given the success of the traditional pastoral systems in the conservation of landscape and species biodiversity of the rangelands, can we learn from their experience and help them re-establish and manage community conserved areas and, where necessary and feasible, co-manage with the government and others specific areas for biodiversity conservation?

maintaining the diversity of the bio-ecological systems. Their lifestyle has made them understand the ways of nature. Under their indigenous management systems, the cutting of living trees, other than in extreme need and with sustainable use in mind, would be considered a cardinal sin. Only fallen and dried or sick trees or parts of the branches the removal of which does not harm them would be considered legitimate uses. Sustainable use of non-timber products (gums, medicinal and veterinary plants, vegetable dyes, mushrooms and other edible herbs and fruits) are relied on for subsistence and only occasional commerce. Literally every nomadic pastoral woman, man and youngster can recount with fascination the ways and habits of the wildlife in their territories,

and their love of nature and its diversity. Undisturbed, their hunting habits have preserved wildlife for centuries. The *hema* systems are intended to protect the health and sustainability of the ecological systems on which they depend. The pastoralists are, in short, practicing ecologists who understand sustainable use and environmental protection better than many modern ecologists and conservationists. A survey of pastoral tribes in what was before South Yemen by an FAO consultant in the early 1990s showed that most of the elders of the tribes considered it a pity that the *mahjar* system had been abolished by the Socialist Government, and believed this to be the major contributor to the degradation of the rangelands in their territories. They favoured the re-establishment of this powerful traditional tool for the conservation and sustainable use of rangeland resources.

Myth 8: Pastoralists do not take care of the land because of the "Tragedy of the Commons"

I nearly get sick hearing again this concept, so much abused and wrongly applied. When Garrett Hardin introduced this notion he meant the tragedy of lands and resources under open access, which is the opposite of the well functioning common property systems the pastoralists usually have in place. Pastoral common property systems are shared by a limited community of users and governed by an extensive set of rules, customary laws and sanctions, excluding non-user communities except under strict procedures. Tribal elders will judge very severely any intrusion and damage to community rangelands, woodlands and water resources, and punish the violators with everything from deprivation from sugar quotas (a serious deprivation indeed for the hospitable tea- or coffee-drinking nomads!) to community imprisonment and public shame.

Myth 9: Pastoralists are poor, in ill health and food insecure

Studies by researchers (such as at the University of Tehran) have shown very low helminthic parasitism (some 10% infection rates

Box 1. RESTORING VITALITY OF NOMADIC PASTORALISM— Livelihoods, nature conservation and cultural identity

The Qashqai nomadic pastoralists have realised that to organise themselves for reversing the dominant trends leading to their disappearance, they need to re-habilitate their historic social organisations, albeit in a civil society mode. This is the case with the Kuhi Subtribe, and they plan to spread the approach to the rest of their kinfolk in the larger tribe.

With the support of the Centre for Sustainable Development (CENESTA), a national NGO in Iran, and enabling help of the Organisation for Nomadic Pastoralists (ONP, a government institution), a landscape was selected as a natural resource management unit comprising the summering and wintering grounds of the Kuhi nomadic pastoralists, and their associated migration routes in between. The Kuhi are one of about 20 sub-tribes of the Shish Bayli Tribe of the Qashqais. With the sponsorship of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), IUCN/CEESP's Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods, and FAO (interested, among other things, in coping strategies of nomadic pastoralists in the face of drought), the Kuhi subtribe started a participatory action research project on sustainable livelihoods and biodiversity conservation.

Several participatory planning workshops were held between January and August 2003. The first concern was to involve the whole community. For this, the approach of problem identification and analysis with group exercises was selected. The problems thus identified by the community were grouped by them and the groups were prioritised. The obtained priority list determined quite rapidly some major action by the sub-tribe. One of the major problems identified was the breakdown of the traditional organisational strength of the tribes. For this to be remedied, they decided to analyse their governance situation in some depth. It was recognised that the top levels of organisation and leadership of the tribe were decimated by previous governments. The task was thus to recreate these levels of organisation in a manner that would be able to respond to modern challenges, including notions of participatory democracy. The highest level of tribal organisation that still existed and was functional was the *oba* (or camp), consisting of a number of tentholds migrating and living together. A joint team from CENESTA and trusted leaders from the subtribe went around from *oba* to *oba* consulting them on whom they considered to be their leader(s) at the level of each *bonku* (clan). Leaders acceptable to the *obas* in each *bonku* were thus identified and records were taken to provide a point of reference in case of dispute about the legitimacy of the process. Around 60 leaders from the 14 clans of the *Kuhi* subtribe were then gathered in a workshop to decide the leadership structure of the subtribe. It only took a day for them to settle on who should be the 14 representatives (elders) for as many clans, and a further 14 were selected as alternates. In March of 2003, for the first time since the Pahlavi Regime started to decimate the tribal organisation, a Council of the Kuhi Subtribe was born in the tribal wintering township of Farrashband in the province of Fars.

Early April saw another development, the elaboration of the bylaws for the Subtribe and the election of the leadership committee of the Council. It was decided that the Subtribe would create a parallel structure named "Sustainable Livelihoods Fund for Kuhi Nomadic Pastoralist." The membership of the Fund deliberately excludes those households in the tribe who are considered sedentarised. Sayyaad Soltani was elected unanimously to head the "Council for Sustainable Livelihoods of the Kuhi Migratory Pastoralists" and its associated Community Investment Fund. A Deputy-Chief, Executive Director, Treasurer, and Secretary were also elected.

Preliminary project plans were also pursued for a number of initiatives in each of the 5 categories of problems/needs of the Subtribe referred to earlier. Some of these initiatives include:

1. A project to supply supplementary feed to pregnant and lactating ewes (the term includes both sheep and goats). Expected benefits include lower miscarriage rates, higher twinning and double pregnancies (spring and autumn);



Figure 5. The Kuhi people and their community-conserved wetland. (Courtesy Ahmadreza Siapoush)

2. A project to empower women to take charge of the supply of wool and natural dyes for their rugs, *gabbehs* and other much appreciated handicrafts as well as the marketing of these products domestically, and ultimately internationally.
3. A project to streamline access to health care of the best quality in the Province using a referral service and female community health volunteers;
4. A project for participatory development of appropriate designs for solar equipment for use of the mobile tribal tentholds, including solar water heaters, dryers, solar electricity and solar cookers;
5. A project to establish a tribal legal support service with three functions: a) elaboration and legalisation of customary laws for the management and use of natural resources, especially rangelands, forests, wildlife and water supply; b) legal education; and c) legal aid;
6. A project to set up a mobile library of books and video programmes of an educational nature for all age and gender groups in the subtribe.
7. Restoring the natural resources of the tribe to common property ownership/control. One such unique opportunity is the Chahar-Tang e Kushk-i Zar wetland, extending some 9 kilometres in length, shared between the Kuhi and the Kolahli subtribes. This area has been a community conserved wetland from time immemorial. The Kuhi realise they obtain many "ecosystem benefits" from this wetland, including water reserves, reeds for handicrafts and tent making, fish, medicinal plants, micro-climate control, and wildlife. The government had earmarked part of the area in a controversial plan to be divided up among households for agricultural use. The Subtribe thinks it is better to preserve this area as a "*qorukh*" or "*hema*"—a community conserved area. A petition has been submitted to the relevant governmental authorities to formally declare the wetland and the surrounding rangelands as a community conserved area with use rights being regulated by the elders. In terms of IUCN categories, the overall CCA could be considered as a category V, with the wetland as a portion under category II (key objective of ecosystem management).

This project is showing important ways in which nomadic livelihoods can fully reconcile with conservation. Both can thrive together.

for ascaris and other intestinal parasites) in nomadic pastoralists in the areas where settled village populations suffered from 90% prevalence. Mobile pastoral populations rarely suffer from ecto-parasites such as the hair or bed lice and ticks that afflict settled villagers. They enjoy a higher standard of hygiene, especially in the summering grounds where fresh water from mountain springs and wetlands is plentiful. They usually take baths with warmed up water or stream water at least once a week, a high standard with respect to rural practice. Pastoralists also enjoy richer diets in terms of protein (mostly from the dairy products at their disposal), stored foods (using high protein dried buttermilk, grains and pulses and dried vegetables), as well as fresh mushrooms, wild fruits and berries and herbs most of the year, as they are always in areas of greener nature. Their mobile lifestyle protects them from such diseases of settled people as heart problems and hypertension. A

study by WHO of the impact of cholesterol-rich diets in the 1960s showed that the nomadic pastoralists of Somalia, who had the world's highest consumption rates for cholesterol in their diet, had virtually no incidence of heart attacks thanks to their nomadic lifestyle. On the contrary, hypertension, heart diseases, nervous problems and even high rates of suicide among women are common afflictions among sedentarised pastoralists.

Most pastoralists keep their wealth in livestock for the household and gold and jewellery for their women. These represent their mobile capital and savings accounts. Pastoral women are nearly always elegantly dressed and possess a large wardrobe of expensive clothes. If pastoralists are protected from encroachment and intrusion from outside, they can have rich and healthy lives.



Figure 4: Yemeni pastoralists documenting their natural resource management system (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Myth 10: Pastoralists overgraze their land

It is now well known that most drylands are non-equilibrium ecosystems (not least because of unreliable and highly variable seasonal and annual rainfall) requiring a different kind of management than equilibrium ecosystems. This concept, however, is relatively recent and has revolutionised the thinking and practice of range management and ecology in the past couple of decades. The conventional carrying capacity calculation for rangelands—too often still practiced—is no longer scientifically valid. The traditional practices of the nomadic pastoralists themselves are finally understood as much more technically correct than the calculations of conventional range management experts. In some countries, the single most important negative impact on the ecological health of the rangelands is related to the nationalisation of rangelands and their ensuing control by technocrats and bureaucrats. The old systems were based on a complex understanding of the ecosystems and their varying carrying capacity coupled with a fine-tuned opportunistic approach to using available resources in micro-environments, and moving away from them before they are destroyed. A good deal of research in specific local situations is still needed to better understand the ecology and responses of the drylands in this region, as most of the research has been

made in other environments, such as African dry lands.

Challenges

This brief exploration of some pervasive myths about nomadic pastoralism leaves us to assess the opportunities and constraints faced by sustainable pastoral development. The questions outlined below spell out such challenges while offering a vision of a hopeful future. Bold new initiatives are needed to take up the challenge of helping pastoralism survive and do well in the region. In some places these initiatives are already proving themselves in practice (see Box 1).

Livelihoods

When supported by enabling national policies, the mobile pastoral systems can provide for sustainable livelihoods, well adapted to the social, political, economic and ecological realities of drylands. The determinant questions, in fact, are:

Can state governments abandon once and for all the policies of persecution, discrimination, alienation, oppression and deprivation from the most fundamental human rights of mobile peoples?

Can they recognise the achievements of pastoralists and their contribution to national economies, food security, sustainable use of marginal lands, conservation of biological diversity and health and conservation of natural resources and protected areas? Can they recognise their sophisticated management capacity and their right to cultural identity, which enriches the national bio-cultural diversity?

Can we integrate in what we understand as democracy some innovative styles of governance based on decisions by consensus and on preserving the integrity of the community?

Can they take much needed action to have supportive and protective policies for a segment of the population that produces much and demands little?

Can pastoralists be perceived as whole communities, rather than atomised individuals, and

can such communities be involved in the planning of their own development, the provision of services, the management of finance for investment and credit, and others?

Can we all recognise the uniqueness of the pastoral mode of production as a legitimate way of life and attempt to improve the conditions of life of these communities?

Can we all learn from the experience of nomadic pastoral societies in coping with uncertainty, risk, survival, and conservation of nature?

Poverty reduction strategies

Pastoral communities have their own systems of social organisation. Most poverty eradication programmes, being externally inspired, if not imposed, are individually oriented, such as the micro-enterprise and micro-credit schemes. These innovations can result in the weakening and atomisation of the pastoral community. They should always be preceded by a prior empowerment of the nomadic pastoral tribes as whole communities and by support to their endogenous organisation to take charge of managing their own investment and credit programmes. There are endogenous examples of community organisation for sustainable livelihoods based on the pastoral tribes' own traditions, which avoid imported models such as "associations", "cooperatives" and "micro-finance schemes". Can we learn from these endogenous experiences (such as the one illustrated in Box 1, above)?

Advancing climate change

Time and again pastoral nomads have survived droughts and other environmental disasters. They have managed to keep the integrity of their tribal organisation and have benefited from the uniting and mobilising influence of the traditional elders. Can we learn from these experiences and strengthen the nomadic communities and their traditional and indigenous knowledge of coping with these challenges? Can we help nomadic pastoralists mitigate the impact of the climate change upon them by allowing them to regain access to the entirety of their migratory landscapes, including the special ecological nich-



Figure 6. Man and lamb in Iran (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

es and buffer zones so important for the functioning of their overall livelihood and management strategies?

Key legal issues

The most important factor in the revival and strengthening of pastoral systems is likely to be the rediscovery and full understanding of customary laws regarding the management of natural resources (range, forest, wetland, water, wildlife and their management). Can we help pastoralists to study and record their own customary laws? Can we organise to have formal recognition of these systems? Can we learn from the experience of some West African countries that have passed quite progressive and empowering pastoral laws ("*Codes pastorales*") that recognise the primacy of the rights of pastoral people over the legitimacy of their traditional systems of communal property and access to natural resources? Now that many governments have experienced the futility and tragedy of taking away lands from the careful management of nomadic pastoralism, can they decide to reverse their nationalisation policies, give back the rights and ownership of land to the tribal groups on a common-property basis, and make them responsible again for its maintenance and

sustainable use? Can the states confide the management of conflicts over natural resources back to the traditional systems that demonstrated themselves to be more effective and honest than modern court and police systems?

Social and economic services

Much has been learned in terms of effective and efficient ways of providing mobile services of all kinds (health, schooling, veterinary care, marketing, information systems, etc.) to the nomadic populations. This knowledge, however, is often not shared and not even brought to bear in national—let alone regional—practice. Will it be possible to envisage a regional initiative in each pastoral region of the world and mutual learning linkages among regions around a series of demonstration/ learning sites and including ways to provide basic services?

Conservation

Given the success of the traditional pastoral systems in the conservation of landscape and species biodiversity of the rangelands, can we learn from their experience and help them re-establish and manage community conserved areas and, where necessary and feasible, co-manage with the government and others specific areas for biodiversity conservation?

Participatory democracy

Unlike what some believe, traditional systems can be internally democratic and change according to fair processes. Today, as in the past, tribal chiefs can be selected and/or impeached by lower ranking popular community elders. Can new governance systems of nomadic pastoralists be rooted on their traditional and indigenous knowledge and practices? Can their re-enabled community organisations be entrusted as key decision-makers and agents for their own livelihoods and sustainable development? Can we all graduate from the imposition of western democratic systems in traditional societies? Can we stop imposing the alienating tyranny of the majority or, in fact, the tyranny of those with money to buy publicity and votes? Can we integrate in what we understand as democracy some innovative styles of governance based on

decisions by consensus and on preserving the integrity of the community? Can we learn from community-based governance systems about how to render more meaningful and participatory the governance system of the rest of society?

Can decentralisation mean anything other than extending the interfering arm of the central government to the outlying areas? Can state governments devolve authority and responsibility to the communities and their endogenous organisations rather than imposing top-down governance models? Can state governments balance this with re-centralised representation of empowered community organisations—“rebuilding the top” on a logical extension of the structures at the base?

The answers provided, or not provided, to the questions above will spell out much of the future for the nomadic pastoralists in West Asia, the integrity of their living landscapes and the wealth of dryland biodiversity in the region.

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Notes

¹ Put forth by the Iranian Organisation for Nomadic Pastoralists Affairs (ONPA).

² At times royalty from colonialist countries have affected the attitudes. Prince Phillip of the UK, for example, is reported to have admonished the presence of “unseemly” nomadic pastoralists in or near the protected areas of southern Iran in the 1970, when he was looked up to by Iran’s royal family as the source of inspiration for anti-people conservation programmes (Colonel Beizai, D.G. of DOE in Fars Province, personal communication, 1974). This sort of conservation without, despite and against local communities and indigenous peoples survived the anti-Shah Revolution of 1979 and is still the bulk of the protected area system approach in Iran. Conscious of the ultimate futility of this approach, the Department of the Environment in Iran is now setting up new experiments that empower Community Conserved Areas (CCAs) and Co-Managed Protected Areas (CMPAs). The influence of statist advice, such as from the Soviet Union and others, seems also to have influenced anti-nomadic policies in such countries as Afghanistan, Algeria, Ethiopia, Syria, and Tanzania.

³ To use the words of Paolo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

⁴ There have been many criticisms made of these tent schools and their political intent, such as their rote learning methods and their content alienating the students from their own cultures and livelihood systems, but the basic idea that a school can be *mobile* has proved sound and deserves much credit as an adapted model.

⁵ Much like Alpine meadows, whose extremely rich biodiversity has evolved with, and often depends on, cattle grazing.

The end of forcible displacements? Conservation must not impoverish people

Michael M. Cernea & Kai Schmidt-Soltau

The vexing dilemma between preserving biodiversity and protecting the livelihood of populations deemed to endanger this biodiversity is neither new, nor easy to solve. Importantly, empirical knowledge has not been available equally about both terms of this dilemma. An asymmetry in information and knowledge created a discrepancy with far reaching effects on policies, resource allocation, governmental practices, and with pressing demands upon future scientific interdisciplinary research. While biological sciences have forcefully made the policy case for conservation, social research has not developed a cogent *generalized* argument apt to escalate the social issues vested in conservation at the same high policy level. Biosphere sustainability concerns have gained important policy backing and financial resources, e.g. for the establishment of protected areas (PAs), while the recommendations made in the name of social concerns remain both under-designed and woefully under-resourced¹.

In Central Africa, the area of our recent empirical investigations, governmental institutions and bilateral and international agencies have adopted strategies to protect as much undisturbed forest as possible. The Yaoundé Declaration of 1999, ratified by seven Central African Heads of State, expresses the consensus that the establishment of protected areas in this sub-region is the most effective instrument to protect nature². While the 2002 World Summit

It became clear that the "pygmies" were expelled from a territory considered by the government and international experts as land "not fit for humans". In addition to the expulsion, no compensation or alternative livelihood strategy was enacted, in law, in formal decisions or on the ground.

on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg just maintained as a goal that 10 % of all land should be protected, the Heads of State in the

Central African sub-region came up with the plan that in ten years time no less than 30 % of the landmass of their states will be under protected status³. Both the development community and the conservation community are faced with a compelling question: will the new extension of protected areas be, again, predicated on the forced displacement and impoverishment of their resident and mobile peoples?

So far, a common premise and characteristic of creating many protected areas across the developing world has been one difficult to execute and even more difficult to morally justify: the forcible uprooting of resident and mobile populations, often coerced violently to relocate "somewhere else" (often not quite clear where), unsustainably and receiving by far less legal protection and financial resources than provided for the preservation of non-human species. Surprising as it may be, no UN Convention has been adopted so far by the international community to protect the interests and livelihoods of the involuntarily displaced populations, comparable to and mirroring the UN Convention for Biodiversity. Again, this is what we mean by imbalance in public discourse and practice.

Justified alarm about the underestimation of social impacts of irresponsible displacements, and the need for a consistent conceptual approach to cumulative social impacts, has been sounded by some donor agencies and social researchers.⁴ This need arises from findings that "*policies that ignore the presence of people within national parks are doomed to failure*"⁵ and that "*eviction from traditional lands has been typically disastrous to those affected*"⁶. Nevertheless and despite all requests, satisfactory practical guidelines on how to deal with resident and mobile peoples in the course of establishing protected areas that call for their eviction are still missing.

In the 1990s, Michael M. Cernea developed a conceptual model of the risks of impoverishment



Figure 1: A recently "sedentarised" Baka woman harvests water close to Dja Reserve (Cameroun). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

embedded in the development-induced displacement and resettlement of populations. The origin of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model is both empirical and theoretical. Empirically, the model is distilled from the extraordinary accumulation of research findings during the last three decades in many countries. Theoretically, it builds on the state-of-the-art of resettlement research and poverty-related research. This model was first used on a large scale in a World Bank analysis of some 200 development projects⁷ and has been tested and applied in a number of studies, including in the report of the World Commission on Dams⁸, in an all-India monograph on population displacement⁹ and in numerous studies of displacements in the irrigation and mining sec-

tors¹⁰. The model is now used by major development agencies involved in operational resettlement.

A first systematic study of the impoverishment effects of indigenous population displaced from protected areas on the basis of the IRR model was carried out in nine sites in six Central African countries (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Nigeria & Republic of Congo) by Kai Schmidt-Soltau between 1996 and 2003. To his surprise and in contrast to their declared "collaborative management" approach¹¹, none of the surveyed protected areas had adopted an official strategy to integrate local inhabitants into the park-management. Only two protected areas (Korup National Park & Cross River National Park) had an explicit resettlement initiatives dealing with resident and mobile people within their borders. One could have assumed that in the other protected areas in the region the dilemma biodiversity versus people did not occur, but this assumption would have been wrong. The Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park in the Republic of Congo, which recently received wide recognition through National Geographic articles and the CNN Mega-transect, should serve as example. The park is permanently inhabited only by American and British researchers and the entire population of the two permanent settlements within the support zone is composed of employees of the Wildlife Conservation Society, which manages the park in collaboration with the Congolese authorities. When Schmidt-Soltau first visited this area in 1999, he tried to find out why the indigenous Babenzélé population could not be found in the park. He learned that "*in the past they used to come time and again, but they are not allowed to enter the national park any longer*". It became clear that the "pygmies" were expelled from a territory considered by the government and international experts as land "*not fit for humans*". In addition to the expulsion, no compensation or alternative livelihood strategy was enacted, in law, in formal decisions or on the ground.

We used the IRR model as a tool to analyze

the situation in the Central African rainforest and for deriving lessons and recommendations to reduce pauperization risks. As we shall see, not all the risks identified in the general IRR model are applicable to displacements from Central African rainforests but the risks are important overall and should be regarded as an inter-connected system. Who is facing these risks? The total number of people affected and displaced, physically or economically, from the nine protected areas and their resources is estimated to be between 40,000 and 45,000 individuals.¹² Based on the overall average population density in the study region, we consider this to be a conservative estimate. With two exceptions, all the examined protected areas expelled the inhabitants without providing them with new settlement areas. That means that an additional 25,000 to 50,000 people in the study region have been, at the same time, transformed into reluctant hosts for the displaced people. In total, between

190,000 and 250,000 people are likely to have been adversely affected in various ways by conservation projects in the six case study countries in Central Africa and around the same number of people might be affected within the next ten years. Global assess-

ments of displacement from protected areas in rainforest ecosystems conclude that millions of "conservation refugees" have been created or are facing displacement-related impoverishment risks within the next few years¹³. Forcing such a significant number of people to face impoverishment risks demands that these risks be examined in more detail and addressed with appropriate responses. To this end, the eight major impoverishment risks related to displacement identified by Cernea (2000) will now be examined with reference to the Central African contexts.

a) The risk of landlessness

Land has social, economic and cultural dimension, and especially so for indigenous people. In our study area, the level of land losses

incurred by the local population because of conservation-related displacement varied between 70% and 90% of their territories¹⁴ with an overall value in the six countries of 1.1 billion US \$¹⁵. While the total figure seems high, our extrapolation figure per ha is rather conservative. In fact, it is the extent of the land declared under protected status that results in such a high figure. In 2002, 92,000 km² were under protection and in 2012 210,000 km² are expected to fall under some protection category¹⁶. Neither conservation agencies, nor the governments in the region considered to provide any fraction of this amount to compensate forest populations for their land and livelihood losses¹⁷.

b) The risk of joblessness (loss of income and means of subsistence)

The forest is the main and often only source of income and subsistence for the inhabitants of the Central African rainforests¹⁸. Their income losses have to be compensated based on both legal and moral standards. Conservation proponents are aware that they must provide realistic alternatives for income generation to local people, but genuine economic incentives are seldom secured. For instance, the principle of compensating the Aka "pygmies" in the Dzanga-Ndoki National Park (Central African Republic) for their losses (cash income and subsistence) through alternative income generating activities, such as farming, livestock breeding, eco-tourism etc., is well outlined in theory¹⁹ but certainly not translated into practice. If one travels to Bayanga, one does not see any sign of successful partnership but rather miserable plots, where alcoholism and diseases seem to be ruling²⁰. An entire change in lifestyle cannot not be implemented over night or even within one generation. The difficulties to introduce alternative income generating activities as trade offs for the uprooting of livelihoods generated by the conservation initiatives also shows that cash compensation is not a meaningful option for hunter-gatherers.

Despite ultra-optimistic calculations on paper, tourism is generally unable to generate significant benefits. Exceptions notwithstanding, in

In addition to new impoverishment risks imposed on people, forcible resettlement also generate new and unanticipated risks for biodiversity itself, an outcome that should give pause to many conservationists.

most cases tourists do not even generate enough income to cover the management costs of the protected areas, let alone extras to compensate the resettled populations. Other solutions have to be found either to prevent the unacceptable income-impoverishment of the displaced people, or to stop displacing them. It is not up to the generosity of a conservation project to assist the former inhabitants of a park at their new location— it is a political and moral responsibility.

c) The risk of homelessness

In the region under study this risk exists in a modified form, not in its primary meaning. Houses of semi-permanent and permanent settlements as well as huts of hunter-gatherers hardly require monetary expenditures and can be re-built without much effort. This was observed in the cases surveyed. The people expelled from a protected area erected new houses in the old style on their new plots. But habitations suitable for a hunter-gatherer lifestyle are not suitable for resident farmers. Resettlement housing appeared to be associated with decreasing health status.

d) The risk of marginalization

The risk of marginalization results directly from the instant loss of traditional rights and status of PA-displaced people and is also related to the geographical position of the new settlement areas. The cultural alienation and marginalization occur especially where the displaced peoples resettle as strangers (without rights) in the midst of homogenous neighbors from a different cultural, social and economic background.

e) The risk of food insecurity

Fortunately, this risk can be considered as virtually absent, in the short term, for people displaced because of protected areas in Central Africa. In none of the studied areas governmental services are able to fully implement their restrictive forestry laws, which prohibit hunting and gathering, and these are means by which people, evicted or not, supplement their staple diet. It is however known that the dietary diversity among hunter-gatherers and incipient horticulturalists is higher than that of settled agricul-

turalists²¹. In the long run, the lack of formal land titles and the denial of land-use rights could also result in food insecurity for the resettled people, wherever the forestry laws will be fully enforced. Another serious problem for farming activities arises from conservation itself. Around the Nouabalé Ndoki National Park, for instance, the conservation project is forced to provide imported foodstuff on a subsidized rate to the inhabitants of the nearby villages, since the increase in elephant population due to conservation undermines their efforts to establish farms. At first glance this system, which both provides the rural population with food and secures the lives of protected species, seems to be acceptable. In the long run however, the system is dangerous, as nobody can guarantee that the food supply will go on forever. The findings of Galvin suggest that rural population living near protected areas have in general a lower nutritional status than other people from the same ethnic background.²²

f) The risk of increased morbidity and mortality

A changed environment and exposure to a more frequent interaction with out-of-the-forest life embody multiple health risks. Research has determined that a shift from foraging to farming may be accompanied by a decline in overall health.²³ On the other hand, in all cases surveyed we found that the new settlements are closer to formal health services and facilities, which is a risk reduction factor.

g) The risk of loss of access to common property resources

The specific characteristics of the Central African rainforest modify this important and widespread impoverishment risks identified in the IRR model. In the rainforest context there is hardly a difference between the risk of landlessness and the risk to lose the access to the common prop-

The conservation projects that refuse to compensate indigenous forest dwellers in Central Africa did so because they thought recognition of traditional land titles would put an end to their resettlement schedules and "their park".

erty resources from the forest, since the forest in its total meaning is both individual and common property. Even among resident farmers only the user rights for farm plots are held individually by the household, while all untransformed land is "owned" collectively. Apart from the few cultivated products on these house-plots, all other food products— roots and fruits, medicinal plants, fish from streams, etc.— come from the forest as common property. Separating and relocating resident communities out of the forest deprives them simultaneously of their ownership of the forest and of access to its resources as a common pool for all. This is not a potential impoverishment risk: it is an all too real impoverishment fact through prohibition of access! What for other communities may be experienced as two distinct risks of impoverishment is, in this case, virtually one merged actual damage – a multifaceted, fundamental process of deprivation of resources and de-capitalization, to which current park-establishment practices do not provide a remedy.

h) The risk of social disarticulation

Social disarticulation of uprooted/ resettled hunter-gatherer societies is also not a risk but a fact. Politically weak communities are further disempowered by removal out of their habitat. "When technological change comes too fast and too soon for a society, it makes stable adaptations difficult if not impossible to achieve without severe pain, emotional stress, and conflict".²⁴ The forced change of lifestyle atomizes existing social links within the band and in its relation to others. The high prestige of the elders, resulting from their knowledge of the land, and the related social stratification, have all but disappeared in the park-displacement cases we studied. The leading figures in the bands are now younger men, who have picked up some words of French or English and are able to express themselves in meetings with project staff. They are also the people who have the physical strength to explore their new environment and its opportunities, while the elders are staying behind, complaining about the changes and the destruction of their world. Local officials, and sometime

Is it morally acceptable for conservationists to free ride on the "underdeveloped", "underprivileged", "underrepresented" inhabitants of the Central-African rainforest?

even sophisticated researchers or international experts, often confuse the mere "settling" of the conservation-refugees at the new location with instant "local integration". This certainly is not social re-articulation. Kibreab convincingly critiqued the "tendency among scholars and international agencies to use the concepts of local settlement and local integration synonymously" and explained why "local integration and local settlements are two separate conceptual categories with different substantive meaning".²⁵ To sum up, a system of impoverishment risks is inflicted on 'conservation refugees' such as forest-dwellers. These people, already among the most vulnerable and the poorest in the world, are rendered even poorer and more destitute through forced displacement. This is obvious from the analysis of field evidence in the region, and from the analysis of additional evidence from other regions in

Africa, Asia and Latin America. And yet, this is not the whole story. In addition to new impoverishment risks imposed on people, forcible resettlement also generate new and unanticipated risks for biodiversity itself²⁶, an outcome that should give pause to many conservationists.

How displacements backfire: the new risks of biodiversity loss

On the basis of several case studies in South Africa, Fabricius and de Wet concluded that "the main negative conservation impacts of forced removals from protected areas are that they contribute to unsustainable resource use outside the protected areas, because of increased pressure on natural resources in areas already degraded due to over-population"²⁷. And it is noted that displacements result in environmental degradation through an increase of permanent settlements²⁸ and that soil erosion tends to be higher in permanently used agricultural plots than under shifting cultivation regimes.²⁹ The increased social stratification induced through displacement has in turn biological implications because it leads to more intense harvesting and extraction of forest resources. Increasing social strati-

fication, in fact, precipitates capital accumulation³⁰. In turn, Turton concludes that displacement for conservation “*will alienate the local population from conservation objectives and thus require an ever increasing and, in the long run, unsustainable level of investment in policing activities*”³¹. In all, the research findings signal that the consequences of the displacement and resettlement processes may have in themselves a set of degrading effects on forest ecosystems. We term these as a ‘second generation’ degrading effects, considering that the presence of residents in parks is also causing, under certain circumstances, some ‘first generation’ effects. Trade-offs must therefore be weighted between the cost of efforts to contain the ‘first generation’ without resorting to displacement and having to bear the costs of the ‘second generation’ effects. It seems reasonable to recommend that all future conservation projects predicated on displacement provide donors and all stakeholders with a detailed *ex-ante* assessment of both the impoverishment risks for the people and the ecological risks for the environment.

Discussion and conclusion

Research holds that the creation of protected areas through forcible resettlements that do not provide an equitable and sustainable livelihood alternative to the expelled local population results in lose-lose situations³². The common practice of providing no assistance to forcibly displaced peoples represents the path of least resistance. And yet, leaving without assistance and guidance people who derived their livelihood from the area now to be protected is the worst possible option for the people³³ and for biodiversity conservation³⁴. Forcibly displacing people also often involves unacceptable physical violence on the ground.

Government officials implementing forced displacement for park creation openly argue that all territories not utilized for agricultural production or officially demarcated as private property are, by decree, government land and that small hunter-gatherer bands can be in extreme cases the customary owner and user of 1000 km² of

first class primary forest, valued in million US \$. In addition, the costs involved in resettling inhabitants of protected areas according to socially sound guidelines³⁵ would be too high. And yet, the world’s largest development agency, the World Bank, recommends a resettlement policy for all cases of displacement that recognize not only legal property rights but also customary rights³⁶. The policy³⁷ stresses that the displaced persons should be:

informed about their options and rights pertaining to resettlement;

consulted on, offered choices among, and provided with technically and economically feasible resettlement alternatives; and

provided prompt and effective compensation at full replacement cost for losses of assets attributable directly to the resettlement.

Based on many discussions with park managers, our findings suggest that the conservation projects that refuse to compensate indigenous forest dwellers in Central Africa did so because they thought recognition of traditional land titles would put an end to their resettlement schedules and “their park”. Therefore, the illicit logic of the projects is to refuse legal recognition to avoid endless discussions about compensating the uncommensurable³⁸. This is both dangerous and disastrous: dangerous for the conservation goals, disastrous for the well being of the rural and forest population and counter-productive for any complementary development objective. It is important to make biodiversity conservation less costly, but is it acceptable that conservation agencies and national governments continue to break accepted international resettlement standards in order to establish protected areas as cheaply as possible? Is it morally acceptable for conservationists to free ride on the ‘underdeveloped’, ‘underprivileged’, ‘underrepresented’ inhabitants of the Central-African rainforest?

Conservationists should not be not singled out for displacement critique . . . but it is an unfortunate fact that displacements for the sake of setting up protected areas are carried out in most cases at very low standards, or with no legal protective standard at all

Community based conservation and real co-management approaches are the only morally acceptable and effective answer in sight.

Resettlements can have negative consequences no matter what its causes and goals, and conservationists should not be singled out for critique. It is simply a compelling imperative that wherever displacement is disastrous for people's livelihood and tramples upon human rights, it should not be done. This is true for conservation but also for development projects such as dams³⁹, highways, urban expansions, etc. But it is an unfortunate fact that displacements for the sake of setting up protected areas are carried out in most cases at very low standards, or with no legal protective standard at all. As in most developing countries resettlement policies are totally absent, the absence of policy invites and facilitates abuse and unaccountability. The remoteness of many protected areas also tends to camouflage violence and lack of compensation from the public eye and scrutiny. Forced displacement results in some of the worst consequences conceivable for the immediately affected people, sometimes possibly for the next generation as well.

The silence of some conservationists that promote resettlements is very unhelpful, tolerates the intolerable, and must be replaced by a clear and principled position of opposing such forced and violent acts. If resettlement is deemed nec-

essary and feasible, it should be carried out following standards that consistently ensure decent relocation, equitable compensation and sustainable reconstruction of people's livelihood. And it could be used as a means of last resort. But as long as basic resettlement international standards are not met, it is contrary to most stated donors' and NGOs' policies, poverty reduction commitments and ethical principles to continue displacing and sacrificing weak and vulnerable populations.

For the inhabitants of state-declared protected areas the principles of sustainability are not the question in dispute. Their question is whether the costs and benefits of preservation are equally shared. The benefits are global, but the costs are mostly local, and are paid by the poorest and most vulnerable groups. Nobody beside the inhabitants of prestigious-category protected areas is forced to change its lifestyles for the "survival of biodiversity" and start a new life from scratches. But the claim and grievances of those who are forced to do so, their legitimate requests to share in the benefits of development, remain unanswered. To avoid lose-lose situations is necessary to secure both people's well being and the conservation of the rainforest ecosystem.



Figure 2: Truckload in Congo Brazzaville. Conservationists fear that forest areas not under protected status will end up entirely exploited by loggers. (Courtesy Christian Chatelain)

There is no easy answer about how the risks of impoverishment can be reduced. But acknowledging these risks could at least make all stakeholders aware of them and prompt preventive actions and approaches. Forced displacements out of protected areas have been for decades a mainstream "remedy", albeit a remedy that creates new problems. Too often, national governments embraced and practiced displacements with irresponsible abandon. For them it has been relatively easy to exploit the quasi-total political weakness of remote, uneducated, unorganized, poor, indigenous populations, much easier than to institute and financially support some good management systems. But displacements have spectacularly failed, time and time again, to



Figure 3: Young Bakas from a new settlement close to Dja Reserve (Cameroun). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

achieve the balanced solution to the sustainability objectives under whose flag they were advocated. Not only is their failure documented by evidence: they have been proven to create a host of additional social, political and economic problems—ranging from impoverishment and infringements of human rights to new adverse environmental effects. Then what to do? We see two possible answers to the problems generated by current displacement strategies.

First answer: if population resettlement will continue to be used as a strategy for conservation (through the creation of protected areas that do not contemplate hosting a resident population), some international standards for responsible resettlement⁴⁰ should be fully implemented and monitored by national governments, donor governments, or sponsoring international NGOs. That would require, as a premise, the adaptation of explicit country policies and legal frameworks guaranteeing the rights of those displaced and their entitlements to reconstruct their livelihoods. Global benefits from the created protected areas should be rooted on local benefits for the displaced communities. Pursuing this route would imply also remedial and retrofitting actions (as has been done in some World Bank-supported development projects that entailed involuntary resettlement) in protected areas where livelihood issues fell far short of such

standards.

Second answer: forcible evictions for conservations should be openly and explicitly questioned, side-lined and abandoned as a policy. Continuing to rely on them can only signify tolerance and acceptance of the same type of outcomes that this approach has produced so far. The crucial commandment is to search for solutions that help to improve livelihoods rather than impoverishing poor people further. In this sense, conservation should entirely re-orient itself. It should embrace complexity rather than running away from it, and include conservation goals, research goals, and livelihood goals.

Looking ahead at the next ten years in Central Africa, we do not see the strategic prerequisites for answer one to be in place, however scantily. Such prerequisites include the political will to adopt national policies and legal frameworks for resettlement; adequate financing; and organizational/institutional capacity to create alternative opportunities and foster the active engagement of the resettled people⁴¹. From past and current experiences we conclude that, realistically, such prerequisites can be hardly built in a short time, at least in the Central African countries we studied. We are thus left with the answer number two, an answer that must be internalized by both conservationists and policy makers. Answer two is feasible and does not demand to renounce conservation goals. On the contrary, it calls for a renewed effort at conservation, one in which resident peoples and communities are seen as natural and rightful inhabitants and caretakers of their land and as resourceful agents of conservation nor merely squatters and poachers. Ultimately, community based conservation and real co-management approaches are the only morally acceptable and effective answer in sight.

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Notes

- 1 See Cernea, 1999; Schmidt-Soltau, 2002a.
- 2 Sommet, 1999.
- 3 COMIFAC, 2002.
- 4 Among those Brechin et al., 1991; Geisler, 2001; Brockington, 2002; Risby, 2002.
- 5 Page 23 in McNeely, 1995.
- 6 Page 27 in Cernea, 2000; Chatty and Colchester, 2002.
- 7 Cernea and Guggenheim, 1996; Cernea, 2000.
- 8 WCD, 2001.
- 9 Mahapatra, 1999.
- 10 Downing, 2002.
- 11 In Cameroon, for instance, the forestry law requires that the population participate in all management decisions (Article 26 of the national forestry law of 1994) but on the ground this participation is usually not in the least visible (Schmidt-Soltau 2003).
- 12 For Boumba Beck National Park: PROFORNAT 2003; Curran & Tshombe 2001:521; for Cross River National Park: Schmidt-Soltau, 2001; for Dja biosphere reserve: Abilogo et al., 2002: 10; FPP, 2003; for Dzanga-Ndoki National Park: Noss, 2001:330; for Ipanga-Mingouli biosphere reserve: MDP, 1994; IFORD, 2003; for Korup National Park: Schmidt-Soltau, 2000; for Lake Loboke National Park: PROFORNAT, 2003; Curran & Tshombe 2001:521; FPP, 2003; for Loango National Park: MDP, 1994; IFORD 2003; for Moukalaba-Doudou National Park: MDP 1994; IFORD 2003; for Nouabalé Ndoki National Park: PROECO, 1997; for Odzala National Park: Joiris & Lia 1995:41.
- 13 Geisler, 2001.
- 14 Schmidt-Soltau, 2002c.
- 15 Schmidt-Soltau, 2002c.
- 16 We assessed the lost stumpage value to be at least US \$ 120/ha. This is a conservative estimate, and far below what Carolin Tutin estimated as opportunity cost for forest parks in the Congo-basin, i.e., US \$ 150 per ha per year (Tutin, 2002: 81).
- 17 As a matter of fact, however, such values are also returned to the resident population in very limited proportion, if at all, even in the case of full exploitation, e.g. for logging.
- 18 Schmidt-Soltau, 2001.
- 19 Carroll, 1992; Noss, 2001.
- 20 Sarno, 1993.
- 21 Fleuret and Fleuret, 1980; MacLean-Stearman, 2000.
- 22 Page 4 in Galvin et al., 1999.
- 23 Cohen and Armelegos, 1984.
- 24 Page 22 in Coelho and Stein, 1980.
- 25 Page 468 in Kibreab, 1989.
- 26 Marquardt, 1994.
- 27 Fabricius and de Wet, 2002.
- 28 Colchester, 1997.
- 29 Duncan and McElwee, 1999.
- 30 Fratkin et al., 1999.
- 31 Turton, 2002.
- 32 Cernea, 1985; Cernea, 1997.
- 33 Schmidt-Soltau, 2002a.
- 34 Terborgh and Peres, 2002.

³⁵ See, for instance World Bank, 2002; OECD, 1992; ADB, 2002

³⁶ The World Bank clarifies that in addition to people who have a formal landholding title also "those who do not have formal legal title to land but have a customary right/entitlement to such land or assets, including those who have no recognizable legal right or claim to the land they are occupying, are entitled to receive at least resettlement assistance" (page 6 in World Bank, 2002).

³⁷ World Bank, 2002, page 3.

³⁸ Terborgh and Peres, 2002.

³⁹ See the IUCN Report of the World Commission on Dams.

⁴⁰ E.g., the ones set up by agencies such as the World Bank and OECD.

⁴¹ World Bank, 1996: 183-186; OECD, 1992.

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Protected areas and poverty—the linkages and how to address them

Thomas O. McShane

Protected Areas are the cornerstone of the conservation movement. Almost all conservation organisations have targets for the amount of the Earth's surface that should be set aside as protected — both in terms of area and representation of biotic communities. This traditional approach to conservation, however, has often had a negative impact on the livelihoods of people — through forced displacement and/or denying access to natural resources that are vital to human needs. As a result, protected areas have often increased poverty amongst the poorest of the poor. While there has been a great deal of work undertaken recently on poverty - environment relationships, little has been done to better understand how protected areas both negatively and positively impact poverty.

Rural poverty has many causes, including inappropriate resource management, which in turn has its roots in the loss of rights to resources that rural communities have traditionally considered their own. It is these rights to timber, water, land and wildlife that are essential elements to sustainable rural development. The starting point in the protected area - poverty

We have to balance the requirement of no net loss of biodiversity with no net negative impact on livelihoods within protected areas— or at a minimum do no harm. Protected area establishment and management need to be assessed both on the basis of biodiversity conservation and how they impact opportunity, vulnerability and the voice of the poor.

debate is to recognise that the cost of protected areas is often at the expense of the poor (e.g., through expropriation of their land or by having them deliver global public goods for free). Conservation organisations and governments seldom consider this equity dimension in the establishment and management of protected areas. As a result, the poor have been excluded from effectively participating in and influencing decisions about protected areas. Understanding of the costs

and benefits of how local people are affected by these actions is weak, as is the institutional capacity of governments and resource management institutions to undertake socially responsible conservation.

More inclusive approaches are urgently required for the development and management of protected areas

There is now an emerging recognition of both an ethical and practical imperative as 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. Practically, protected area development has a chequered history that has often bred resentment in local communities and made people poorer. In practice this means that we have to balance the requirement of no net loss of biodiversity with no net negative impact on livelihoods within protected areas— or at a minimum do no harm. Protected area establishment and management need to be assessed both on the basis of biodiversity conservation and how they impact opportunity, vulnerability and the voice of the poor. This is not to suggest that the rural poor should have exclusive *veto* over whether new protected areas are declared, but rather that more inclusive approaches are urgently required for the development and management of protected areas. Yet, we need to go beyond this and recognise biodiversity as part of the basis of local livelihoods as well as a global public good. The global values of protected areas present real opportunities for generating benefits for the rural poor in recognition of their stewardship role. The global community has a responsibility to identify, explore and support these possibilities.

With the upcoming World Parks Congress in September 2003 and the seventh Conference of the Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity planned for early 2004, now is the time to focus attention on the relationships between

protected areas and poverty. In this light, CARE, IUCN and WWF are working together to better understand and articulate these relationships. It should be understood up front that this is not an attack on protected areas, but an effort to strengthen the debate and find more innovative and effective ways to position protected areas

within sustainable development and poverty reduction strategies.

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¿Son los comunes una tragedia o una oportunidad?

Patricia Madriñal Cordero y Vivienne Solís Rivera

Desde la aparición del artículo "La tragedia de los comunes", ha tomado fuerza una orientación ideológica que afirma que un bien común, al no contar con derechos de propiedad individuales, conduce a su explotación irracional hasta su agotamiento. La consecuencia de dicha premisa es que el establecimiento de derechos de propiedad individuales promueve la conservación del bien.

La sistematización de diversos casos de manejo colaborativo de recursos naturales y áreas protegidas en América Central y el Caribe de habla hispana, sugiere que tanto la premisa como la conclusión anteriormente expuestas cambian al considerar otros contextos y valores culturales que entienden los bienes comunes como la base para su desarrollo (fundamentalmente las áreas protegidas manejadas por o con la cooperación de comunidades locales o indígenas).

Los países que cuentan con una estructura fundamentalmente agrícola se sustentan en valores como la cooperación, colaboración y solidaridad, necesarios para el uso conjunto y no excluyente de los recursos naturales. Las culturas autóctonas se estructuraron a partir de sistemas de propiedad colectivos que fueron sustituidos por sistemas de propiedad individual, contribuyendo en gran medida al agotamiento de esos recursos y a la introducción de prácticas insostenibles de uso.

La teoría de los bienes comunes ha sido entendida como una forma de fortalecimiento del Estado-Nación que ha permitido el uso de estos recursos para otorgarlos al sector privado, nacional o transnacional, olvidando en muchos casos que dichos bienes han sido utilizados y conservados por comunidades locales y/o indígenas previamente al establecimiento de sistemas de propiedad estatal o privados.

Al menos tres experiencias centroamericanas brindan insumos que revelan la necesidad de un replanteamiento sobre el otorgamiento del uso de los bienes comunes y en la forma en que han sido reconocidos los aportes que los diferentes actores sociales brindan a la conservación y al desarrollo.

La Comarca Kuna Yala ha sido reconocida territorialmente por el Gobierno de Panamá, garantizando su autonomía en la gestión y conservación de sus recursos, sin que esto haya significado la fragmentación del Estado panameño ni la pérdida de su identidad cultural; por el contrario, es un reconocimiento de la diversidad de los pueblos dentro del Estado-Nación. El otorgamiento de concesiones forestales en el Petén de Guatemala (ACOFOP) reconoce la legitimidad de las comunidades locales como actores de su desarrollo. Y la lucha por la apertura de espacios para un manejo colaborativo en el Parque Nacional Marino Ballena demuestra una historia pendular en la gestión de un Estado tradicionalmente centralizado, que se divide entre la apertura de los espacios de participación y el fortale-

cimiento del control de las áreas protegidas estas.

La declaratoria de bienes públicos pretende proteger bienes que se consideran estratégicos para el desarrollo de un país, y otorga a la Administración una serie de potestades para su protección y cumplimiento del fin público que lo justifica. En este sentido, la pregunta que plantean los promotores de la privatización es:

¿Pueden los Estados realmente velar por la conservación de los bienes de dominio público?

Los países que cuentan con una estructura fundamentalmente agrícola se sustentan en valores como la cooperación, colaboración y solidaridad, necesarios para el uso conjunto y no excluyente de los recursos naturales.

El Estado como forma de gobierno es un fenómeno social en constante cambio. El Estado más que una identidad propia es un espacio de interacción, internacional y nacional, donde los distintos sectores y actores pugnan por incidir con su posición.

El derecho internacional sigue partiendo de la idea de la soberanía de cada Estado para tomar sus propias decisiones y de acuerdo a ellas definir sus políticas, estrategias y acciones. Sin embargo, este ámbito de decisión cada vez más frágil, más vulnerable o quizás más amplio, está influido a nivel internacional y a nivel nacional.

A nivel internacional no solo influyen los organismos financieros o comerciales multilaterales, sino también las organizaciones no gubernamentales internacionales que en materia de derechos humanos, de ambiente y de derechos del consumidor adquieren cada vez más fuerza y utilizan estrategias de denuncia, emplazamiento e influencia más fuertes.

A nivel nacional no sólo influyen los poderes tradicionales asociados a los sectores económicos y políticos, sino también los grupos que canalizan las expectativas de la sociedad civil, de los pueblos indígenas, de los ambientalistas, del ciudadano común.

Para establecer un balance entre conservación y desarrollo, o en otras palabras lograr objetivos de desarrollo sostenible, el Estado como admi-

nistrador de bienes públicos debe procurar el cumplimiento de los fines de interés general que le dieron origen. Quiere decir que la administración de los bienes públicos debe darse para beneficio de sus habitantes, reconociendo las formas de gestión local o ancestral y las autoridades sobre estos recursos. El modelo de Estado requiere entonces de un estado participativo y descentralizado.

En conclusión, la Teoría de los Bienes Públicos no se construye sobre la base del poder, la soberanía o la propiedad; se construye sobre la conservación de los recursos necesarios para el desarrollo de un pueblo, que garantice la distribución justa y equitativa de sus beneficios, satisfaciendo las necesidades de las generaciones presentes y futuras; fortaleciendo el Estado de Derecho a través de una gestión transparente y participativa, en respeto y promoción de los Derechos Humanos. El acceso, uso y distribución de beneficios sobre y derivados del uso de los recursos naturales debe estar basado en valores éticos de respeto a la diversidad cultural, a los límites de la sostenibilidad, a la integración del conocimiento tradicional con el conocimiento científico, entre otros. Estas bases permitirían la sostenibilidad ecológica, cultural, social y económica del uso de los recursos naturales.

En conclusión, pensamos que los bienes comunes son una oportunidad para el desarrollo, que el Estado es su administrador para beneficio de las mayorías, y que una base ética es necesaria para asegurar la justicia (igualdad en el acceso), la equidad, y el reestablecimiento de las condiciones para garantizar dicha igualdad en el acceso y en la distribución de beneficios.

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En conclusión, la Teoría de los Bienes Públicos no se construye sobre la base del poder, la soberanía o la propiedad; se construye sobre la conservación de los recursos necesarios para el desarrollo de un pueblo

Intangible values of protected areas

David Harmon

The creation and management of protected areas is now a global enterprise. From humble beginnings in a rather obscure corner of North America more than a century ago, protected areas now involve millions of hectares on every continent (including Antarctica) and probably well over 100,000 professional caretakers worldwide.

Protected areas are the centerpiece of conservation, universally acknowledged as the indispensable core of any effort to preserve biodiversity and, more broadly, environmental quality. Economically, they are a dynamic component of the world's largest industry, tourism, and are the foundation of one of that industry's fastest-growing sectors, nature-based tourism¹. Together, the conservation and economic values of protected areas are undoubtedly immense, though they have never been completely quantified. Yet these values *are* capable of being measured. Conservation values can be expressed monetarily through models of the "ecosystem services" that protected areas provide (free-of-charge) to the marketplace economy², and there are several economic formulas for estimating the revenue generated by tourism to protected areas³.



Figure 1: Machu Picchu is one of the world's best-known sacred sites, combining significant natural and cultural features. (Courtesy Allen D. Putney)

Important as these tangible values are, the reasons why people care deeply about protected areas ultimately have little or nothing to do with them. There is another arena of values, values whose benefits are difficult or impossible to quantify, but which lie at the heart of the protective impulse that drives the modern conservation movement. These *intangible values* (also referred to as *nonmaterial values*) are collectively defined as those which enrich "the intellectual, psychological, emotional, spiritual, cultural and/or creative aspects of human existence and well being"⁴.

To provide an outline of intangible values is the aim of this article. The reader is asked to keep in mind that what follows is just a sketch of a very complex subject that most accurately can be conceived of as "an evolving, multi-dimensional matrix of interacting values"⁵. The mate-

rial presented here is drawn almost entirely from contributions to a recently published book, *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*⁶, which the author co-edited with Allen D. Putney, who co-leads the Task Force on Non-Material Values of IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas. The task force has identified eleven major kinds of intangible values:

Recreational values, the qualities of natural areas that interact with humans to restore, refresh, or create anew through stimulation and exercise of the mind, body, and soul (i.e., re-creation).

Therapeutic values, those expressing the relationship between people and natural environments in protected areas that creates the potential for healing, and for enhancing physical and psychological well-being.

Spiritual values, those qualities of protected areas that inspire humans to relate with reverence to the sacredness of nature.

Cultural values, the qualities, both positive and negative, ascribed to natural, cultural, and mixed sites by different social groups, traditions, beliefs, or value systems that fulfill humankind's need to understand, and connect in meaningful ways, to the environment of its origin and the rest of nature.

Identity values, those qualities of natural sites that link people to their landscape through myth, legend, or history.

Existence values, the satisfaction, symbolic importance, and even willingness to pay, derived from knowing that outstanding natural and cultural landscapes have been protected so that they exist as physical and conceptual spaces where forms of life and culture are valued.

Artistic values, the qualities of nature that inspire human imagination in creative expression.

Aesthetic values, those which carry an appreciation of the beauty found in nature.

Educational values, the qualities of nature that enlighten the careful observer with

respect to humanity's relationships with the natural environment, and by extension, with one another.

Scientific research and monitoring values, the function of natural areas as refuges, benchmarks, and baselines that provide scientists with relatively natural sites less influenced by human-induced change or conversion.

Peace values, the function of protected areas in fostering regional peace and stability through cooperative management across international borders (transboundary protected areas), as "intercultural spaces" for the development of understanding between distinct cultures, or as places of "civic engagement" where difficult moral and political questions can be constructively addressed⁷.

There are many other intangible values of protected areas, but the remainder of this article will focus on these.

Recreational Values

It is intuitively obvious that the millions of people who visit protected areas each year derive benefits from the recreational activities they do there. The challenge for protected area researchers and managers has been to gain a more precise understanding of the types of benefits recreation provides, as well as their cumulative significance. A great deal of social science research has been conducted into all aspects of leisure in outdoor settings, and the results of that research are increasingly being used by park managers to guide their decisions.

"Recreation" is simply defined as activities pursued while at leisure. "Recreational use of protected areas" is defined as visits by local and regional residents and by tourists. There are three distinct components of leisure benefits: (1) gains made by an individual, a group, or some other entity (e.g., the realization of physiological benefits, skill improvements, the creation of jobs); (2) the avoidance of losses by maintaining a desired condition (e.g., using backpacking to promote family cohesion); and (3) the realization of specific satisfying psychological experiences

that accrue only to individuals (e.g., stress release).

In the beginning of park-based recreation research, benefits were largely assessed by the expedient of simply counting visitor numbers, even though they are notoriously difficult to collect and subject to managerial meddling⁸. More recently, emphasis has been put on the benefits (and possible disadvantages) accruing to individuals and society from park-based recreation. As Shultis (2003) notes, "considerable research on the self-reported benefits of recreating in protected areas has identified a basic, relatively constant range of benefits, including enjoyment of the natural environment, escape from urban/home/built environments, rest and relaxation, achievement/challenge, and health/fitness." In this sense, "recreational values are not 'intangible' to park users: the benefits of using parks reverberate throughout their lives and have clear significance"⁹.

Therapeutic Values

Whereas recreation values of protected areas derive from non-facilitated leisure activities, therapeutic values result from intentional, structured activity designed to ameliorate a specific social or personal problem. People have repaired to natural areas to gain healing for thousands of years, but directed therapeutic programs aimed

Parks and the activities that take place in them represent both a symbolic and an actual break with one's "normal life." Crossing that divide produces benefits. Going to parks can spur an increase in personal awareness, with the outdoor setting often causing individuals to change patterns of self-destructive behavior.

at producing clinical outcomes have only been around for about a century. The use of wilderness therapy (which is considered a modified form of group psychotherapy) expanded greatly in the 1970s, while the 1980s and 1990s were growth periods for the utilization of wilderness therapy for youth with prob-

lem behaviors¹⁰. Today, in the United States

alone it is estimated that there are over 500 organizations offering wilderness programs for personal growth and development¹¹.

As Ewert et al. (2003) point out, "there is considerable debate among practitioners and researchers as to what constitutes a 'therapeutic' use of natural areas," yet "trends in programming reflect how the practice is evolving given the severity of problems these programs have begun to address in treatment." In the United States, where the majority is found, the trend is toward "sophisticated therapeutic programs that are often state licensed and employ a medical model of treatment that includes clinical supervision by licensed therapists." Numerous well-developed clinical models are now in use.

What makes protected areas therapeutic? Research suggests answers that fall into two broad categories. First, parks and the activities that take place in them represent both a symbolic and an actual break with one's "normal life." Crossing that divide produces benefits. Going to parks can spur an increase in personal awareness, with the outdoor setting often causing individuals to change patterns of self-destructive behavior. This in turn can result in an increase in social awareness, and a concomitant decrease in anti-social behavior. Second, the activities one does in protected areas — hiking, camping, contemplating nature, etc. — demand initiative, action, and sustained attention on the part of the individual. This results in an immediacy of experience. For example, if one has hiked into a remote area and decides to lounge around all afternoon rather than set up camp, the consequences are felt very soon thereafter, whereas "in town" (so to speak) the consequences of irresponsible behavior are often buffered and delayed. In addition, success in dealing with outdoor situations usually demands teamwork, which has its own rewards. Combine that with close contact with the primal forces of nature,

Intangible values (also referred to as non-material values) are collectively defined as those which enrich "the intellectual, psychological, emotional, spiritual, cultural and/or creative aspects of human existence and well being".



Figure 2: Indigenous people such as the Huoarani of Ecuador have a profound relationship with their community conserved areas, which they value for many intangible reasons. (Courtesy unknown author)

and park visitors often take home with them a constructive — and therapeutic — sense of humility.

Spiritual Values

Protected areas often encompass specific sites, or even entire landscapes, that are considered sacred. In addition, many people regard certain protected areas themselves as quasi-sacred because they have been dedicated to high purposes in perpetuity — much as consecrating a building makes it into a church. Thus, people may engage spiritual values in protected areas by encountering specific places of “ultimate meaning and transcendent power”¹², or they may experience a spiritually transformative experience simply by encountering nature in a place that they know is protected in perpetuity.

It is another matter for a natural area to be protected precisely because it *is* a sacred site. Pilgrimages to special natural places for personal reflection, rites of passage, and spiritual renewal are a feature of cultures around the world. A pioneering effort in Mexico has resulted in one of the world’s first protected areas designated as a “sacred natural site.” The Wirikuta Sacred Natural Site in the state of San Luis Potosi protects areas of the Chihuahuan Desert that are revered by the Huichol (Wixarika) people. Each year, a small number of chosen representatives make the trek to Wirikuta, where, after a series of offerings and rituals, the pilgrims ingest pey-

ote, a cactus whose hallucinogenic effects are central to giving Huichols access to spiritual insights. In addition to the sacred sites themselves, over 135 kilometers of the traditional pilgrimage route the Huichols use to reach Wirikuta have now been protected by the San Luis Potosi government¹³.

Of all the intangible values of protected areas, spiritual values are potentially the most contentious. As more groups assert (or re-assert) their right to use sacred sites within protected areas, managers increasingly

find themselves in the position of being asked to arbitrate between spiritual and religious values that conflict with each other or with other kinds of value. A textbook example is the battle over rock-climbing at Devils Tower National Monument in the U.S. state of Wyoming. The park is named for an exceedingly striking granitic column that rises roughly 400 meters above the surrounding countryside and which is sacred to several American Indian tribes. Devils Tower — whose English name, incidentally, is under attack by some Native Americans as being blatantly inappropriate for a sacred site — is also considered one of the world’s premier rock-climbing sites. The U.S. National Park Service attempted to mediate an administrative solution to conflicts between the two groups, but the dispute ended up in court, where both sides claimed that they were engaging in legally protected religious activity. The court eventually endorsed a voluntary climbing ban during the time of the year held to be most sacred by American Indians, but the compromise has not satisfied everyone.

Cultural and Identity Values

As might be inferred from the above discussion, in many indigenous societies there is no clear division between one’s culture, personal identity, and spirituality. Moreover, these multi-

Pilgrimages to special natural places for personal reflection, rites of passage, and spiritual renewal are a feature of cultures around the world.

faceted cultural–identity values are often inscribed (either figuratively or literally) into an ancestral landscape, many of which now fall within gazetted protected areas. How such landscapes are regarded by local communities is now acknowledged as an important factor that must be accounted for in protected area management strategies. Agencies are learning that “it is not possible ... to simply exclude or erase values from an area of land by classifying it in a particular way” for park management purposes¹⁴. More flexible protected area designations, such as IUCN Category V protected landscapes, are seen as one way to better accommodate landscape-based cultural values.

But in other societies, cultural and identity values of protected areas may be distinguished from spiritual values by virtue of their being *secular* markers of distinctiveness. The wilderness movement, which had its origins in the unique history of European colonization of North America, straddles the line between sacred and secular but now boasts a strong scientific justification. The existence of large areas of wilderness has been claimed as an essential part of the make-up of “American character.” Ironically, designated wilderness has itself become a cultural icon whose putative character rests at least in part on the dubious claim that these places were historically free of cultural content. The construal of what — if anything — constitutes wilderness certainly varies from culture to culture, particularly when developed- and developing-country perspectives are compared.

A key issue here, as Hay-Edie (2003) has made clear, is the difficulty of transferring conservation techniques (which many conservationists take for granted as being universally applicable, rather than as products of a particular culture) from one social setting to another. In their eagerness to embrace cultural values, he writes, “conservationists are often at risk of picking and choosing taboos, sanctions, and other supposedly ecologically useful behaviors without meeting a complex culture on its own terms.” Yet Hay-Edie feels that a “more genuine interface of worldviews seems possible” through the mechanism of the

World Heritage

Convention¹⁵. In recent revisions of its criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List, the convention has not only recognized intangible cultural and identity values as important contributors, but has explicitly recognized “mixed sites” having both natural and cultural components. Similar inclusiveness can also be found in UNESCO’s biosphere

reserve program. It is worth emphasizing that cultural and identity values are perhaps strongest in community-run protected areas: those protected by customary forms of recognition that are, in terms of effectiveness, equivalent to the force of state-sponsored civil law.

Existence Values

Existence values — the satisfaction one derives simply from knowing that protected areas exist and that they safeguard outstanding natural and cultural landscapes, even though one might have no prospect whatsoever of actually visiting them — might seem, at first, to be a rather bloodless, abstract category of value, hardly comparable in visceral force to those that we have discussed so far. In a sense this is true enough. Yet existence values are widely held, adding a dimension of depth to other intangible values that, if missing, would render them far less effective. Indeed, there is a large literature within the economics field on people’s willingness to pay to preserve natural areas that they may never see, and there are well-developed techniques for capturing this existence value in economic terms¹⁶. Given this, we can say that existence values are part of a moral foundation underlying all the other intangible values of protected areas.

Aesthetic and Artistic Values

One reason why existence values are so deeply held is because they are rooted in a powerful

As more groups assert (or re-assert) their right to use sacred sites within protected areas, managers increasingly find themselves in the position of being asked to arbitrate between spiritual and religious values that conflict with each other or with other kinds of values.

human need for sensual engagement, and no one can deny that the world's protected natural areas contain many superlative places that delight the senses. One first thinks of stunning scenery: snowy mountains and surging waterfalls, immense tundra and teeming rainforests, sweeping grassland vistas and stark deserts. But other senses are involved too, particularly those of touch, smell, and hearing. Parks are very tactile places, where one is encouraged to feel nature at an intimate scale, to thrust one's hand into a bed of moss, or let beach sand run through one's fingers at seaside, or feel the rocks beneath one's feet on a rugged trail. Odors and aromas — pine pitch, animal musk, wildflowers, campfires — add irreplaceable texture, and, when recollected, often set off a whole succession of memories that make a park

Parks are very tactile places, where one is encouraged to feel nature at an intimate scale, to thrust one's hand into a bed of moss, or let beach sand run through one's fingers at seaside, or feel the rocks beneath one's feet on a rugged trail.

experience unforgettable. Combine all this with the sounds of nature — bird-song, wind whistling down a canyon, lapping waves, and, perhaps the rarest and most priceless of all, the perfection of silence, of total quiet — and one comes away with an aesthetic experience that far surpasses any human contrivance in terms of variety and complexity.

Historically, aesthetic or perception-based values played a key role in determining which natural landscapes received protection. They still do, despite the increasing emphasis on biodiversity protection and ecological representativeness as keystone criteria. The reason is deep-seated: over the course of evolutionary time, we developed the almost ineradicable complex of emotional responses to the kinds of sensory stimulation described above. We have used these responses to "humanize" elements of the environment and relations between them: "*The permanent attention to the movements, facial expressions, and other signals coming from the other members of human society probably resulted in abstractions that led to the assign-*

ment of 'personalities,' of souls, to elements of nature. Geomorphic and topographical characteristics and atmospheric dynamics were interpreted to have human qualities. High cliffs and storm clouds started sending out the same menacing message as a person standing up straight, arms in the air, while the calm mouths of rivers spoke of loving welcome and pleasure"¹⁷.

Now, however, thanks to an expanded and enlightened sense of aesthetics informed by scientific understanding, even landscapes traditionally considered to be ugly and inhospitable (e.g., scrubland, steppes, bare dunes) can be drawn into the protective fold because "landscape perception parameters can be successfully used to contrast (and confirm) ecosystem evaluations based on ecological parameters"¹⁸.

Although closely allied to aesthetic values, artistic values are distinguished by the presence of human intentions, the purposeful act of creating objects that have their own separate beauty and value. The link between natural beauty and artistic inspiration is so widespread that it hardly needs explanation. Suffice it to point out that artists had a central role in launching the modern protected areas movement. The scenic wonders of Yellowstone were first made known to the U.S. Congress and the general public through the efforts of artists, most notably the landscape painter Thomas Moran and the photographer William Henry Jackson¹⁹. That link has never since been broken, and parks continue to fascinate visual artists, musicians, writers, dancers, and artisans, whether directly as subject matter or indirectly as inspiration for collateral ideas.

Educational Values

Every protected area contains things worth learning about. Not everyone who visits a protected area comes intent on gaining knowledge, but most do. At its best, this expectation translates into openness to new ideas on the part of the visitor, an eagerness to expand one's worldview. It is a subtle but critically important value that protected areas provide to people, and is part of why protected areas are public institu-

tions whose educational potential is on a par with the world's great museums and zoos.

Some of that potential is already being realized through guiding and interpretive services. Parks that are part of well-funded systems have professional educational staff that carry out these visitor service functions. Staples of protected area education include guided walks, wildlife discovery caravans, formal presentations to visitors by park staff, programs aimed at schoolchildren and school groups, and many others. In addition, fixed media, such as interpretive signs and audiovisual presentations, are extensively used. Most protected areas have visitor contact centers, often housing a museum and auditorium, where basic orientation and more in-depth education about the park take place. Generally these programs are organized according to a park-wide interpretive plan.

Increasingly, protected areas are forming partnerships with museums and universities as a way to reach out to new audiences within the general public and among academics. This is an important step because it integrates parks with society at large. Part of every protected area's mission must be to address people's concerns rather than simply attempting to preserve nature in isolation from the larger social context. Consciously framing an educational mission as part of a protected area's management scheme does this in a positive way. There are always social and economic costs imposed on local communities whenever a new protected area is established. Some of those costs can be offset by employing local people who have an intimate and long-standing knowledge of the park as educators on the park staff.

Scientific Research and Monitoring Values

Science itself is connected directly with educational values because it is a way of knowing, a



Figure 3: Intangible and tangible values of protected areas often go together, as in the case of beauty and water supply, both offered by Mt. Elgon National Park, Uganda. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

process for learning²⁰. It has been justly said that "parks provide places to learn from personal experience," and "personal experience is among the most powerful and enduring ways for most people to learn... By giving multiple examples of reality, parks connect people to abstract concepts emotionally... Parks generate passion for learning, with deep, personal, emotional connections born out of experience, and stimulate curiosity that is the bedrock foundation of science"²¹.

Knowledge of nature begins with exploration, and exploration leads to inventories of the world around us that are the hallmarks of any science, whether it be an orally transmitted system of traditional environmental knowledge or the classical hypothesis-driven reasoning of Western scientific inquiry. Inventories inevitably lead to monitoring, the systematic recording of how nature changes over time. In a system of traditional environmental knowledge, monitoring knowledge is transmitted in narratives that describe how things used to be compared with the present. In Western science, monitoring is carried out according to written protocols tracking a set of environmental conditions carefully chosen because they are thought to signal larger changes in ecosystems. These conditions can be thought of as "environmental vital signs."

Current scientific research in parks has contributed many insights into today's environmental problems, none more important than the realization that local actions are enmeshed in global systems of almost staggering complexity.

Peace Values

Under "peace values" fall three distinct functions of protected areas: fostering regional peace and stability through cooperative management of transboundary protected areas, providing "intercultural spaces" for the development of understanding between distinct cultures, and acting as places of "civic engagement" where difficult moral and political questions can be constructively addressed.

The number of transboundary protected areas has increased rapidly over the past decade. Case studies of transboundary protected areas show that there are many benefits to be gained, including increased coordination between park authorities, thus eliminating needless duplication of tasks; a greater tendency to manage on an ecosystem scale rather than being constrained by artificial boundaries; and decreased political tensions among countries. Symbolically, too, transboundary protected areas are important as concrete expressions of good will between countries²².

Less formalized but no less important is the idea of protected areas as intercultural spaces. This does not mean that people are unwelcome to bring distinct values and worldviews to parks. Quite the opposite: where parks are conceived of as intercultural spaces, the authorities strive to make the park a place where people can, if they wish, express their views and have access to other views in a productive and respectful manner. This can be accomplished through sensitive and nuanced interpretive treatments of controversial or conflicting subjects that are associated with the park, and by creating an atmosphere of openness and transparency within the park authority itself.

Closely related is the idea of civic engagement, a term borrowed from the museum profession. "Civic engagement" refers to a public institution,

such as a museum or a protected area, actively seeking out a role in elucidating controversial issues rather than simply waiting to be caught up in them. It does not mean that the institution tries to set itself up as a self-appointed arbitrator of controversy, nor does it simply offer itself as an intercultural space for exchanges of differing viewpoints. Instead, it makes a conscious and sustained effort to seek out "an active, intentional role in public dialogue around the kinds of contemporary issues that provoke multiple viewpoints"²³. It is a proactive rather than reactive stance. Civic engagement tries to shape the process of achieving agreement on controversial issues, although not the outcome itself²⁴. The U.S. National Park Service has embarked on a series of workshops to see how civic engagement can be applied to sites in the American national park system²⁵.

Conclusion: Intangible Values, Local Communities, and Equity

In terms of the equity concerns of the local communities vis-à-vis protected areas, the key message of this article is that intangible values must be reckoned with in the search for solutions. There are ways that intangible values can be systematically accounted for in management decision-making²⁶, and managers can promote equity by using a systematic approach when deciding among competing values. Finally, it is critical to recognize that the very notion of equity and its corollary concept of social justice are intangible values that differ within and between cultures. Equitable and just treatment of local community interests therefore requires full knowledge of the entire range of intangible values that people bring to, and find within, protected areas.

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throughout this article. A description of the book and the table of contents are available through the publisher's Web site (www.rowmanlittlefield.com).

Notes

- ¹ Eagles, 2003.
- ² See Daily, 1997.
- ³ For example, Stynes and Propst, 2000.
- ⁴ WCPA, 2000.
- ⁵ Putney, 2003.
- ⁶ Harmon and Putney, 2003.
- ⁷ List adapted from Putney, 2003.
- ⁸ Hornback and Eagles, 1999.
- ⁹ Shultis, 2003.
- ¹⁰ Ewert *et al.*, 2003.
- ¹¹ Friese, 1996.
- ¹² Chidester, 1987.
- ¹³ Otegui, 2003.
- ¹⁴ English and Lee, 2003.
- ¹⁵ Hay-Edie, 2003.
- ¹⁶ For example, the contingent valuation method; see Barr *et al.*, 2003.)
- ¹⁷ Crespo and Martínez, 2003, drawing upon Arsuaga, 1999.
- ¹⁸ Crespo and Martínez, 2003
- ¹⁹ Silliman, 2003.
- ²⁰ Moore, 1993.
- ²¹ Davis *et al.*, 2003.
- ²² Hamilton *et al.*, 1996; Sandwith *et al.*, 2001.
- ²³ Bacon *et al.*, 1999.
- ²⁴ Sevchenko, 2002.
- ²⁵ USNPS, 2002.
- ²⁶ For examples, see English and Lee, 2003; Tranel and Hall, 2003; and Putney and Harmon, 2003.

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Conserving nature and the nature of conservation— national parks as cultural entities

Mark Infield

Without broader support, especially amongst the rural communities that surround them, the long-term future of many protected areas in developing countries is bleak. It is this understanding that underlies much contemporary thinking and practice in protected area management and has been the driving force behind community orientated conservation initiatives. This paper suggests that emphasising the non-financial, non-material values of protected areas, referred to as 'cultural values'¹ can help build interest in national parks and other strictly protected areas² in developing countries.

Responses to protected areas stem as much from culturally based constructions of nature as they do from economics³. Consequently, conflicts between communities and national parks may often represent clashes between opposing or simply different views of the natural world rather than competition over land or resources. The cultural values of protected areas and biological diversity have received considerable

attention in the literature⁴. They are even specifically referred to in IUCN's definition of protected areas⁵.

"Area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources ..."

There has been little practical exploration, however, of the influence of cultural on interactions between communities and protected areas, or the role that cultural values could play in

strengthening support for them⁶. This is perhaps surprising because the relationship

between culture, history, conservation and protected areas in the west has been the subject of considerable research and scholarship⁷.

Analysis of conflicts between communities and conservation and the programmes designed to address them have been dominated by scientific and economic conceptions of protected areas. Employing economics and science in parallel, protected areas are represented primarily in terms of biological diversity, ecological and evolutionary function, natural resources and their uses, and environmental services. Economic interventions and incentives have dominated efforts to attract the support of local communities. However, indications of their success are patchy⁸ and the practical difficulties of implementation have been noted.

The emphasis on economic incentives for conservation stems, in part, from theory and language explicitly linking conservation and development⁹. Conservation initiatives must recognise economic realities and the pressures on governments to deliver economic and social development. Most protected areas and their biological diversity, however, do not contribute significantly to reducing poverty and are unlikely to do so in the future¹⁰.

The economic arguments for involving communities in conservation also stem from the 'neo-liberal' ideology that market forces rather than governments are best able to conserve the environment. This has profoundly affected international development aid practices¹¹ including many internationally funded conservation programmes¹². Economic approaches are especially attractive in developing countries where their presentation as humanitarian in intention has guaranteed them almost universal acceptance¹³.

Building bridges between national parks and

The values of protected areas go well beyond the narrow economic benefits emphasised by most conservation initiatives [...] conservation will be strengthened if protected areas and the benefits they bring are represented in cultural terms.

local communities remains a strong imperative for conservation. Themes of the 2003 World Parks Congress include "Building Support for Protected Areas", "New Partnerships" and "New Ways of Working Together". This paper argues that the values of protected areas go well beyond the narrow economic benefits emphasised by most conservation initiatives, and suggests that interest in conservation will be strengthened if protected areas and the benefits they bring are represented in cultural terms.

Science and economics suggest powerful imperatives for conservation and exclusive protected areas. But are these justifications correct? Are they honest? Is a full complement of biodiversity necessary for ecosystems to function and provide environmental services? Are exclusive protected areas, 'natural' forests, 'wildernesses' required or simply desired? How scientific are demands for the conservation of species? A study of relations between Bahima pastoralists, their long horned Ankole cows, and Lake Mburo National Park in southern Uganda examined some of these questions¹⁴.

Lake Mburo National Park and the Bahima: a struggle over social landscapes

The authorities responsible for managing the Lake Mburo area, a national park since 1983, have been in conflict with Bahima pastoralists since the first attempts to create an exclusive protected area. The conflict was defined by the struggle over the presence or absence of cattle. The authorities justified their efforts to exclude cattle in scientific and economic terms. The Bahima explained that they drove their cattle into the park to access water and grazing, essentially economic reasons. Investigation suggested that the source of the conflict lay deeper than these explanations.



Figure 1: A herd of Ankole cows (Courtesy Mark Infield)

Beauty, pastoral values and exclusive landscapes

The Bahima breed their long horned cows for beauty. Naturally, producing milk and meat is important, but once these needs are met the dominating interest of a Muhima¹⁵ is the beauty of the cows. People struggle to acquire and breed *enyemebwa* – literally 'beautiful cows'.

"Enyemebwa is the height of beauty of a cow ... It should be outstandingly beautiful. When you come into the herd you should see that cow. It should strike you."

Enyemebwa have a set of characteristics that all Bahima recognise and pursue and which gives the herds their characteristic appearance (see Figure 1).

"... it must have horns which are white [and] well shaped, especially those facing in front, not to the back, and roundish. And if it is Bihogo (red brown), then it adds to enyemebwa."

These characteristics dominate animals selected as most prized by their owners (see Table 1). Milk production was barely mentioned.

Table 1. Characteristics of prized cows selected by owners (n=700)

| Type of characteristic | Frequency | Percentage |
|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Appearance | 558 | 79.7 |
| Production | 106 | 15.1 |
| Behaviour | 6 | 0.9 |
| Other | 30 | 4.3 |
| Totals | 700 | 100.0 |

Breeding for beauty rather than productivity underpins both the conception of 'being Bahima' and the Bahima construction of landscape. It explains why the Bahima retained

their relatively un-productive Sanga breed (an ancient *Bos taurus* / *Bos indicus* cross) rather than adopting the more productive and robust Zebu cows (more recent *Bos indicus* breeds) as almost all other African and Asian pastoralists have. Bahima explain that the long horned cows,

"... have come from our ancestors. Since creation we have owned these cows, they have been a source of pride, they have been a source of everything in society. A man must be recognised with cows. It is cultural, really, a cultural value that I attach to these cows."

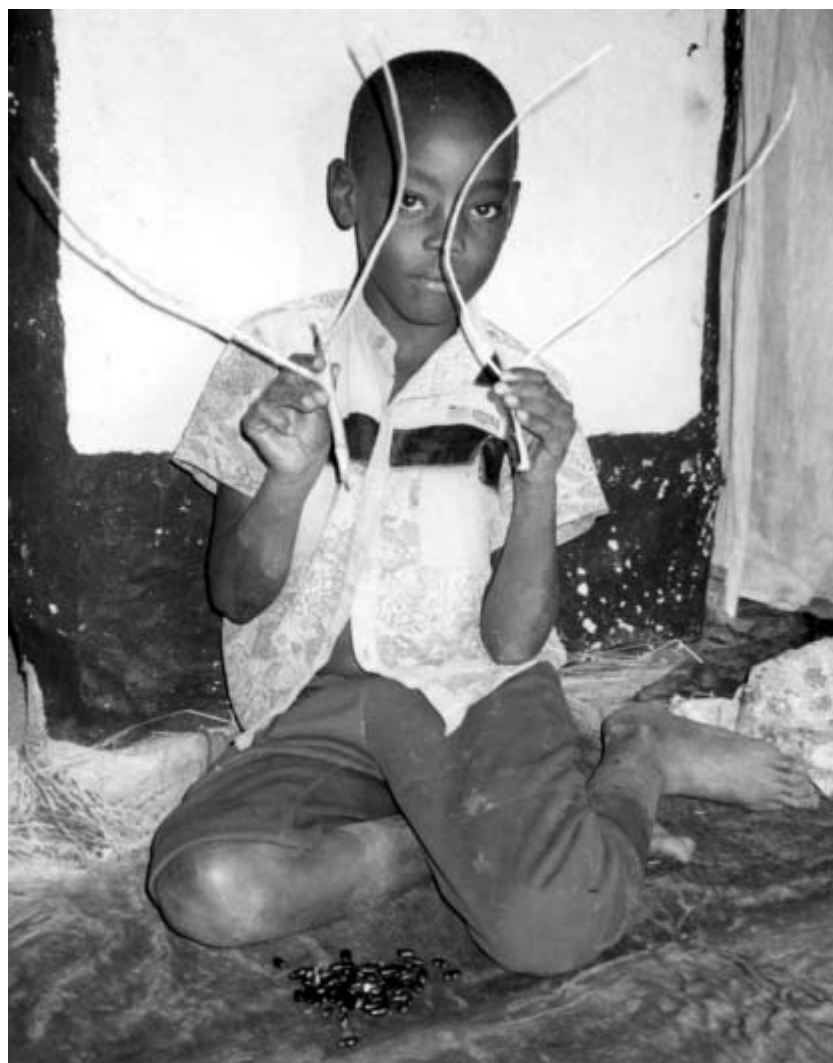


Figure 2: The values of *enyembwa* are mirrored in hut decorations, walking sticks, covers for the milk pots, children's toys. (Courtesy Mark Infield)

The pursuit of bovine beauty ramifies throughout Bahima culture, dominating assessment of individual worth and status and influencing poetry, song, dance and material culture. The values of *enyembwa* are mirrored in hut decorations, walking sticks, covers for the milk pots, children's toys (see Figure 2) and even the appearance of food. Even people should have dark skin, white teeth and eyes, and move with the grace of the cows.

Ankole cows exist within the landscape of the *Bachwezi*, the semi-mythical people who first owned them. The names of the hills, valleys and lakes refer back to the *Bachwezi* and the history of the Bahima's ancestors. The long horned cow defines the landscape and gives it meaning. The area covered by the national park is particularly important as the King grazed his selected herds there, named herds of beautiful cows that represented his and the nations wealth and status.

The landscape of the Bahima is defined not only by the presence of beautiful cows but also by the absence of farming. 'Being Bahima' meant rejecting both the activity of farming and its products. Elaborate taboos surrounding the

consumption of any foods other than milk and meat were required to protect the cows. The place of Bahima within Banyankole society¹⁶ was ensured by the exclusive pastoral landscape, while rejection of farming and production in general provided a mechanism by which the high rainfall lands were preserved for pastoralism (see Figure 3).

Representing the conflict

Bahima pastoralists had little opportunity to voice objections to the park. When they did, objections were raised in terms of the park's salt grasses, rich grazing, and permanent water. These resources justified Bahima incursions into the park and supported their demands for dams and reservoirs to be provided outside. The park authorities supported demands for dams believing this would remove Bahima excuses to enter the park¹⁷. However, the economic arguments raised by Bahima disguised their underlying struggle to return meaning to the landscape. There is no place in Bahima cosmology where, given water and grazing, cows will not graze. Even sites of high religious importance are grazed. For the Bahima, the park represented a vacuum, an unnatural and meaningless place.

"How would people conceive of land with water and grazing but no cows? That would not be land! It would not be anything, It would not be a recognised place."

Driving cows into the park returned meaning to the landscape.

The park authorities were equally clear on their reasons for excluding the cows from the park. Cows, they argued, reduce biodiversity, damage ecosystems and prevent tourism.

Scientists expressed concern about "changes in grass species composition", castigated the "...poor livestock management" of the Bahima, and put forward a prospect of "devastation". Such statements are common in the literature of rangeland management. Despite evidence in

recent literature that pastoralists are sound managers of rangeland¹⁸, the spectre of cattle induced wastelands justified their exclusion from the park.

The authorities also argued that the presence of cattle would damage the financial situation of the park by reducing tourism.

"... if you have cows in [the park], tourists will not be able to come in. If they pay their money, they don't expect to see cows, they expect to see wildlife, in big numbers and in healthy numbers. So that was our main concern."

Despite evidence that pastoralists are sound managers of rangeland, the spectre of cattle induced wastelands justified their exclusion from the park.

Examining the arguments: environmental damage

Did the scientific arguments for excluding the long horned cattle 'hold water'? Vegetation grazed by high densities of cattle outside the park was compared to matched areas inside the park that had been free of cattle grazing for over eight years. Thirteen separate tests looking at measures of environmental degradation, species composition and plant diversity found no significant differences inside and outside the park. Meanwhile, some of the park's rarest or most important animals seemed to be positively associated with cattle herds.

Examining the arguments: tourist perceptions and park earnings

Asked whether cows should be allowed in the park, nearly half the tourists interviewed said no. Their arguments were strongly influenced, however, by their concerns over damage to the ecosystem. Forty percent, however, were prepared to allow cows into the park under certain circumstances, and 10% indicated that they would be attracted by long horned cows and Bahima culture. These results did not support the virulent objections of tourists suggested by the authorities. Neither did the finding that of

nearly 700 comments written in Visitor Comments Books, all made at a time when there were over 10,000 cattle in the park, less than 2% made any reference to cows at all.

A social history of conflict

The explanations of the struggle over the presence of cows in the park made by both the Bahima and the park authorities were not confirmed by the research. The history of the conflict provides a better understanding.

Conflict between Bahima and the authorities dates from the earliest actions of British imperialism in Ankole. British interests demanded goods to flow down the infamous Mombasa – Kampala African railway to justify its construction¹⁹. From the early 1900s, the Bahima pastoralist landscape was undermined and a landscape of production was promoted.

British laws and regulations destroyed the traditional social structure which prevented farming, encouraged the immigration of farmers and demanded beef and milk production. Rather than comply, many Bahima simply left their homeland²⁰.

Those that remained resisted. In 1933 the Ankole Parliament requested the British to create a Controlled Hunting Area in a key area of the pastoral landscape, correctly believing that this would help prevent further incursions by farms into the area. The first steps towards creating a

wildlife conservation landscape were thus taken with Bahima support with the intention of pro-

tecting the exclusive pastoral landscape.

Thirty years later Lake Mburo Game Reserve was gazetted. Despite reservations, Bahima supported the reserve, which prohibited settled farming but allowed grazing to continue. Less than ten years later, however, the reserve management began to create an exclusive conser-

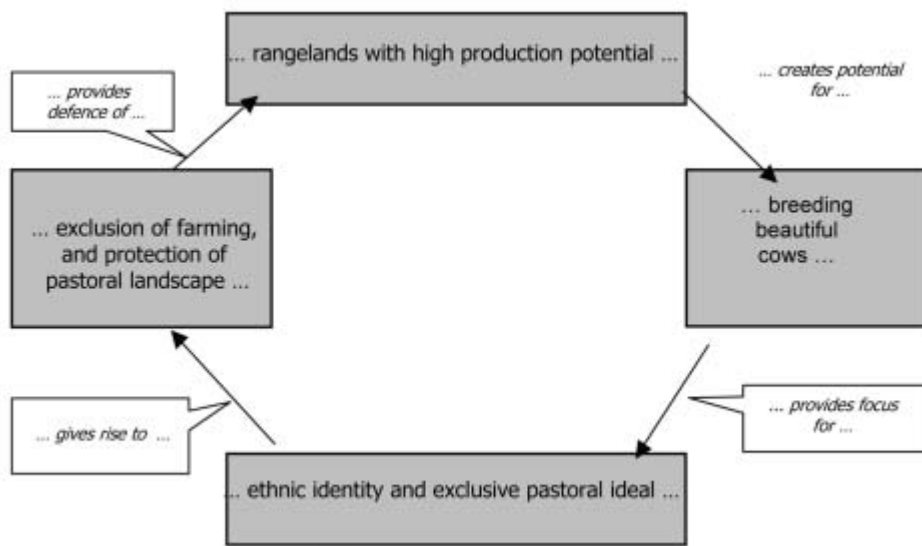


Figure 3. How breeding beautiful cows protected the pastoral landscape

The Bahima resisted, using their traditional weapons against disliked regimes: they ignored restrictions, bribed rangers, kept moving, enlisted the support of elite Bahima's in government, and challenged the authorities at every turn.

vation landscape. The Bahima were described as the major threat to the reserve and its wildlife. Labelled as 'squatters', rather than as legitimate if ill-placed residents, the authorities demanded their expulsion. The process that would finally result in the creation of Lake Mburo National Park had begun.

The Bahima were stereotyped as backward, stubborn, selfish, uneducated and obsessed with cattle. Scientific, economic and aesthetic justifications for the exclusion of cattle were developed or repeated. The Bahima resisted, using their traditional weapons against disliked regimes: they ignored restrictions, bribed rangers, kept moving, enlisted the support of elite Bahima's in government, and challenged the authorities at every turn. The conflict between these two incompatible social landscapes escalated. Language replete with the militaristic terms of war flowered and real fighting led to deaths, wounding and mutual fear.

Despite considerable improvement in relations between the Bahima and the park authorities dating from the 1990s, the nature of the conflict remains unchanged today. The Bahima continue to force their cattle into the park and the authorities continue to eject them.

Discussion and conclusions: resolving conflict over Lake Mburo National Park

Despite a 10 year programme designed to raise awareness, develop participatory management, provide access to park resources, and share revenues, the Bahima remain uninterested in the values that the park represents.

"You don't see Bahima going to the national park to see animals, do you? No. They are not interested."

They have strong values associated with the park area but these are actively excluded.

It is a small step to suggest that the conflict would ease if the authorities modified their management of the park to allow Bahima values to be expressed, and the Bahima recognised the legitimacy of conservation interests. Recognising their respective 'absolute values' as the core of the conflict will encourage both parties to broaden their understandings of the landscape.

How could this be achieved in practical terms? The ankole cow is genetically unique²¹ and threatened by changing land uses. The new generation of Bahima are less and less aware of the beauty of the cow. The 100 or more names for cows which describe their appearance are being lost²². Co-opting the powerful symbolism of the long horned cow, as others have done, could provide a dramatic way of representing Bahima values as well as create a specifically Ugandan message about conservation. The park management could make the conservation of the long horned ankole cow and its associated values a function of the park. This would dramatically alter Bahima attitudes, and from bring actively

opposed to the park, Bahima could become its strongest supporters.

"If children do not meet [Ankole cows], certainly they will ask their fathers, 'But you tell us in Ankole we had long horned cattle. Where do we see them?' It would be like sight seeing. They would go to look for them in the park."

The presence of ankole cows would certainly change LMNP but not in the way that conservationists suggested. There would be little effect on biological diversity or on the capacity of the park to provide basic ecological services. The biggest changes would be to the physical appearance of the park which would appear more open and less 'wild'. Responses to changes in the appearance of landscape, however, must be recognised as culturally mediated. There can be little place for scientific arguments here, nor for economic arguments about biodiversity or ecological services.

Oscar Wilde famously remarked that a cynic was someone "*who knew the cost of everything and the value of nothing.*" Conservationists have spent the past 20 years talking about the costs (and benefits) of protected areas and their resources, not their values. Support for protected areas would strengthen if conservationists recognised their cultural values and let this understanding inform their management. Protected areas are best understood and managed as 'cultural entities', not scientific or economic entities. Arguments for conservation are better expressed in terms of deeply felt cultural 'preferences' rather than dubious survival 'imperatives'. We don't *need* to conserve biodiversity or maintain exclusive national parks, we *want them* because we value them.

The park management could make the conservation of the long horned ankole cow and its associated values a function of the park. This would dramatically alter Bahima attitudes, and from bring actively opposed to the park, Bahima could become its strongest supporters.

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Notes

- ¹ The term 'cultural values' resists precise definition as 'culture' itself resists definition. Used here, 'cultural values' suggests that the values of protected areas are not absolutes but depend upon the many varied interests, understandings and values of communities and peoples in nature.
- ² This paper is primarily concerned with protected areas that are defined by their exclusion of the influence of human agency. These include IUCN categories Ia, Ib and II.
- ³ See Croll and Parkin, 1992, and Infield, 2002.
- ⁴ See Western and Pearl, 1989 and UNEP, 1999.
- ⁵ IUCN, 1994.
- ⁶ See Infield, 2001.
- ⁷ See for example, Nash 1982, Budiansky, 1995 and Adams, 1996.
- ⁸ See Noss 1997; Hackle, 1999.
- ⁹ See, for example, World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987.
- ¹⁰ Hackle, 1999.
- ¹¹ Blaikie and Jeanrenaud, 1996.
- ¹² Struhsaker, 1998.
- ¹³ Wells, 1995.
- ¹⁴ Infield, 2002.
- ¹⁵ An individual of the Bahima people is called a Muhima.
- ¹⁶ Banyankole society had a particular structure in which three groups, the ruling clan (Bahinda), pastoralists (Bahima) and farmers (Bairu) were united by a single political and social order, a single language and a single mythology.
- ¹⁷ The lobbying was effective and the government and donor agencies invested large sums on the provision of permanent water sources outside the park to remove the need for incursions. These seemed to have little effect and it was the absence of grazing rather than water which stimulated the movement of Bahima into the park.
- ¹⁸ Behnke, Scoones *et al.*, 1993.
- ¹⁹ Pakenham, 1992.
- ²⁰ Morris, 1957.
- ²¹ Hanotte, Taweh *et al.*, 2000.
- ²² Infield, 2003.

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All parks are peopled parks

Andy Wilson

I work for a fifth rate National Park. At least, that's what I was brought up to believe. I was taught that because of our dense population and industry, British National Parks had been forced to compromise from the original American ideal of wildernesses with no-one living in them. So, although William Wordsworth might have first conceived the idea of National Parks in the late eighteenth century, Britain came relatively late to them in the mid-twentieth century, thwarted by our dense population. The North American model had had been adapted—ours were not Parks in the North American sense as we had sizeable communities and industries in them. In fairness, I learned that they were none the less very special places and should be protected but there was always an implicit yearning, an unstated view that the wilderness Parks were the real ones.

When I became closely involved in the National Park movement and got to hear of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's categories for Protected Areas, this view was confirmed in my mind. The real, top category Parks were given over to nature, highly regulated to protect this condition, and had no people in them. Parks like mine were Category V, fifth rate pretenders to the real thing, lacking in wilderness and without sufficient power to achieve a proper natural state because of all those humans. But good things nevertheless.

I have explained the National Park movement in this way many times myself and don't wish to criticise any individual associated with the development of this model. It does, however, carry a set of fundamental assumptions that I think should be questioned thoroughly because with those assumptions go some unwritten, unspoken attitudes that flavour our thinking and decisions to this day. I believe that if we accept the philosophy outlined above it will show through in



Picture 1: ... the separation of 'cultural' and 'natural' protection mechanisms into different international frameworks is unhelpful... (Courtesy North York Moors National Park Authority)

our speech and thoughts and that this is *one* of the reasons why there is still misunderstanding and sometimes hostility between the communities that live in the Parks in Britain and the Authorities responsible for them. I believe the philosophy was developed on the basis of a fundamental misapprehension about the impact humans have made on their environment. This was coupled with a willingness to ignore the rights of the native communities of 'wilderness' areas.

Poetic Injustice

Wordsworth and his colleagues, whatever their greatness as poets, were bad biologists. The Lake District was not a natural landscape though it appeared wild compared with the formal landscapes of their day. Mining and agriculture had already long influenced the scenery. This we know for sure, and we can reasonably well date the point at which trees were cleared from Park landscapes. It maybe that our ancestors were influencing the amount of tree cover even earlier than this, by reducing or locally extinguishing the populations of large herbivores. Whatever



Picture 2: ... there are thousands of examples of sustainability happily in practice at a local level...(Courtesy North York Moors National Park Authority)

the exact dates or scale of human intervention, the Lake District was not a 'natural' place or a 'wilderness' in the sense of being uninfluenced by humans. John Muir was perhaps less wrong to describe the suggested North American Parks as wildernesses - or was he? The Americas, current research suggests, began to be populated by *Homo sapiens* at least 13,000 years ago. A wide variety of advanced, technically and agriculturally astute civilisations flourished in North America at the time of European settlement - though there was every reason for the colonists to downplay these facts.

Native Communities in North America

To this day, there is little understanding in the UK of the size and complexity of native American communities, little appreciation that the earliest settlers would have starved without generous donations of surplus agricultural produce from the locals. Long before European settlement, our species must have had a major impact on the flora and fauna of the continent. This is true whether or not you agree that humans were primarily responsible for the extinction of the mammoth and the rest of the mega-fauna and however much we were represented by cultures more sympathetic to the environment than our own dominant one is today. To people living in what we now call North America, this was home, not an intellectual construct called 'wilderness'. But wilderness was a convenient term to apply to National Parks because it implied no one lived there, had an

interest in the land, or in a European sense, owned it. And if there was anyone there, then by virtue of living in a wilderness they had to be savage. Noble perhaps, but still moveable.¹ In truth, many people had already left by the time John Muir wrote this of Yellowstone:

*"No scalping Indians will you see. The Blackfeet and Bannocks that once roamed here are gone; so are the old beaver-catchers, the Coulters and Bridgers, with all their attractive buckskin and romance"*²

or this of Yosemite:

*"of all the glacial phenonema presented here, the most striking and attractive to travellers are the polished pavements. The pavements are particularly fine around Lake Tenaya, and have suggested the Indian name Py-we-ack, the Lake of the Shining Rocks. Indians seldom trouble themselves with geological questions, but a Mono Indian once came to me and asked if I could tell him what made the rocks so smooth at Tenaya. Even dogs and horses, on their first journeys into this region, study geology to the extent of gazing wonderingly at the strange brightness of the ground"*³

How rich in ironies and assumptions those statements are!

My thoughts were turned to these issues by discovering, on a visit to Kruger National Park in South Africa, an obscure piece of interpretation which pointed to a place where you could see a tree which had been damaged by the removal of a bees' nest by the former local inhabitants. I had naively assumed Kruger to be one of those wilderness Parks with no-one living in it and had not appreciated that people were forcibly removed as recently as the 1970s. Forgive my ignorance any South African readers! I started thinking about other Parks I had visited in New Zealand, Thailand and Pakistan where there were no longer inhabitants, and of a strange

The [wilderness] philosophy was developed on the basis of a fundamental misapprehension about the impact humans have made on their environment. This was coupled with a willingness to ignore the rights of the native communities of 'wilderness' areas.

dividing line on the map of Ecuador between a tribal area and a National Park.

What Parks are there in the world outside some of the very highest mountain tops and possibly the Antarctic, which have never had human occupation? I have asked many people this question and found no-one who can

answer it. My suspicion is that there are none of any size.

All Parks have been peopled. This must be the starting point for our thinking, categorisation and practices. It is a *positive* feature, and should be recognised as such.

Europe Again

Turning back to Europe, humans settled when the ice disappeared and many were present before it did. Humans are part of the fauna. When human intervention stops being a natural phenomenon and becomes a modern artificial one is a debate that I guess will go on forever (where does the extinction of the Giant Moas in New Zealand fit?). It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest that there are few difficult dilemmas to do with management and the rapid scale and pace of change that human society is currently capable of imposing. But there is a fundamental, philosophical point that emerges once you have accepted that humans have been a part of all National Parks for thousands of years. There can no longer be a dichotomy between wilderness Parks and others. At most there is a spectrum with more or less human intervention. This introduces a much more helpful and creative perspective for management. Some Parks are blessed with a very rich, intricate and lengthy record of human occupation, others have less of this but may have a greater biodiversity or a greater capacity to retain water or regulate the local climate

Unfortunately, however, the current ICUN 'Guidelines for Protected Area Management

Categories' in Europe see this issue from a very different perspective. The Guidelines say this of "Category II" Areas:

*'The special characteristics of Europe – its relatively high population density and the long history of human modification of the landscape – complicate the designation of protected areas which are large and natural enough to fulfil the criteria of this Category ...Some national parks that are intended for Category II do not meet the required standards...'*⁴

Not only is this unhelpful in itself, it is based on very questionable assumptions. It is only at certain recent points in history that Europe has had a relatively high population density and, as has been argued, it is a myth that humans have not modified the landscapes of other continents over several millennia, starting, of course, with Africa.

What this says to me is that we need a broader and truly holistic view of what makes Protected Areas special, one which takes on board the full range of natural, cultural and spiritual parameters and sees these as different but *equal* partners in the creation of specialness. This means that any system of categorisation that is centred upon an ecological or nature conservation perspective is bound to be flawed and that any hierarchy or divisions based on this may lead to non-optimal solutions and practices. This is more than an academic point, as this quote of J. Muir from a 2002 issue of Countryside Recreation Network shows:

'National Parks took the lead in protecting many of these wild places in North America.....But the ideas here have been more difficult to apply in the more crowded and industrialised nations of Western Europe.....But we do have in Britain land of considerable wild qualities. Hardly any of it is wild in an international sense of being untrammelled by past and present human

... once you have accepted that humans have been a part of all National Parks for thousands of years, there can no longer be a dichotomy between wilderness Parks and others. At most there is a spectrum with more or less human intervention.



Picture 3: When human intervention stops being a natural phenomenon and becomes a modern artificial one? ...(Courtesy North York Moors National Park Authority)

uses;.....We haven't managed quite to celebrate sufficiently the aesthetic for the wild and natural.....Local authorities in Scotland are required to identify wild land as part of the landscape character of their areas.⁵

The myth of a natural landscape to be protected from people, ignoring the cultural heritage of our forebears and *distinct from* it lives on.

Cultural Heritage

The broader approach commended in this article, which recognises the universal interplay of natural, cultural and spiritual attributes and seeks to see these on a spectrum, could have a profound influence for the better on the UK Parks and similar ones elsewhere. No longer would we be struggling to fit ourselves into different forms of world heritage designation but we would be equals in the world of protected areas with our enormously rich cultural values properly recognised alongside natural features. The separation of 'cultural' and 'natural' protection mechanisms into different international frameworks is unhelpful. This does not mean any devaluing of the 'natural' attributes of the UK Parks nor does it suggest that we do not need to manage the landscape to increase biodiversity and to enhance its aesthetic value in

ways which many people would see as increasing its "wildness". Indeed, I am sure that such work should be given new impetus (as it is in my own Park) and can fit easily alongside a heightened appreciation of the international value of our cultural heritage. But we should not kid ourselves that we are retrieving any sort of "naturalness". Our species has wrought too much change on the fauna, soils, flora and climate of our planet to achieve that (and global warming is putting the finishing touches to the process - the artificial nature of the IUCN guidelines is shown in the way that climate change has had to be excluded from the definition of 'natural'). Let us change areas for the better, in ways which give people a greater sense of spiritual fulfilment and recreational refreshment but justify it in those terms not just with reference to ecological day-dreams.

I believe that the Muir-inspired construct of National Parks – which could not see the pre-existing cultural heritage of the American Parks and which emphasised wilderness – has led to an under-appreciation of the heritage/cultural importance of British Parks and probably many others throughout the world. The UK Parks are not particularly rich ecologically – on a world scale – but their archaeology is truly outstanding and contains features likely to be viewed as critical in terms of the economic and social development of the human species. Wordsworth might have viewed these as smelly factories, but the industrial heritage has hugely shaped the evolution of our societies. And above all it is the depth, richness and variety of the archaeology in the UK Parks that is outstanding, rather than the remains of any one period.

Regulations

The current categorisation of Protected Areas is heavily influenced by the degree of their supposed 'naturalness'. There has traditionally been a demand for ownership or regulation by the nation of the most 'natural' areas. Regulation is needed

Any system of categorisation that is centred upon an ecological, or nature conservation perspective, is bound to be flawed ... any hierarchy or divisions based on this may lead to non-optimal solutions and practices.

where human exploitation is out of balance with the environment and there is no indigenous regulating mechanism. But to define our Parks in terms of the extent of 'naturalness' or regulation - as opposed to the relative priority that might be given to different attributes of the Park for instance - seems anachronistic. In an age where we know so much more about the interplay of social, environmental and economic factors, where there are thousands of examples of sustainability happily in practice at a local level, surely the time has come to move on to a new more holistic and more optimistic way of looking at protected areas. Whenever I have put these thoughts to the communities living the North York Moors National Park, I have met with huge support.

That is not to say that the Park Authority doesn't face many difficult dilemmas. We are of course a regulator as well as facilitator, grant giver and friend. There will always be conflicts of interest between local and national and I would not go along with those who would always put the decision to a local level. Nor would I argue for a reduction in regulation as a goal in itself.

But it would certainly help our case in the UK - and I guess more widely - if we start out by saying that the forebears of those who live in the Parks today have helped create special qualities *which are outstanding on a world scale*, and if we don't appear to be hankering after some wilderness state devoid of people. The philosophical basis for better understanding and trust are then present and are based on our latest understanding of human history and reality.

Conclusion

We need more than the promotion of "Category V Protected Areas" - we need an understanding that the values and approaches developed in these areas are essential to the sustainable development of *all* Parks. The economy and community are realities everywhere: the question is how well we address them - and the pretence that you can have 'the natural environment' on its own is not a good starting

point. The 'new paradigm'⁶ for protected areas is not an *option* for some but a *must* for all.

I would suggest that by the time of the next World Park's Congress in 2013, some body other than the World Commission on Protected Areas - or this body in conjunction with some other bodies - should have devised a new characterisation of protected areas based on cultural and spiritual attributes of the National Parks as well as their ecological value. A nature-based organisation is not now the body to define National Parks internationally, if it ever was. A broader based group is needed to undertake this work and to ensure that landscape and cultural heritage are fully appreciated and integrated into one international system. This in itself would be a move to a more sustainable world that should surely add to the status of all the protected areas, including Yosemite and Kruger. As well as reminding me that mine is a first rate Park!

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Notes

¹ I must give my apologies to any colleagues from that continent who might read this paper for my considerable ignorance of these matters, but I understand that these ideas are now widely accepted and absorbed within the North American National Park movement, such that recognition of the indigenous populations' contribution to the natural and cultural landscape of those Parks is appreciated.

² Muir, J., 1991.

³ Muir, J., *ibid*

⁴ IUCN, 2000.

⁵ Muir, 2000.

⁶ Beresford & Phillips, 2000.3 PICTURE CAPTIONS:

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Reclaiming diversity and sustainability in community-based conservation

Michel Pimbert

Top-down, imposed conservation all too often results in huge social and ecological costs in areas where rural people are directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods. A growing body of empirical evidence now indicates that the transfer of 'Western' conservation approaches to developing countries has adversely affected the food security and livelihoods of people living in and around protected areas and wildlife management schemes.¹ On occasions local communities have been expelled from their settlements without adequate provision for alternative means of work and income. In other cases local people have been restricted in their use of common property resources for gathering food, harvesting medicinal plants, grazing, fishing, hunting, and collecting wood and other wild products from forests, wetlands and pastoral lands. National parks established on indigenous lands have denied local people rights to resources, turning them practically overnight from hunters and cultivators into 'poachers' and 'squatters'. Resettlement schemes for indigenous people removed from areas earmarked for conservation have had devastating consequences, as have the coercive wildlife conservation programmes implemented by the former pro-apartheid governments of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. Denying resource use to local people severely reduces their incentive to conserve it. Moreover, the current styles of protected area and wildlife management usually result

in high management costs for governments, with the majority of benefits accruing to national and international external interests. All these trends may ultimately threaten the long-term viability of conservation schemes as the needs and priorities of local people and park authorities and game wardens are in direct conflict.

Community-based conservation must begin with the notion that biodiversity-rich areas are social spaces, where culture and nature are renewed with, by, and for local people.

This deep conservation crisis has led to the search for alternative approaches that re-involve local communities in the management of wildlife and protected areas. 'Community-based conservation' and 'people's participation' have become part of the conventional rhetoric and on the ground more attention is being paid to these approaches by international and national conservation organisations. There are now several examples of projects which involve local communities and seek to use economic incentives to conserve and use wildlife and protected areas sustainably. The practice of community-based conservation remains problematic, however, because it is dependent on centralised bureaucratic organisations for planning and implementation. Some of these initiatives are nothing more than 'official accommodation responses' to the growing opposition to parks and local resource alienation in forests, wetlands, grasslands, mountains, coasts and other biodiversity-rich sites. Nonetheless, a few of them are clearly challenging the dominant conservation approaches and seem to be based on more equitable power and benefit-sharing arrangements. These more progressive initiatives are limited in number and scope, and are still relatively isolated examples in mainstream conservation practice.

This paper identifies some of the reforms needed to encourage and sustain community-based conservation in situations where rural people are directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods. Emphasis is placed on strengthening diverse local livelihoods through more decentralisation and local control of conservation and natural resource management.

Towards community-based conservation

To spread and sustain community-based conservation, considerable attention will have to be given to the following needs, social processes and policies.

Debunk the 'wilderness' myth and reaffirm the value of historical analysis. Most parts of the world have been modified, managed

and, in some instances, improved by people for centuries. Much of what has been considered as 'natural' in the Amazon is, in fact, modified by Amerindian populations. Many of the areas richest in biological diversity are inhabited by indigenous peoples who manage, maintain and defend them against destruction. The 12 countries with the most biological diversity are also home to diverse indigenous societies within whose territories much of that biological diversity is conserved.

Ethno-ecological studies are increasingly discovering that what many had thought were wild resources and areas are actually the products of co-evolutionary relationships between humans and nature. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) introduced the term 'cultural landscapes' to describe this phenomenon. If species and landscapes have been moulded or modified by human presence, they are not automatically considered to be in the public domain. Local communities may therefore claim special rights of access, decision, control and property over them. This historical reality should be the starting point of community-based conservation wherever local people have shaped local ecologies over generations. Community-based conservation must begin with the notion that biodiversity-rich areas are *social spaces*, where culture and nature are renewed with, by, and for local people.

Strengthen local rights, security and territory. Colonial powers, international conservation organisations and national governments have a long history of denying the rights of indigenous peoples and rural communities to their ancestral lands and the resources contained therein. For example, most of the very large area earmarked for conservation in Costa Rica is under a strictly protected regime that excludes local communities, unlike in Germany and France where protected area regimes represent more of a 'social compromise'. This negation of the prior rights of indigenous and other local communities has been one of the most enduring sources of conflicts and violence. Denying resource use to local people severely reduces their incentive to conserve it and undermines local livelihood secu-



Figure 1: ...where local communities have been granted secure usufruct rights over neighbouring forests, governments have witnessed clear reversals in forest degradation and its associated biodiversity... An example from Pakistan. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

rity. Policies for community-based conservation clearly need to reaffirm and protect local rights of ownership and use over biological resources, for ethical as well as practical reasons. Two immediate priorities in many developing countries would be to:

Reform protected-area categories and land-use schemes to embody the concepts of local rights and territory in everyday management practice. Most existing legal and political frameworks ignore local people's needs. To integrate better the concept of conservation with sustainable local livelihoods legal and politi-

cal instruments for protected areas need to be reformed, particularly in regard to communal ownership of lands within protected areas, control and management responsibilities, and benefit sharing. The Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity should facilitate this fundamental rethinking in conservation by preparing a series of recommendations to party countries. They could also request IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) to develop, in consultation with indigenous and peoples' organisations, a proposal for a new dimension in the classification of protected areas, a dimension capable of recognizing local governance forms and management objectives fully compatible with local and indigenous peoples priorities, needs, institutions and land use.

Current IUCN protected area categories which do allow for some human use are very unevenly represented in the developed and developing countries. For example out of a world total of 2273 Category V 'Protected Landscapes/Seascapes' recognised by IUCN, over half – 1307 sites – are located in Europe. In Europe, at least, conservation depends on the involvement of people, and therefore places where people co-exist with nature are worthy of special attention. In sharp contrast, there are four Category V sites for the whole of Central America, 56 in South Asia, 20 in Sub-Saharan Africa, seven in the Pacific, and 175 in South America. In practice few developing country landscapes have been subject to detailed analysis by cultural historians, geographers or social ecologists. In addition, national parks in Europe recognise existing tenure and access rights and seek to maintain the established pattern of farming and land use by rural communities. Similar policies and legislation should be extended to the developing world.

Strengthen local control over the access to and end uses of biological resources, knowledge and informal innovations. There are a variety of legal arrangements that can be introduced by government to assure local control over resources; communal ownership of land and/or resources are often culturally appropriate options in much of the developing world. Where

local communities have been granted secure usufruct rights over neighbouring forests, governments have witnessed clear reversals in forest degradation and its associated biodiversity.

Recognition of anthropogenic landscapes and 'wild' species moulded by human agency has important implications for ownership, and consequently rights over access to and use of biological resources (for tourism and bioprospecting). Western concepts of private property and intellectual property rights do not recognise the intellectual contributions and informal innovations of indigenous and rural peoples who have modified, conserved and managed so-called 'wild' plant and animal species.

Indigenous peoples – some 300 million people in 4000-5000 different cultures – manage or control some 19% of the Earth's surface. Their representatives argue in UN and other fora that governments should recognise their sovereign rights to determine:

- how biological resources should be conserved and managed on their ancestral territories;
- the rules of access to genetic resources; and
- how benefits should be shared for the uses of those resources and the associated indigenous knowledge.

Integrating these local views into policies for community-based conservation is a central challenge. Similarly, national policies on Farmers' Rights should be framed in such a way as to stress that Farmers' Rights extend beyond the issue of compensation for farmers and farming communities to land and secure tenure, the farmer's fundamental right to save seed and exchange germplasm.

Support genuine peoples' participation and professional reorientation in conservation bureaucracies. Despite repeated calls for peoples' participation in conservation over the last twenty years, the term 'participation' is gen-

The challenge for top and middle management, directors and board members is to design appropriate institutional mechanisms and rewards to encourage the spread of participatory methods within the organisation.

erally interpreted in ways which cede no control to local people. It is rare for professionals (foresters, protected area managers, wildlife biologists, etc.) to relinquish control over key decisions on the design, management and evaluation of community-based conservation. Instead they tolerate the form and degree of participation that offers credibility to their own goals.

Seven different types of participation are

shown in Table 1. The *meaning* of participation should be clearly spelled out in all community-based conservation programmes. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) describes one group of a growing family of methods and ways of working that enable local people to share, **enhance** and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan and act. Many other methodologies and socially inclusive processes can also be used

Table 1. A typology of participation

| | |
|--|--|
| Passive Participation | People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals. |
| Participation in Information Giving | People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy. |
| Participation by Consultation | People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to their views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views. |
| Participation for Material Incentives | People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much <i>in situ</i> research and bio-prospecting falls in this category, as rural people provide the fieldwork but are not involved in the experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end. |
| Functional Participation | People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent. |
| Interactive Participation | People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices. The type tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. |
| Self Mobilisation | People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power. |



Figure 2: Rural people are very careful users of resources. Banana leaves, for example, are employed as utensils and wrapping materials before being fed to animals. A woman and her son discussed this in Tanzania. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

to enhance democratic deliberation and citizen control over the design of conservation policies, technologies and institutions (e.g. citizen juries, scenario workshops, future search, deliberative polling).² The adoption of participatory methodologies calls for a greater emphasis on training in communication rather than technical skills.

Outside professionals must learn to work closely with colleagues from different disciplines or sectors, as well as with rural people themselves, including women and children. One practical implication is that conservation agencies set aside time for field experiential learning for their professional staff, so that they, as people, can see, hear and understand the reality of local people and work to make it count.

Training of agency personnel in participatory principles, concepts and methods must be viewed as part of a larger process of reorienting institutional policies, procedures, financial management practices, reporting systems, supervisory methods, reward systems and norms. In both government departments and non-governmental organisations, the challenge for top and middle management, directors and board members is to design appropriate institutional mechanisms and rewards to encourage the spread of participatory methods within the organisation. Without this support from the top, it is unlikely that participatory approaches which enhance local capacities and innovation will become core professional activities, but will remain isolated and marginalised within conservation programmes.

Build on local priorities, the diversity of livelihoods and local definitions of well-being.

From the outset, the definition of *what* is to be conserved, *how* it should be managed and *for whom* should be based on interactive dialogue to understand both how local livelihoods are constructed and people's own definitions of well being. Participatory, community-based conservation starts not with analysis by powerful and dominant outsiders, but with enabling local people, especially the poor, to conduct their own analysis and define their own priorities. This methodological orientation is essential in order to avoid some common problems in the design of community-based conser-

vation schemes, for instance:

-The priorities and diverse realities of rural people have often been largely misunderstood or underperceived by outside professionals who pretend to combine conservation with the satisfaction of human needs in park buffer zones, and in so-called community-based conservation and Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). Livelihood systems are diverse in rural areas, and significant elements are largely unseen by outside professionals. In addition, most such projects fail to establish a coherent connection between conservation responsibilities and conservation "benefits" as no one usually bothers to involve local people in negotiating either of them.

-Many community-based conservation schemes initiated by outsiders have overlooked the importance of locally specific ways of meeting needs for food, health, shelter, energy and other basic human needs. Some remarkable exceptions apart, housing, healthcare and agricultural developments in community-based conservation schemes, changes in tenure laws, and other externally driven activities have, implicitly or explicitly, adopted the dominant cultural model of industrial society and globalisation.

-Measures to combat poverty and hardship induced by a protected area scheme in a developing country usually fixate on creating jobs. Employment and wages thus become standard forms of compensation for lost livelihoods, even though for most rural people, and particularly for the weak and vulnerable, employment can only be a subset or a component of livelihood. Local definitions of well-being and culturally specific ways of relating to the world and organising economic life are thus displaced in favour of the more uniform industrial-urban development model of the North.

-Outsiders often overlook the variability within communities and ecosystems. Some people live within protected areas and other do not. They may be indigenous people, or migrants to the area. Some depend upon hunting and forest gathering, while others may fish. Poorer households, the landless and women often rely more

than others on wild resources. A better understanding of this variability – and of how community members themselves perceive and experience it – is essential.

-A final example of the misfit between local realities and externally defined priorities stems from the way biological diversity and wild resources used by local communities are valued in economic terms. The few economic analyses of biological diversity conducted so far have essentially focused on global values and foreign exchange elements and very little on the household use values of, for example, 'wild' foods and medicines. This has biased conventional resource planning in ICDPs in favour of major food crops and species of commercial importance. More participatory and comprehensive local level valuation methodologies can help outsiders to understand better the range of ways biodiversity matters to local people, and how values fluctuate according to season or to the many viewpoints of highly differentiated local communities.

Build on local systems of knowledge and management. Local management systems are generally tuned to the needs of local people and often enhance their capacity to adapt to dynamic social and ecological circumstances. Although many of these systems have been abandoned after long periods of success, there remains a great diversity of local systems of knowledge and management which actively maintain biological diversity in areas earmarked for conservation.

Local systems of knowledge and management are sometimes rooted in religion and the sacred. Sacred groves, for example, are clusters of forest vegetation that are preserved for religious reasons. They may honour a deity, provide a sanctuary for spirits, or protect a sanctified place from exploitation; some derive their sacred character from the springs of water they protect, from the medicinal and ritual prop-

Indigenous peoples' resource management institutions probably offer the most striking evidence of active conservation.

erties of their plants, or from the wild animals they support. Such sacred groves are common throughout Southern and South-eastern Asia, Africa, the Pacific islands and Latin America. These pockets of biological diversity could be the focus for the conservation and regeneration of forest cover, perhaps forming the basis of more 'culturally appropriate' protected areas. Some indigenous peoples and rural communities have established their own protected areas. In Ecuador, for example, the Awa have secured rights over a traditional area, which has been designated the Awa Ethnic Forest Reserve. Vernacular conservation is based on site-specific traditions and economies; it refers to ways of life and resource use that have evolved in place and, like vernacular architecture, is a direct expression of the relationship between communities and their habitats. Crucially, such areas are established to protect land *for* rather than *from* use; more specifically for local use rather than appropriation and exploitation by outside interests.

Indigenous ways of knowing, valuing and organising the world must not be brushed aside. Community-based conservation should start with what people know and do well already, to secure their livelihoods and sustain the diversity of natural resources on which they depend.

Build on local institutions and social organisation. Local organisations are crucial for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity. Local groups enforce rules, supply incentives and impose penalties to elicit behaviour conducive to rational and effective resource conservation and use. For as long as people have pursued livelihoods, they have worked together to manage resources and share labour, marketing and many other activities that would be too costly, or impossible, if done alone. Indigenous peoples' resource management institutions probably offer the most striking evidence of active conservation. These institutions include rules about use of biological resources and acceptable distribution of benefits, definitions of rights and responsibilities, means by which tenure is determined, conflict resolution mechanisms, methods

of enforcing rules, and cultural sanctions and beliefs. Similarly, the literature on common property resources highlights the importance and resilience of local management systems for biodiversity conservation and local livelihoods.

The undermining and suppression of local institutions is no doubt the most debilitating and enduring impact of national and international bureaucracies. International conservation organisations spend a large proportion of their funds on expatriate salaries, survey work, and international travel and meetings. A very small part of the funds is invested locally in capacity building and local institution building. More generally, the emphasis on state and professional control, often encouraged by suspicion and distrust for local people, means that a substantial proportion of natural resource management budgets must be spent on policing activities.

Increased attention needs to be given to action through local institutions and user groups. These include, for example, natural resource management groups, women's associations and credit management groups. Successful group initiatives include investing in protecting watersheds and reforestation; organising community-run wildlife management schemes; and establishing small processing plants for natural products derived from the wild. Available evidence from multilateral projects evaluated five to 10 years after completion shows that where institutional development has been important the flow of benefits has risen or remained constant. Conversely, past experience suggests that if institutional development is ignored in conservation policies, economic rates of return will decline markedly and conservation objectives may not be met. Outside interventions must be designed in such a way that at the end of the project cycle there are local institutions and skills in place to ensure the continuation of natural resource management, without further need for external inputs.

Strengthen locally available resources and technologies to meet fundamental human needs. Community-based conservation that seeks to benefit local and national

economies should give preference to informal innovation systems, reliance on local resources, and local satisfiers of human needs. Preference should be given to local technologies by emphasising the opportunities to intensify the use of available resources. Sustainable and cheaper solutions can often be found when groups or communities are involved in identifying technology needs and then in the design and testing of technologies, their adaptation to local conditions and, finally, their extension to others.

Similarly, agricultural, health, housing, sanitation, and revenue-generating activities (e.g. tourism) based on the use of local resources and innovations are likely to be more sustainable and effective than those imposed by outside professionals. The advantages and skills of professionals (at the micro and macro levels) can be effectively combined with the strengths of indigenous knowledge and experimentation by empowering people through a modification of conventional roles and activities.

Promote economic incentives and policies for the equitable sharing of conservation benefits. Many of the schemes designed to compensate and/or provide local economic incentives for community-based conservation



Figure 3.Participatory, community-based conservation starts with enabling local people to conduct their own analysis and define their own priorities... A meeting on the management of a community conserved area in Formosa (Bijagos, Guinea Bissau). (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend).

need to pay greater attention to equity and human rights issues. Community wildlife management and participatory protected area management have little chance of success where benefits are not distributed equitably among various members of the community. The distribution of benefits within the community should also be administered by a local institution that carries out its activities in a transparent way and is accountable to the community.

Ecotourism. Eco-tourism schemes are not integrated with other sectors of the national or regional economy, and little of the earnings generated actually reach or remain in rural areas. A recent assessment of the potential of ecotourism in the reconstruction of rural South Africa concludes that generating economic benefits and empowering rural people is only feasible when many wide-ranging reforms are carried out, such as restoration of land rights to local communities, support for new forms of land tenure,

strengthening of community institutions, investment in technical and managerial skills of people, and mandatory impact assessments of all ecotourism schemes.

Biodiversity prospecting and commercial leases. Biodiversity prospecting (or bio-prospecting) is the exploration, extraction and screening of biological diversity and indigenous knowledge for commercially valuable genetic and biochemical resources. It has become an integral part of the R&D of large industrial corporations which market new natural products such as oils, drugs, perfumes, waxes, dyes and bio-pesticides as well as seeds and genetically modified organisms. The financial stakes are very high.

It is argued that bilateral bio-prospecting agreements offer positive local economic incentives for conservation and sustainable use, but beneficiary countries receive very little compared to the corporations. Moreover, indigenous and local people receive a minuscule proportion of the profits generated from sales — less than 0.001% of the market value of plant-based medicines have been returned to indigenous peoples from whom much of the original knowledge came. And whilst various codes of conduct have been developed to ensure greater equity, compensation, and fair sharing of benefits between bioprospecting companies and local communities, none are internationally legally binding instruments or a protocol to the Convention on Biological Diversity. Neither do the Convention and national legislations require that bio-prospecting agreements be subject to the prior informed consent of local people.

Patents and other IPRs are key elements in global industrial strategies for monopoly control over biological materials, knowledge and markets. By institutionalising a form of theft that has come to be known as bio-piracy, IPRs provide few or no economic incentives for community-based conservation. And while there is consider-

Struggles over the meanings of intellectual property rights and *sui generis* systems are critical for the design of equitable benefit-sharing schemes and economic incentives. Serious advocates of community-based conservation must actively shape the outcome of these policy debates.

able pressure to extend Northern-style IPRs to as many countries as possible, indigenous peoples' groups and NGOs are using the GATT-TRIPS agreement — which calls for the development of *sui generis* legislation for IPRs — to

propose more equitable systems of protection and benefit sharing. Some of these, such as the concept of Traditional Resource Rights, go far beyond other *sui generis* (unique or special) models in that they seek to protect not only knowledge relating to biological resources but also indigenous peoples' right to self determination. The original FAO concept of 'Farmers Rights' is also being reinterpreted in the language of human rights, stressing farmers' collective right to *directly* control access to and receive benefits from commercial uses of traditional plant and animal resources.

These struggles over the meanings of IPRs and *sui generis* systems are critical for the design of equitable benefit-sharing schemes and economic incentives. Serious advocates of community-based conservation must therefore actively shape the outcome of these policy debates.

Adopt codes of conduct for outside conservation agencies and professionals.

Powerful conservation agencies and individuals, with their close contacts with national elites, have tended to design socially insensitive conservation schemes in most developing countries. There is no legal or political framework that allows local populations to seek judgement against any international or national conservation organisations or environmentalists for causing social conflicts and misery.

Some indigenous and local communities have spelled out how outside organisations and professionals interested in the biodiversity on their lands should behave, and what their rights and obligations are towards local people. For example, the Kuna of Panama and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada have established guidelines to ensure that research carried out on their territories is controlled by the local communities and based

on their prior informed consent. The Kuna produced an information manual that includes guidelines for scientific researchers as well as a presentation of Kuna objectives with respect to forest management, conservation of biological and cultural wealth, scientific collaboration, and research priorities. Such Community-Controlled Research (CCR) may allow indigenous peoples to better control access to and use of, for example, ethno-botanical knowledge, which is increasingly targeted by bio-prospectors working for pharmaceutical companies.

More generally, there is a clear need for a legally binding code of conduct to ensure that outside professionals are more accountable to local communities. The adoption of a policy of reciprocal accountability (governments \Leftrightarrow donor \Leftrightarrow local communities) by conservation agencies could potentially open spaces to do things differently in the future, shifting more direct control over decision-making and funds to local communities.

Foster negotiated agreements and enabling policies for local action. The success of people-oriented conservation will hinge on promoting socially differentiated goals in which the differing perspectives and priorities of community members – and local communities and conservationists – must be negotiated. Long-term success may depend on culturally sensitive and equitable action in the following areas:

1. Human rights. In the case of indigenous peoples, national protected area and conservation policies need to be brought in line with internationally recognised human rights: they should allow indigenous peoples to represent their own interests through their own organisations and not through consultative processes controlled by conservation organisations. International law and other agreements already provide clear principles which professionals working for conservation and natural resource management should observe in dealing with indigenous peoples, such as ILO 169, Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 of the UNCED agreements, and parts of the Biodiversity Convention.

2. Cultural diversity. The need for changes in attitudes, behaviour and beliefs among professionals and organisational cultures can no longer remain a taboo subject in modern conservation and natural resource management. For instance, joint management schemes for forest use have had some notable success in India and elsewhere, but on the whole the attitudes and behaviour of many forest officers remain paternalistic and profoundly disempowering. Deep down such negative attitudes are still prevalent in many other contexts and clearly undermine the mutual trust needed for successful co-management schemes.

3. Historical context. The ways that non-resident parties got their stakes in the first place can no longer be ignored in the light of information elicited during participatory dialogues with members of highly differentiated communities. For example, tourism in Keoladeo National Park (India) and private-owned fishing in the freshwater lake of the Uchali complex (Pakistan) take place in areas from which previous residents have been expelled and denied of their prior rights of access and use. Co-management agreements need to acknowledge that some social actors' claims to resources are illegitimate – they ignore previously existing rights of long-time local residents.

Conclusions

Sustainable and effective conservation calls for an emphasis on community-based natural resource management and enabling policy frameworks. These are not the easy options. Contemporary patterns of economic growth, modernisation, and nation building all have strong anti-participatory traits. The integration of rural communities and local institutions into larger, more complex, urban-centred and global systems

[A crucial question is] how do we organise society— towards more centralisation, control, uniformity and coercion or towards more decentralisation, democracy, diversity and informed freedom?

often stifles whatever capacity for decision-making the local community might have had and renders its traditional institutions obsolete. This paper has nevertheless tried to identify some of the key social issues and processes that could be acted upon to decentralise control and responsibility for conservation and natural resource management.

It should be emphasised here that the devolution of conservation to local communities does not mean that state agencies and other external institutions have no role. A central challenge will be to find ways of allocating limited government resources so as to obtain widespread replication of community initiatives. Understanding the dynamic complexity of local ecologies, honouring local intellectual property rights, promoting wider access to biological information and funds, and designing technologies, policies, markets and other systems on the basis of local knowledge, needs, and aspirations call for new partnerships and forms of democratic deliberation between the state, rural people and the organisations representing them.

Building appropriate partnerships between states and rural communities requires new legislation, policies, institutional linkages and processes. Community-based conservation is likely to be more cost effective and sustainable when national regulatory frameworks become flexible enough to accommodate local peculiarities. This requires the creation of communication networks and participatory research linkages between the public sector, NGOs and rural people involved in protected area and wildlife management. Legal frameworks should focus on the granting of rights, access and security of tenure to farmers, fishermen, pastoralists and forest dwellers. This is essential for the poor to take the long-term view. Similarly, the application of appropriate regulations to prevent pollution and resource-degrading activities is essential to control the activities of the rich and powerful, e.g. timber, bio-prospecting and mining companies. Economic policies should include removing distorting subsidies that encourage the waste of resources; targeting subsidies to the poor instead of the wealthy, who are much better at

capturing them; and encouraging resource-enhancing rather than resource-degrading activities through appropriate pricing policies.

Such changes will not come about simply through the increased awareness of policymakers and professionals. They will require shifts in the balance of social forces, power relations and economic organisation. Indeed, the implementation of community-based conservation invariably raises deeper political questions about our relationships with each other and with nature. How do we organise society, — towards more centralisation, control, uniformity and coercion or towards more decentralisation, democracy, diversity and informed freedom?

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Notes

¹ All references used here can be found in an expanded paper by Michel Pimbert and Jules Pretty posted on the web site of the IUCN-CEESP at <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/MPimbert-UNESCOCommunityDiversity.pdf> Additional references are given at the end of this paper.

² Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001.

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In pursuit of pro-poor conservation—changing narratives... or more?

Dilys Roe, Jon Hutton, Joanna Elliott, Munyaradzi Saruchera and Kule Chitepo

During the early 1980s, the global conservation paradigm of protectionism and human exclusion based on national parks and other protected areas that had prevailed since the late 19th century was gradually displaced by a new narrative – one that advocated community participation in, and benefits from, wildlife management. Over the next decade, governments, donor agencies and non-governmental organisations increasingly embraced the idea of “community-based conservation” paralleling a broader trend in development practice towards increased local participation in planning and decision making and the devolution of natural resource management authority to the community, village and district levels.

However, over the past few years conservation literature has described a growing divide between proponents of community based conservation and those advocating more traditional, top-down approaches to wildlife management. While on the one hand a series of detailed reviews of community-based approaches have identified serious limitations and constraints to achieving successful conservation, on the other some proponents of protected areas have re-emphasized this approach to biodiversity conservation, advocating a return to “fortress” conservation. At the same time a related conservation theme has emerged— direct payments for biodiversity conservation. In this article we briefly review these different conservation narratives, explore how and why they have changed over time and the myths and realities on which they are based. We conclude by advocating a new narrative— one that fits with global efforts to reduce the number of people living in absolute poverty— pro-poor conservation.

From top down...

In late 19th century America, the view that wild areas should be set aside for human enjoyment and fulfilment was strongly argued by John

Muir and laid the basis for the national parks system in the United States and for the pattern of conservation globally. The spread of the national park concept around the world was also associated with the premise that humans and ‘wilderness’ areas are not compatible and should be kept separate. By the 1970s this vision of protected areas had come to dominate the global conservation movement¹. Bernard Grzimek, an influential post-war naturalist and commentator stated that “A National Park must remain a primordial wilderness to be effective. No men, not even native ones, should live inside its borders.”²

In Europe (and also to some extent in parts of South Asia such as India’s princely states), although the concept of royal game and royal forests served to benefit the propertied classes at the expense of the poor, it did not completely outlaw traditional rights of use and access; rather, it laid down an additional ‘layer’ of special rights. However, the colonisation of the South by European powers in the 18th and 19th centuries was associated with a particular form of colonial conservation practise that was generally unsympathetic to traditional rights. This model was based on the American approach with the result that local people’s traditional rights of use and access were considered under the rubric of ‘poaching’ and ‘encroachment’³. This approach

was bolstered in the post-colonial era by a belief

In the words of one of the driving forces behind community based conservation, Marshall Murphree: “Community based conservation has, to date, not been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and rarely tried!”

in state direction of the economy; in governments as major employers; and in political ideologies favouring public ownership and control of potentially productive resources.

The protected area approach to wildlife conservation and management has undoubtedly helped



Figure 1: Beehives in Kibale National Park (Uganda) (Courtesy Purna Chhetri)

ensure the survival of populations of many species and habitats. It has also contributed to the generation of foreign exchange earnings in developing countries through international tourism. Some protected areas also help sustain natural resources on which neighbouring communities depend and from which (access permitting) they benefit: protecting water catchments for the benefit of downstream water users and preventing the destruction of forest resources by outsiders. And yet, many developing countries have set aside far higher proportions of their land mass for protection than developed countries, and often at significant opportunity costs in terms of the development value that land would have in other uses. In addition, in some cases protected areas have failed to sustain the wildlife populations they were designed to protect while at the same time having a negative impact on the food security, livelihoods and cultures of local people.

The lack of attention to human needs and aspirations, traditional knowledge and management systems has in some cases resulted in increased encroachment and poaching, as well as sabotage to wild habitats⁴. This trend, in turn, reinforced the (commonly advocated) pro-

tectionist argument that local people do not have the knowledge, the will or the training to undertake 'proper' wildlife management⁵. But protected areas are expensive to establish and maintain and rarely financially sustainable in the face of competing demands on dwindling government budgets. The authors' experience has shown that few, if any, of the wildlife management para-statal set up in Africa over the past decade have been able to achieve their self-funding goals.

International conservation flows from sources such as the Global Environment Facility, the World Bank and international NGOs, only meet a small percentage of the costs of maintaining protected areas in poor countries.

...to bottom up

The growing realisation of the limitations of state-run protected areas and the need to address local peoples' concerns and aspirations influenced a shift in international conservation policy during the 1980s. In 1980 IUCN published its *World Conservation Strategy* that stressed the importance of linking protected area management with the economic activities of local communities. This approach was further emphasised at the 1982 *World Parks Congress* in Bali that called for increased support for communities through education programmes, revenue-sharing schemes, participation in the management of reserves, and the creation of appropriate development schemes near protected areas. In 1985 the World Wildlife Fund launched its *Wildlife and Human Needs Programme*, consisting of some 20 projects in developing countries that attempted to combine conservation and development,

and in 1986 the World Bank's policy on wildlands recognised that the protection of natural areas must be integrated into regional economic planning.

As a result, some now well-known projects and programmes based on participatory approaches to wildlife management were initiated in Africa in the 1980s. These provided both inspiration and models for a wide range of participatory wildlife management projects and initiatives that have subsequently been started around the world. It is important to note, however, that the focus of these initiatives was not solely the conservation of species and habitats. As important, if not more so, was the need for community development, local self-government and the creation of local institutions for the management of common property resources.

The Convention on Biological Diversity, which emerged from the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, emphasised three equally important objectives: conservation, sustainable use of biodiversity resources and fair and equitable sharing of benefits with local people. This placed community involvement in wildlife conservation and management firmly on the international agenda. According to Makombe (1994):

"People are rediscovering the value of wild resources and with this have come new options for linking conservation with development. Economists treat people as rational decision-makers by employing the concept of opportunity costs. Conservation has begun to view people in a similar way by acknowledging that the cost of foregoing certain land-use options must be compensated for by the provision of an equivalent benefit."

Back to barriers?

In the last few years there have been a number of critiques of community-based conservation⁶ and, simultaneously, increasing advocacy

for a return to more protectionist approaches to conservation (coupled with emotive titles such as *Requiem for Nature*⁷ and *Parks in Peril*⁸). In some of the more recent literature, it seems that, to some degree, the former is feeding the latter. This is somewhat ironic given that most of the critiques of community-based approaches have been carried out by practitioners in an attempt to learn from, and build on experience to date – not to denigrate the approach or advocate for its abandonment. Indeed in the words of one of the driving forces behind community based conservation, Marshall Murphree⁹,

"Community based conservation has to date not been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and rarely tried!"

Moreover, the mirror image critique has never really been undertaken – that is, the effectiveness of parks has rarely been rigorously examined. An article published in the influential journal *Science* on "The Effectiveness of Parks in Protecting Tropical

Biodiversity"¹⁰ made a cursory attempt at review. Even if the findings of the study— that parks are

effective in conserving biodiversity in 60% of cases— are to be believed, this still means that in 40% of the sampled cases parks had no positive impact on biodiversity conservation!

In some instances the renewed emphasis on traditional/protectionist approaches to conservation has taken a new form. For example, the concept of "conservation concessions" has been introduced whereby payments are made to a developing country government or, in some cases, to indigenous/community groups in return for a long-term lease on a tract of land. The implications of this type of approach for the livelihoods of poor people are not well understood, but a recent review of markets for environmental services conducted by IIED¹¹ suggested the need for caution: *"As markets for biodiversity protection raise the value of biodiversity rich forest areas, competition for control over these areas can only intensify. Poor communities living in these areas without formal title*

As we see it, pro-poor conservation has poverty reduction and livelihood security as core objectives – conservation is the mechanism through which these objectives are delivered.

may be pressured to leave. Far from strengthening forest stewards' natural assets, markets may lead to exclusion."

A new narrative?

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. Is this schism really necessary?

The divide between the two camps is artificial— 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, in tropical forests in particular, 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 affected. In this case, the long term solution, in our opinion, is more likely to be found by focusing on the needs of people than the status of the threatened species. The challenge is how to harness conservation in order to deliver on poverty reduction and social justice objectives, and here, we would like to offer a new narrative— that of pro-poor conservation¹², where conservation is integrated into development and poverty reduction agendas.

Pro-poor conservation is different from community conservation - where addressing local concerns is generally seen as key to delivering better conservation rather than as an ends in itself.¹³ It is also different from integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) that often focus on income-generating initiatives to encourage local people to adopt alternative liveli-

hood strategies so as not to disrupt wildlife and habitats – i.e. a "safeguard" approach. Instead, as we see it, pro-poor conservation requires a different mindset—focusing on people first with poverty reduction and livelihood security as *core objectives* and seeking different, robust conservation approaches to achieve these. Assuming certain generic conditions are satisfied, pro-poor conservation can take many forms – including protected areas, direct payments, community-based natural resource management – and many "win-wins" are possible that address both intrinsic global values and local utility values.

Pro-poor conservation is not an ideology. It is a pragmatic new 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. Pro-poor conservation seeks to ensure that the voices and needs of poor people are central to conservation decision making, at local, national and international levels. In many poor countries opportunities exist for wildlife to make a long-term contribution to national and local development goals, but these opportunities will be wasted unless they are seen to be fair to the poor.

For example, tourism is one of Africa's fastest growing industries, and the likely source of a significant volume of new direct investment and full-time jobs over the coming decade. Wildlife tourism is a fast growing niche within this. While some are sceptical of the fit between international tourism and the needs of poor local people in Africa, others are promoting 'pro-poor tourism' arguing that tourism is a great source of local economic development opportunity, given that it offers local employment and business opportunities in poor and often remote areas and it can attract investment in infrastructure and local markets. Tourism can have a high multiplier effect into the local economy, especially where local people are employed and local businesses are used as suppliers. As the avail-

Conservation can be as important a tool for poverty reduction as it is for protecting endangered species and critical habitats.

ability of wildlife and 'wilderness' dwindles globally, Africa is sitting on an increasingly valuable development asset, and one that is likely to attract a growing volume of private sector investment.

The time of putting up "barriers" around conservation assets and simply expecting local people to bear all costs and receive no benefits is past. We have to doubt the long-term viability of approaches that rely heavily on the acquisition of huge tracts of land from government, and the associated exclusion of local people from the both the land and related decision-making processes. Such exclusion leads inevitably to conflict and can reinforce poor governance. A recent study on wildlife and poverty linkages conducted for the UK Department for International Development noted that "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". There is an alternative approach – where decision-making over land use is vested in local communities, with parallel efforts to support wildlife as a competitive local land use. After all, who wants either the species or the people to lose out?

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Notes

- 1 Colchester, 1995.
- 2 cited in Adams and McShane, 1992.
- 3 Colchester 1995.
- 4 Kothari *et al.*, 1996.
- 5 IIED, 1994.

⁶ e.g., Hulme and Murphree 2001; Roe *et al.* 2000

⁷ Terborgh, 1999.

⁸ Brandon *et al.*, 1998.

⁹ Murphree, 2000.

¹⁰ Bruner *et al.*, 2001.

¹¹ Landell, Mills and Porras, 2002.

¹² 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.

¹³ At least in the majority of cases, although some initiatives—for example the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe were established specifically to deliver local development benefits through conservation.

¹⁴ LWAG, 2002.

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Governance of protected areas— innovation in the air . . .

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend

Governance is about power, relationships and accountability. It is about who has influence, who decides, and how decision-makers are held accountable. It can be defined as *the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public concern, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say*¹. In a protected area (PA) context, governance covers a broad range of issues— from policy to practice, from behaviour to meaning, from investments to impacts. Governance has an influence on the achievement of protected area objectives (management effectiveness) but also determines the sharing of relevant costs and benefits (management equity). And it affects the generation and sustenance of community, political and financial support.

The Vth World Congress on Protected Areas has chosen to dedicate a three-day workshop stream to the topic of “governance of protected areas”. The stream will attempt to ground its work in the history of conservation up to the current broad trends in institutional change and to explore two crucial themes:

- **What “types” of governance exist for Protected Areas? How do they fare in terms of conservation and equity?**
- **What constitutes “good governance” for a Protected Area? What principles can help us understand and evaluate it?**

This article summarises some of the rele-

vant concepts and examples that will be brought to the attention of the Congress, and briefly explores why they are important for conservation.

Governance types

Given the size, complexity and impending global changes facing protected areas (PA) systems in the XXI Century, it is increasingly recognised that national governments confront an impossible task in attempting to ensure, alone, the accomplishment of all their conservation objectives.

A conservation system comprising territories and resources under various governance types would have better chances to address currently existing conservation gaps (e.g. connectivity gaps).

Fortunately, an impressive wealth and diversity of conservation-relevant knowledge, skills, resources and institutions is also at the disposal of indigenous, mobile and local communities, local governments, NGOs and the private sector. A diversity of models delivering conservation and other objectives is in operation throughout the world. Besides the park systems comprising lands and waters owned by the state, there are areas managed by provincial or local government units, co-managed arrangements with local communities and other stakeholders, territories and sea areas managed by concerned indigenous and local communities for livelihood, cultural and conservation purposes, private protected areas run by their landowners, and trans-boundary reserves managed jointly by two or more governments. National governments are becoming more and more aware of the potential represented by this governance variety and have begun to harness it through appropriate forms of recognition, support and collaboration.

The conservation potential represented by

this “governance variety” is arising at a time when the world is experiencing rapid and profound social, technological, cultural, demographic and environmental changes. Indeed, the governance arrangements that some considered appropriate in the last century may no longer be appropriate or sustainable in the face of the trends and challenges that countries and civil society contend with in this century. There has been, for instance, a worldwide trend towards decentralizing authority and responsibility in a variety of sectors and “partnerships” among social actors are becoming common.

In the last decade, protected area researchers and practitioners generated a number of attempts to describe the “governance variety” described above. Through their efforts, recognition has emerged that “PA governance” is a complex system of perceptions, decision making and action, and cannot be appropriately assessed by any one single property or indicator. Indeed, the variables potentially describing PA governance are many and combinable in various ways. Yet one property of a governance system—namely “who” holds management authority and responsibility and is expected to be held accountable — appears more characterizing than others. In other words, different governance types can begin to be distinguished on the basis of where decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability ultimately lie.

Early attempts to characterize PA governance proposed a continuum between total government control and total control by local actors (e.g. a local community or a private landowner), with various co-management options in between². More recently, a proposal³ has been gaining momentum to distinguish four main types of PA governance, i.e. control by governments, control by pri-

vate landowners (individuals or NGOs), control by communities with customary and/or legal rights, and control by various social actors together (co-management). The distinctions among these types are not air tight, but this is relatively unimportant for the purpose of the typology, as it will be discussed below. The four governance types and several sub-types are presented in graphic form in Table 1, in combination with the IUCN/WCPA category system based on the priority management objectives.

Interestingly, the four main governance types introduced in Table 1 are fully complementary to the IUCN categories (they are category-neutral) in the sense that protected areas exist that fill each possible combination of IUCN category and governance type. To exemplify this, I have tentatively “filled in” within the matrix a few names of existing protected area or community conserved area discussed in other articles within this same issue of Policy Matters (references indicated in the notes). These attributions have *not* been discussed with the relevant authors of the papers nor with the relevant authorities on the ground. They are offered here only as extremely preliminary and indicative, more as questions than as positive attributions. Given the emphasis of this issue, there are no cases of strict government managed PA’s presented, though clearly this remains a prevalent management type in many parts of the world.

By combining different capacities to respond to the various threats and opportunities around conservation, a conservation system comprising territories and resources under various governance types would be more effective overall and more sustainable in the long run.

Table 1: Four Types of Protected Area (PA) Governance and their possible combination with the IUCN management categories.

| Governance type | A. Government Managed Protected Areas | | | B. Co-managed Protected Areas | | | C. Private Protected Areas | | | D. Community Conserved Areas | |
|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|---|---|--|
| | Federal or national ministry or agency in charge | Local/ municipal ministry or agency in charge | Government-delegated management (e.g. to an NGO) | Trans-boundary management | Collaborative management (various forms of pluralist influence) | Joint management (pluralist management board) | Declared and run by individual land-owner | ...by non-profit organisations (e.g. NGOs, universities, etc.) | ...by for profit organisations (e.g. individual or corporate land-owners) | Declared and run by Indigenous Peoples | Declared and run by Local communities |
| I– Strict Nature Reserve/ Wilderness Area | | | | | | | | | | Rusito forest ⁴ Sacred lakes in Coron ⁵ | "New" sacred forests in India ⁶ Part of Shimshal CCA ⁴⁰ |
| II– National Park (ecosystem protection; protection of cultural values) | | | | Marine PAs in West Africa ⁷ Park w ⁸ Bosawas BR? | Djawling ³⁸ , Uganda ³⁹ Australia's NT ⁹ | KAA Iya ¹⁰ Kayan Mentarang ¹¹ | | | | Kuna Yala ¹² Alto Fragua Indiwasi ¹³ | Pohnpei ¹⁴ Mataven ¹⁵ |
| III– Natural Monument | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IV– Habitat/ Species Management | | | | | | | Lore Lindu ¹⁶ | Pantanal ¹⁷ | | Heronries & village sanctuaries in India ¹⁸ | APC Senegal ¹⁹ CRs Peru ²⁰ |
| V– Protected Landscape/ Seascape | | | | | | | PNRs France ²¹ | | | Bijagos ²² Setulang ²³ | Miraflores ²⁴ pastoral landscapes Iran ²⁵ |
| VI– Managed Resource | | | | | NFs in USA ²⁶ Buffer zones of Nepal ²⁷ | | | | | Mendha forest ²⁸ | Chile's fisheries ²⁹ Port Honduras ³⁰ Part of Shimshal ⁴⁰ |

A. GOVERNMENT MANAGED PROTECTED AREAS –

Authority, responsibility and accountability for managing the protected area rest with a government ministry or agency that has formally subjected it to a conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories). The government level in charge may be the national (provincial in case of a federal country) or the local/ municipal. The government may also have delegated the management to a body (a para-statal organization, NGO or even a private operator or community) but it retains full land ownership

and control/ oversight. The government may or may not have a legal obligation to inform or consult other identified stakeholders prior to making or enforcing management decisions.

B. CO-MANAGED PROTECTED AREAS –

Authority, responsibility and accountability for managing the protected area are shared in various ways among a variety of actors, likely to include one or more government agencies, local communities, private landowners and other stakeholders. The actors recog-

nize the legitimacy of their respective entitlements to manage the protected area, and agree on subjecting it to a specific conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories). Distinct sub-types may be identified. In collaborative management, formal decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability still rest with one agency (often a national governmental agency), but the agency is required— by law or policy— to collaborate with other stakeholders. In its strongest form, 'collaboration' means that a multi-stakeholder body develops and approves *by consensus* a number of technical proposals for protected area regulation and management, to be later submitted to the decision-making authority. In joint management, various actors sit on a management body with decision-making authority. Again, the requirements for joint management are made stronger if decision-making is carried out by consensus. When this is not the case, the balance of power reflected in the composition of the joint management body may *de facto* transform it into a different governance type (e.g. when government actors or private landowners hold an absolute majority of votes). A likely case of multi-stakeholder management is the one of trans-boundary PAs, whereby two or more parties manage co-operatively an "area of land and/or sea that straddles one or more boundaries between states, sub-national units such as provinces and regions, autonomous areas and/or areas beyond the limits of national sovereignty or jurisdiction, whose constituent parts are especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed co-operatively through legal or other effective means"³¹. The parties in question could just be the concerned governments or the concerned bordering communities (for some commentators these cases would not represent genuine "co-management" examples and should be subsumed under type A or type D) but could also include various parties across the border at various levels of needed decisions (e.g. two

or more national governments and PA agencies, several local communities, mobile peoples, private entrepreneurs, etc.). In particular, a co-management setting has been suggested for the high-sea trans-boundary marine PAs beyond the jurisdiction of any one country.

C. PRIVATE PROTECTED AREAS –

Authority and responsibility for managing the protected area rest with one or more private landowners. In some cases the owner is a non-profit organization (e.g. an NGO, foundation, research institute or university) but in others it is a for-profit corporation. The owners of the land and natural resources subject them to a specific conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories), and are fully responsible for decision-making, subject to applicable legislation and the terms of any agreements with the government, but their accountability to the larger society is usually quite limited. Some forms of accountability may be negotiated with the government in exchange for specific incentives (as in the case of Land Use Trusts).

D. COMMUNITY CONSERVED AREAS –

Authority and responsibility for managing the concerned territory and resources rest with the indigenous peoples and/or local communities with customary and/or legal claims over the land and natural resources through a variety of specific forms of ethnic governance or locally agreed organisations and rules. Land and resources are usually collectively managed, a fact that may or may not have been legally sanctioned in the specific national context. The community customarily (and/or legally) owning the land and natural resources formally subjects them to a conservation objective (such as the ones that

Community Conserved Areas are examples of effective and demonstrable conservation, not examples of areas set aside for the purpose of conservation.

distinguish the IUCN categories) and/or to other objectives that demonstrate long-term success in achieving conservation outcomes. Management is through a locally agreed form of governance, which generally has roots in traditional, customary or ethnic practices³². It is because of this characteristic that the term used is “conserved area” rather than “protected area”, which for many communities carries the unmistakable connotation of “imposition by the state”. The community’s accountability to society may be defined as part of broader negotiations with the national government and other partners, possibly as a counterpart to being assured, for example, the recognition of collective land rights, the respect for customary practices, the provision of economic incentives, etc. Such negotiations may even result in a joint management arrangement among indigenous and local communities, government actors and other stakeholders (thus changing the governance type from D to B). Some communities organise themselves in various ways, including legal forms such as NGOs to manage their resources. This does not change the governance type from D to C provided that the NGO effectively represents the concerned community and not only some particular interests within it.

Most of us are familiar with type A governance, with a government body (such as a Park Agency or a para-statal institution responding directly to the government) in charge of management. The ownership of the relevant land and resources is generally with the government. In Sweden, for instance, a protected area cannot be declared until the government has managed to buy all land supposed to be included under protected status, a process often long and painful. In other countries, state ownership has come from top-down, unilateral declarations by the state, under colonial or other regimes that considered “despoliable” the indigenous and

local communities and/or local landowners with pre-existing rights. Recently, government structures at sub-national and municipal levels have become more and more frequently active in declaring and managing their own protected areas. In some cases (e.g. Belize) the state retains control of protected areas but delegates their management to an NGO.

Type B governance is also quite common, especially where the constituencies calling for the establishment of a protected area were prepared to face a variety of interlocked forms of sovereignty and entitlements. Under a democratic government, legally established rights cannot be done away with by a stroke of a pen or a roll of barbed wire. Complex processes and institutional mechanisms are instead set into place among a plurality of actors—from different national states to sub-national authorities, traditional authorities, elected leaders, private entrepreneurs, land-owners, and so on. An emerging subgroup of type B comprises land recently “restituted” by the state to their legitimate community owners and still retained under a protection status under some explicit contractual agreement. Given the complexities at play, several sub-types of Type B can be identified, but for all of them the very plurality of recognised relevant social actors (“stakeholders”) makes it imperative to achieve some form of consensus/compromise.

Type C governance has a relatively long history as kings and the powerful tended for centuries to preserve for themselves certain areas of land or the privilege to hunt wildlife in a given territory. Such private reserves had important secondary conservation benefits. Today, private ownership by non-state actors directly aiming at conservation is skyrocketing, with conservation NGOs buying large areas exactly for that purpose. Individual landowners are also choosing to pursue conservation objectives, whether out of a sense of respect for the land and a desire to maintain its beauty and ecological value or for more utilitarian purposes, such as gaining from ecotourism or reducing levies and taxes.

Recent work recommends that both protected area systems and individual protected areas engage in participatory governance evaluation processes.

Community Conserved Areas

The governance type with which many conservation professionals may not be entirely familiar is type D, i.e. governance by indigenous and local communities. Yet, this is the oldest and one of the most widespread types of governance of natural resources existing on the planet. Throughout the world and over thousands of years, human communities have shaped their lifestyles and livelihood strategies to respond to the opportunities and challenges presented by their surrounding land and natural resources. In so doing, they simultaneously managed, conserved, modified, and enriched their environments. In many cases, community interaction with the environment generated a sort of symbiosis, the expression of which some refer to as “bio-cultural units” or “cultural landscapes/seascapes”. Importantly, much of this interaction happened not for the intentional conservation of biodiversity but organically, because of a variety of interlocked objectives and values (spiritual, religious, security-related, survival-related, etc.). What is important is that in many cases locally-based land and resource management *does* result in the conservation of ecosystems, species and ecosystem-related services. We refer to the lands in which local communities achieve such conservation as Community Conserved Areas or CCAs.³³

The joint CEESP/WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA) has promoted and synthesized³⁴ a number of regional reviews of existing community-based conservation cases and developed a broad definition of Community Conserved Areas:

“Community Conserved Areas are natural and modified ecosystems including significant biodiversity, ecological services and cultural values voluntarily conserved by concerned indigenous and local communities through customary laws or other effective means.”

Conservation efforts may be initiated and/or achieved with or without outside support, but

there are three essential characteristics for CCAs:

The relevant indigenous and local communities are “concerned” about the given ecosystems—usually being related to them culturally and/or because of livelihoods;

Voluntary management decisions and efforts lead toward the conservation of habitats, species, ecological services and associated cul-



Figure 1: Everyone can do something for conservation, if informed and empowered to act. For instance, community fishery regulations are well known and respected in many Asian countries. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

tural values, although the protection status may have been set up for a variety of objectives, possibly unrelated to conservation *per se* (in other words CCA's are examples of *effective* and demonstrable conservation, not examples of areas set aside *for the purpose* of conservation)

Indigenous and local communities are the major players (power-holders) in making and implementing decisions on the management of the ecosystems at stake, implying that some form of community authority exists and is capable of enforcing regulations.

It is worth remembering that CCAs can only be understood within a particular historical and social context, often as key indicators of institutional continuity, strength or change. The "modernization" processes currently occurring throughout the world have tended to devalue and crush both the existence of indigenous and local communities and the roles they play in natural resource management. Certainly collective customary institutions and values fit neither the socialist dogma of the controlling state nor the capitalist dogma of the perfectly free and selfish individual. Their "re-discovery"— which should remain critical and aware of the many constraints and pitfalls faced by local communities and their CCAs— is part of a third way that values and adopts complexity and cultural uniqueness, and struggles to advance in a world of sweeping simplifications.

What are the advantages of recognizing different governance types for conservation?

There would be no point in complicating the field of conservation without real necessity and benefits. As mentioned, however, national protected areas systems have progressively become more ambitious, enlarging their size and assuming more complex tasks, while irrevocable damages to the natural non-protected environment have also become progressively more visible and worrying. People are more conscious now than ever before of the need to establish comprehensive and effective conservation systems, and yet,



Figure 2: Local forest residents can recognize tens of tree species even in their very early forms, a feat not mustered by many biologists. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

also as never before, the challenge appears of staggering proportions. The challenge involves extending the current protected areas systems to close the gaps that still exist regarding specific ecosystems and species, and to ensure the physical connectivity essential for their long term survival. It also involves, however, uplifting and dramatically improving the management of existing protected areas.

If different governance types were officially recognized, Community Conserved Areas and Private PAs would acquire "full legitimacy" alongside Government-Managed PAs and Co-Managed PAs. This would greatly enhance their chances of combining and optimising their overall conservation potential. Surveys of existing or potentially adoptable conservation practices by local com-

munities and private landowners could be carried out as part of regional planning exercises and offer unexpected avenues to complete and integrate existing official protected area systems. Obviously, a variety of policy measures—from the recognition of indigenous and customary rights to the provision of economic incentives for conservation—would sustain and add value to this practice³⁵. Also rather obviously, the dialogue and collaboration with communities and landowners would enhance public support for conservation and tend to strengthen the relationship between people and nature.

A conservation system comprising territories and resources under various governance types would have better chances to address currently existing conservation gaps (e.g., connectivity gaps). Such systems would be more complete and arguably more resilient, responsive and adaptive, since different economic, social and ecological changes unequally affect different social actors. Wars and civil strife, for instance, may lead a government agency to withdraw from a territory, but local communities may remain in place and know a variety of ways to preserve their traditional systems. In other cases, a fast management response may be needed to avert an impending danger and a private owner may be able to effect that swiftly, without waiting for rules to be changed. By combining different capacities to respond to both threats and opportunities around conservation, such a “pluralist governance” system would be more effective overall and more sustainable in the long run.

Last but not least, the acceptance and legitimization of a pluralist conservation system could promote relationships of mutual respect, communication, and support between and amongst people managing protected areas under different governance types. It could also promote much needed exchanges and action-research to explore governance principles, requirements and results and to enhance capacities and promote management effectiveness, in particular through learning by doing. Even something as simple as an agreed-upon nomenclature of governance types would set the conditions for dialogue and

create a foundation upon which to explore subtleties. Dialogues, exchanges and research are exactly what it is needed to explore and diffuse, in all its facets and complexities, the art of conservation.

Principles of good governance

It is generally recognized that “good governance” is a good thing. And yet, while the two words are becoming accepted jargon in all sorts of documents and official declarations, their actual meaning is still not universally clear. What does “good governance” mean? Some tend to stress a connotation of “openness”— a governance system should be open to innovation and advice, and possibly even to scrutiny. A reductive understanding of the term may even equate good governance with “open to foreign investments and the market system”. Fortunately, others understand “good governance” in a much more complex and rich way. Considerable work toward establishing a set of principles of good governance has been done by the United Nations as part of both its overall work on human rights and the promotion of public involvement in environmental governance³⁶ prompted since the UN Conference on Environment and Development of 1992. In the UN discussions, it is generally understood that governance principles are to be interpreted within their particular context of application (history, culture, technology, the economic conditions...) and that complexities abound (indeed, “the devil is in the detail”).

Two recent volumes³⁷, prepared in view of the World Parks Congress, take inspiration from the UN work and recommend that both protected area systems and individual protected areas engage in participatory governance evaluation processes. This is probably the ideal way to proceed, as no one better than the relevant social actors (stakeholders) can understand and define what constitutes good governance in a given situation. Table 1 below draws from the work of the UN and takes it forward to reflect upon the specific responsibilities of protected areas managers. It can be taken as starting point for a

Table 2: Five Principles of Good Governance for Protected Areas

| Five Principles of good governance for PA's | The United Nations Principles on which they are based | Related PA governance responsibilities |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1. Legitimacy and Voice</p> | <p>Participation: All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.</p> <p>Consensus orientation: Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.</p> | <p>Promoting the free expression of views, with no discrimination related to gender, ethnicity, social class, etc.</p> <p>Fostering dialogue and achieving collective agreements on management objectives and strategy, activities and tools to pursue them.</p> <p>Fostering relations of trust among stakeholders.</p> <p>Making sure that rules are respected because they are "owned" by people and not solely because of fear of repression.</p> |
| <p>2. Accountability</p> | <p>Accountability: Decision-makers are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external.</p> <p>Transparency: Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them. Enough information is provided to understand and monitor institutions and their decision-making processes.</p> | <p>Making sure that stakeholders possess an adequate quantity of knowledge and quality of knowledge regarding what is at stake in decision-making, who is responsible for what, and how the responsible actors can be made accountable.</p> <p>Making sure that the avenues to demand accountability are accessible to all. Making sure that accountability is not limited to verbal exchanges but linked to concrete and appropriate rewards and sanctions.</p> |
| <p>3. Performance</p> | <p>Responsiveness: Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders. Effectiveness and efficiency: Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.</p> | <p>Ensuring a competent administration.</p> <p>Making certain there is sufficient institutional and human capacity to carry out the required roles and assume the relevant responsibilities.</p> <p>Ensuring a management structure that is robust and resilient, i.e. able to overcome a variety of threats/ obstacles and come out strengthened from the experiences.</p> |
| <p>4. Fairness</p> | <p>Equity: All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being. Rule of Law: Legal frameworks are fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.</p> | <p>Making sure that conservation is undertaken with decency: without humiliation or harm to people.</p> <p>Ensuring that the governing mechanisms (e.g. laws, policies conflict resolution forums, funding opportunities, etc.) distribute equitably the costs and benefits deriving from conservation.</p> <p>Ensuring public service promotions that are merit-based.</p> <p>Being consistent through time in applying laws and regulations.</p> <p>Providing fair avenues for conflict management and, as needed, non-discriminatory recourse to justice.</p> |
| <p>5. Direction</p> | <p>Strategic vision: Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development.</p> <p>Embracing complexities: The historical, cultural and social complexities in which the long-term perspective is grounded are understood and effectively taken into account.</p> | <p>Listening to people, understanding their concerns, being able to propose specific initiatives to respond to those.</p> <p>Providing effective leadership by fostering the generation and support of innovative ideas and processes.</p> <p>Providing a model of good conduct.</p> <p>Being consistent in what it is said and done.</p> |

specific PA-based reflection.

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Notes

- 1 Graham, Amos and Plumtree, 2003
- 2 Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996.
- 3 This proposal responds in part to the 2002 mandate of the joint CEESP/WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas.
- 4 see the article by Chidhakwa, this issue.
- 5 see the article by Ferrari and De Vera, this issue.
- 6 see the article by Kothari and Pathak, this issue.
- 7 see the article by the Réseau Régional, this issue.
- 8 see the article by Price, this issue.
- 9 see the article by Kerins, this issue.
- 10 see the article by Winer, this issue.
- 11 see the article by Eghenter *et al.*, this issue.
- 12 see the article by Madrigal and Solis, this issue.
- 13 see the article by Zuluaga *et al.*, this issue.
- 14 see the article by Tilling, this issue.
- 15 see the article by Luque, this issue.
- 16 see the article by Birner and Mappatoba, this issue.
- 17 see the article by Santo *et al.*, this issue.
- 18 see the article by Kothari and Pathak, this issue.
- 19 see the article by Thiaw *et al.*, this issue.
- 20 see the article by Norgrove *et al.*, this issue.
- 21 see the article by Alleli-Puz *et al.*, this issue.
- 22 see the article by Maretti, this issue.
- 23 see the article by Setulan village, this issue.
- 24 see the article by Ravnborg, this issue.
- 25 see the article by Farvar, this issue.
- 26 see the article by Randall Wilson, this issue.
- 27 see the article by Bajimaya, this issue.
- 28 see the article by Kothari and Pathak, this issue.
- 29 see the article by Aburto *et al.*, this issue.
- 30 see the article by Maheia, this issue.
- 31 Sandwith *et al.*, 2001.
- 32 Some people are very concerned about the relationship between traditional/ customary practices and the principles of good governance discussed later in the article, in particu-

lar because of their real, or apparent, lack of popular participation in decision-making. While these concerns are at times justified, they are no more so for customary practices than for national governments in many so-called democracies.

- 33 See Pathak, 2002.
- 34 The synthesis is available in Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003 (numerous references therein); see also http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/WPC.htm#prep and Kothari and Pathak, this issue.
- 35 See Borrini-Feyerabend, 2002.
- 36 See Bruch, 2002.
- 37 Graham, Amos and Plumtree, 2003 and Abrams *et al.*, 2003.
- 38 See the article by Ould Bah *et al.*, this issue.
- 39 See the article by Blomley and Namara, this issue.
- 40 See the article by Ali and Butz, this issue.

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Section 11: The civil society speaks out!

Pronunciamento sobre áreas protegidas y comunidades rurales: una convivencia natural

Esto pronunciamiento fue elaborado por setenta hombres y mujeres representantes de las comunidades campesinas, afrodescendientes y pueblos indígenas de mesoamericana, participantes en el precongreso: "Áreas Protegidas Mesoamericanas y Comunidades Rurales: una Convivencia Natural" convocado en Managua, Nicaragua, el 9 de marzo de 2003. Los signatarios son miembros de ACICAFOC (Asociación Coordinadora Indígena y Campesina de Agroforestería Comunitaria Centroamericana) y otros líderes de base de las organizaciones Frente Solidario de Cafetaleros y de la Organización Negra Centroamericana -ONECA-

Considerando:

Que, en tanto habitantes de las llamadas áreas protegidas y sus zonas de vecindad, nuestras formas de vida y futuro se encuentran indisolublemente ligadas al futuro de estas áreas;

Que es imposible analizar y discutir la conservación y el desarrollo de las llamadas áreas protegidas, sin entender la convivencia natural de las comunidades rurales con las mismas;

Que los modelos de gestión de estas áreas, concebidas como intervenciones externas o centrales, desde proyectos o políticas y reglamentaciones, constituyen modelos con muy limitado impacto, que no han logrado revertir las dinámicas destructivas generadas desde la pobreza extrema o desde la avaricia insaciable de ganancias fáciles;

Que políticas incoherentes y corrupción se combinan en las zonas rurales generando condiciones de ingobernabilidad, dejando sin efecto las políticas centrales de las instituciones, en todo caso ausentes en los escenarios geográficos de

las llamadas áreas protegidas;

Que el futuro de los recursos naturales mesoamericanos dependerá de la capacidad de las comunidades rurales de convertirlos en activos naturales, capaces de mejorar sus condiciones de vida y asegurar el desarrollo local.

Por tanto, las comunidades campesinas, negras e indígenas:

Demandamos:

Que se abandonen los conceptos propios de visiones de beneficencia y filantropía social, que reproducen la pobreza y miseria que ya padecen nuestras comunidades. Las comunidades no necesitamos ayuda humanitaria, sino oportunidades de desarrollo.

Que los proyectos y la cooperación internacional abandonen la tradicional visión de comunidades beneficiadas, entendiendo que una revisión de cuentas y presupuestos seguramente reflejaría que los beneficiarios de esta cooperación están fuera de las llamadas áreas protegidas. Las comunidades necesitamos socios con una mentalidad moderna conducente hacia una nueva asociación, que redistribuya los roles y responsabilidades en la gestión de los recursos naturales.

Que se abandone la visión de que las comunidades rurales somos "mal educados ambientalmente". Los presupuestos de la educación ambiental deben ser revisados, pues no se puede seguir con la ficción que llevando a nuestros hijos libros de colorear con dibujitos de árboles estamos haciendo educación ambiental. Nosotros queremos saber cómo es que los campesinos de Siuna en Nicaragua han logrado sustituir la quema en la agricultura; cómo campesinos en Río Plátano y la Biosfera Tawakha tienen una ganadería que ha dejado de deforestar los bosques; cómo las comunidades de Petén en Guatemala están

manejando sosteniblemente sus bosques.

Que se abandone la idea tradicional de fortalecimiento institucional entendida como más personal, oficinas, equipos y consultorías. Lo que hay que fortalecer es la capacidad de las instituciones locales, municipales y nacionales de hacer acuerdos para la gestión de estas áreas. Un acuerdo realista y verificable entre una comunidad y una instancia de gobierno aporta más al futuro de las llamadas áreas protegidas, que cualquier rubro de fortalecimiento institucional: Tonicapán en Guatemala y Filo del Tallo en Darién de Panamá confirman el enorme retorno económico que reportan las asociaciones inteligentes.

Que se abandonen los conceptos demagógicos de participación social, limitada a consultas técnicas a comunidades en las más absoluta desigualdad de condiciones y con líderes desinformados. Es necesario avanzar hacia mecanismos institucionalizados de participación de las comunidades más allá de falsas consultas formales, estableciendo procesos permanentes de trabajo y diálogos verdaderos.

Que se abandone de una vez por todas el concepto restrictivo y ahora anacrónico de áreas protegidas, dando lugar al concepto de Areas de Manejo Sostenible.

Llamamos:

A redefinir la estrategia de gestión de las áreas de manejo sostenible mesoamericanas sobre nuevas bases, a partir de una redistribución de cargas y responsabilidades entre las instituciones rectoras nacionales, las autoridades municipales y los grupos locales.

A darle contenido productivo, social y organizativo a las llamadas zonas de amortiguamiento, reconociendo que solo las comunidades que las habitan tienen la capacidad de traducir en acciones concretas esta importante función.



Figura 1: Cuando el contexto es propicio los campesinos saben bien cuidar el bosque (Cortesía Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Para más informaciones: **Vivienne Solis Rivera** (vsolis@coop-solidar.org) Deputy Chair del CEESP/CMWG y miembro del Core Group de TILCEPA.

Final statement of the Southern Africa workshop on local communities, equity and protected areas

The following statement was adopted at the Southern Africa Workshop on Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas held in Pretoria, South Africa from 26-28 February 2003. Forty-five participants from the Southern Africa Region attended the workshop and constituted themselves as the Southern Africa chapter of TILCEPA—the joint CEESP/WCPA Theme on Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas. The Workshop considered and endorsed TILCEPA's initiative to include a governance dimension in the IUCN Protected Area classification system, and recommended to give special attention to Community Conserved Areas (CCAs) and Co-managed Protected Areas (CMPAs) as follows:



Picture 1: Group picture of the participants in the Pretoria meeting.

Community Conserved Areas (CCAs)

Noting that:

1. There is strong evidence that devolution to the lowest proprietary units delivers substantial institutional, livelihood and conservation benefits;
2. Many of the necessary tools, principles and knowledge to take devolution into effect have been developed and tested through a variety of CBNRM experience;
3. Devolution principles and practices have seldom been applied to best effect in the Southern Africa region;
4. TILCEPA's definition of Community Conserved Areas (CCAs) as "natural and modified ecosystems including significant biodiversity, ecological services and cultural values voluntarily conserved by concerned indigenous and local communities through customary laws or other effective means" generally corresponds with the localised proprietary regimes which CBNRM experience in Southern Africa suggests as appropriate for many contexts;

5. CCAs can be effective examples of devolution if they are provided with the necessary status and entitlements.

The Workshop recommends that:

Community Conserved Areas and their associated proprietary rights and responsibilities be officially recognised in national and international statutes and included as a governance form within the IUCN PA category system.

Co-Managed Protected Areas (CMPAs) and Protected Areas

Noting that:

1. The provision of ecological and socio-economic value by official, state-declared Protected Areas is currently sub-optimal;
2. Protected Areas in transitional societies will survive only by serving the needs of their constituencies, which include the conservation of biodiversity, ecosystem services and also a variety of social, economic and cultural values;
3. The trade offs between biodiversity and socio-economic values are currently exaggerated and the synergies under-estimated;

4. Greater involvement of those living in and around protected areas can contribute to protected area and landscape conservation;
5. In many cases, Protected Areas can act as local engines for economic and social development;
6. Integrating protected areas into their surrounding landscapes and generating synergies with local communities has advantages in terms of both performance and accountability.

The Workshop recommends that:

The goals and governance structures of official, state-declared Protected Areas be reviewed to better contribute to the objectives of society at large and to enhance local livelihoods, governance and economic

development.

State-declared Protected Areas provide residents and neighbours with full legitimacy and status in co-management governance structures.

Co-managed protected areas (CMPAs) function as subsidiary decision-making units, uniting legitimate stakeholders, internalizing costs and benefits and sharing them fairly through institutional mechanisms, rights and contractual obligations.

For more information please contact **Webster Whande** (wwhande@uwc.ac.za). Webster is associated with PLAAS (Cape Town, South Africa), is a CEESP/ CMWG member and the TILCEPA contact point for Southern Africa.

“La Kompienga declaration” on governance of Africa’s protected areas

A workshop on “Governance of Protected Areas in Sub-Saharan Africa”, was held at La Kompienga, Burkina Faso, during March 2003, and provided an opportunity for about thirty participants to identify the most appropriate policies and mechanisms for ensuring the long term sustainability of protected areas, while taking into account both the ecological and socio-economic characteristics. The three day workshop was organised by IUCN and CIRAD with the support of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in collaboration with the Ministry of Environment of Burkina Faso. The workshop was part of the preparations for the World Parks Congress, which will take place in Durban (South Africa) in September 2003. The following declaration was approved by the participants on March 28th, 2003

Africa remains one of the most important reservoirs of the world’s biodiversity. Yet, it is the most poverty and risk prone continent in the world. Due to the close relationship between ecosystem health and the pressures on rural African economies, the management of protected areas and their good governance are more vital now than ever before.

Protected Areas have tended to be exclusively focused on *in situ* conservation, which does not necessarily ensure the long-term sustainability of these areas, or of their biodiversity. It is essential and urgent to ensure that protected areas contribute to and form part of wider national development, livelihood security and poverty reduction strategies. There needs to be new and innovative partnerships between State authorities, the private sector, non governmental and community based organizations, as well as with rural people and communities.

While the State has overall responsibility, the fact remains that many of the protected areas are still centrally managed and controlled, and this hinders the effective empowerment and actions of local communities. In notable examples, new and innovative management strategies have created the enabling policy and legal framework needed to move from conservation based on sanctions to local governance and participatory management of natural resources. The redistribution of roles, rights and responsibilities of stakeholders should address these challenges through the revision of institutional and legal frameworks at local, national, and international levels.

Community conserved areas

African communities are, in general, absent from and broadly ignored in the public debate and decision-making structures both at national and international levels, though there is much rhetoric concerning the participation of rural people in conservation and natural resource management. Nevertheless, they play a dominant role in the conservation of natural resources. For example, pastoral landscapes and management areas raise serious problems of conflict and degradation among different groups of users. Such situations deserve much more in-depth consideration, embracing the full involvement of all stakeholders and resulting in mutual agreed actions that will help secure their livelihoods, as well as contributing to conservation objectives. The problems go beyond conservation alone, and have to address both inter-community and inter-ethnic conflicts, with an approach built on local rules and knowledge. In this respect, community conserved areas of various types and descriptions should be given official status. This will help African communities ensure the conservation of significant species and spaces, for example community and sacred forests. Many such areas could be registered in the different IUCN categories of Protected Areas with a view to promoting their formal recognition.

The participants recommend that:

Action programmes in protected areas integrate livelihood security objectives for the benefit of local communities, so that conservation is seen as one important tool in poverty reduction, and securing people's livelihoods. This has to be done on a sustainable basis that does not further degrade conservation resources. Objectives should be expanded to include social, cultural and economic dimensions as part of wider co-management arrangements.

Decision making embraces all the stakeholders concerned, especially those who are most affected by protected areas. Local people often have to bear significant costs of living close to areas.

Governments officially recognise community conserved areas, and the rights of communities to rationally manage them and use their resources. **Local communities**, on the other hand, ought to clearly understand that they **have responsibilities** for the sustainable management of such areas. The areas should be "registered" in the national protected areas lists.

Good governance and legal frameworks

The overall role of the State as guarantor of public properties and common interest is not in question, but weaknesses in regulation and implementation need to be addressed. African Governments, as a whole, are currently unable to fulfil their commitments due to numerous economic and socio-political factors. The sustainable management of many protected areas, and ecosystems with high biodiversity value, constitutes a major challenge of integration into wider economic and national planning, and in addressing poverty reduction.

Legal frameworks are generally inappropriate and inapplicable, as they do not include the viewpoints and interests of the rural people and communities who neighbour protected areas. These people are requested to take ownership of conservation objectives that were often established without their knowledge or agreement. Any redistribution of the roles between the pub-

lic sector, the local communities and the private sector implies the review and redistribution of rights and overall responsibilities.

Many examples of successful conservation of African protected areas have been well described in the literature. These have been conserved despite difficulties in implementation due to armed conflicts, civil unrest and economic crisis. The understanding of the importance of Protected Areas to rural livelihood security is gradually improving, but this has not been fully internalised in policy and practice. New communication and information dissemination methods are emerging which help demonstrate the importance of protected areas to rural people. In addition there are concerted efforts at decentralisation and power devolution to the local levels. This contributes to gradually changing perceptions that local people now simply must have a role in protected area management.

Establishing the long-term governance systems needed, will require both human and financial resources, which are presently unpredictable and often insufficient. The incorporation of conservation ideas into national economic planning and development policies of governments, and the programmes of donors, is a serious challenge. Genuine integration of conservation into overall government strategies is an equal challenge. The development of coherent approaches for protected areas within each country that also reflects the importance of trans-boundary ecosystems and reserves requires communication and collaborative strategies within and among governments.

The participants recommend that:

The Governments of Africa revise their policies and laws, in order to adapt policy for



Figure 1: Typical encounter in African protected area. (Courtesy Jean Marc Garreau)

both protected areas and development, in particular to allow for: (i) a better involvement of stakeholders, in particular the rural communities and the local private sector, through a fairer and more equitable distribution of roles between them, thus achieving **genuine co-management and a better overall valuation of natural resources**; (ii) combining the conservation of ecosystems and biodiversity in protected areas with **integration in broader land use and socio-economic development planning**; and (iii) setting up a **strong institutional framework to conserve national environmental heritage** and fulfil Government commitments as signatories to international conventions including their effective implementation.

States make commitments to give conservation and protected areas wider scope in national priorities in terms of policies and national development programmes. This will help facilitate **long term financing** for the conservation of protected areas with the goal of: (i) **building national capacities**; (ii) allowing **protected areas to play a more innovative and broader role in landscape and land use planning**, and national economic development; and (iii) developing **new tools based on the ecosystem approach**,



Figure 2: Some of the participants in the Kompienga meeting. (Courtesy Didier Babin)

which embrace shared spaces and resources, as well as **trans-boundary protected areas**.

Management innovation

The situation analysis of protected areas in Africa reveals a general lack of innovation in their management. These areas are actually exceptional sites to try and reconcile biodiversity conservation, sustainable development and respect for socio-cultural values. Unfortunately, management systems and modes have hardly evolved, and the focus is still on government-owned and managed conservation estates. Financing remains conventional through, for example, Government recurrent budgets and income from tourism with little flexibility to accommodate innovation.

Ecological functioning at the regional, indeed continental, levels has important impacts on trans-boundary movements of biodiversity, as well as how local and indigenous communities exploit these resources. Global changes, for example with respect to climate, increasing population and land use pressures, and urban development all affect protected areas. In order to better achieve biodiversity conservation, "hot spots", ecological networks and corridors have been identified and agreed to at national, regional and continental levels.

The workshop participants strongly recommend that:

A national and international labelling process is established to reward success in community conserved areas and co-managed protected areas. This should lead to the listing of relevant non-classified areas, which could subsequently be labelled. Labelling criteria need to be clearly described, and a transparent listing and de-listing process put in place.

Noting that there is a general lack of a regulatory structure at the global level concerning protected areas governance, **IUCN, through the World Commission on Protected Areas, assume this responsibility** at the international level.

A multi-disciplinary and multi-institutional ad hoc group at the Pan-African level is designated. This group should involve representation from local communities, be under the coordination of IUCN's World's Commission on Protected Areas, and make proposals for an African ecological network to provide guidance on facing change in these areas. This group should ensure that existing initiatives are integrated with, for example, the requirements of Man and Biosphere Reserves, World Heritage Sites and Ramsar sites, as appropriate.

The success of these new approaches will require initiative and entrepreneurship. Support from universities, research institutions, regional bodies for training and information exchange, and international agencies is needed with the aim of building the capacities of local communities and other stakeholders.

For more information please consult **Jean-Marc Garreau** (jean-marc.garreau@iucn.org) IUCN Programme Coordinator for West Africa and CEESP/ CMWG Associate and **Thomas Price** (price@cirad.fr), Social Anthropologist, Senior Adviser at CIRAD in Montpellier and member of CEESP/CMWG.

Aboriginal land rights upheld in Australia

Sean Kerins

After years of struggling to establish traditional owner rights and effective involvement in the management of parks and reserves of Australia's Northern Territory (NT), finally a breakthrough!

The Miriwung and Gajerrong people's native title case has had a surprising spin-off for Aboriginal people all over the Northern Territory. The case concerned the West Australian / NT border, including some of the Northern Territory's Keep River National Park. The High Court decision about this case, now known as the 'Ward' case, covered many complex issues and it has taken many months to work out the implications for the Northern Territory. In August 2002 the High Court effectively said that the NT Government had ignored native title rights when it declared land as national parks or reserves between 1978 and 1998. In other words, the court found that NT national parks and reserves had not been validly declared because they failed to take native title rights into account. This

meant that land claims already lodged for 11 parks could automatically proceed, and the issue of native title rights remained open for the remaining 39 parks.

With legal uncertainty hanging over at least 50 NT parks and reserves, the Chief Minister moved swiftly to seek a solution to the problem. The Chief Minister convened an urgent meeting with the Chairmen and Directors of the Northern and Central Land Councils, and the Aboriginal organisations that represent the interests of traditional land owners in the Northern Territory. While all faced the prospect of years in court and millions of dollars to test each claim over a national park, the NT Government proposed a negotiated settlement based on the following principles:

- Parks scheduled as Aboriginal freehold title will be leased back to the NT Government for a period of 99 years and managed under a joint park management arrangement.
- There will be continued public access to the parks with no permits and no gate fee.



Figure 1: Scenes from the Northern Territories (Courtesy Sean Kerins)

- Existing mining, exploration or tourist concessions already granted will remain.
- Issues will be dealt with through negotiation, not through the courts.
- Decisions about each park will only be made after proper consultation with the traditional owners.

The Land Councils have accepted these principles.

Now much detailed work is still to be done. Central Land Council Director David Ross said: *"I welcome the Chief Minister's announcement that her Government will negotiate a sensible solution to the legal uncertainty over the validity of more than 50 Territory parks and reserves. We hope that the money that would otherwise be spent on litigation and adversarial high jinks can be put to much more constructive purposes."*

Northern Land Council Chairman Galarrwuy Yunupingu said: *"We have always said that the Government should sit down and talk with us about our involvement in parks and reserves rather than fighting us in the courts. All these parks have enormous natural and cultural value, which can now be fully acknowledged and promoted through the enhanced involvement of traditional owners. Many Aboriginal people will be relieved that they will finally be able to have a role in caring for their important sites and protecting heritage for the future."*

Proposed framework

The Government is now working on a proposed framework for the joint management arrangements. This will be put to the Land Councils shortly as the basis for negotiating with traditional owners of each park.

There is much work to be done resolving issues before any land is transferred, but the Government hopes that most of the process will be completed in two years. Traditional owners will still have to identify their concerns about

each park or reserve, to be involved in developing management plans for each of them and in identifying economic opportunities such as jobs and businesses that will result from the new arrangements.

Mr Ross said: *"We will be working to ensure that Aboriginal People can participate in the management and promotion of Territory parks. This could be a key element in the new regional development strategies, including potential employment, training and enterprise development opportunities."*

The Land Councils are now looking to complete the anthropological work with the traditional owners to identify the appropriate people with whom dialogue should be opened about park management. In addition the Land Councils convened a workshop among Aboriginal traditional land owners already involved in joint-management arrangements for parks, land council staff and external experts. The aim of the workshop was to agree on the purpose and principles of the new proposed parks legislation and develop models to cater for a range of situations, maximising potential benefits for Aboriginal groups and other individuals with interests in those parks and reserves.

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Section III: CCAs and CMPAs: a full spectrum of learning & struggles

The Shimshal governance model—a Community Conserved Area, a sense of cultural identity, a way of life...

Inayat Ali and David Butz

Shimshal is a farming and herding community of 1700 inhabitants, situated in the Karakoram Mountains at the northeastern extreme of Pakistan's Northern Areas (see Figure 1). Our settlement occupies the upper portion of the Shimshal Valley, which descends west into the Hunza River valley at Pasu. Our villages are situated on a series of glacial and alluvial deposits that form a broad strip between the river's floodplain and steep mountain slopes to the south. These deposits have been terraced for several hundred years. They are irrigated by meltwater streams, or from the river itself. The cultivated area, covering about 250 hectares, lies between

3000 and 3300 metres above sea level, at the upper limits of single crop cultivation. We grow hardy cereals (wheat and barley), potatoes, peas and beans, apricots and apples, as well as small quantities of garden vegetables. Shimshal is one of the few communities remaining in Pakistan's Northern Areas that grows enough agricultural produce to feed itself.

We complement irrigated agriculture with extensive herding of sheep, goats, cattle and yaks. Indeed, we tend more livestock per capita than any other Hunza community (in 1995, a total of 4473 goats, 2547 sheep, 960 yaks, 399 cows and 32 donkeys), and earn much of our money from the sale of dairy produce, yaks, and yak hair carpets. This is due, in part, to our community's exclusive control of about 2700 km² of high altitude land. Within that area we maintain over three dozen individual pastures, including three large and highly productive alpine areas. Also within Shimshal territory are innumerable peaks, glaciers and trekking routes, including nine peaks above 7,000 metres. Although the environmental potential for adventure tourism is high, relatively few trekkers visit. The summer of 2000 was Shimshal's busiest tourist season, with about 130 foreign tourists. Since the



Figure 1: Location of Shimshal in Northern Pakistan (Courtesy David Butz; drafted by Loris Gasparotto)

events of September 11th 2001, few tourists have visited northern Pakistan. We anticipate a gradual increase in tourism over the next few years.

Since 1985, all households have belonged to one of three Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) Village Organizations (VOs) that have formed in the community. The three VOs, with sporadic assistance from government-funded contractors, are constructing a road from Pasu to Shimshal settlement. The road will be completed by the end of 2003, after eighteen years of committed labour. The Shimshal VOs and other community-based collective organizations have also undertaken other self-help projects, including fruit and forest plantations, land settlement, irrigation channel construction, and recently an AKRSP-sponsored hydro-electric generating station. Despite our location 60 kilometres and two days walk from the nearest road we interact extensively with the outside world. Most households have members working or studying in lowland Pakistan or the Middle East. Migrants usually return to live and work in the community; school teachers, animal and crop specialists, dispensers, VO leaders, etc., are all Shimshalis who have been trained outside. As early as 1995, about 120 Shimshalis were living for extended periods outside the village (Shimshal Environmental Education Programme, 1995).

Although we are eager to enjoy the benefits of increasing access to the outside world, we feel a strong obligation to preserve our unique physical and cultural environment. As members of one of Pakistan's few mountain communities that retains a strong commitment to a surplus-oriented economy based on agriculture and transhumant herding, we also retain beliefs, knowledge, and practices relating to nature that have been lost elsewhere. The community's traditional Wakhi culture remains relatively intact, and continues to bear strong traces of our fascinating history. Historical events are remembered in detail in songs and stories, and re-enacted in skits at community festivals. These provide us with guidance for the appropriate stewardship of our landscape, which is strengthened by a general Islamic religious ethic of respect for nature

as God's ultimate creation.

Until recently we have not felt the need for a formalized approach to nature stewardship. In the past decade, however, progressively greater interaction with the outside world has threatened to alter our traditional relationship with nature and remove control of that relationship from the community. Despite a strong and responsive local ethic of conservation and stewardship, we fear that changes wrought by the completion of the road, the introduction of hydro-electricity, the slow but steady flow of foreigners into the community, and the increasing orientation of our youth towards Pakistan's urban core, will result in the degradation of our natural surroundings, and the loss of our culture. We also fear that external conservation efforts, like Khunjerab National Park (KNP) and Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP), both of which include parts of Shimshal, will impose rigid and contextually inappropriate restrictions that will be destructive of our special and historically-sanctioned relationship with nature. On the other hand, we also sense in recent changes the opportunity for improved nature stewardship. Employment outside the community, for example, provides funds to undertake initiatives such as afforestation; the introduction of seasonal electricity diminishes the demand for firewood; the completion of the road will allow scarce materials to be imported rather than harvested locally; and the formal training of Shimshalis in environmental education ensures the influx of new ideas and energy into our traditional stewardship regime. It is now reasonable to regulate certain activities, and initiate others, that would have been impractical a few years ago.

The Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT) provides a mechanism for managing these challenges and

The Shimshal Nature Trust (SNT) is a community organization which oversees the stewardship of our pastures, agricultural lands and wilderness areas. Following the model of a "community conserved area", we treat most of this territory as a "managed resource," with some "wilderness areas" and "protected landscapes" where "habitat management" is understood to be important.

opportunities. Established in 1997, it is our most recent and comprehensive effort to improve our quality of life in a culturally and environmentally sensitive way, while retaining control of our environment. SNT is a community-initiated and community-based organization, which is responsible for overseeing the community's stewardship of its territory, including pastures, agricultural lands and wilderness areas.

Struggling Against National Parks

The effort to develop a Shimshal Nature Trust emerged in relation to our experience with Khunjerab National Park (KNP), created in 1975 after a brief field survey in 1974 by zoologist George Schaller. Its primary purpose at the time was to protect the habitats of rare species of Asian mountain wildlife, especially the endangered Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon polii*). It was designated an IUCN Category II park, defined as including "one or several ecosystems not materially altered by human use" that visitors may be allowed to enter "under special conditions for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreational uses". The park's boundaries were interpreted to include most of Shimshal's pastoral territory, as well as the communal pastures of eight other villages. The creation of the park made our traditional grazing economy illegal. We

SNT emerged in 1997 in response to (a) rapid modernization, and (b) the threat that Khunjerab National Park administrators would restrict Shimshal's access to its pastures. Community self-governance is essential to SNT's vision.

justify by (a) emphasizing the great size of the territory under threat of appropriation, our exceptional economic reliance on herding, and a corresponding lack of access to the economic opportunities provided to other communities by their proximity to the Karakoram Highway; and by (b) outlining our community's historical and

were not consulted in this. Other affected communities agreed to accept (but have not yet received) compensation for their loss of access to pastures. We alone are unwilling to relinquish access to and control of our pastures under any circumstances, a position

current symbolic attachment to the territory under threat.

In the late 1980s Pakistan's National Council for Conservation of Nature (NCCN) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) began preparing a new plan for park management, which promised to halt villagers' "illegal" grazing within park boundaries. However, as the rigid standards of a Category II Park were not enforced, we continued to graze our pastures as always. In November 1996, a new KNP Management Plan was enacted, which increased the size of the park but also allowed limited and externally regulated traditional use by pre-existing occupants. Again we were not consulted in the delineation of the boundaries, the definition of regulations, or the details of management. Again we rejected the management plan. Although we have succeeded so far in resisting external management of our pastures, we resent the continued threat of external control of our environment, which we fear would jeopardize our cherished culture and the very nature the park was meant to protect. Recent evidence that endangered wildlife is more plentiful in Shimshal territory than in areas currently under park management validates our fears, and legitimizes our resistance to the park. Meanwhile, the Government of Pakistan announced, in July 2003, that it has allocated a further 40 million rupees for the development of Khunjerab National Park.

In 1993 the Pakistani government announced the establishment of the Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP), which also includes part of Shimshal territory. An IUCN-sponsored workshop was held in northern Pakistan in 1994. Although all indications are that the parties involved learned from the problems of KNP and decided to adopt a community-based planning and management procedure, we nevertheless feel that our culture and natural surroundings are best served by a proactive nature stewardship programme that emerges from Shimshal's specific context, and which is designed entirely by us. It is not enough that external initiatives be managed locally; rather, a culturally sensitive nature stewardship programme should be developed



Figure 2: Shuwert Alpine Pasture. (Courtesy David Butz)

and managed from within the community. Shimshal has not accepted CKNP management of any parts of our territory.

It was out of this context of struggle with National Park administrators, combined with a commitment to truly community-based nature stewardship, that the Shimshal Nature Trust emerged in 1997. For us community self-governance – especially in the area of nature stewardship – is an essential characteristic (and purpose) of the Shimshal Nature Trust. But we do not reject collaboration with external conservation agencies. SNT is presently working in partnership with IUCN's Mountain Areas Conservation Project (MACP) to conduct a wildlife census and offer training programmes in Shimshal.

The Shimshal Nature Trust: objectives and initiatives

In keeping with our conviction that our community is an integral part of the environment we are charged to protect, SNT applies a broad definition of environment that includes socio-cultural and ecological components. Accordingly, we have identified the following main objectives:

- To create a legal framework for the protection of the rights of Shimshali people to the lands within their territory, which they have occupied and used for several centuries.
- To ensure the protection, preservation and proliferation of wildlife within Shimshal's terri-

tory.

- To preserve and promote those elements of the cultural landscape, and those cultural practices, which are declining due to external cultural influences.
- To frame policies and programmes for the sustainable socio-economic development of the community, as an eventual substitute for existing grazing practices.
- To frame policies and programmes for the development of tourism based on mutual understanding, respect for local culture, and recognition of the rights of tourists and the local population.
 - To explore avenues for the development of waste land, and for the safe proliferation of wildlife.
- To bridge the gap between the community and government that arose when the Khunjerab National Park was established.
- To use environmental education as a way to promote, among Shimshalis, an understanding of the need to conserve the natural and cultural environment.
- To organize debates on management and policy issues relating to the community's development and nature stewardship.
- To identify areas most vulnerable to erosion, flooding, landslides and snow avalanches, and develop remedial measures for their protection.
- To develop a replicable model, based on traditional experiences, for the preservation and management of nature and natural resources.
- To generate income through the sustainable use of renewable resources.
- To develop policy and programmes for the development of the community's women.

The activities of the Shimshal Nature Trust are overseen by six main programmes¹. These are outlined below.

Shimshal Nature Stewardship

Programme— the core of SNT is the Nature Stewardship Programme, which enumerates and evaluates the community's ecological resources, and formalizes a combination of traditional and new environmental practices into a series of management zones (see Table 1). Wildlife, vegetation, land use, and proposed management activities are enumerated for each zone. The Nature Stewardship Programme also tries to translate long-standing environmental beliefs, knowledge and practices into a language and structure that is accessible to the international ecological community.

Environmental Education Programme—

which aims at strengthening the relationship between people and the physical and spiritual environment, in the context of our culture and traditions. Emphasis is on developing people's understanding and respect for their surroundings. Students are educated to understand and analyze traditional environmental practices and beliefs, and to evaluate these using modern techniques. Shimshal's Environmental Education Programme has become a model for similar efforts throughout the region; teachers and students have led numerous workshops outside the community.

Box 1: Shimshal Conservation Management Zones²

Wilderness Zone: Places with little or no vegetation, generally above 6000m, and other areas covered by permanent snow or glaciers. Shimshalis only visit these places with trekkers and climbers. Management involves limiting the number of tourists, and taxing tourists to pay for removal of garbage associated with trekking and climbing.

Wildlife Core Zone: Core habitat areas for wildlife, mainly between 4500 and 6000m, and especially breeding areas between 5500 and 6000m. Management involves a complete ban on hunting, and restricts visitors to a limited number of serious wildlife watchers, and researchers who can help determine wildlife numbers, migratory patterns, breeding and birthing patterns, etc.

Semi-Pasture Zone: Areas, mainly below 5000m, where livestock graze briefly in winter or summer on their way to major pastures, or where yaks graze without herders. We have recently abandoned grazing in those few areas where we think there has been competition between wild animals and livestock. Our long-term goal is to shift semi-pasture zones into the wildlife core zone.

Pasture Zone: All intensely-used productive pastures, mainly between 3000 and 4500m. These areas, and especially the large alpine pastures at Pamir, are important sources of Shimshali tradition and culture, and the privileged domain of women, who manage the pastures. Focus is on increasing productivity of the main high pastures, so that semi-pastures and less productive high pastures can gradually be incorporated into the wildlife core zone. We will continue to improve trails to main pastures, and encourage culturally-sensitive tourism through events like yak-racing and yak polo.

Semi-Agricultural Zone: Those areas, mainly between 3000 and 3500m, which currently combine pastures with tree plantations and/or agriculture. We have placed high priority on developing these areas, especially to provide plantations and fodder for Shimshal, and as protected grazing areas for livestock which cannot survive at high altitudes. Our long-term goal is to incorporate semi-agricultural areas fully into the agricultural zone.

Agricultural Zone: Those areas below 3300m, mainly around Shimshal village, currently used intensively for growing crops, and some new agricultural lands being developed close to the Chinese border and near Shegdi. Planning will continue to emphasize intense agricultural activity.

Commercial Zone: Not clearly demarcated at this stage. We are presently discussing where to locate hotels and shops, in anticipation of the road's completion. Priorities for planning include the construction of hotels, guest houses, shops, and development of the community's mining potential, without disrupting the natural environment or Shimshalis' traditional lifestyle.



Figure 3: Women herding Sheep at Shuwert (Courtesy David Butz)

Self-Help Village Development

Programme—traditionally, communal self-help initiatives were sponsored by individual households who chose a project and supplied materials and food for community volunteers. Many channels, bridges, trails, travellers' shelters and domestic livestock huts were constructed in this way. The Self-Help Village Development Programme links those traditional efforts to modern management techniques. A committee comprising members from all community-level institutions has been constituted, and is responsible for identifying and posting lists of priorities, which are presented to the village for sponsorship. Households wishing to sponsor a public work may choose from among priorities set by the committee. Labour is undertaken by the Shimshal Scouts, Girl Guides and other community volunteers.

Shimshal Culture Programme

—the culture and traditions of Shimshal, 400 years old, have been less influenced by the modern world than elsewhere in the Northern Areas. The culture of this valley is a beautiful blend of Pamir, Hunza and Chinese-Turkistani influences. The goal of the Shimshal Culture Programme is to nurture and perpetuate this blend internally, and to share it outside the community.

Visitors Programme and Mountaineering School

—which aims at facilitating tourism and research activities without stressing Shimshal's cultural and ecological environment. We are establishing a Visitors Resource Center to encourage and assist visitors and researchers to learn about the community and share their expertise with Shimshalis. We have plans to utilize the talents of Shimshali climbers by establishing a Mountaineering School.

Women's Development Programme

—which seeks to recognize and maintain women's role in community life in the face of modernization. Women work with men in agriculture activities and have the main responsibility for summer herding in the high pastures. Therefore, women are central to conservation initiatives. Women in Shimshal also serve as president, secretary and members of Shimshal's AKRSP Women's Organizations. Women organize Shimshal's semi-annual Environment Day, serve on the Local Council, Arbitration Committee, SNT Board of Directors, and work as teachers and health workers. In addition to providing support for these activities, the Women's Development Programme has recently developed the Shams Education Fund, which will provide (a) hostel facilities for Shimshali girls who are studying out-



Figure 4: Tug-of-War at a Village Festival.

side the village, and (b) scholarships for outstanding students.

Governance of the Shimshal Nature Trust

As might be expected from an organization that was established to provide an alternative to

externally-imposed regulation, the Shimshal Nature Trust is well-described by a Governance Type D³, overseeing the stewardship of a "community conserved area". Referring to the IUCN typology of management objectives, the commu-

SNT is overseen by a Board of Directors and Task Force. Governance respects the lengthy, conversational and thorough process of traditional collective decision-making. This helps community members feel ownership of decisions, which makes implementation easier and more sustainable. It may take a long time for consensus to emerge.

nity treats most of this area as a "managed resource," with some "wilderness areas" and "protected landscapes" where "habitat management" is understood to be especially important.

The mandate and activities of SNT are overseen by a Board of Directors consisting of thirteen members. Each of Shimshal's eight sub-clans chooses one or two individuals to serve on the Board (depending on the size of the sub-clan). Each member serves for three years. The assembled Board appoints a Chair, who chooses a secretary. Decisions are reached collectively and consensually through frequent formal and informal meetings, and through similarly frequent meetings between members of the Board and the community's council of household heads. The Board is formally accountable to this council of household heads, and many members of the Board are prominent voices in the larger council. To this extent the authority of the Board of Directors is not clearly distinguishable from the village council's authority, a situation which has the potential to reproduce traditional power inequities in the SNT. This tendency is reduced by the fact that individual board members are accountable to their own clans and sub-clans. The village is simultaneously a community of

households and an agglomeration of clans and sub-clans. While these two types of social organization overlap considerably, each also limits the independent power of the other.

An additional level of governance is provided by the SNT Task Force, which consists of about half a dozen Shimshali men who have been selected for their (a) high levels of formal education, (b) connections with the world outside Shimshal, and (c) enduring commitment to the objectives of SNT. Most of these men live outside Shimshal, have access to the internet, and are familiar with government and NGO bureaucracies. Several of them were active in conceiving and establishing SNT in the late 1990s. The Task Force has two main responsibilities: to provide the community with guidance pertaining to SNT's developing relationships with external organizations, and (b) to represent SNT outside of the community. It provides a way for non-resident Shimshalis to contribute to SNT governance.

The Task Force is very important to the long-term sustainability of the Shimshal Nature Trust, because it is through its activities that possibilities exist for productively situating SNT in Pakistan's larger regime of governance and environmental management. The fact that SNT emerged out of a context of confrontation with the Government of Pakistan, IUCN and WWF means that currently there are no agreed-upon governance relationships (i.e., relationships of accountability and responsibility) between SNT and this larger context. The government has not yet formally accepted the authority- or even legality- of the Shimshal Nature Trust. The possibility that the community may yet be compelled to conform to one of several externally-

Our primary challenge is to secure financial resources so that we can (a) hire management staff that are materially accountable, and (b) initiate some more costly activities. Part of that challenge will be to ensure that we do not allow donors, NGO partners or paid staff to erode the consensual, inclusive and collective style of governance we have developed so far.



Figure 5: A no-hunting panel set up by the Shimshal Nature Trust. (Courtesy David Butz)

mandated park management plans is a constant threat to SNT's sustainability, as well as a motivation to establish stable relations with higher levels of governance. Current limited partnerships with IUCN's Mountain Areas Conservation Project are tentative efforts to move in that direction. Individual members of the Board of Directors and Task Force are responsible for overseeing the operation of the six individual programmes of the SNT, and reporting back to the Board of Directors.

Shimshal Nature Trust and the "Principles of Good Governance"

The community's main governance-related ambition in establishing the Shimshal Nature Trust was to retain community control of Shimshal territory. In attempting to achieve this ambition, we have tried to establish a form of governance which remains faithful to the community's convention of collective decision-making as practiced in the council of heads of households. According to our traditions, all community members are represented in the council, not just by the male head of their household, but also by the senior household heads in their neighbourhood, lineage, and clan, each of whom represents somewhat different sets of interests.

Decisions are seldom taken without travelling back and forth, often several times, between the village council and the smaller decision making units. Whether all adult community members are full participants in this system of governance depends on the extent to which household heads – especially senior household heads – are responsive to the interests of their more junior constituents, and that varies considerably. The governance structure of SNT (in its close relationship with the village council) reproduces the disproportionate authority of some household heads to some extent, but also opens the decision-making process up considerably, by (a) including positions on the Board of Directors that must be filled by individuals whose authority is not household or lineage-based, and (b) by delegating responsibility for the management of specific programmes to a diversity of local organizations. Efforts have been made to include women and youth in the governance of SNT, and both of these groups have taken active and important roles. More specific comments regard-

The success of SNT so far, and especially the recognition it has received externally, has helped increase the community's faith in their values and identity, and has given us a sense that we can be masters of our lives.

Table 1. SNT and UN Governance Principles

| Five Principles of Good Governance | Issues and positive/ negative remarks regarding Shimshal Nature Trust |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Legitimacy of Voice | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generally good distribution of participation in SNT decision making, either directly or through household and lineage heads - Some households have disproportionate power, and decision making power is unequally distributed within households - Lots of opportunity to participate constructively - Excellent consensus-orientation, at least at the community level - Little opportunity for community members to participate in higher levels of decision making (i.e., beyond the community; e.g., government, UICN, park management) |
| 2. Accountability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SNT decision makers are accountable to the public through their accountability to the village council - Accountability and transparency are encouraged by (a) the community's conventions of collective decision making, (b) the constitution of the Board of Directors, (c) broad-based participation in SNT programmes, and (d) the communicative role of the Task Force - Few formal rewards and sanctions related to accountability, but many informal rewards and sanctions - Decision makers at levels beyond the community demonstrate little accountability |
| 3. Performance | <p>In the absence of formal monitoring, the best indication of SNT's performance is the continuing and growing support of both the community and outside organizations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government and NGOs have begun to consult with SNT regarding the future of the area - Formation of SNT has inspired similar initiatives in other villages in the region - The community is honouring the voluntary ban on hunting, and abiding by other SNT management guidelines - All SNT activities are performed voluntarily, without any budget - SNT has effectively advocated community outside the village with the blessing of the community - So far SNT management have responded strongly and effectively to obstacles and threats from outside the community - Community members feel their interests are being fairly represented by SNT - Volunteers are overworked |
| 4. Fairness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - While sincere efforts are made to provide all community members with chances to enhance their well-being, SNT continues to favour the interests of some community members, according to long-established habits and power structures - Conservation is undertaken without humiliation or harm to people - SNT governing mechanisms strive to distribute equitably the costs and benefits of conservation, with generally good results - SNT and community are moving from isolation to building partnerships. The community is getting recognition for its activities, and is gaining confidence to initiate new partnerships and ideas. - Locally the regulations are enforced consistently and we are in the process to extending them to outsiders coming to the area. |
| 5. Direction | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SNT has provided a satisfactory model of good conduct - Leadership has supported innovative ideas and processes, including building strategic partnerships - SNT decision-making is very good at embracing historical, social and cultural complexities - External management efforts often show blatant disregard for local complexities - Gradually broadening the economic base is reducing dependency on fragile local resources, which are the aims of the programs of SNT. - SNT hopes to solidify conservation efforts by translating the current volunteer contributions into future economic rewards for the community and individual participants. That will require developing a clearer mechanism for local and external contributions to SNT efforts. |

ing SNT and the UN Principles of Good Governance are offered in Table 1.

Some concluding thoughts

The Shimshal Nature Trust's structure of governance has evolved continuously since its inception in 1997, sometimes leading back to more traditional mechanisms for decision making. For example, after several years of selecting the Board of Directors according to very specific and formal criteria we have moved towards a sub-clan based system of representation. Community members find this easier, more understandable, and more effective in representing their interests. These and other changes have been motivated by the ambition to ensure that the priorities and decision-making pace of the community are respected. Unlike external organizations, SNT is respectful of the lengthy, conversational and very thorough process of traditional collective decision-making in the community. This helps community members to feel some ownership of decisions, which makes their implementation easier and more sustainable. A disadvantage of this governance structure is that it takes a long time for consensus to emerge and decisions to be made. This characteristic sometimes creates conflict with partner organizations, which are often in too much of a hurry for Shimshalis.

The success of SNT so far, and especially the recognition it has received externally, has helped increase the community's faith in their values and identity, and has given us a sense that we can be masters of our lives. We have also come to realize that we are not alone in valuing our environment. These realizations have made the community more willing to (a) establish partnerships with outside organizations, and (b) trust our traditional ways of making decisions and caring for the environment. We have been able to manage SNT effectively, and with some outside recognition, without relinquishing the values and practices that define us as Shimshali. This sense of identification and accomplishment is especially important to an organization like SNT, which relies entirely on local volunteer participation (without any outside funding from government of NGOs).

No one is paid or materially rewarded for their

efforts on behalf of SNT, so there is occasionally a feeling that SNT is demanding too much of people in terms of time, effort and resources. In addition, it is difficult sometimes to hold volunteers accountable for their responsibilities, which means that activities often take longer to complete than expected. Our primary challenge for the near future is to secure some financial resources so that we can (a) hire management staff that are materially accountable, and (b) initiate some more costly activities. Part of that challenge will be to ensure that we do not allow donor organizations, NGO partners or paid staff to erode the consensual, inclusive and collective style of governance we have developed successfully so far.

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Notes

¹ Part of the text reported here is paraphrased from "Shimshal Nature Trust Summary Statement". For a more detailed description of the Trust programmes, and their achievements so far, see www.brocku.ca/geography/people/dbutz/shimshal.html.

² from the Shimshal Nature Trust (1997).

³ See the article by Borrini-Feyerabend, this issue.

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The Bijagós Islands— culture, resistance and conservation

Cláudio Carrera Maretti

The land management system of the Bijagó people (Guinea-Bissau, West Africa) has evolved and adapted through centuries of political, social and economic changes and has succeeded in conserving one of the most important sites of the West African coast in terms of natural features and biodiversity. The Bijagós inhabit a complex of 90 islands and islets, including extensive mangrove forests and intertidal sand and mud banks, with a much larger area of seascape around them. In total, the archipelago covers a surface area of nearly 10 thousand square km.

Some twenty-one islands are permanently inhabited and another twenty-one are seasonally occupied, with a total population of about 30,000. The Bijagós have a natural resource management system inseparable from and essential to their culture, social organization and spiritual beliefs. They have authorities, rules, and mechanisms for sustainable natural resource use and they have set certain areas aside for use only under very specific conditions and times. Some islands are considered sacred. In this sense, the Bijagós clearly have community conservation *processes* and community conserved *areas*¹ (CCAs), which result in important nature conservation outcomes even though conservation is not the explicit objective of their practices. Today, some of the areas conserved by the Bijagó people are also officially protected, for instance as national parks, and the entire archipelago is officially recognized by UNESCO as a biosphere reserve.

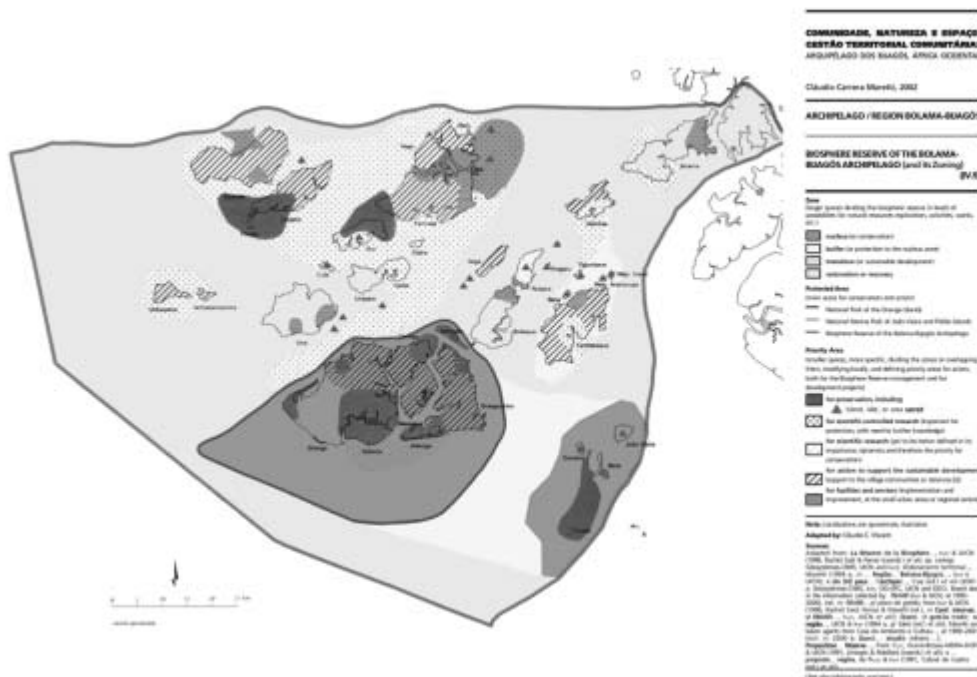


Figure 1: Map of the Biosphere Reserve of the Bolama-Bijagós Archipelago (From: Maretti, 2002; based on Rachid, Ferraz and Maretti, 1996; and others).

This paper summarises the cultural history and social organization of the Bijagós and their implications for conservation, and it illustrates how a project led by the National Institute for Studies and Research (INEP) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) led to establishment of the biosphere reserve and national parks through a process respectful of Bijagós rights, knowledge and practices. The view presented here is that the conservation efforts of local communities should have full acknowledgement and support. Appropriate official recognition and matching of the stakeholders' efforts should be seen as a means toward enhancing both conservation and community empowerment.

History and climate, violence and isolation

Climate, commerce and wars strongly influenced social organization in the Bijagós archipelago. Human settlements developed along the trade routes, wherever a change of means of transportation was required due to crossing

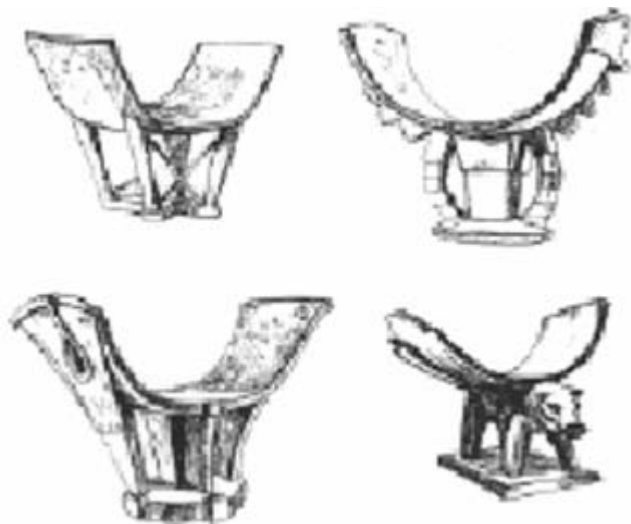


Figure 2 : Oronhô silt (adapted from Gallois Duquette, 1983).

from one set of environmental conditions into another. Gold and slaves were among the most important trade goods on long inter-regional routes, while other goods, in particular cola nuts and food, formed the basis of an extensive regional and local commerce system which strengthened the social web among communities. It is, in fact, possible that the region's environmental and economic conditions laid the foundation for the rise of the first urban areas and states in Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa. Trade in the regional market may have prompted the beginnings of the West-African states, while the longer trans-Saharan routes probably contributed to the early establishment of the most powerful among them (Mali, Songhay, etc.), which the Europeans recognised in the XVth century as among the world's wealthiest. Though marginal in relation to the more important gold routes, the area today comprised within Guinea-Bissau was a crossroads between inland and coastal routes, a part of both Biafada-Sapi and Banyun-Bac ethnic groups marketing systems.

The climate of West Africa has long been mild and humid. Several social groups probably migrated toward the south and west within the West-African region, in search of better lands and livelihood conditions and in response to both to changing climatic conditions and the Mande group's fights for domination. It is possible that several migration movements occurred—each originating from a different

place, comprising a distinct social group and occurring in a different moment, though the majority of movements were concentrated in two main periods— from c.1100 to c.1500 and from c.1630 to c.1860. The Bijagós islands were probably first inhabited in those periods and the Bijagós formed as an ethnic group in those movements. The social memory of the Bijagó people cannot clearly tell where exactly the group migrated from, but there are several indications that some of them came from the northeast, i.e. areas today under Guinea (Conakry) sovereignty.

At the end of the XVth century, the Portuguese found groups already organised and defending themselves at the Bolama-Bijagós Archipelago. Through the following centuries of European contact and the colonialist-dominated slave market, the Bijagós earned an image of tough warriors, almost unbeatable. By European accounts, they were good sailors, had immense pirogues with tens of men, and were capable of battling against the European caravels and raiding the areas of nearby mainland groups. Their beliefs were said to have contributed to their tenacity as fighters since they feared nothing and suicide was believed to be an avenue to 'the homeland', their original village world. Information about this belief comes from both European accounts and from other local groups through the Europeans, and can be found in Portuguese, English and French historical contemporary literature, at least since the middle XVIth century.²

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The village is a fundamental unit of cultural life and land and resource management in all the Bijagós and it is at the village level that most established authorities, rules, and mechanisms exist. The village is also the most important source of social identity—it is there that the most important decisions are taken, and it is to the village that dead human beings return, for a village is composed by 'this' and the 'other world'.

Such social images of the Bijagós have been invoked, both then and now, either as a form of negative characterization or as a matter of pride, depending on who is making the reference and for what purpose. Clearly those images must be observed, both in the past and the present, in light of contemporary conditions, with consideration of the

interests of the image-makers. Therefore, one may ask why the Bijagós were at various points in history considered sometimes 'friends' and other times 'enemies' of the Europeans. This might have been related to their willingness or refusal to trade with Europeans, particularly as regards slave traffic. Violence certainly existed before colonialist-dominated slavery, but it intensified during the centuries of heavy slave trade, with wars and raids serving as a way of 'producing' slaves and thereby being of great interest both to the groups selling slaves and those buying them.

Since the beginning of the second millennium the Bijagós have been under the influence of several successive kingdoms or states, including the Mali, Kaabu, Futa Djallon, France and Portugal. Until the XXth century, however, none of these kingdoms or states could be said to have had any real 'sovereignty' over the Bijagó people or their territory since the dominance was indirect and territorially not well defined. Certainly from the XVth to the XVIIIth centuries the Bijagós had at least partial control over their archipelago even if they were not absolutely free to rule independently. It is likely that their degree of autonomy was related to the archipelago's relative isolation in terms of

military, economic and other power pressures.

What is clear is that for several centuries the Bijagós managed to resist outside forces through a complex and shifting combination of battles, trade, alliances and inter-marriage with their neighbours and foreigners. All changed, however, in more recent times. Perhaps because of their fierce resistance to domination or because of a combination of reasons, they became the target of 'smashing' raids by the French in the mid XIXth century and by the Portuguese at the beginning of the XXth. The former were attempting to dominate the region, mainly from Saint Louis and Gorée, even before the Berlin Conference, while the latter were trying to consolidate their control over the so-called Portuguese Guinea from Bissau, mostly after that Conference. Both colonizers marshalled disproportionately large forces to the Bijagós Islands, primarily to Caravela and Canhabaque. It is possible to advance that these events were turning points in Bijagós history, as from that time on the Bijagós have had no ocean-going boats of any kind— for battle, transportation, or fishing— and, also as a result of the colonial oppression in the XXth century, they have never recovered economically.

The Bijagós from the island of Canhabaque were the last known resistance movement



Figure 3: The seascape of the Bijagós is idyllic. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

before the Portuguese could affirm they had conquered and dominated 'Portuguese Guinea' in 1936, and even then violence continued in the region until independence in the 1970s.³ The Portuguese governing forces, however, were interested only in the extraction of goods and did not even bother to establish their own plantations in the territory. Only unfair marketing of agricultural goods was practiced through so-called 'legal trade' (the term indirectly referred to the ban on slave traffic 'imposed' by Britain). If the colonial rule of Portuguese



Figure 4: Traditional rice cultivation in Formosa (Bijagós) (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Guinea did not last long, its impact was nonetheless enormous. At independence, for example, there was only one secondary school and a handful of Bissau-Guinean graduates in the entire fledgling country.

Social organization and land management

The Bijagós consider themselves one people but recognize several distinct clans [*n'aduba*].⁴ The islands 'ownership' is based on which clans 'discovered' or staked the earliest claims. And religious hierarchies are established to maintain relations from the original emigration area to the new settlement, in particular when migration takes place inside the archipelago. The distribution in terms of islands 'ownership' is probably partially a product of centuries of power inter-relations and inter-islands migrations. However, social, political, economic, and spiritual life—and, with those, the natural resource management—is primarily organized not at the level of the archipelago as a whole nor at the level of clans. Instead it is the mid-size collectives, including a group of islands, a single island [*etite*], a group of villages, and a village [*neguene*], which form the fundamental units of Bijagó cultural life and territorial management.

A group of islands, for example, may share a cultural identification, political influences, and mystic relations and hierarchies and therefore effect some decisions at this level. This is the case with the islands of Caravela, Carache, N'ago and Tchediã. Orango is also an example of a group of islands with significance— inherited from a kingdom well-known in the XIXth century. Single islands are also significant management units in most of the archipelago. Canhabaque is an example of very cohesive island management, weakened after

The most important characteristic of decision-making processes is the need for several community leaders and social groups to take part through complex relationships that both demand complicity and result to some extent in social equilibrium and lessons learned. In sum the communities' structure and functioning, including their internal variations, are pivotal for natural resource management and whatever we understand as conservation and sustainable development.

the 'smashing' Portuguese wars— ironically and somehow tragically called 'pacification wars'. A group of villages may also share important attributes, perform together a variety of ceremonies, and function as a collective decision-making body. The island of Uno is perhaps the most important example of management units related to village groups. Formosa is another good example, although less clear than Uno..

The above notwithstanding, the village is the fundamental unit of cultural life and land and resource management in all the Bijagós and it is at the village level that most established authorities, rules, and mechanisms exist. The village is also the most important source of social identity— it is there that the key decisions are taken, and it is to the village that dead human beings return, for a village is composed by 'this' and the 'other world'. The importance of villages as a social unit can be seen in the fact that villages always have a recognized *cuduba uam motó* ['clan landowner'] while islands do not always have them. An island or islet can even belong to a village situated in a different island.⁵ Below the village level there is little significant autonomy.

The foundations of village cohesion and collective decision-making are a mystic-secular belief system and its corresponding social institutions. The Bijagós believe in 'another world' [*an'areboc*] which is not easily experienced. A good relationship between *an'areboc* and the visible world is considered essential to the well-being of living humans. This belief defines the Bijagós' relationship with their space and its natural resources. In theory, any individual can ask for help through the ancestors by 'praying', or making offerings, and various people and ways are believed to have power to mobilise non-visible forces. In practice, however, there are two main means of community interaction with the 'other world': the *oronhô* and the *oreboc*.

An *oronhô* is a village priest who bears significant responsibility for agricultural decisions, including those dealing with slash-and-burn clearings and rice cultivation. The *oronhô* is able to 'talk' to the *an'areboc*. Typically an *oronhô* shares decision-making authority with another village leader known as *uamotó*. The *uamotó* is the clan [*cuduba*] that 'owns' a village or its representative and as such he is the main authority responsible for the land and natural resource management decisions in some islands or villages. Besides the *oronhô*, *uamotó*, and other individuals ruling on the basis of local custom and circumstance, the village leaders generally include a more 'secular' village leader—usually with a more nominal power and in charge of relationships with the national state and other external bodies. Most mentioned roles can be found throughout the various islands but the names of posts and the functional arrangements among leadership positions vary from island to island and from village to village.

An *oreboc* is a kind of 'spirit' or 'soul' and its symbol is usually a handcraft. In particular, it refers to the 'spirits' [*areboc*] incorporated into women who become capable of communicating with the *an'areboc* after passing through an initiation ceremony [*manras*]. Even if the *manras* are usually practiced by a group of villages, it is

Areas, or even whole islands, are considered sacred, meaning that permanent villages are not established on them and continuous use is avoided. This is the case of Rubane, Enu and other islands and islets. Elsewhere, parts of islands are set aside, as is the Etebadju area on Caravela Island, Anzá area on N'ago Island, Cadiquir area on Formosa Island, and Ancaqumba area on Meneque Island. The setting aside of sacred areas is related to mystic, social and economic ceremonies which are part of the life of Bijagó communities.

in each singular village that the most important relationship with the *an'areboc* is realized. Initiations rites play a very important role in Bijagó culture.

The social reproduction of the Bijagós is based around defined gender and age roles,

with a gradual process of acquiring knowledge, rights and respect and diminished physical duties with advancing age. Elders [*cabon'a*, *ocótó*] pass information, knowledge, and some punishment to the youngsters, and receive in return respect, obedience, and food and other goods. Uninitiated young men are called *n'abaro*, and are not yet considered social adults with rights to a house, farmland, or a family and children of their own. Such rights can be acquired only after initiation— today usually lasting some weeks and still happening in seclusion outside the village, in the bush and usually close to the sea. The initiation transition is marked by the scarification of the body. Young men passing through initiation [*n'amabi*] may once have comprised a 'warrior' group with responsibilities for the physical defence of the village and raiding the neighbours. Today these men may instead spend some years in the 'forest', assuming responsibilities for dealing with evil 'spirits', managing palm-trees and other natural resources, and teaching younger boys [*n'anhocam*] about the forest. It is interesting that full 'rights' are not acquired just after initiation. The initiated men return to the village and can begin farming and have an 'official' family only after serving as initiators for the next younger group to pass through the rite.

Female age groups follow somehow similar divisions, but with different roles. In the past it may have been that uninitiated young women were not considered adults and therefore were forbidden to become pregnant, but today it seems more likely that the contrary happens: pregnancy and childbirth are means of attaining adult status. This transition is also marked by scarification. Typically women are not considered as 'initiable' on their own, but they can incorporate the 'spirits' of young men who have died non-initiated. Since such uninitiated souls can be a malevolent force in the community, the ability of women to incorporate them is highly valued. Through incorporation, the souls are liberated to pass on to the 'other world'. At every important date for the village, the 'initiat-



Figure 5: The mandjidura. This simple symbol forbids fishing in a determined arm of sea. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

ed' women renew their incorporation condition and are able to act as a communication means with the *an'areboc*. Although both act in the name of the village community, an *oreboc* [the 'spirit' or the 'possessed' woman] is in certain respects more important than her male counterpart, the *oronhó*, in terms of communication with the *an'areboc*. It is also possible to see an important reproduction symbology in both gender cases, but women are better recognized for their roles in both biological and social reproduction, and are therefore considered essential to community well-being.

In all, the community management system mobilises men and women of various age groups, as well as mystic leaders, clans and spiritual forces of the 'other world'. In the process, power relations relating to clan ownership and *oronhó* leadership are established and maintained, sustainable agricultural practices are sought, rules for natural resources management are determined, and different land-use designations are made, including 'set aside' areas. Mystic considerations are at the core of all resource use decisions and practices since there is no such thing as an economy-religion division. Some territorial and natural resources management units may have a kind of "council of elders", but the most important characteristic of decision-making processes is the need for

several community leaders and social groups to take part through complex relationships that both demand complicity and result to some extent in social equilibrium and lessons learned. In sum the communities' structure and functioning, including their internal variations, are pivotal for natural resource management and whatever we understand as conservation and sustainable development.

Protecting the "life warehouse"⁶

As noted previously, it is the *oronhô*, in consultation with the *uamotó* and the *an'areboc*, who decides and authorises the right time to go to the 'field' to slash, burn, and start planting rice. In some places and times the whole village population, or an important part of it, goes together to the planting area and live there for the agriculture season in improvised huts, sometimes establishing de facto a small temporary village. Some territories are "set aside" for some time in order to give a better crop when planted. And other areas, or even whole islands, are considered sacred, meaning that permanent villages are not established on them and continuous use is avoided. This is the case of Rubane, Enu and other islands and islets. Elsewhere, parts of islands are set aside, as is the Etebadju area on Caravela Island, Angá area on N'ago Island, Cadiguir area on Formosa Island, and Ancagumba area on Meneque Island. The setting aside of sacred areas is related to mystic, social and economic ceremonies which are part of the life of Bijagó communities.

Various actors, locations and considerations may be involved in establishing "set-aside" areas and resource use regulations. A group of women may decide, for example, that the oysters in a certain area need more time to grow before being picked up and so forbid [mandji ⁷] harvesting in the area. This has occurred, for instance, in the mangroves near Bruce village in Bubaque Island. Certain activities are also prohibited on

some sand or mud banks, like the ones 'owned' by Ancumbo village near the Uracane coast or the ones at the southeast of Soga. Some islands, islets or areas have permanent or temporary protections based not on productivity considerations -as above mentioned- but rather because they are important ceremonial sites, especially for the manras. This is the case of Inhando area in Formosa Island and the Maju Inorei and Maju Anchorupe Islets 'owned' by villages in Canhabaque Island.

Other areas have partial or specific restrictions, for instance the Bias [Poilão] Islet, in the far south, 'belonging' to the Canhabaque village of Ambeno, which is forbidden to non-initiated men, and Canuopa Islet, restricted at the time of some ceremonies only to the initiated men of the 'owner' clan [*cuduba uam motó*] Oraga from Eticoga village in Orango Grande Island. Among the more significant areas that have been set aside by Bijagó communities for mystic, social or economic reasons are the southern part of the Orango Group of Islands and the western part of Carache Island. These areas are particularly important for nature conservation as they have mixed environment types, from savannas and mangroves to sandy-muddy inter-tidal banks and sea channels. Both faunal inventories and fisheries research have demonstrated that they have the highest concentrations of juveniles and the greatest biological diversity in the archipelago. The leatherback turtle *Dermochelys coriacea* and the 'marine hippo' *Hippopotamus amphibius* are found in the southern Orango Islands.

Many of the southern islands of the archipela-

The Bijagós say that they would like very much to better understand the 'outside world' and join in discussions about development, but they would like to do so while maintaining their own way of life, including their cultural practices, beliefs and autonomy, their "freedom of choice".

go are also substantially protected by local communities, such as Codotch [João Vieira], Noponoque [Meio], Anchenem [Cavalos] and

the most important Bias [Poilão], which belong to Canhabaque villages of Menegue (clan Onoca), Inhoda (Onoca), Bine (Onoca), and Ambeno (clan Orácuma). On these islands there are restrictions related to the *manras* ceremonies, or other mystic-social ceremonies, or because they are considered home to certain *areboc*. Under *Onhaqui* [Bijagós from Canhabaque] management, these islands and

What is needed for formal conservation of the Bijagós archipelago is an approach that acknowledges that the Bijagós already had a territorial management system in place.

Indeed, such a system survived several extremely difficult centuries. It did not remain unchanged over that time, but its demonstrated adaptability is one of its strengths.

the surrounding marine areas have maintained a high diversity of fish species, and some hundreds of marine green turtle *Chelonia mydas* return every year to what is probably their most important nesting area along the African Atlantic coast.

Other turtle species can be seen there as well.

Similar situations are found in the southwest and northeast of Formosa Island and in the north of Caravela Island, other important areas for nature conservation within the archipelago. Numerous bird species can also be found in the archipelago, with nearly a million waders visiting each year. An important population of the manatee *Trichechus senegalensis* is also found around the islands. Surely the overall result for the whole archipelago is outstanding in terms of nature conservation. Natural features on their own make this a unique archipelago, and the cultural aspects and participation of the Bijagós make this a really special area.

While it is not always possible to attribute the preservation of vitally important habitats solely to communities' management— other historical factors such as wars and economic decay may also have played their part— it is nonetheless clear that communities have made decisions to protect some areas and natural features and that the communities' management has been essential for maintaining them. The results

have been important both for nature conservation and for the communities social, cultural and economic reproduction. It is also important to keep in mind that concepts such as nature and economic activities differ across cultures, and other concepts, such as biodiversity and conservation, in some cultures may not even exist. In general, among the Bijagós, nature is not considered separated from social life and mystic beliefs.

The biosphere reserve of the Bolama-Bijagós archipelago

The Bijagós have been characterized as refusing to pursue development possibilities. One expression that has been applied to them says the Bijagós “nod with their heads, but deny with their heart”, meaning that a formal or verbal yes may not mean real acceptance, much less a real engagement. Some development aid agencies and projects came to recognize that their proposals were not meeting the needs and desires of the Bijagós, but they continued to struggle with how to engage them. However, only asking “what they want” might not be the best way of improving participation.

If knowing the area and the people is very important, knowledge can always be a weapon used by the more powerful against the less ones, and that was certainly true for much of the ‘colonial knowledge’ produced by Europeans about Africans during the XIXth and XXth centuries. In this sense, wariness and resistance toward external interventions are deeply entrenched mechanisms of cultural survival. At the same time, complete isolation, even if consciously adopted by groups such as the Bijagós, may not be the *preferred* option but the only one perceived as possible. The Bijagós say that they would like very much to better understand the ‘outside world’ and join in discussions about development, but they would like to do so while maintaining their own way of life, including their cultural practices, beliefs and autonomy, their “freedom of choice”.



Figure 6: A modern revisitation of ancient dances in Formosa (Bijagós) (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

What is needed for formal conservation of the Bijagós archipelago is an approach that acknowledges that the Bijagós already had a territorial management system in place. Indeed, such a system survived several extremely difficult centuries. It did not remain unchanged over that time, but its demonstrated adaptability is one of its strengths. The Bijagós clearly have community conservation processes and defined community conserved areas, through which they managed to conserve some of the most outstanding natural sites along the West African coast. Given that nearly a century of colonial and independent governments in Guinea-Bissau have not managed to achieve anything comparable, their efforts certainly deserve recognition.

If the Bijagó land management system endured through many hardships in the past, however, there is no guarantee that it will be able to overcome new and possibly stronger threats. At least three kinds of new threats have to be considered. First, while the Bijagós have substantial control over what happens on their lands, they no longer have a strong maritime presence. Fishermen from outside Bijagós

have been coming into the archipelago's waters to fish for a long time now, and the pressure is intensifying. Some of the early fisherman established agreements with the Bijagós, and with the national government, but the newcomers have not. Some set fishing camps without respect to the local and national rules and have little regard for their impact on marine populations, including turtles and sharks. Some fishermen do not even touch the land, and fish mostly for shark fins or high quality rocky bottom fishes. Despite facing some problems—including death of fishermen for “unknown magic reasons”—and negative reactions, more and more fishermen are arriving, for all the countries in this region are poor and their economies show little sign of improvement. Should economic and social conditions continue to deteriorate, the impacts can only grow worse.

Second, it is to be recalled that the Bijagós have not yet recovered from the wars that ‘smashed’ them in the XIXth and XXth centuries and the colonial oppression in part of the XXth century. Because of this, they remained in relative economic insulation and this may have benefited their nature conservation practices. As times change, new economic pressures and opportunities will be felt, regardless of whether the economies of Guinea-Bissau and West Africa should recover or continue their decline. If they recover, there may be new or renewed interests in tourism, fisheries or other intensive natural resources use. If they continue to decline, there could be an onslaught of poor neighbours

The Bijagós clearly have community conservation processes and defined community conserved areas through which they manage to conserve some of the most outstanding natural sites along the West African coast. Given that nearly a century of colonial and independent governments in Guinea-Bissau have not achieved anything comparable, their efforts certainly deserve recognition.

arriving to fish whatever they can, with no heed to laws, official or customary. Depending on market possibilities, stronger governmental, or even non-governmental, presence and influence may have negative effects.

Third, wars are not completely out of the scenario. Instability as been increasing in the region these last decades and a civil unrest occurred just a few years ago.

An evaluation of the Coastal Zone Management Programme of Guinea-Bissau after 12 years of operations found conservation initiatives more likely to be sustained over a long period if they had certain key characteristics. The most successful initiatives had strong involvement from local communities, official recognition and presence through local facilities, respectful participation by and technical assistance from non-governmental organizations, and long-term international financial support. International co-operation on technical matters was also a positive attribute. All this brings the conclusion that a balanced mix of inputs and efforts is the ideal to be pursued when striving for local community empowerment and nature conservation. Community-led conservation efforts may have good results, but they clearly benefit from official recognition.

This type of balanced approach was adopted by the INEP and IUCN project for the establishment of the biosphere reserve of the Bolama-Bijagós archipelago. The project's aim was to combine conservation of nature in the archipelago with local sustainable development. Without denying mistakes or errors, the main tendencies were as follows:

- the arrival was respectful, recognizing the rights, knowledge and practices of the Bijagós –seeking partnership more than imposing a model;
- the international, governmental, and NGO agencies sought to match their contributions to local interests;
- the initiatives were undertaken after consultation with local communities, institutions

and organizations;

- mechanisms of participation in the decisions were proposed and implemented;
- aid for local sustainable development, in accord with the Bijagó interests, was enhanced;
- knowledge was recognized and mobilized at every level, from the local elders to the schools, to the national and international scientists and technicians; and
- support for the project was mobilized through studies, seminars, courses, radio programmes and a regional broadcast station, as well as other media outlets.

Although it should be acknowledged that, facing the huge needs, most planned project components have only been initially or partially implemented, the project has resulted in the planning and establishment of two national parks— the Orango Islands National Park and the Marine-Insular National Park of João Vieira and Poilão— communication and education initiatives, and NGO-led development and conservation projects (remarkable is the case of the NGO Tiniguena working in Formosa Island.) The preliminary management plan for the biosphere reserve and the proposition to establish the national parks were both developed on the basis of extensive, participatory research of the Bijagó territorial management system. Although much more remains to be discovered regarding how best to fit external interventions to local interests and capacities, this collaboration among communities, the government and various national and international actors represents a major step for conservation and sustainable development in the archipelago of the Bijagós.

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management Working Group and the IUCN-WCPA/CEESP Theme Working Group on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas. This text is based on the author's 2002 Ph.D. thesis in human geography at the University of São Paulo ("*Community, Nature and Space: Community Territorial Management?; Bijagós Archipelago, West Africa*"). The thesis was partially based on the work done in the biosphere reserve of the Bolama-Bijagós Archipelago by a host of people and national and international organisations too numerous to mention here (they are acknowledged in the thesis).

Notes

¹ According to IUCN-TILCEPA "community conserved areas (CCA) can be broadly defined as: natural and modified ecosystems (including those with minimum to substantial human influence), containing significant biodiversity values, ecological services and cultural values, voluntarily conserved by concerned indigenous and local communities through customary laws or other effective means." See Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003).

² Arabic language accounts did not really reach the Bijagós Archipelago, for this was too far from the centre of the West-African kingdoms. It is nonetheless thought, based on the presence of some Arabic words and mythic accounts in the Bijagó languages and cultures, that the Bijagós and other coastal people were under some form of indirect dominance by Arab groups.

³ In fact, a Portuguese colony or a new country only started to make sense at the ending of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century.

⁴ According to the most common Bijagó mythology, four women were at the beginning of four clan groups [*n'aduba*]: Oraga; Ogubane (or Onoca); Orácuma; and Ominca. Among the northern islands, at least other seven clan groups exist: Oranton; Aró; Ochangará; Arugba; Acuni; Aranho; and Achidi.

⁵ That is the case, for instance, of Rubane Island 'owned' by Bijante village, Codotch [João Vieira] Island 'owned' by Meneque village, or Imbone Island 'owned' by Eticoga village. But some islands, islets or areas may have a more diffuse, conflictive, or not yet well-known 'ownership' situations, such as Cute, Enu, and Adonga. Variations and exceptions on rules are usual among the islands.

⁶ *Tigumu Kaurá Ká Kooné*: let's talk about this 'life warehouse' is the name of the "Environment and Culture Centre" in the island of Bubaque.

⁷ In Bissau-Guinean Creole, *mandji* most commonly means to forbid, through magic means, the harvesting of crops before the appropriate time.

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Traditional institutions manage their Nyakwaa and Chizire forests in Chimanimani, Zimbabwe

Zvidzai Chidhakwa

To most African and non-western societies such as the Ndau people, both nature and culture merge into a reality with material, social and spiritual aspects. It is this amalgamation that affects the way resources are managed and the way people relate to their environments.

The Haroni and Rusitu forests, locally known as Nyakwaa and Chizire forests, are unique from an ecological point of view and represent the only remaining lowland tropical moist forest in Zimbabwe. They contain bird, reptile and amphibian, butterfly, tree, shrub and herb species not found elsewhere in Zimbabwe¹. Low volumes of tourists, mainly nature lovers, visit Rusitu and do not pay anything. The two forests are located in Ngorima B area of Rusitu Valley, on the border with Mozambique. They are in an area generally known as Vhimba, on the Southern tip of Chimanimani National Park and at the lower end of Rusitu river valley. Mostly the Ndau people, a sub-group of the majority Shona people of Zimbabwe, inhabit the Rusitu valley area. Population density around the forests is very high but to the local residents the two forests are part of their sacred heritage and home to their ancestral spirits. They have managed the forests for a long time through local institutions, rules and regulations, which will be discussed below. The forests provide them both non-material and material benefits (e.g. poles, thatching grass, medicines, soil erosion control, watershed protection, and wildlife habitat).

The two forests were declared as botanical reserves in 1974 by the then colonial Rhodesian government. This was after aerial photography covering the area had indicated that there were remnants of once extensive forests covering the greater part of Rusitu Valley. Officially, the Rusitu and Haroni forests cover 150 ha and 20 ha respectively but they have gradually been reduced to less than half of their sizes (the

Rusitu forest is now about 90ha and the Haroni about 5 ha). This was mainly due to clearing of land around the forests for fruit and crop cultivation. Legally², botanical reserves are intended to preserve and protect rare or endangered plants or representative plant communities growing naturally in the wild for the enjoyment, education and benefit of the public. No form of consumptive utilization (e.g. harvesting fruits, firewood and bark) is allowed without permission of the director of national parks and wildlife management.

From the very time of the declaration, the local people have contested the gazettement of the



Figure 1: A forceful speaker in Zimbabwe. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

forests as botanical reserves. As a matter of fact, there is not even agreement on the boundaries of the forests. From 1974 to 1992, the boundaries of the forests were neither surveyed nor demarcated due to wars in the area (the liberation war between 1975 and 1980 and the MNR conflict in Mozambique). It was only in 1992 that the government started efforts to demarcate the boundaries. A number of homesteads were enclosed within the reserve boundaries and these people continue to resist eviction. The locals recognize much smaller areas considered sacred, while government boundaries are broader. Nyakwaa forest is the most sacred place in Rusitu valley, although there are other forests, pools, mountains and animals considered sacred as well.

Traditional forest management, including for singles trees, burial sites and sacred groves

The management of forest resources in Rusitu can be understood in the context of the African worldview of the relationships between the natural, human and spiritual worlds. Seeland (1997) observes that in the Western world, nature is commonly viewed as being separate from human culture and civilization and as something fragile and to be cared for. To most African and non-western societies such as the Ndaou people, however, both nature and culture merge into a reality with material, social and spiritual aspects. It is this amalgamation that affects the way resources are managed and the way people relate to their environments. Some refer to the three pillars of African philosophy: the human, spiritual and natural worlds. The inextricable link between the human, spiritual and natural worlds is a strong feature of natural resource management in

Rusitu. Yet this has never been considered by external agencies, including government. The two forests, Nyakwaa and Chizire are considered sacred and their management revolves around the relationship between the three worlds mentioned. Spiritualism, or the belief in the supernatural world, generates respect for flora and fauna. Living beings communicate with the ancestors through song, dance and offering of snuff and beer to the ancestors. Local people perceive benefits in maintaining sacred forests in their natural, undisturbed state.

Management of forest and other resources in Rusitu valley is through traditional institutions, which can be broadly classified into two categories, i.e. religious/spiritual and politico-judicial. The former refers mainly to spirit mediums who maintain the linkage between the living and the dead. Spirit mediums also approve successors for chiefs, headmen and *Sabhukus*. The latter refers to a hierarchy of authority based on chieftaincy. At the highest level is a Chief (*Mambo*), followed by a Headman (at the intermediate level) and a Village Head (*Sabhuku*) at the lowest level (see Fig 1). These hierarchies are empowered to rule over areas under their juris-

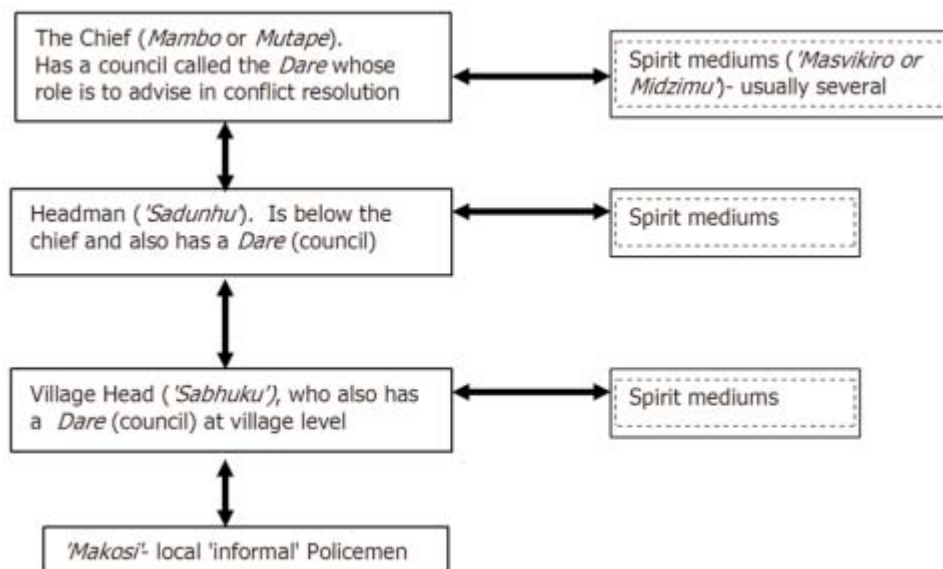


Fig 2. The hierarchy of local institutions in Rusitu

diction, including resource management issues and conflict management. The three levels con-

stitute the custodians of the land and natural resources thereto. In some cases, the chief, headman or *Sabhuku* might also be a spirit medium and in some cases they act as aides for spirit mediums. This is currently the case for Headman Chikwari, the forest guardian in Rusitu.

There are several traditional rules, beliefs and practices that contribute towards the management of the forests in Rusitu. These rules and

regulations govern management of resources inside and outside forest areas and pertain to the management of individual trees, burial sites and sacred forests and pools. For instance, certain plant species and individual trees are viewed as sacred and can not be cut under any circumstances except for ceremonial or other clearly defined purposes (see Table 1).

Some sacred trees are the place where rain

Table 1: Tree species protected in the Rusitu Valley

| Ndau name | Botanical name | Remarks |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Mushani</i> | <i>Lippia javanica</i> | It's branches are used to sweep graves before burial and people wash hands in a mixture of it's leaves after burial |
| <i>Mutungururu</i> | <i>Afromomum angustifolium</i> | Branches are used to measure length of corpses and graves |
| <i>Musara</i> | <i>Milicia excelsa</i> | Used in graves as rest for corpses Only dry wood is used for construction purposes |
| <i>Chititane</i> | <i>Uvaria chasei</i> | Used to make knobkerries for ancestral spirits |
| <i>Muzama</i> | <i>Anthocleista grandiflora</i> | Leaves are burnt to drive away evil spirits |
| <i>Muchakata</i> | <i>Parinari curatellifolia</i> | Leaves are plucked from the East and West and used to wrap snuff (tobacco) for rituals |
| <i>Muminu</i> | <i>Brackenridgea zanguebarica</i> | This tree harbours evil spirits and is not used for anything, including for firewood. Its use results in destruction of homesteads |
| <i>Dowetowe</i> | <i>Ficus vogellii</i> | Provides shade for ancestral spirits. It is also an indicator species for water (and life). Beer is offered to the ancestors under its shade. |
| <i>Mubvumo/Murara</i> | <i>Borassus aethiopum</i> | It is a reservoir of food and wine during drought years. |
| <i>Muwawa</i> | <i>Khaya nyasica</i> | Beer is brewed and offered to the ancestors under its shade |
| <i>Mukute</i> | <i>Syzygium spp</i> | An indicator tree for water and life and should not be cut at all |
| <i>Muroro</i> | <i>Annona senegalensis</i> | Leaves are used to wrap snuff for rituals |
| <i>Modovatovo</i> | <i>Maesa lanceolata</i> | Leaves are used to clean a room used as a mortuary after the burial has taken place |
| <i>Mumvure</i> | <i>Chlorophora excelsa</i> | The shade is a resting place for ancestral spirits and beer is offered to them under its shade. |
| <i>Pangapanga</i> | <i>Millellia stuhlamannii</i> | Its bark and leaves are used for ritual purposes |

ceremonies are conducted and are regarded as the protectors of the village and the seat of the ancestors (e.g. *Ficus* spp). Several individual trees are protected through this belief, and it does not matter where they are found isolated, in the fields or within forest areas. Most indigenous fruit-bearing trees are associated with ancestral spirits and any person desirous of cutting them down must first offer some propitiation (*kupfupira*), so that the spirit of the tree might forgive them and their families. The felling of sacred trees is met with disapproval from spirits and prompts retribution. This manifests itself through diseases or misfortunes to the individual and their families. Depending on the gravity of the offense, the *Sadunhu* may inflict some form of punishment in the form of beer and meat offerings and, in isolated cases, financial fines.

In Rusitu valley, burial grounds are protected wherever they occur, e.g. close to homesteads or within the fields. Such areas are distinct and form small patches of virgin forest in a landscape where intensive fruit and crop cultivation is practiced. Collection of fuel wood and even minor forest products like leaves, flowers, resins, fruits, mushrooms and herbs is strictly prohibited. The Ndaou society, like other African societies of Zimbabwe believe in life after death and it is assumed that the dead require shade and other forest products for their well-being and the living should not deprive them of these. Burial places (*mabungu*) are associated with certain tree species that are believed to be dwelling places for ancestors. Such tree species include; *Dowetowe* (*Ficus vogelii*), *Mushikiri* (*Trichilia emetica*), *Mundoza* (*Cordyla africana*), *Muchakata* (*Parinari curatellifolia*) and *Musara* (*Milicia excelsa*)— all big trees.

Burial places are protected by individuals, families and the whole community and are a source of fear to local people. It is believed that if anyone disturbs them, they will be infected with rare diseases, misfortune will befall them and their families and in extreme cases invisible people can beat them up. In Rusitu valley, a place is declared sacred when it

is believed that some supernatural being or ancestral spirits reside there. Sacred groves are relatively large and contain a diversity of species. To the Ndaou people, these groves are not only physical but spiritual landscapes and they occupy a prominent place in their lives. There are up to ten such sacred places in Rusitu and together with the pools that are found within or on their fringes, they are revered by the local communities. All sacred places in Rusitu have a different history and some are burial places for chiefs.

Responsibility for the protection of the sacred

Box 1 Origins of Nyakwaa forest

Origins of the sacred forests and pools vary but all of them are traced to particular ancestral spirits and are named after them. The largest of these forests, Nyakwaa, has an interesting history. The origin of the forest is traced to a sister of the Vatsono clan, at present represented by the Chikwari family. The sister was very beautiful and refused advances or any offers of marriage from all local suitors. When everyone thought that she could never marry, a stranger appeared from nowhere and she immediately fell in love and married him. The local men were angry and plotted to murder the stranger. They organized a community hunting party into the present day forest area, where they killed him in cold blood. On returning to the village the wife asked about the whereabouts of her husband, but no one could explain. She then decided to follow him up but never returned. Whether she found the corpse or not its not clear but it is believed that both husband and wife turned into pools and decided to stay forever in the forest. The two pools are still found adjacent to each other and are revered by all community members. It is now strongly believed that Nyakwaa's husband might not have been human, but spirits sent from another world.

groves is vested in the entire community, but a select group of people, e.g. the Chikwari clan, has the duty to enforce the rules. The strategy for conservation is one of preservation and is enshrined in taboos, numerous cultural and religious rites and is maintained through reverence for gods and spirits. The sacred forests are conceptualised to consist of a core area

(the most sacred area where no harvest should take place), an intermediate zone of limited harvest and an outer zone of intense harvest.

Box 2 Rules governing sacred groves

- People should not enter the core of Nyakwaa and other forests or cut down trees there without permission of the forest guardian, headman Chikwari. People who flout this regulation may see a big snake, may become insane, may disappear or die.
- Nothing is to be collected from the core area without permission.
- No passing of negative comments regarding any strange things that you see in the sacred forests.
- No sex in Nyakwaa or Chizire forests
- Rules must be followed governing hunting, fishing and collection of indigenous fruit and other products (e.g. only moderate fishing, collecting honey from only one bee-hive at a time, clapping hands to thank the spirits, not harvesting more than necessary fruit or fish, not cursing should you get sour or few fruits etc)
- No bathing, swimming, washing or using washing soap or perfume in the sacred pools
- No urination and defecation in the sacred forests

The rules governing access and utilization are unwritten and passed orally from one generation to the next. It seems that most people, including new migrants, do respect them and believe that dreadful things will happen to them if they break these rules (beating by invisible people, self-injures, seeing snakes, misfortunes befalling your family, etc.). Individuals who flout these regulations also face sanctions from the forest guardian or traditional authorities. Punishment meted out depends on the gravity of the offence. Cutting of a sacred tree can even be retributed with a heavy fine, e.g. brewing of beer and provision of goat meat for the community.

If the spirits are angry with the community, a lot of signs are observed, for example white baboons appear and destroy crops. In 1997, for example, the spirits were said to have been

angry and a gush of wind uprooted a lot of big trees like *Newtonnia buchananii* and *Khaya nyasica* trees. To appease the spirits after having flouted the regulations, one is supposed to brew beer and provide meat (chicken and/or goat) all to be consumed within the forest. Every year in August, a number of ceremonies and rites are performed to propitiate the spirits and to ensure the community's welfare and if possible a bountiful season.

That these sacred groves have survived for a long time is purely because of the strong traditional beliefs of the local people and the spiritual, religious and cultural attachments to them. And yet, evidence on the ground shows that local rules and regulations are not observed entirely. There are no recorded cases of prosecution or punishment of people who have flouted rules and regulations. The local people argue that this shows that the system functions well. Contrary to this argument however, there is evidence of cutting down of trees, even in the core of Nyakwaa forest, the most sacred place. It would then seem that the claim to sacredness alone does not deter people from harvesting certain products that they may require, e.g. poles for construction. Individual practices do not necessarily match community prescriptions of not harvesting certain products.

In addition, the claim to sacredness can be used by a minority group to control land and other resources. In other words, the management of sacred forests can be dominated by a few members of the traditional elite who use their influence to control not only the forests, but other resources like land. The rules and regulations described here are informal and unwritten and are not supposed to change over time. They can, however, be re-interpreted by the forest guardians, as witnessed by the gradual decrease in the size of the Nyakwaa and Chizire forests due to cultivation on the fringes. The local forest guardian has continued to allocate land, claiming to know his limits. The claim to sacredness can thus be used as a way of claiming land and power and the degree of sacredness might change if the forest guardian-

ship changes hands. Rules are mostly stated rather than practiced.

Changes and Continuity

One major question that needs to be addressed is whether traditional institutions are static and resistant to change. Aerial photos of

Rusitu Valley have indicated that the two forests used to be part of larger forest blocks that were probably considered as sacred.

There has been significant reduction in the sizes of the forests, mainly through expansion of land for agriculture and settlement of more people in the area.

And yet it is important to recognise that at least part of the forests is still there, while most of the areas not considered sacred have been decimated and are

now devoid of any vegetation.

The dynamics of resource management in Rusitu valley cannot be understood outside the context of land appropriation and subsequent struggles that have characterised the area.

Hughes (1996) identifies three distinct phases in the struggles for land and natural resources in Chimanimani. The first phase began with the arrival of white colonial settlers from South Africa between 1892 and 1893. This phase saw

the seizure of land and eviction of inhabitants from their original places of residence on the Chimanimani Highlands. By 1895, settlers had claimed most of the eastern Chimanimani-Chipingo highlands. Africans were left to occupy areas unsuitable for white settlement and agriculture, including the Haroni Rusitu River valleys.

The second phase saw the acquisition of land by private companies and the government for

plantation forestry. In the 1950s, the Anglo-American Corporation established Border Timbers Pvt. Ltd. and acquired Tilbury Estates, the state Forestry Commission established Tarka Forestry Estate, and the London Rhodesia Company established the Rhodesia Wattle Company. Communities were evicted from their land to give way for plantation forestry. Most of the land was cleared and planted with wattle, pines and eucalyptus. The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the introduction of state administrative structures and institutions. In Rusitu, through various acts like the Land Apportionment Act (1931), Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and Land Tenure Act (1969), people were moved from highlands to give way for plantations and commercial farms. Customary law was largely left out of official resource management practice, enforced through police operation. The residents were crammed into native reserves that included the Haroni-Rusitu valleys in Vhimba. There, the customary management of natural resources continued undisturbed.

The third phase in the appropriation of land was related to the establishment and expansion of the Chimanimani National Park, in the early 1960s, and encroachment of the park onto Rusitu Valley. In the 1950s, government sponsored aerial photography revealed the existence of small patches of evergreen forest in the Haroni-Rusitu Valley in Ngorima B, including the Haroni and Rusitu forests³. The patchiness of

External agencies, including the government, have instituted a different approach that included declaring the forests botanical reserves and, recently, promoting a CAMPFIRE based eco-tourism programme. The local people have, through the years, resisted the appropriation of their declared sacred forests through several means, ranging from physical confrontation to passive non-compliance.

these forests was attributed to slash and burn small holder agriculture, and the forests were declared protected areas in 1974.

Thus the first phase of colonialism, up to 1974, saw the Rusitu inhabitants managing

To the local people, and their institutions, the forests are sacred and should be preserved as such. To the government and other external agencies, the forests face the threat of total destruction by the local people. Ways have to be identified to 'save' the forests.

Nyakwaa and Haroni forests without much external influence. The residents had to provide labour to colonial enterprises through organised involuntary labour (*chibaro*), but the local institutions were allowed to function, although left out of the formal planning system. The major impact, however, could have been felt after 1974 when the Nyakwaa and Haroni forests were declared botanical reserves. Theoretically, the local people and institutions were left with no rights over their resources, now “property of the state”. At that very time, however, the war of liberation in Zimbabwe was escalating and the Rusitu Valley was a security sensitive area, owing to its proximity to Mozambique, which had provided rear bases for the freedom fighters. The boundaries of the forests could neither be surveyed nor demarcated for fencing. Government officers could not visit or police the area effectively. This allowed local institutions to reclaim management of the forests, as if nothing had happened.

After independence in 1980, a new system of local government was put in place in Zimbabwe. New elected bodies were meant to replace traditional authorities and they were supposed to take over land allocation and resource management functions. The lowest level was the village, consisting of about 100 households and being led by an elected Village Development Committee (VIDCO). A higher level was the ward, consisting of four to seven VIDCOS and led by an elected councillor. The ward councillor represented the ward at Rural District Council (RDC) level. VIDCOS and WADCOS were meant to replace the traditional hierarchical system of *Sabhukus* and *Sadunhus*. In addition, the passing of the Communal Lands Act of 1982 transferred land allocation responsibilities (and by implication management of resources thereto) from traditional leaders to RDCs through elected modern bodies. Decisions could be made without reference to traditional views and perspectives.

Once again, the new structures never functioned properly with regards to resource management. Their areas of jurisdiction usually cut

across traditionally defined areas and they did not have the customary authority necessary to make decisions. As a matter of fact, they did not even have the knowledge of traditional practices and rituals. Thus, although given political power, the ‘modern’ institutions lacked the knowledge and social legitimacy to make resource management decisions.

Traditional institutions continued to manage the resources *de facto*, obviously without the recognition of central and local authorities.

Backed by (and recognizing) colonial legislation and policies, the post-independence government also revalidated both the national parks and botanical reserves boundaries, but again did not manage to demarcate or survey them. Between 1974 and 1995 there was regular tension and clashes between the local people and the government staff, but attempts to exclude local people from the reserves were met with resistance or simply ignored. Local people continued to harvest products and manage the forests through local institutions—spirit mediums, *Sabhukus*, *Sadunhus* and the Chief. The local forest guardian, *Sadunhu* Chikwari, was always (and still is) the central figure with regards to resource management issues. He allocates land and sanctions harvest of products. There is even some evidence that resource scarcity does not manage to shake the local institutions and rules. Cyclone Eline in 2000 led to washing away of vegetation and a further reduction in the sizes of the forests. This shortage of resources could have led to the breakdown of traditional institutions, but this did not happen. Local people preferred to obey the local rules and cross the border into Mozambique to harvest resources there. In Mozambique resources are still abundant and population is low. This cross-border harvest of resources is tolerated by the Mozambicans, since the people are closely related and share

Policies should strive to incorporate positive aspects of traditional management systems, rather than discarding them. Forest values should be broadly defined to include non-material, non-economic social values.

more than just the natural resources.

Around 1994, the Chimanimani RDC was granted appropriate status and became a member of the world-renowned CAMPFIRE programme. Efforts were initiated by the RDC and other (external) players, both governmental and non-governmental bodies, to plan and develop an eco-tourism project in order to encourage non-consumptive utilization of the forests. The local institutions were consulted widely, and they resisted the programme from its inception. They interpreted it to mean further expropriation of their land and other natu-



Figure 3: Part of the Chizire (Haroni) forest
(Courtesy Zvidai Chidakwa)

ral resources. Events and processes however later overtook their efforts. The eco-tourism venture was eventually agreed to after intense lobbying and "educational" campaigns. A new institution, the Vhimba Trust, was developed to manage and monitor resource use and distribute benefits. Resource monitors were nominated to monitor use of resources and regulate access to the forest. The assumption was that there was an institutional vacuum in the area. Yet local traditional institutions had been managing natural resources for a long time without interference from outside!

It is not clear how these new institutions (the Vhimba Trust and some sub-committees) will relate to traditional ones and whether they will withstand the test of time⁴. Local communities

might not respect these new institutions and may not view them as long term solutions to forest management. It seems that these new players are identified more with external donors rather than with the local community. CAMPFIRE, although 'home-grown' did not take into considerations the importance of local systems of management. The programme failed to recognise traditional institutions and build their capacity to manage resources, except training of Trust members and resource monitors. In fact, there seem to be struggles between local traditional institutions and external agencies worried with "project sustainability" and the "legal status" of local institutions managing the project. The definition of "modern" resource management objectives has also consistently failed to incorporate spiritual and social well-being of the community.

Discussion and conclusion

This case study puts to question the notion that people are motivated to conserve natural resources only if they get direct material, economic benefits. Maintaining sacred forests in their natural state seems to be some form of 'management and utilization' in Rusitu. Benefits perceived and obtained from the two Rusitu forests are both material and non-material (spiritual) and both should be recognized in the management plans. The real question is "under what conditions the non-material benefits can act as an incentive for local people to manage their woodlands sustainably?"

Religion, westernisation and modernisation processes, which largely view traditional ways of life and institutions as backward, might affect institutional change and the recognition of the role of traditional institutions. In Rusitu, however, these factors did not appear to have a major impact. Institutional changes could also be brought about by migration of people from one part of the country to another. Migrants might question the legitimacy of traditional institutions or simply defy local rules and regulations on sacredness. In the case of

Rusitu, again, migration does not seem to have had a major impact on recognition of traditional institutions and rules. This can be attributed to the ethnic composition of the migrant groups. Most migrants are of similar background (Mozambique and local).

Local management of forest and woodland resources should be promoted due to its cost effectiveness and appropriateness for local community institutions and organizations. The starting point should be the recognition of customary laws, local knowledge and value systems. The appropriate instruments to do so exist, including the Communal Land By Laws that provide for the recognition of traditional institutions in local-level planning. The problem, however, is that most RDCs have adopted such By Laws as given and failed to suit them to specific conditions that their areas present. In Zimbabwe, the shift from state to local control and management has largely remained rhetorical. Thus, the legal and policy framework remains non-conducive. Most of the legal instruments in use today were derived from the colonial period and have failed to keep pace with realities on the ground and overall dynamics in local governance in the country. A new Environmental Management Act proposes to pass the responsibility of managing local resources to local institutions that may receive 'appropriate authority' status. The Act however remains silent on what institutions will be granted such an authority and the relationships between the Act and other Acts affecting forestry and natural resource management and local governance.

It is not clear whether resource management systems such as the one in Rusitu would function well in an area with a heterogeneous population composition due to immigration, or where the values of woodlands are defined from different perspectives by different people. The claim to sacredness alone, or the mere existence of institutions presumed to be 'traditional', cannot be used as the only model along which management of local forest and wood-

land resources can be organized. Also, as mentioned, the discourse of sacredness can be exploited by a few individuals (the ruling elite) in a community to claim power and influence over others. And yet, the major potential threat to the Rusitu forests, and others like them, appear to be management decisions being made elsewhere, including at the national level, which override local conservation practices.

Community based natural resources management programmes such as CAMPFIRE should understand this and build on traditional systems of management. Local practices for resource management are place specific. They need to be documented and given value as the basis of broader frameworks that seek both material and non-material benefits.

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Notes

- 1 Timberlake, 1993.
- 2 According to the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975.
- 3 Whitlow, 1988.
- 4 ...and political instability, violence and famine (editor's note).

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Communities and conservation in India

Ashish Kothari and Neema Pathak Broome

Can you imagine a village elder who is the Chairperson and Managing Director of a wildlife sanctuary? This is no flight of fancy, but a recent development in the north-eastern state of Nagaland, in India. The Khonoma Nature Conservation and Tragopan Sanctuary, spread over 7,000 hectares and containing threatened species like the Blyth's Tragopan, has been put on notice not by government but by the villagers of Khonoma. Why? Because they felt increasingly concerned about the rampant shooting of this bird and other wildlife in the forests surrounding their village. So the Khonoma Village Council set up the sanctuary, enacted a set of rules and regulations about hunting and tree felling, and appointed Tsilie Sakhrie as the 'CMD'!

This is not an isolated case from a 'remote' part of India. There are literally thousands of such areas and species under community protection across the country. So far completely neglected by urban naturalists, this growing phenomenon needs support from the government and NGO sectors. Community Conserved Areas (CCAs) are of diverse kinds, with varying levels of protection afforded to different areas. In Assam's Bongaigaon district, for example, the villagers of Shankar Ghola are protecting a few square kilometres of forest that contain, amongst other things, a troop of the highly threatened Golden Langur. Another initiative with the same species as a key indicator was

There are even "new" sacred sites: in parts of Uttaranchal, villagers are dedicating forest areas to local deities, thereby creating a strong motivation for local people to protect the area.

triggered by the work of the NGO Nature's Beckon, which facilitated villagers in protecting a large area of moist forest and then lobbied to get it declared as the Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary. In Tehri Garhwal, Uttaranchal, the villagers of Jardhargaon have regenerated and protected several hundred hectares of oak and rhododendron forests. The results have been impressive, with leopard, bear and other wildlife, even the occasional tiger, being sighted more frequently. Not far away, in Dehradun district, the village of

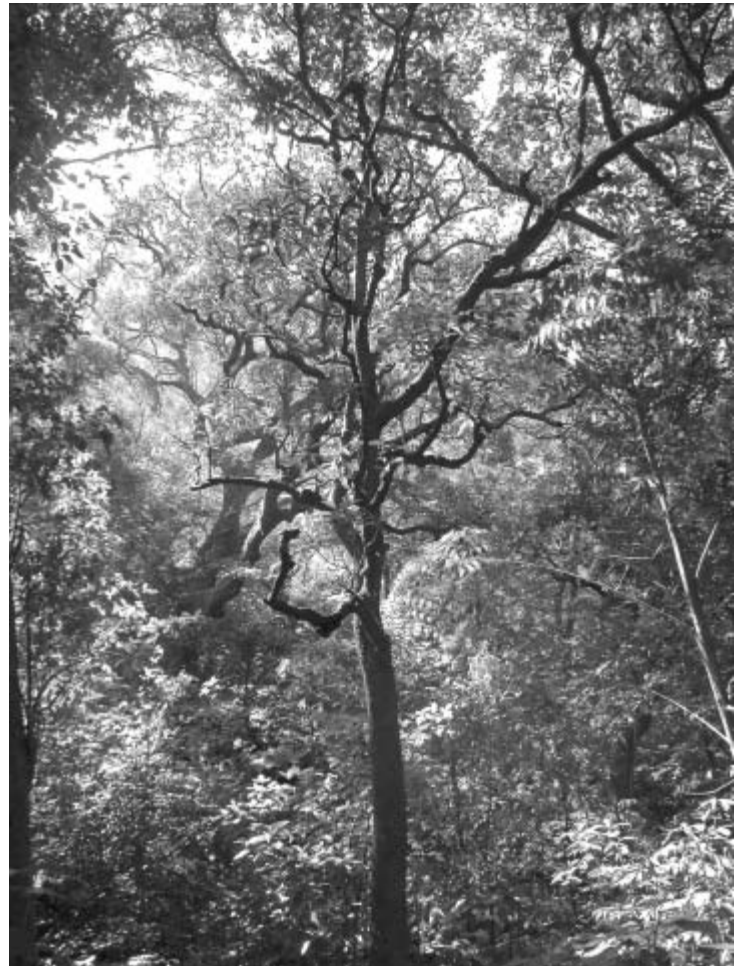


Figure 1: The sacred forest of Ajeevali village in Maharashtra, India. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Nahin Kalan has not only successfully fought against a destructive mine, but also conserved a large area of sub-Himalayan forest.

Perhaps the most famous conservation-oriented community in India are the Bishnois of Rajasthan. They have strong conservation traditions and are famous for their self-sacrificing defence of wildlife and trees. A Bishnoi villager was recently killed while trying to save black-buck from hunters. The tribe's history records a similar incident, three centuries ago, when dozens of villagers who were protecting trees by hugging them were hacked to death by a king who wanted the timber. In Punjab, Bishnoi lands have been declared the Abohar Sanctuary in recognition of their wildlife value. Sariska in Rajasthan's Alwar district is one of India's better-known tiger reserves. However, most visitors are unaware of the role played by the NGO

Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS) and villagers in improving the water regime of this dry forest, resulting in improved wildlife density while providing more secure livelihoods. The villagers and the forest department are now discussing collaborative methods of protecting wildlife. Outside the reserve, in several dozen villages in the district, villagers have resurrected the water regime, regenerated forests, and in one case (Bhaonta-Kolyala village), even declared a 'public wildlife sanctuary'. Similarly, in Manipur, youth clubs from villages around the Loktak Lake have formed a Sangai Protection Forum to protect the highly endangered Brow-antlered deer, only found in this wetland. They participate in the management of the Keibul Lamjao National Park, which forms the core of the lake.

One of the better-documented instances of community conservation has been the 1,800 hectares of deciduous forest saved by the villagers of Mendha (Lekha) in Maharashtra's Gadchiroli district. The people fought off a paper mill that would have destroyed bamboo stocks, stopped the practice of lighting forest fires and moved towards sustainable extraction of non-timber produce. Though there still is some hunting pressure, the area harbours considerable wildlife including the endangered central race of the giant squirrel.

Though weakened by the forces of modernisation and commercialisation, in many areas, traditional protection to sacred groves, village tanks, Himalayan grasslands, and individual species is still widespread. Several sacred groves have preserved remnant populations of rare and endemic species that have been wiped out elsewhere. There are even "new" sacred sites: in parts of Uttaranchal, villagers are dedi-

Another lesson is the need for local communities to have a secure stake in the conservation of an area. [...] In all our examples, the community has established some form of actual or legal control over the resources, providing the security to carry out conservation and sustainable use practices.

cating forest areas to local deities, thereby creating a strong motivation for local people to protect the area. Aside from specific protection afforded to habitats, many traditional practices of sustainable use actually benefited wildlife conservation. For instance, pastoral communities in Ladakh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and other states had strict rules regarding the amount

and frequency of grazing on specified grasslands. Ornithologists have recorded that these helped to maintain viable habitats for species like the Great Indian Bustard. The Spotbilled pelicans of Kokkare Bellur in Karnataka are well-known. Here, as at numerous other sites where large water-birds survive on village tanks and private trees, villagers offer protection against hunting and untoward disturbance. Some ornithologists are beginning to think that for species like the Greater Adjutant Stork and the Spotbilled Pelican, community protection may be the most effective. In Goa and Kerala, important nesting sites for sea turtles such as Galjibag Beach have been protected through the action of local fisherfolk, with help from NGOs and the Forest Department.

There are probably thousands of other such initiatives, some within officially declared national parks and sanctuaries, but most outside. And they are complemented by struggles by communities across India to save their ecosystems and resources from the destructive impact of 'development' projects. For instance, across hundreds of kilometres of India's coastline and adjoining waters, the National Fishworkers' Forum has staved off destructive trawling, fought for the implementation of the Coastal Regulation Zone, and assisted in movements against industrial aquaculture. Several big projects, such as Bhopalpatnam-Inchhampalli (Maharashtra-Chattisgarh), Bodhghat (Chattisgarh), and Rathong Chu (Sikkim), which would have submerged valuable wildlife habitats, have been stalled by mass tribal movements. Over several years, villagers in Sariska have successfully fought against mining, which the forest department was unable to stop as the government itself had sanctioned it! Many such movements have saved areas equal in size, and sometimes bigger than, official protected areas.

...livelihoods will need to be integrated without compromising the existence of ecosystems and species. [...]. One important path towards wildlife conservation is to first meet people's most critical survival needs, like water and biomass, and tie up biodiversity imperatives with these...

The flip side

Not all communities in India are conservation-oriented. Even if in their thousands, initiatives like the ones above would still be small compared to India's enormous landmass. In many, many more communities, traditions of conservation have been eroded, and natural ecosystems have been converted to other land uses. Nor

Many communities need help in adapting appropriate ecologically friendly technologies to enhance their livelihoods and, where relevant, linkages with consumers and sensitive markets in order to generate resources.

are we implying that all village level initiatives are unqualified successes. Like official protected areas, community conserved areas too have a host of serious problems to contend with. These include dissension and inequities within the community, weaknesses in countering powerful commercial forces from outside, lack of knowledge regarding the full range of biodiversity and its value, the pressures of abject poverty, and so on. Nevertheless, the network of CCAs in India provides a wonderful system of biodiversity conservation that is complementary to the government-run network of protected areas. And indeed, in the way many of them are managed, they provide important lessons on how to tackle the conflicts between local people and wildlife officials, which plague official protected areas over India.

Emerging Lessons

One of the most critical lessons we learn from CCAs is that areas important for biodiversity conservation are often also important for the survival and livelihood security of traditional communities. The issue of people within and around official protected areas has plagued conservationists for decades. Increasingly there is recognition that livelihoods will need to be integrated without compromising the existence of ecosystems and species. Many CCAs provide valuable insights into how this can be done. One important path towards wildlife conservation is to first meet people's most critical survival needs, like water and biomass, and tie up biodiversity imperatives with these. No single agency is capable of saving India's wildlife. The

forest department, even if highly motivated, has simply too few resources, manpower and knowledge. Local communities often find themselves helpless in the face of powerful outside forces, while most NGOs are too small to handle the complex and enormous problems that natural habitats face. So the solution is to combine the strengths of each of these, and help each other to tackle weaknesses.

Another lesson is the need for local communities to have a secure stake in the conservation of an area. All too often, conservation policies and programmes have alienated local people, so that they not only do not help in fighting forest fires and catching poachers, they often even aid and abet poaching. In all the examples above, the community has established some form of actual or legal control over the resources, providing the security to carry out conservation and sustainable use practices. It is also interesting to see the varied forms of rules and regulations by which communities manage conservation areas. In most cases, these are not explicitly written out, but are known and accepted by the whole community. Violations invite social



Figure 2: Two villagers from Ajeevali village in Maharashtra, India. They are part of a team under an annual agreement with village community to protect the sacred grove of the village and extract the sap from the fish tail palm, a commonly found tree in the grove. Part of the forest at the higher altitude is entirely protected by the villagers as sacred (only the extraction of fish tail palm toddy is allowed) and the forest at lower areas is utilised according to agreed rules. (Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

boycott, fines or other punishments. In some cases, the community has actually written and codified these customary rules. In the case of the Bhaonta-Kolyala Public Sanctuary, for instance, these are written on the face of the small checkdam made by villagers at the foot of the forested hills.

Examples of community rules

The village of Mendha (Lekha) has a set of self-generated rules and regulations that govern forest use. These were arrived at after discussions about forest produce requirements at the *gram sabha* and at their unique *abhyas gat* (study circle), and concluded that personal consumption would not damage the forests, but commercial exploitation of timber would. Limits were placed on the amount of firewood, bamboo, and timber that could be extracted, and commercial extraction of bamboo and timber was prohibited. Setting fire to the forest was discontinued, and though tendu (*Dioscorea*) leaves are extracted, this is under strict supervision of the villagers. Realising that fruit production was decreasing, they decided that there would be no felling of green and fruiting trees, and no felling for honey collection. Encroachment on forest land is also banned. Conventional silvi-cultural practices of the Forest Department, such as removal of climbers, was also stopped as the villagers argued that these are essential components of the forest. At Bhaonta-Kolyala, Rajasthan, the rules are simple: no hunting, no felling of green trees. Grazing is allowed inside the protected forest, but regulated in an informal manner. Here and at other CCAs, violations of the rules invite fines and social sanctions. In some places, the fine depends on the wealth of the offender, the richer violators will have to pay heavier penalties in case of infraction.

The need for support

Such initiatives can do with considerable support from NGOs and government agencies. There is an immediate need for further studies on these initiatives, so that their full biodiversity and social value can be gauged and others can learn about and from them. It may also often be necessary to accord them legal backup, especially so that communities can enforce their

customary or unwritten rules. In a few places, there may be need for financial support, usually small-scale. Finally, many communities need help in adapting appropriate ecologically friendly technologies to enhance their livelihoods, and where relevant, linkages with consumers and sensitive markets in order to generate resources. This of course comes with the strong precaution that markets can also destroy, if not carefully controlled!

One irony that has cropped up in several CCAs needs urgent resolution. Due to the regeneration and protection of habitats, wildlife populations have increased, and in some cases in West Bengal and Orissa, elephants have returned, sometimes causing considerable damage to crops, livestock, and even human life! Unless urgent supportive measures are considered, the communities' tolerance levels may be crossed. Both traditional and new methods of resolving these conflicts need to be explored.

The recently-released National Wildlife Action Plan 2002-2016 has taken a bold step in recommending support to CCAs. Legal teeth could soon be provided by the proposed amended *Wildlife (Protection) Act*, which contains a new protected area category of Community Reserves. Care must be taken, however, that the government does not take over these CCAs in the guise of legally empowering them. And since most CCAs are likely to remain outside the purview of such official systems, the greatest need is for conservationists to recognise them as a complementary system of biodiversity conservation. A truly happy moment for Mr. Sakhrie of Khonoma and thousands of other innovative people like him, would be if the next meeting of the Indian Board for Wildlife were to have as much focus on CCAs as on official protected areas!

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The people of the Matavén Forest and the National Park System— allies in the creation of a Community Conserved Area in Colombia

Andres Luque

RESUMEN

El presente artículo presenta una serie de lecciones aprendidas en el proceso de creación de un área protegida comunitaria en la Selva de Matavén (Departamento del Vichada), en las selvas del Amazonas y el Orinoco colombianos. Este proceso, aún en marcha, está siendo desarrollado por líderes indígenas pertenecientes a seis etnias (Piaroa, Puinave, Piapoco, Guahibo, Cubeo y Curripaco), con la colaboración de diversas instituciones gubernamentales y no gubernamentales, entre ellas el Sistema Nacional de Parques Nacionales de Colombia. El artículo se centra en el análisis de las oportunidades y los retos presentados por el trabajo conjunto entre el Sistema de Parques Nacionales y las comunidades locales.

La cooperación entre el Sistema de Parques Nacionales y las comunidades de Matavén fue posible debido al reconocimiento que hizo el gobierno nacional de la importancia de establecer alianzas ambientales con los actores locales, y de sus múltiples intereses. Después de un sólido proceso de discusión interna, los líderes de Matavén acordaron una estrategia para asegurar la protección biológica y cultural de sus territorios: solicitar al Estado el reconocimiento legal de la totalidad de Matavén como territorio indígena (asegurando sus derechos de propiedad), destinar el área para la conservación ambiental, y desarrollar un plan de manejo basado en sus tradiciones y cultura. El Sistema de Parques Nacionales apoyó la solicitud hecha por los pueblos indígenas respecto de la declaración legal de Matavén como territorio indígena, y ha otorgado apoyo técnico al esfuerzo de conservación de las comunidades. Algunas de las lecciones aprendidas demuestran la importancia de abordar los procesos de conservación desde una perspectiva intergral, teniendo en cuenta los aspectos sociales y las necesidades de desarrollo de las comunidades. Así mismo, se resalta como los procesos de conservación requieren amplios esfuerzos de participación social para definir objetivos de largo plazo, y asegurar una efectiva socialización en el nivel local.

This article describes an inter-ethnic effort to establish a “community conserved area” in the Matavén Forest, province of Vichada, Colombia¹ (see Figure 1). Numerous lessons are being learned through this on-going experience and these will be of particular interest to protected area managers who interact with local communities, to indigenous peoples interested in establishing their own protected areas, and to development agencies and governmental officials promoting biodiversity conservation through participatory means.

The Matavén Forest is one of the last ecologically intact large patches of tropical rainforest in the transitional area between the Amazonian and Orinoquian ecosystems, with all of its rivers draining towards the Orinoco. An ongoing process aimed at establishing a protected area in this region has been on going for some time, involving multiple and diverse stake-

holders, such as members and authorities of six different ethnic groups, local governments, NGOs, regional and national indigenous federations and the national government (via the National Parks System and the National Plan for Alternative Development².) An important characteristic of this process is that local indigenous



Figure 1: Location of Matavén forest in Colombia

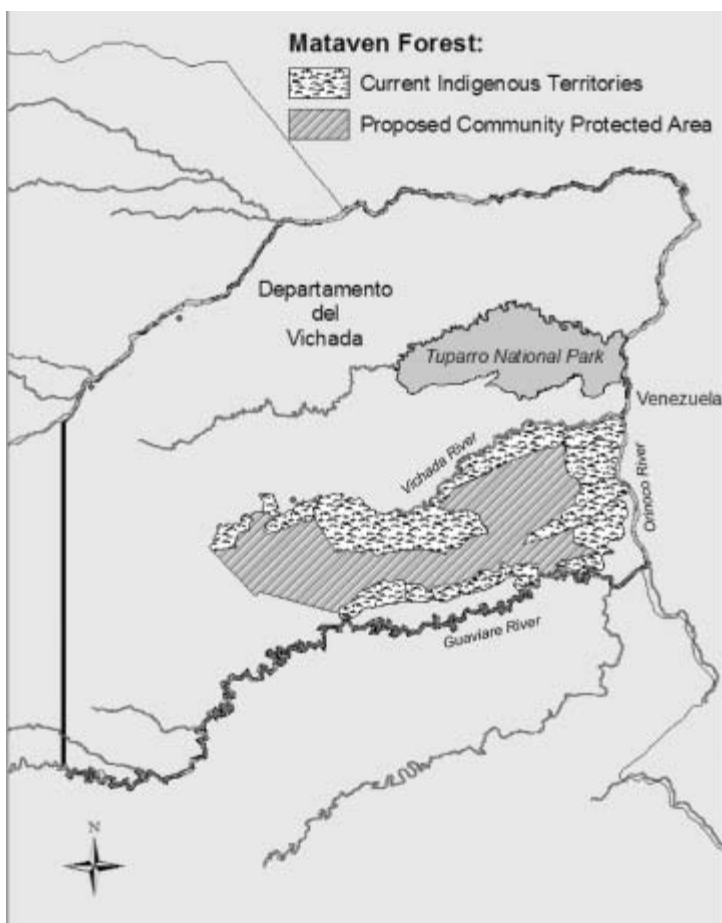


Figure 2: Details of the Matavén forests and the indigenous territories

leaders have been the only decision makers. The participation of NGOs, indigenous federations and governmental offices has been limited to providing technical and financial support and strengthening the organizational, planning, and management capabilities of the concerned communities.

This process is one of the first in Latin America to create strategic alliances among NGOs, indigenous communities, and a national conservation authority for the purpose of establishing a community conserved area. The case well illustrates that environmental protection is only one of many dimensions of the political discourses of organized rural communities and indigenous peoples. It also shows that conservation practices based on a participatory approach may become a powerful point of aggregation to articulate elements such as education, health

and livelihood.

In Matavén, the health of the communities is linked to the health of the ecosystems

The Matavén Forest encompasses more than 2 million hectares and is inhabited by nearly 11,500 people belonging to six indigenous tribes: Piaroa, Sikuani, Piapoco, Puinave, Curripaco, and Cubeo. The Forest is bounded by four major rivers: the Vichada in the north, the Orinoco in the east, the Guaviare/Brazo Amanaven in the south, and the Chupave in the west. Within the Forest are 152 villages, almost all of them located on the banks of these four rivers. These villages are part of sixteen legally recognized indigenous territories, designated *resguardos indigenas* (indigenous reservations) by the Colombian constitution (see Figure 2). The indigenous territories cover a total of 984,824 hectares. The remaining 1,150,000 hectares located in the central area of the Matavén Forest are uninhabited federal lands with no particular management strategy or legal claim to property rights. These lands are considered by the national legislation as *tierras baldias* (vacant lots).

Colombian legislation is weak regarding the protection of *tierras baldias*. For instance, after some years of settlement and forest clearing, an individual can demand property rights over the land. Although no people are currently living in the center of the Matavén Forest, the establishment of illicit crops threatens the area. Coca plantations are spreading from the western border of the Matavén Forest, the only border

where no indigenous territory is located. In practice, the center of Matavén is a no-man's land waiting for settlers.

To date, no specific biodiversity assessment has been conducted in the Matavén forest, but some research results suggest that it contains high levels

The goal of the policy is also to promote the creation of private and community based protected areas that will increase the total amount of protected land in the country and serve as the foundation of several Regional Protected Area Systems

These new protected areas have conservation value in themselves but also often additionally serve to connect national parks to other high biodiversity areas

of biodiversity and endemic species due to the transitional characteristics between the Amazon and the Orinoco ecosystemsⁱⁱⁱ. Tropical lowland forests dominate the landscape, with extensive permanent

and seasonal flooded areas (*varzeas* and *igapos*) found along both black and white water rivers. Also present are isolated savannas (*llanos*) and rocky formations characteristic of the geological formation known as Guyana's Massif (*tepuyes*). Within the context of this rich physical and biological diversity, the Matavén is a site of complex and multi-faceted interactions between Amazonian and Orinoquian cultural traditions. In this sense it represents an important interface between biodiversity and cultural diversity.

The origins of the process for the establishment of a protected area in the Matavén Forest date back to the late 1980s, when the Fundación Etnollano/COAMA, a national NGO, conducted an extensive participatory research project on health issues in the communities, involving indigenous leaders and hospital workers in the area. This project raised awareness of the importance of the center of the forest (the *tierras baldías*) to the overall health and well-being of communities located on its periphery. Discussions among community members recognized that while indigenous peoples neither legally owned nor inhabited the center of the forest, they relied upon it for key resources such as clean water, game and seeds. Moreover, illegal coca plantations for the production of cocaine were threatening the ecological integrity of this area. The leaders recognized the need to ensure the environmental conservation of this currently "unprotected" land, both by changing its legal status and by establishing rules and mechanisms for its management and protection.

By the late 1990s, a process that had begun as participatory research developed into partici-

patory decision-making. Beginning in 1998, indigenous leaders, government officials and NGO members met regularly to develop a set of steps that would lead to the achievement of their common objective: the establishment of a protected area in the center of the Matavén Forest. To achieve this objective, the indigenous leaders sought the help of sympathetic governmental institutions such as the Minister of the Environment through the National Parks System, and the National Plan for Alternative Development. To ensure that their rights and political positions would be respected, the indigenous leaders also requested the support of the Colombian National Indigenous Organization (ONIC) and the Colombian Amazon Indigenous Peoples Organization (OPIAC). Regional and local governments were also involved in the process. It was the beginning of a cooperative process for the establishment of a community conserved area!

Recognizing local voices: the Colombian National Parks System adopts a conservation approach based on social dynamics

Since 1998, the Colombian National Parks System has been implementing a new policy for protected areas based on recognition of local *campesino* communities, indigenous peoples and other local stakeholders who inhabit or have territorial interests within and/or next to a national park or an area with high biodiversity. The goal of the policy is not only to engage communities in co-managing protected areas already comprised in the National Parks System, but also to promote the creation of private and community based protected areas that will increase the total amount of protected land in the country and serve as the foundation of several Regional Protected Area Systems. A key challenge resulting from this policy change is the exploration of new models for the creation of protected areas from a local perspective. In such models, the

New capacities in negotiation, multicultural understanding and the use of participatory methodologies were needed for the task.

National Parks System would not be the manager or owner of the new types of protected area but rather hand over this fundamental responsibility to local stakeholders. Three major changes occurred with this new policy:

- The National Parks System focused on forging alliances with local stakeholders to achieve effective conservation of biodiversity. This was grounded on the principles of social ecology, which highlight the interactions between humans and their environment. The previous perspective was based primarily on biological and ecological principles, without much reference to social and bio-anthropogenic dynamics.
- By working with local communities, indige-

came to agree on the importance and value of protected areas in achieving adequate levels of economic, social and cultural development in any given region. This new perspective is consistent with a development model that does not degrade natural resources and is not opposed to conservation.

The change of policy in the National Parks System effectively modified the way citizens participate in the country's biodiversity conservation strategy and thereby required major institutional changes and modifications within

Several on-site discussions were promoted and supported, requiring complex logistical arrangements to achieve the participation of representatives of all sixteen indigenous territories

the System. Supporting the creation of community conserved areas, assessing community concerns and goals, and designing management plans in a participatory man-



Figure 3: A moment in a village in the Matavén area . (Courtesy: Andres Luque)

nous peoples, local governments and other local and regional stakeholders concerned with the preservation of ecosystems, the National Parks System was able to expand its geographical range of action. The establishment of effective alliances, such as those with indigenous peoples, afforded an opportunity to create new protected areas that for a variety of reasons were not suitable for the National Parks System. These new protected areas have conservation value in themselves but also often additionally serve to connect national parks to other high biodiversity areas. The overall effect is improved biodiversity conservation and impulsion toward 'regional protected area systems'.

- Local, regional and national stakeholders

ner were not easy tasks for park managers and rangers who—with a few and notable exceptions—had scarcely by then considered the social component of their work. With the new policy, park managers with expertise in disciplines such as biology, ecology, forestry and other natural sciences were asked, often for the first time in their professional lives, to take into account not only the biological dynamics of an area, but its social and cultural dynamics as well. New capacities in negotiation, multicultural understanding and the use of participatory methodologies were needed for the task.

The recognition of stakeholder and the shift toward regional protected area systems also required a change of scale: a bioregional plan-

ning approach was given priority over one that was limited by park boundaries. This change was not easy for park managers who, for decades, had focused their work within the strict boundaries of their assigned national park. Many of them felt uncomfortable with the bioregional approach, arguing that significant efforts were still required within established parks in order to ensure their conservation. And yet, the developments in Matavén provided the National Park System with a unique opportunity to support a conservation project outside of its 47 established national parks that comprise its system, and to implement a bioregional and multi-stakeholder approach to guarantee ecological connectivity between Amazonian and Orinoquian ecosystems.

Creating a community conserved area in the Matavén Forest

From the beginning of the process, the park rangers from the National Parks System joined an inter-institutional task force to support the indigenous peoples of Matavén in their effort to protect their forests. Several on-site discussions were promoted and supported, requiring complex logistical arrangements to achieve the participation of representatives of all sixteen indigenous territories. This included both young leaders as well as elders from a large diversity of villages. Attendance at meetings has been between 150 and 200 leaders.

One of the first discussions that indigenous leaders with the help of the inter-institutional

The indigenous federations were concerned about the limitations to management and autonomy that an overlapping conservation category such as a national park designation might imply for the indigenous peoples of Matavén

task force carried out was the definition of the type of protected area to be established. The maintenance of the autonomy and rights of the sixteen previously existing indigenous territories was the main criteria. All

of the concerned stakeholders agreed upon the

need to initiate a process that would lead to the recognition of the *tierras baldias* as an additional indigenous territory: the 17th *resguardo*. It would be jointly owned and managed for conservation purposes by a council consisting of the leaders of the sixteen territories. This idea has been pursued and authorities of the sixteen territories, with the support of the government offices and NGOs involved, filed a claim to the government for the designation of the 17th *resguardo*. The required stud-



Figure 4: Fishing along the Guaviare River. (Courtesy: Andres Luque)



Figure 5: Indigenous leaders preparing their own maps
(Courtesy: Andres Luque)

ies are currently underway and the government is processing the claim.

Other discussions have addressed the quality and strength of environmental protection that a legal indigenous territory would provide, and the possibility of increasing legal protection through overlapping an additional conservation category such as a national park. The national indigenous federations (ONIC and OPIAC) have recommended to the indigenous leaders from Matavén that they do not endorse the idea of an overlapping national park or other type of conservation category managed by the National Parks System. The indigenous federations were concerned about the limitations to management and autonomy that an overlapping conservation category such as a national park designation might imply for the indigenous peoples of Matavén. Responding to this recommendation, the National Parks System committed itself to the following principles in relation to its participation in the Matavén Forest Conservation Process:

- Endorse and support the claim of the indigenous leaders of Matavén regarding the legal recognition of the central area as an additional indigenous territory.
- Recognize that only the indigenous communities, based on the exercise of their autonomy and the recognition of the *tierras baldias*

of Matavén as their ancestral lands, should decide whether and what type of additional conservation category should be conferred upon the central area of Matavén.

- Provide technical support to the conservation effort of the communities, regardless of the type of protected area category they decide to establish.
- Recommend that the type of conservation category to be adopted should not be the starting point of the discussion, but rather the final outcome of a participatory conservation process that may take years to be developed.
- The current strategic approach agreed by all towards the protection of the Matavén Forest is based on the following elements:
 - A legal effort to obtain the designation of the central area of Matavén as an indigenous territory (the 17th *resguardo*).
 - The establishment of a participatory management plan for the 17th *resguardo* based on the traditions of the indigenous peoples, known as the “Ancestral Management Law for the Matavén Forest.”
 - The achievement of effective sustainable development initiatives for the current indigenous territories, which will act as buffer zones for the 17th *resguardo*.
 - The designation by the indigenous communities themselves of the 17th *resguardo* as a strict conservation area, based on the authority powers granted to them by the Colombian constitution.

A “life plan” provides the framework for any state intervention in an indigenous territory, acting as a local agenda dealing with health, education, strengthening of local identity, and sound environmental management.

Lessons learned from the Matavén Forest Conservation Process

This ongoing process, initiated in 1998, has produced several lessons. Some of these are summarized below.

In the long term, the Matavén process is oriented toward the implementation of the indigenous "life plan" (*plan de vida indígena*), an advanced, anthropogenic-oriented, culturally and environmentally focused management plan for indigenous territories. Since the late 1990s several indigenous groups in Colombia have been undergoing internal participatory processes to create their "life plans", and have been using them as a mechanism to guide and foster their interaction with local, regional and national governments. Once completed, a "life plan" provides the framework for any state intervention in an indigenous territory, acting as a local agenda dealing with health, education, strengthening of local identity, resource conservation and sound environmental management. In the Matavén case, the "life plan" will be based on the combination of sustainable use of certain areas along with the designation of large community conserved areas. Management plans can be based not only on the biological needs of the species to preserve, but also in the development aspirations, hopes and environmental values of those who live in areas of high cultural and biological diversity.

The case of the Matavén Forest illustrates the challenges that the Colombian National Parks System is facing while supporting a decentralized, participatory, community-based management approach for environmental conservation. Since the Matavén Forest is not part of the National Parks System, the issue is not only the management of an area with high biodiversity, but also the creation of an institutional setting favorable to conservation in an area owned and managed by indigenous peoples. Indeed, the protection of the environment is all but one of many aspects of the environmental discourses of organized rural communities and indigenous peoples.

LAST MINUTE!

On July 22, 2003, the Colombian government (through the Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform INCORA) approved the creation of the Matavén Forest Indigenous Territory. This decision expanded the original 16 resguardos, creating one of Colombia's largest indigenous territories. The Matavén Forest is now a legally recognized indigenous territory of 1,849,613 hectares. The traditional authorities of Matavén have established ACATISEMA, the Asociación de Cabildos y Autoridades Tradicionales Indígenas de la Selva de Matavén, for managing and leadership purposes. These important steps towards the protection of the cultural and biological diversity of Matavén are the result of several alliances among committed individuals, traditional leaders, NGOs and governmental conservation agencies. (Source: Fundacion Etnollano, www.etnollano.org)

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Notes

- ¹ Departamento del Vichada.
- ² Government office in charge of the policy for the substitution of illicit coca and poppy plantations.
- ³ Herrera *et al.*, 2000.

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Setulang village protects its river!

Ramses Iwan on behalf of the Setulang community



Figure 1: ... we rely on the Setulang and Malinau Rivers for our basic food needs, such as fish, shrimp, crayfish, snails, frogs ... (Courtesy Adi Seno)

Where are we?

Setulang Village is located in northeastern Kalimantan, Indonesia, at the juncture of the Malinau and Setulang Rivers. Our village boundaries correspond with the watershed of the Setulang River. We are located in the Malinau District (*Kabupaten*), one of the last remaining areas of contiguous lowland tropical forest in the world. Because of this forest and the richness of its resources, our district has attracted international attention from conservation agencies¹ as well as from agencies those interested in resource exploitation².

Who are we?

The Village of Setulang consists of 855 people (208 households) of the Oma Long sub group of Kenyah Dayak. We have the largest population of a single ethnic group living along the Malinau River (where there are 27 villages). Our livelihoods are based on swidden rice farming, fishing and hunting. We earn cash by selling our extra rice. Our customs and customary laws are still strong.

Why is the river important to us?

We rely on the Setulang and Malinau Rivers for

our basic food needs (fish, shrimp, crayfish, snails, frogs), as well as for drinking water, bathing and washing. The rivers are our main avenues of transportation, as we move around by boat. When we have spare time, we picnic along the Setulang River because of its beauty.

The challenges we face

Since the year 200, with the implementation of Indonesia's decentralization policy reforms, small-scale logging became rampant throughout Indonesia, and especially in our district as we are close to the markets in Malaysia. In April 2000, the District Leader (*Bupati*) began allocating



Figure 2 ... our livelihoods are based on swidden rice farming, fishing and hunting ... (Courtesy Edmond Dounias)



Figure 3: ...when we have spare time, we picnic along the Setulang River because of its beauty... (Courtesy Edmond Dounias)

small scale logging permits (IPPKs, or *Izin Pemungutan dan Pemanfaatan Kayu*) of 100 to 5000 ha each to hastily formed small local companies. The result has been extraordinarily high levels of intense, unsustainable timber extraction and conflict. Thirty-eight IPPKs have been issued granting access to more than 53 000 ha in Malinau District since April 2000.

Loggers now want to enter our forests. But only Setulang village (among all the villages in the district) has refused to give permission for logging on its lands. We have refused the offers of *nine companies* that continued to come to our village until November 2002. We have been offered 300,000 dollars for an area of 5,300 hectares. This is an enormous sum of money for us. But we have still refused.

Why? With logging along the Malinau River we have watched the destruction of a river. Our youths have seen the impacts of logging in Sarawak on local people's lives. We know we will have no future if our lands are logged and our river is destroyed.

Our actions

In mid 2000 the community of Setulang met and agreed to conserve the forest in the upper Setulang River for watershed protection. We have had to work hard to protect our river. In September 2002 the Setulang community seized the equipment of a logging company that illegally entered our village land. Based on our customary law, we fined the company 4,000 dollars. We involved the district officials to reach this agreement.

Two months later our community negotiated with another logging company that had entered our land illegally on the west side. The company agreed not to log until the government settled the boundary. But in January 2003, the company started logging again. We talked with district government about this problem and encouraged them to give priority to mapping this boundary so we could settle the problem quickly and fairly. They agreed.

These two examples show the challenges we have faced to conserve our river. We are sure, we will face more challenges in the future. But because of our village's unity and willingness to work together, we will strive to overcome them.

Ramses Iwan is a community member of Setulang Village in Malinau, East Kalimantan, Indonesia and a CIFOR Field Researcher. His mailing address is c/o CIFOR <http://www.cifor.org> .

Notes

¹E.g. , WWF, WCS (Wildlife Conservation Society), the World Conservation Union (IUCN), The Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR)

² E.g., many international investors, ITTO, CIFOR...



Figure 4: ... we faced many challenges to conserve our river... (Courtesy Adi Seno)

Contra la expansión de la acuicultura del Camaron en Honduras— la historia de Modesto Ochoa

Jorge Varela

Son millares de héroes anónimos los que luchan, mueren y desaparecen en el patético escenario de los crudos campos de guerra por la defensa del ambiente y de la calidad de vida de los seres humanos ... es una lucha desigual, por cuanto los adversarios son poderosos y dominan los ámbitos económicos, políticos y sociales...es una lucha irónica, por cuanto la victoria, si se logra, es también compartida por los adversarios que obligadamente tienen que compartir y gozar de un ambiente sano y pacífico.

Uno de estos héroes anónimos es Modesto Ochoa Rueda, padre de cinco hijas y un varón, cuyas edades oscilan entre 8 y 15 años. Modesto vive con su esposa, Paula Olivia González. Mientras sus hijos estudian en la escuela de la comunidad rural y su esposa se dedica a su cuidado, Modesto se dedica a la pesca en las pocas lagunas que aún existen, gracias en gran parte a la lucha de las comunidades locales por evitar que los inversionistas las conviertan en fincas de cultivo de camarón. Esta actividad la complementa con labores de

agricultura y activismo social y ambiental.

Esta historia puede localizarse en cualquier lugar de la zona tropical o subtropical del planeta, donde la tenebrosa e incontrolable industria de los cultivos de camarón ha llegado a establecerse con la falacia de ofrecer fuentes de empleo, divisas, electricidad, agua potable, salud, alimentación, educación y en resumen, el muy desgastado objetivo del “Desarrollo Sostenible”.

empleo, divisas, electricidad, agua potable, salud, alimentación, educación y en resumen,

el muy desgastado objetivo del “Desarrollo Sostenible”.

Es la madrugada de un 6 de Febrero del 2000. El frío es intenso y Modesto no ha dormido preocupado por los eventos planificados para ese día. Grupos de friolentos hombres, mujeres y niños se encaminan hacia la vía de acceso a la finca camaronera más grande de Honduras - con sus más de cinco mil hectáreas en una sola península... quizá la más grande del mundo... El motivo: hacer ver a empresarios del cultivo del camarón y a la prensa local y nacional las implicaciones que para la vida y la seguridad alimentaria de las comunidades tiene el hecho de que el Gobierno, confabulado con inversionistas extranjeros y el Banco Mundial, haya otorgado Licencia Ambiental para la expansión sobre casi 1000 hectáreas a la empresa Granjas Marinas San Bernardo (GMSB).

El camino está vigilando por numerosos policías antimotines, preparados para disolver manifestaciones populares a como dé lugar y reforzados por contingentes de la Capital, Choluteca, Namasique y otras ciudades. Frente a ellos, un grupo de pescadores y campesinos pobres que poco a poco va engrosándose con otros provenientes de diferentes comunidades.

“Aún antes de fundarse el CODDEFFAGOLF, organización de pescadores, campesinos, ambientalistas y pobladores de los estratos más pobres de Honduras,” relata Modesto, “ya habíamos observado cómo el descontrolado establecimiento de los cultivos de camarón estaba destruyendo los bosques de mangle y las lagunas, contaminaba esteros, nos negaba el paso hacia nuestros tradicionales sitios de pesca y nos acosaba mientras trabajábamos... veíamos desaparecer bosques y animales silvestres y escasear los recursos marinos... nosotros protestábamos y nos enfrentábamos con los camaroneros para discutir los problemas; algunas veces ganamos momentáneamente,

Modesto se dedica a la pesca en las pocas lagunas que aún existen, gracias en gran parte a la lucha de las comunidades locales por evitar que los inversionistas las conviertan en fincas de cultivo de camarón. [...] Estas luchas van creando un movimiento social que algún día podrá hacer cambiar las reglas del juego.

bio de que sigan dando empleo a algunas personas, con sueldos de hambre y generalmente sin derechos laborales...”

“Junto con mis compañeros del CODDEFFAGOLF, hemos logrado que los empresarios y funcionarios de Gobierno nos tengan algo de consideración y respeto; que se haya designado al Golfo de Fonseca en Honduras como Sitio RAMSAR 1000; que los humedales costeros que se han salvado de la destrucción hayan sido declarados Areas Protegidas por el Congreso Nacional; la destrucción de manglares ha disminuido; hemos logrado ejecutar pequeños proyectos de desarrollo comunal en la zona y aún podemos pescar en algunos sitios. Sin embargo, aún en las áreas protegidas la destrucción ha continuado, pues sobre una sinuosa línea costera de más de 180km, 17 mil hectáreas de humedales han sido convertidos en fincas camaroneras”.

El Comandante de la policía llama a Modesto y le ordena el desalojo de la gente... Los comuneros se oponen pues se ha demostrado que la empresa camaronera ha violado las leyes y exigen justicia. Los soldados atacan a los manifestantes, quienes repelen la primera agresión armados con pequeños palos de mangle y se mantienen... pero la represión se agudiza. Los policías caen sobre Modesto y lo golpean brutalmente. Otros líderes identificados con anticipación son conducidos violentamente a transportes militares y de allí a la cárcel. Decenas

pero al final ellos siempre se aprovecharon y con promesas de progreso para todos nos han dejado más retrasados y mas pobres ... el ‘desarrollo sostenible’ solo ha sido para los inversionistas pero no para el pueblo... las municipalidades les mendigan ayuda y les perdonan los impuestos a cambio

de heridos y golpeados quedan tras media hora de lucha desigual.

Esta acción logró exponer ante el mundo las injusticias e impactos negativos traídos por la industria del camarón a Honduras. Logró que el Banco Mundial (principal impulsor de la expansión de GMSB) envíe a funcionarios de la Corporación Financiera Internacional (WB/IFC, institución prestataria) a investigar la situación; con ello se alcanzó una serie de compromisos sociales y ambientales que después la empresa solo cumplió parcialmente. Esta acción probablemente sirvió también para evitar que el IFC/WB continúe otorgando más préstamos a GMSB para su expansión en Honduras, México, Venezuela y otros países. La acción expuso al Gobierno de Honduras como un gobierno impo-

sibilitado de aplicar la Ley a empresas poderosas cuyos inversionistas generalmente forman parte del mismo Gobierno – incluyendo al propio Presidente de Honduras. La historia de Modesto y de sus luchas se repite en todos los países donde los inversionistas internacionales parecen interesarse más por asegurar que los consumidores de USA, Europa y Japón sigan degustando a bajo precio los manjares tropicales, que por resolver los problemas de pobreza e injusticia en los países productores. Pero estas luchas van creando un movimiento social que algún día podrá hacer cambiar las reglas del juego.

Jorge Varela (cgolf@sdnhon.org.hn) es uno de los iniciadores del Comité para la Defensa y Desarrollo de la Flora y Fauna del Golfo de Fonseca (CODDEFFAGOLF), de la Asociación Civil Internacional para la Conservación del Golfo de Fonseca y del Industrial Shrimp Action Network (ISA Net), un esfuerzo internacional para brindar apoyo a las comunidades que resisten la introducción o expansión de la industria camaronera. Jorge recibió el Goldman Environmental Prize y es un miembro del CEESP/CMWG.

Les Aires du Patrimoine Communautaire— les paradoxes de la conservation au Sénégal

Woulimata Thiaw, Seydina Issa Sylla et Jean Larivière

L'administration et les communautés locales n'ont pas et n'auront sans doute jamais la même vision des aires protégées. En effet, les services gouvernementaux de conservation appréhendent la sauvegarde des milieux naturels à l'échelle nationale et selon des critères internationaux. Les populations, au contraire, ne s'intéressent qu'à leur environnement immédiat et sur la seule base de référents économiques et culturels. Les premiers se focalisent sur un échantillonnage représentatif des écosystèmes alors que les secondes défendent leurs moyens d'existence. Ces deux approches différentes, pour ne pas dire opposées, sont à l'origine de la plupart des conflits.

Si les ruraux connaissent mieux que quiconque le ou les écosystèmes dont ils tirent leur subsistance depuis de nombreuses générations, ils ignorent tout de l'évolution globale des biomes et de la biosphère mondiale, envers lesquels ils ont des difficultés conceptuelles à se sentir concernés. En revanche, ils sont les mieux placés pour mesurer l'érosion locale de la diversité biologique et la très grande valeur des rares secteurs où elle est encore préservée.

Ainsi, les mises en défens administratives sont presque toujours perçues par les communautés comme la confiscation par l'État de ressources qui leur sont essentielles. Le ressentiment qu'elles en éprouvent perdure plus ou moins longtemps, sans pour autant exclure la fierté légitime d'une reconnaissance officielle de la richesse patrimoniale de leurs terroirs. En cas de dégradations antérieures, il arrive même que se manifeste un certain remord au sein de la population. C'est ce qui se produit lors du classement de la Réserve naturelle de Popenguine, au Sénégal.

Le site était autrefois occupé par une forêt classée qui fut entièrement détruite lors des



Figure 1 : Le village de Yoff vu de l'île de Patrimoine Communautaire de Teunguene (dans l'île) chaque année un bouf est sacrifié à Mame Diare, génie tutélaire de la communauté lebu. (Courtoisie Jean Larivière)

grandes sécheresses du début des années 1970 et 80. Mais l'altération du milieu n'avait pas d'incidence sur l'objectif de conservation, car il s'agissait essentiellement de préserver un lieu d'hivernage de passereaux paléarctiques (*Monticola sp.*) inféodés aux milieux rocheux. C'est d'ailleurs la déforestation qui avait permis de découvrir leur présence.

Les mères-nature de Kër Cupaam

Toutefois, un groupe de mères de familles du village de Popenguine fondèrent spontanément une association¹ dont l'objectif était de créer des pépinières afin de restaurer le couvert végétal de la réserve. Durant sept ans, sans aide extérieure, elles plantèrent des milliers d'acacias et de baobabs, assurèrent l'entretien annuel des pistes et d'un pare-feu sur les 12 km du périmètre de la réserve. Parallèlement leurs enfants, organisés en corps de Volontaires, réalisèrent des travaux de lutte contre l'érosion sur les pentes dénudées.

La construction d'un campement touristique² leur apporta les ressources pour amplifier leur action. Dès lors, les femmes des autres villages les imitèrent et, avec ce renfort, les 120 pionnières constituèrent un collectif féminin de 1555 membres³. Devant une telle mobilisation et les

travaux déjà accomplis, le Ministère de l'Environnement attribua, par protocole, la gestion de la réserve au collectif.

Conscientes qu'une nouvelle période de sécheresse anéantirait leurs efforts, les femmes élaborèrent un programme plus ambitieux qui allait s'avérer un modèle de développement durable. Couvrant l'aire protégée et les terroirs villageois périphérique, il prit le nom d'Espace Naturel Communautaire Kër Cupaam et un financement de la Commission européenne⁴ le concrétisa.

Pour renforcer les pépinières et créer des bois villageois dans chacun des huit villages, la collecte des déchets ménagers et leur compostage furent organisés. Avec l'excédent de compost, le maraîchage se développa. Un réseau de distribution de combustibles favorisa l'utilisation du gaz

qui, très vite, fut préféré au bois de feu. Une banque céréalière évita la flambée des prix en période de soudure et une caisse d'épargne et de crédit encouragea le petit commerce. Enfin, soucieuses de partager leur expérience avec d'autres groupements féminins du Sénégal ou de la sous-région, un centre de formation fut construit aux abords de la réserve.

L'ensemble du dispositif représente aujourd'hui non seulement un modèle de gestion de l'environnement mais également un apprentissage à l'indépendance économique. Par ailleurs, avec l'apport des différents services et avantages, l'entretien de l'aire protégée a cessé d'être considéré comme une astreinte, mais comme la juste contrepartie des bénéfices obtenus.

Encadré 1. Statuts provisoires

Article 1 - Définition

Une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire est un espace de conservation durable de la diversité biologique locale, végétale, animale, et/ou culturelle, ayant valeur de référence pour les générations futures de la communauté qui l'a créée.

Article 2 - Principe fondateur

Toute Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire se fonde sur une initiative endogène et consensuelle de conservation d'un site naturel et/ou culturel.

Article 3 - Vocation

Une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire a pour vocation la sauvegarde d'un site du patrimoine naturel et/ou culturel, jugé d'intérêt majeur par les populations locales.

Article 4 - Éligibilité

Le choix du lieu et la superficie mise en sauvegarde sont déterminés par consensus entre les autorités coutumières, religieuses et administratives, la population et les acteurs socio-économiques locaux.

Les services ou organismes, nationaux et internationaux, de la conservation des ressources naturelles apporteront leurs appuis techniques, définis aux termes de conventions particulières.

Article 5 - Caractéristiques

Tout site, continental ou marin, peut être érigé en Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire, quels que soient sa superficie et son état de conservation au moment de sa mise sous protection.

Article 6 - Foncier

La création d'une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire concerne principalement les biens communaux et/ou coutumiers.

Toutefois, dans le cas où des terrains privés seraient inclus dans le périmètre de conservation, ces terrains pourront être cédés à la communauté aux termes d'un contrat conclu de gré à gré.

Toute Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire est inaliénable après constitution.

Article 7 - Enregistrement

Toute Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire doit être déclarée, reconnue et enregistrée, comme telle par les services compétents de l'État.

Article 8 - Gestion

La gestion et l'intégrité d'une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire sont assurées et garanties par l'ensemble des populations périphériques, ou par les responsables qu'elles auront désignés au sein de la communauté concernée.

Article 9 - Interventions

Dans le cas d'un milieu naturel dégradé, une restauration de la flore et de la faune sera entreprise afin de reconstituer, autant que faire se peut, la biocénose originelle. Il ne sera donc procédé à aucun prélèvement de faune ou de flore, sous quelle forme que ce soit, à l'exception de la collecte de graines ou boutures végétales destinées à la multiplication d'espèces rares ou menacées. Les récoltes seront toujours effectuées après accord des représentants de la collectivité gestionnaire et sous le contrôle de l'autorité scientifique qu'elle aura désignée.

Article 10 - Financement

La gestion d'une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire est à la charge de la collectivité qui en a décidé la création, notamment et après enquête préalable, pour tous les travaux de restauration de la diversité biologique végétale et animale. Toutefois, dans le cas d'interventions dépassant le potentiel local telles que les évaluations, les inventaires floristique et faunistique, la cartographie, etc., la communauté peut introduire des demandes de financements nationaux ou internationaux.

Article 11 - Ressources

La collectivité gestionnaire d'une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire a la possibilité d'exploiter ses ressources par extractivisme (collectes sélectives) et pour son éventuel intérêt touristique (visites guidées), à la condition que ces activités n'aient pas d'impact notable sur l'équilibre du milieu naturel.

Article 12 - Transmutations

Lorsque les populations locales se sont largement investies dans la gestion d'une Réserve nationale, celle-ci peut acquérir la vocation et l'appellation d'Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire sans perdre pour autant son statut initial.

Réciproquement, une aire du Patrimoine Communautaire peut être érigée en Réserve nationale à la demande ou avec l'accord de l'ensemble des acteurs et partenaires de la communauté gestionnaire.

Ces transmutations sont enregistrées par conventions passées avec les services compétents de l'État.

Les Aires du Patrimoine communautaire

L'exemple des femmes de Kër Cupaam a trouvé des applications avant même que leur programme soit achevé. Les résultats obtenus, notamment au niveau de la surveillance et par voie de conséquence dans la reconquête de la faune, donnèrent à penser que des aires protégées pouvaient être, non seulement confiées à des communautés locales, mais qu'il était également possible de leur donner la possibilité d'en créer selon leurs propres critères. C'est ainsi que furent établis les statuts provisoires des Aires du Patrimoine Communautaire (APC). Ceux-ci sont actuellement examinés par les Agences régionales de développement du Sénégal qui y ont trouvé l'instrument juridique nécessaire pour une application pratique de la réglementation sur la protection et la conservation des ressources naturelles telle que prévu par la loi de décentralisation.

Pour la sauvegarde de « la demeure de Mame Ndiare »

Cette procédure, fut tout d'abord proposée à la communauté lébou de Yoff, un village côtier de la proche banlieue de Dakar. Devant le port de pêche, l'île Teunguène est la demeure de Mame Diare, génie tutélaire des lieux et longtemps respectée comme telle. Encore vierge de toute construction, elle était autrefois réservée aux cérémonies rituelles. Mais, avec l'extension de la cité et l'arrivée de nouveaux habitants, l'île fut de plus en plus visitée par les promeneurs et les pêcheurs sous-marins. Cette fréquentation, bien que récente et relativement limitée, avait toutefois provoqué une forte érosion des sentiers, à laquelle s'ajouta l'appauvrissement de la végétation en raison de la dépose de moutons pendant l'hivernage.

Afin de sauvegarder ce sanctuaire naturel et culturel, les autorités religieuses, coutumières et civiles, les acteurs économiques et les habitants de Yoff ont accepté, par consensus établi en moins de trois mois, d'ériger l'île en Aire du Patrimoine communautaire.

Encadre 2. Déclaration de Teunguène

Commune d'arrondissement de Yoff - 5 juin 1998 - Journée mondiale de l'Environnement

"Nous, populations yoffoises, dépositaires d'une grande partie de l'histoire du Peuple lébou, sommes conscientes qu'en cette fin du XX^e siècle, la gestion de notre patrimoine culturel et naturel est plus que capitale. Sans cette Nature dont nous ne sommes pas maîtres et possesseurs mais de simples éléments, même si ceux-ci s'avèrent déterminant de par leur impact sur les milieux naturels et l'ensemble des êtres vivants, nous ne saurions obtenir de vie meilleure pour nous-mêmes, ni un avenir prometteur aux générations futures. Nous déclarons Teunguène, l'île de Yoff, symbole de l'attachement du Peuple lébou à la nature terrestre et marine, ainsi qu'à son génie tutélaire Mame NDIaré.

Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire de Teunguène

Teunguène, lieu de culte, étape pour les oiseaux migrateurs et refuge d'une diversité végétale et marine de plus en plus menacée, doit éveiller notre conscience à la nécessité de sauvegarder notre patrimoine naturel et culturel. Ce conservatoire de nos valeurs traditionnelles, ouvert sur la modernité, nous permettra de rester un peuple digne et responsable. Nous invitons la Communauté lébou, le Peuple sénégalais et, au-delà, la Communauté internationale, à nous rejoindre et nous soutenir dans cette nouvelle approche des principes de gestion de l'environnement continental et marin à Yoff."

L'infinie variété des milieux naturels, des cultures humaines, des espèces animales et végétales, procède de la même biodiversité. Protéger les uns sans également protéger les autres serait vain.

Assemblée Constitutive de l'Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire de Teunguène

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <i>El Hadj</i> ISSA MBENGUE <i>Grand Diaraf de Yoff,</i> <i>chef de village et conservateur de</i> <i>l'île</i> | <i>Saltigué</i> | <i>Collectif des Pêcheurs</i> IBRAHIMA DIÈNE <i>Comité de Surveillance côtière</i> |
| SEYDINA MAME ALASSANE LAYE <i>Khalif général des Layènes</i> | <i>El Hadj</i> AMADOU LAMINE DIAGNE <i>Saltigué</i> | DIARRA SECK <i>Présidente des Mareyeuses</i> |
| SEYDINA ISSA NDIAYE <i>Maire de Yoff</i> | <i>El Hadj</i> SOULEYMAN DIAGNE <i>Président des Maggi-Yoff</i> | FATIM DIOP <i>Regroupement des Transformatrices</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> ELIMANE LÉYE <i>Imam Ratib de Yoff</i> | <i>El Hadj</i> BABACAR MBENGUE <i>Président de l'Assemblée des</i> <i>Diambours</i> | <i>El Hadj</i> ÉLIMANE MBENGUE <i>Président de l'Association des</i> <i>Rameurs</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> OUMAR NGALLA DIÈNE <i>Grand Diaraf de Yoff, chef de village</i> | <i>El Hadj</i> OUSMANE NDOYE <i>Président de l'Assemblée des Freys</i> | MAMADOU SAMBA <i>Club FNH - Foyer des Jeunes</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> NDIAGA NDOYE <i>Grand Diaraf de Yoff, chef de village</i> | <i>Adji</i> THIOUME LÉYE <i>Ndeupkat</i> | SERIGNE MBAYE DIÈNE <i>Président de l'Association pour la</i> <i>Promotion économique, culturelle et</i> <i>sociale de Yoff</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> ASSAN MBENGUE <i>Ndiey-ji-rew</i> | BINETA NDIR <i>Ndeupkat</i> | SEYDINA ISSA SYLLA <i>Wetlands international</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> IBRAHIMA TANOR DIOUF <i>Ndiey-ji-rew</i> | PAPE FALL DIÈYE <i>Union locale des Pêcheurs de Yoff</i> | SIDY DIOUF <i>Sous-Préfet des Almadies</i> |
| <i>El Hadj</i> YOUSSEUPHA NDIR | MASS THIAW | |

La caractéristique des APC est que le choix du site, sa superficie, ses délimitations, son mode de gestion et sa surveillance relèvent de la seule responsabilité des communautés qui les ont établies. Le principe fondamental est en effet de ne rien interdire, ni de conditionner, *a priori*, mais au contraire d'inciter sans la moindre restriction toute initiative en faveur de la conservation d'un site naturel, même si celui-ci est dégradé au moment du classement. Sa restauration s'inscrit

alors dans le plan d'action.

Les APC ont pour objectif d'impliquer les populations locales dans la gestion de leurs ressources naturelles et de les sensibiliser à leur conservation par une appropriation effective, reconnue à la fois par l'ensemble des acteurs socio-économiques et les autorités administratives. Elles sont régies par un règlement intérieur ratifié par les signataires de leur assemblée constitutive.

Encadre 3. Manifeste pour la conservation de l'APC de Teunguène

Par le présent manifeste, six points sont pris en considération :

- 1 – La salubrité de la plage, face à l' A.P.C. de Teunguène
- 2 – La conservation des espèces animales et végétales de l'A.P.C. de Teunguène
- 3 – La protection des oiseaux migrateurs et sédentaires de l'A.P.C. de Teunguène et à son voisinage
- 4 – Les visites de l'A.P.C. de Teunguène
- 5 – La restauration et le suivi des populations végétales et animales de l'A.P.C. de Teunguène
- 6 - La vulgarisation du concept des Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire

1 – La salubrité de la plage

Avant d'être choisie pour devenir la première des Aires du Patrimoine Communautaire au monde, Teunguène était une île sacrée depuis des temps immémoriaux et le demeure. Par respect pour le site, la plage doit être maintenue dans un état de propreté qui en soit digne. Sans supprimer, ni restreindre les activités qui s'y tiennent traditionnellement, les déchets peuvent en être rassemblés à certains points afin d'en faciliter la collecte. Leur ramassage quotidien pourrait servir à alimenter une unité de compostage, également destinataire des ordures ménagères et eaux usées des riverains.

2 – La conservation des espèces animales et végétales

Une Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire doit être considérée comme une banque d'espèces vivantes, animales et végétales, dont il convient de respecter le capital afin de n'en utiliser que les intérêts. Ainsi, en évitant de prélever des poissons, des coquillages et des crustacés sur les rivages de l'île Teunguène, leur nombre augmentera et des individus viendront peupler des sites qu'ils avaient désertés et où ils pourront être pêchés à nouveau. Pour certaines espèces abondantes, des prélèvements pourront être autorisés sur l'île par l'Assemblée qui en fixera les quantités et les périodes de collecte. Il en est de même pour les végétaux, dont seules les semences ou des boutures pourront être emportées hors de l'A.P.C. pour d'éventuelle mises en culture à des fins utilitaires. Ces prélèvements seront soumis à l'autorisation de l'autorité gestionnaire désignée par l'Assemblée.

3 – La protection des oiseaux migrateurs et sédentaires

Les oiseaux marins ou terrestres qui fréquentent l'A.P.C. de Teunguène doivent être respectés quelle que soit leur espèce. Les plus vulnérables sont les migrateurs, comme certaines sternes auxquelles la réglementation internationale accorde une protection intégrale. Une attention particulière sera apportée à ces oiseaux par l'ensemble de la communauté lébou qui se déclare garante de leur sauvegarde sur son littoral.

4 – Les visites sur l'île

Tous les déplacements sur l'île passent obligatoirement par les sentiers qui y ont été tracés afin de préserver un couvert végétal particulièrement fragile. Les prélèvements, comme l'introduction, de plantes ou de tout autre élément vivant y sont soumis à une autorisation de l'Assemblée.

5 – Restauration et suivi des espèces animales et végétales

Les populations animales se reconstitueront sans apports nécessaires si les prélèvements sont suspendus suffisamment longtemps pour que les différentes espèces reconquièrent leur habitat à partir des colonies ou effectifs qui subsistent.

Pour les végétaux, des réintroductions seront tentées à partir d'individus prélevés parmi les espèces indigènes encore présentes dans le Parc national des îles de la Madeleine. Cette reconstitution du couvert végétal permettra, peut-être, la nidification d'oiseaux marins qui restituerait pleinement à Teunguène son caractère de patrimoine vivant.

6 – Vulgarisation du concept des Aires du Patrimoine communautaire

Les signataires de la Déclaration, qui ont ratifié le présent Manifeste pour la conservation de l'Aire du Patrimoine Communautaire de Teunguène, s'engagent à employer tous les moyens dont ils disposent pour informer et sensibiliser l'ensemble de la population à ce nouveau concept par la mise en œuvre d'un programme d'éducation relative à l'environnement et au développement durable.

Le présent Manifeste a été ratifié par l'Assemblée des signataires de la Déclaration de Teunguène à l'occasion de l'assemblée plénière du 6 février 1999.



Figure 2 : A Ker Cupaam les travaux dans la réserve s'ajoutent à des tâches quotidiennes déjà lourdes. (Courtoisie Jean Larivière)

A la suite du classement de l'APC de Teunguène, diverses mesures ont été aussitôt appliquées. L'arrêt de toute dépose du bétail sur l'île a été facilement consentie, dans la mesure où son exigüité et la pauvreté du pâturage ne pouvaient supporter qu'un nombre limité de bêtes. La décision la plus importante fut la suppression effective de la pêche à la dynamite, une pratique clandestine mais largement répandue qui ne peut être efficacement contrôlée que par autodiscipline entre pêcheurs. Désormais, toute capture par ce procédé est immédiatement reconnue et confisquée par les professionnels qui en sont témoins.

Par la suite, les usagers de la plage se sont mobilisés et les anciens qui, traditionnellement, passent la journée sous des abris aux endroits les plus fréquentés, ont exercé une surveillance et exprimé leur avis sur les activités dont ils étaient jusqu'alors les témoins passifs et silencieux. Leur rôle a été déterminant dans l'arrêt des prélèvements de sable de mer qui, tout le long du littoral, constitue un matériau de construction d'autant plus demandé que l'urbanisation sur la côte est en constante expansion.

Enfin, les maîtres-nageurs, chargés par la

municipalité de la sécurité des pêcheurs et baigneurs, ont pris une part active par leurs conseils aux mareyeuses qui, produisant une grande quantité de déchets rapidement putrescibles, contribuent à la pollution de la plage. Par ailleurs, leur contact permanent avec les enfants a permis que cesse la pêche des sternes contre laquelle les associa-

tions de protection des oiseaux luttait depuis des années.

Une expérience dupliquée

Le classement de l'île de Teunguène fut suivi, quelques mois plus tard de celui de la lagune de la Somone. Limitrophe de l'Espace naturel communautaire Kër Cupaam, la mangrove y avait été entièrement rasée en même temps que l'ancienne forêt classée de Poinguine et pour les mêmes raisons. En 1996, lors du lancement du programme de développement de l'Espace naturel communautaire de Kër Cupaam, les jeunes volontaires affiliés au collectif commencèrent à repiquer des palétuvier le long des rives, en progressant d'aval en amont. Actuellement, près d'une centaine d'hectares ont été restaurés. Deux ans plus tard, les huîtres, les moules et les crustacés réapparaissaient, tandis que les oiseaux aquatiques, migrateurs et sédentaires s'y réinstallaient en grand nombre. Afin de sauvegarder ces reconquêtes, les responsables de dix villages riverains ont décidé d'ériger la partie centrale de la lagune en APC. Ce statut leur permet d'en tirer un bénéfice direct, à la fois par l'exploitation raisonnée des ressources halieutiques et le contrôle des flux touristiques

venant du complexe hôtelier de Saly Portudal, tout proche.

Des objectifs différents mais convergents

Une autre lagune, située au nord de Kër Cupaam, à Pinthior, fut également classée en APC à la même époque. Très dégradée, elle était utilisée pour la pratique des sports mécaniques. Cependant, au vu de la restauration de la Somone, sa réhabilitation est en cours selon les mêmes méthodes afin que la nature y regagne ses droits.

Le principe fondamental est de ne rien interdire, ni de conditionner, a priori, mais au contraire d'inciter sans la moindre restriction toute initiative en faveur de la conservation d'un site naturel, même si celui-ci est dégradé au moment du classement. Sa restauration s'inscrit alors dans le plan d'action.

Tous les classements n'ont pas pour objectif immédiat la conservation, ou la restauration, du milieu naturel même s'ils y concourent. Ce fut ainsi le cas de la forêt de Sessene, dans la région de Fatick. Menacée par l'avancée des cultures, le statut d'APC permit de remettre en pratique l'ancienne tradition de vaine pâture. Le boisement fut sauvé d'une déforestation inéluctable, sans que les agriculteurs ne soient lésés.

L'APC du lac Ouye a également vocation agricole. Située à Malika, il s'agit de l'une des rares niayes (étang littoral) encore intactes des environs de Dakar. Bien que l'une de ses rives soit cultivée en maraîchage, c'est un important reposoir pour les flamants et de nombreux migrateurs paléarctiques. Le site est désormais protégé d'une urbanisation sauvage à laquelle l'exposait la proximité de la capitale.

Mais l'exemple le plus significatif est celui de Dindéfelo. Cette petite localité du Sénégal oriental, proche de la frontière de Guinée, est célèbre pour être l'unique cascade du pays. Ce site, voisin du Parc national du Niokolo Koba, avait fait l'objet pendant vingt ans, de plusieurs tentatives de classement en réserve

nationale. Les populations s'y étaient toujours fermement opposées, redoutant les mêmes expropriations que celles qui avaient accompagné l'extension du Parc national en 1968. Ces craintes furent encore ravivées à partir de 1988, lors de l'instauration du parc transfrontalier sénégal-guinéen de Niokolo-Badiar. En revanche, le classement en APC fut immédiatement accepté par le Comité rural et adopté par une association de jeunes avait déjà entrepris des mesures de sensibilisation pour la sauvegarde de la chute, mais aussi de la forêt-galerie attenante. Le secteur, d'un grand intérêt botanique et ornithologique qui en font l'un des hauts lieux de la biodiversité au Sénégal, est également fréquenté par des chimpanzés.

Les communautés locales, auxiliaires de la conservation

Contrairement aux aires protégées nationales, dont l'augmentation est toujours problématique au-delà d'un certain seuil pour des raisons budgétaires, le nombre des Aires du Patrimoine communautaire est pratiquement illimité dans une même région, dans la mesure où leur création et leur gestion sont assurées par les communautés locales selon les principes du transfert de compétences tels qu'ils figurent dans la loi de décentralisation⁵ du Sénégal.

Bien que cette notion figure dans de nombreuses recommandations, déclarations et conventions internationales de la dernière décennie⁶, ses applications ne sont pas encore généralisées. Pourtant, les APC peuvent aisément s'intégrer aux lois de décentralisation, lorsque ce n'est pas déjà le cas⁵. Elles participent ainsi au développement durable dans les domaines agricoles (pêche, chasse, cultures) et des petites et moyennes entreprises industrielles (artisanat et transformation).

Un autre de leurs avantages est leur valeur d'exemple et la souplesse de leur reproductibilité. L'expérience a montré qu'il suffisait qu'une communauté crée son APC pour que ses voisines soient tentées de l'imiter. La multiplica-

tion de proche en proche finit par former un réseau particulièrement fiable et sécurisant pour la mise en œuvre de programmes d'aides économiques sur des financements nationaux ou internationaux.

Il est en effet nécessaire d'accompagner tout classement en APC d'aides au développement économique, selon les attentes des populations, afin de leur procurer les moyens financiers nécessaires à une bonne gestion de leur APC. Cette démarche a été adoptée dans le programme de conservation des zones marines et côtières, initié par la Banque mondiale, et dans le projet que conduit l'Association Education et Santé, présidée par Madame Viviane Wade, au Sénégal oriental (Département de Kedougou). L'un et l'autre couvrent les quatre dimensions du développement durable, économique, social, conservation du patrimoine naturel et culturel.

Les APC dans le contexte international

Selon les critères actuels de l'UICN, les APC correspondent partiellement à la catégorie V, dans la mesure où la valeur culturelle du site



Figure 3: Ayant la charge de la gestion de la l'Esace Natural Communautaire de Ker Cupaam, ce sont les femmes qui tracent et entretiennent les pistes. Le plus gros travail des femmes est le défrichage du pare-feu sur les 12 km du périmètre terrestre de la réserve. (Courtoisie Jean Larivière)

intervient, avant ou après le classement, lorsqu'il s'agit de nommer le site. Ainsi, la plupart des APC portent le nom d'un génie local, ce qui contribue à la reviviscence des traditions locales que les jeunes générations ignorent généralement. La dimension culturelle est particulièrement importante dans ce contexte en rappelant également les savoirs et savoir-faire ancestraux dans la gestion des ressources naturelles.

L'avènement des APC s'inscrit dans l'émergence actuelle de la société civile, qui, contrairement à ce qui est généralement considéré, ne se compose pas seulement d'ONG et du secteur privé.

Plusieurs décennies de sensibilisation, l'impact des changements climatiques et un sous-développement endémique ont suscité une prise de conscience au sein des populations, même les plus isolées. Si, à Dindéfelo la volonté d'appropriation du territoire provient d'une réaction face à un éventuel classement administratif, le plus souvent, il s'agit de sauvegarder un bien communautaire menacé par l'arrivée de nouveaux habitants qui désirent y installer des cultures ou l'aménager pour d'autres usages.

Obstacles et avantages

A son plus haut niveau, le gouvernement s'est toujours montré favorable à ces initiatives conformes à la législation de décentralisation. En revanche, l'administration fonctionne encore sur une base centralisée qui hésite toujours à céder une par-

A son plus haut niveau, le gouvernement s'est toujours montré favorable à ces initiatives conformes à la législation de décentralisation. En revanche, l'administration fonctionne encore sur une base centralisée qui hésite toujours à céder une partie de son pouvoir aux régions, aux communes et aux communautés, dans un domaine qui lui était jusqu'alors réservé.

tie de son pouvoir aux régions, aux communes et aux communautés, dans un domaine qui lui était jusqu'alors réservé. Cependant, l'insuffisance des crédits et de personnels ne lui permet pas d'accroître, au même rythme, sa gestion sur des aires protégées en constante augmentation.

Les Agences régionales de développement à qui revient, entre autres, la protection de l'environnement et des ressources naturelles ont immédiatement perçu l'intérêt des APC qui leur ouvre un champ d'applications très large. A partir de réseaux d'APC, il est même envisagé de créer des espaces de développement durable fondés sur le modèle des parcs naturels régionaux.

Ce système permettrait de coordonner la conservation au niveau des régions, comme elle l'est au niveau national, en incluant dans un même périmètre les réserves ou parcs nationaux locaux, les sites Ramsar ou réserve de la Biosphère, s'il en existe dans le secteur, entourés d'un réseau d'APC qui en renforcerait la protection avec la collaboration effective des populations. Une telle organisation contribue au développement du tourisme par la multiplication des pôles d'intérêt dans une zone bien circonscrite et identifiée. Par ailleurs, en répondant à des normes précises, les productions agricoles et artisanales peuvent bénéficier d'un label qui en atteste la qualité, tant sur le marché local qu'à l'exportation.

Appréhendée sous cet angle, la conservation devient le principal moteur d'un développement durable, parce que les charges en sont largement réparties et les bénéfices équitablement partagés. Tous les éléments sont en place et les APC ont apporté une preuve que les communautés étaient prêtes à s'y engager.

Woulimata Thiaw, mère de famille, fondatrice et présidente du Regroupement des Femmes de Popenquine et du Collectif des Femmes pour la Nature, a été la principale animatrice des initiatives qui ont été à l'origine du concept des Aires du Patrimoine Communautaire. **Seydina Issa Sylla** (issawet@sentoo.sn) est actuellement Directeur Régional du Programme Afrique de Wetlands International, après avoir été Directeur des Parcs

Nationaux du Sénégal de 1987 à 1998, Vice-président de la Commission du Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO de 1987 à 1992 et Coordonnateur pour l'Afrique de la Convention de Ramsar. Il est aussi membre du CEESP/CMWG. **Jean Larivière** (j.lariviere@fnh.org) est Conseiller scientifique chargé des relations internationales de la Fondation Nicolas Hulot pour la Nature et l'Homme. Il est aussi Vice-président du Comité Français pour l'UICN et membre du groupe Action Internationale du Conseil National du Développement Durable.

Notes

¹ Regroupement des Femmes de Popenquine pour la Protection de la Nature – RFPPN.

² Bourse de la Fondation Nicolas Hulot pour la Nature et l'Homme (France).

³ Collectif des Femmes pour la Protection de la Nature – Co.Pro.Nat.

⁴ DGVIII/9 ENV (376 000 €).

⁵ *Loi 96-07*, du 22 mars 1996, portant transfert de compétence aux Régions, aux Communes et aux Communautés rurales : Chapitre II, articles 28, 29 et 30.

Décret 96-1134, du 27 décembre 1996, portant application de la loi portant transfert de compétence aux Régions, aux Communes et aux Communautés rurales en matière d'environnement et de gestion des ressources naturelles : Titre II, chapitre II, article 21. Titre IV, chapitre III, articles 44 et 50.

⁶ *Déclaration de Rio* : Principes 4, 9, 10, 11, 20, 21 et 2.

Action 21 : Articles 3.5, 3.7, 8.5 § (d) & (g), 8.16 § (a), 10.09 & 10, 11.12 § (a) & 13 § (i), 12.18 § (e & f), 12.27 § (a) & 55, 13.6 § (d) & 16 § (c), 14.16, 14.17 § (a), (b & c), 14. 18 § (b & d), 14.46 § (b), 15.4 § (b & g), 15.5 § (d, e, g, j & m), 17.74 § (b), 17.79 § (b), 17.81 § (a, b & c), 17.82, 25.12 & 14 § (c), 26.1, 26.3 § [a (i, ii, iii, iv, vi, vii) (c) 2.4 § (b), 26.5 § (a, b) & (c), 26.6 (a), 26.8, 26.9, 28.3, 32.4, 32.5 § (a, b), (c, d, e), 36.5 (n), 36.8, 36.9. *Convention sur la Diversité biologique* : Articles 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 et 13.

Convention sur la Désertification : Article 2.2, 5. § (d & e), 17 § (c), 18.2 § (a, b, c), & (d), 19.1 § (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j & k).

Déclaration du Millénaire : Articles 6 § (1, 2,5), 14, 20 § (1), 21, 22 & 23 § (2, 3, 4)

Nouveau Partenariat pour le Développement de l'Afrique (NEPAD) : Chapitres 4 § (6 & 5).

Déclaration de Johannesburg : Article 25 et 26.

Plan d'Action de Johannesburg : Points 6 § (e & h), 7 § (c, h, i, j), 9 § (b & c), 10 § (f), 31 § (c), 38 § (h), 40 § (e), 42 § (h, j, k, l, & m, 41 § (b, d, & e), 42 § (b, c, d, e, f, l, m, g, h, j & k), 43 § (h), 44 § (g, j, k & l), 64 § (c).

A “participatory” or a “rights-based” approach? Which is best for protected areas and indigenous peoples in the Philippines?

Maurizio Farhan Ferrari and Dave de Vera

The Philippines is regarded as one of the most active and progressive countries in Asia in terms of developing policies and laws recognising the rights of indigenous peoples and ensuring their participation in protected area (PA) management and decision-making. The National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act was signed into law in 1992 with the objective of developing a comprehensive protected areas system and integrating the participation of indigenous and local communities in protected areas management and decision-making. This Act embodies the “participatory” approach, which— for each specific PA— finds a concrete institutional expression in a Protected Area Management Board (PAMB), composed of the relevant government officers, NGOs, and local community representatives.

A contrasting “right-based” approach to community-based management of natural resources and conservation was introduced the following year, in 1993, via the Department of

Most indigenous communities are not recognized as legal local government units, a fact that denies to them representation in the PAMB

Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) Administrative Order No. 2 (DAO 2). This order allows for the delineation of ancestral domains and the issuance to indigenous communities of

Certificates of Ancestral Domain Claims (CADC) and Certificates of Ancestral Land Claims (CALC). These claims are not titles but



Figure 1: A bay of Coron Island (Courtesy Maurizio Farhan Ferrari)

provide that indigenous holders have some degree of control concerning what is going to happen in their territories. The right-based approach was further strengthened in October 1997 with the issuance of the long-awaited Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) by President Ramos. One of the IPRA’s features is the granting of a collective right to land through the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) and of individual rights through the Certificate of Ancestral Land Title (CALT).

Since the passing of these acts and orders, both the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches have emerged. In many cases, the NIPAS Act improved the participation of indigenous and local communities in protected areas management and decision-making. Several NGOs and CBOs, however, point out that in other cases the protected areas management boards have not been functioning

effectively due to a number of limitations, varying from lack of documents in local languages and resources for meetings and workshops, to the fact that the PAMB's chairperson is a government officer and local people tend to be shy and refrain from voicing their concerns in the presence of government officials. In other words, the decision-making power remains still firmly in government hands and, although most proposed PAs are within ancestral domains, more often than not, non-Indigenous persons dominate the composition of the PAMB.

Concerning IPRA, while many indigenous groups still consider it a legal instrument that can be used to protect their rights, others have called for repeal of the law. Those opposed to the law point out its theoretical and practical ambiguities, especially related to the confusing presence of ancestral domains in CADTs and ancestral lands in CALTs, the latter being individual claims which open to door to

the transfer and commercialisation of indigenous lands. In addition, the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) has been criticised as not truly representing indigenous peoples (some of the commissioners were appointed by the President without proper consultation and, especially under the Estrada administration, were either corrupt or inefficient, or both).

The NCIP underwent radical restructuring during 2001 and a new set of Commissioners selected through a more participatory process at the provincial, regional and national levels was instituted in mid-2001. With newly infused enthusiasm, President Gloria Magapagal-Arroyo announced in her Presidential Address to the

The Coron indigenous community decided to stand by a rights-based law (IPRA) to support a community-conserved area (CCA). The alternative would have been for them to "participate" in a government-led initiative for the co-management of a state-declared PA following the NIPAS law.

Nation that 100,000 ha of Certificates of Ancestral Domain Titles (CADT) would be awarded yearly. Due to lack of appropriate budget and other internal weaknesses, however, only two CADTs were awarded by the end of 2002. The Chair of the Commission was replaced again at the beginning of 2003. While there is still hope that the NCIP will truly work in the interest of indigenous peoples, there is also a feeling that many unresolved issues need to be ironed out and that the NCIP must be strengthened in terms of human, institutional and financial resources

One case in point is particularly illustrative of the posi-

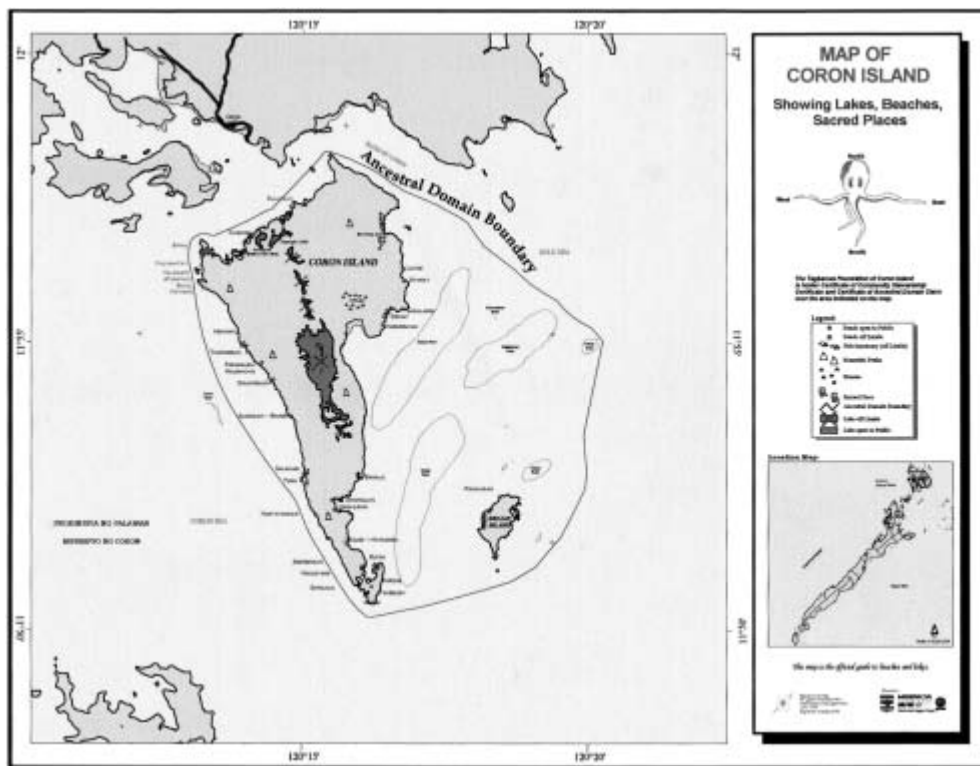


Figure 2: A map of Coron island showing the ancestral domain title of the Tagbanwa. (Courtesy Saragpunta Foundation and PAFID)



Figure 3: The Kayangan lake is the only lake in Coron Island that is open to visitors. It has been awarded the award of cleanest lake of the Philippines 2 or 3 times during the past few years but the Tagbanwa people state that their other lakes, which are all sacred, are cleaner than this one. The other lakes can be visited extremely seldom and only for a special reason. (Courtesy Maurizio Farhan Ferrari)

tive way in which the IPRA can be used, but also of the possible conflict between the NIPAS Act and the IPRA Act. This is the case of Coron, one of the Calamianes Islands of North Palawan.

The Tagbanwa people of Coron Island have been living on a stunningly beautiful limestone island surrounded by water once rich in marine resources, their main source of their livelihood. By the mid-1980s, lacking secure legal tenure over these environments, they were fast losing control over their terrestrial and marine resources because of increas-

ing encroachment by migrant fishers, tourism entrepreneurs, politicians seeking land deals, and government agencies interested in controlling various resources of the island. The situation was so serious that the Tagbanwa came to face food shortages. They reacted by organising themselves into the Tagbanwa Foundation of Coron Island (TFCI)¹ and applying for a Community Forest Stewardship Agreement (CFSA). In 1990, they were awarded a CFSA covering the whole of Coron Island and a neighbouring small island named Delian. Altogether, the CFSA included 7,748 hectares. It soon became clear to the Tagbanwa that their main source of livelihood, the marine waters surrounding the island (over which they had no control), were being degraded at an alarming rate by dynamite, cyanide and other illegal and destructive fishing methods.

With passage of the DENR's DAO2 in 1992, the way was cleared for the Tagbanwa to attempt to gain some degree of control over both terrestrial and marine resources through pursuing a right based approach to community resource manage-

The Tagbanwa are determined to manage Coron Island's resources in a sustainable manner. . . . forest resources are only used for domestic needs (home building material, food and medicinal plants) and cases of illegal logging (as happened in the past) are no longer tolerated. [. . .] The management plan for the lake includes a limited number of tourists per day and minimal impact on the environment. The main environmental and social issue they want to address is destructive fishing in the waters surrounding the island and rehabilitation of the coral reef ecosystem.

ment. With the help of a national NGO, the Philippine Association for Inter-cultural Development (PAFID), they managed to obtain by 1998 their Certificate of Ancestral Domain

Claim (CADC). It was the first such certificate in the country that included both land and marine waters, for a total of 22,284 ha. They then continued the process to regain full rights over the island by requesting a CADT through the use of the IPRA. They produced high quality mapping of their territories and an Ancestral Domain Sustainable Management Plan. On these basis, they successfully obtained a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) in early 2001. As TFCI Chairman Aguilar puts it 'we are a living example of how IPRA can be used successfully by indigenous peoples'.² And yet, given that all CADT were put under review with the restructuring of the NCIP in mid-2001, this title is still under review.

The Tagbanwas' CADC and CADT were put to prompt use when Coron Island was selected as one of eight sites to be incorporated into the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS). The ultimate intention of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) was (and still is) to gazette

the whole of Coron Island as a protected area, but this has so far not materialised because the Tagbanwa fear that they would lose control over the island despite promises of majority participation in its PAMB. Having gained a title of ancestral domain over the island, they prefer to maintain their right-based approach to resource management rather than accepting an uncertain participatory approach through the PAMB. One of the main reasons mentioned by the Tagbanwa for their refusal of the NIPAP project is the fact that Coron Island was selected as one of the sites for the project without any consultation with them and without seeking their prior informed consent.

The Tagbanwa used an innovative law that recognises indigenous peoples' property rights and customary law (despite its limitations) in an initiative that could be broadly defined as a CCA. They rejected a government plan to gazette the island as a PA. In this sense, this is actually a case of conflict between a CCA and a PA, which could be avoided or settled if governments would recognise and accept the value of CCAs and see them as a valid complement to conventional PAs.

Several other indigenous communities in other parts of the country are also looking at titles of ancestral domain over land and water as a tool to secure their rights to land and marine resources.

The Tagbanwa's experience illustrates the potential conflicts between the NIPAS and the IPRA. Here an indigenous community decided to stand by a rights-based law (IPRA) to support a community-conserved area (CCA). The alternative would have been for them to "participate" in a government-led initiative for



Figure 4: Members of a Tagbanwa community with a tri-dimensional map they created of their own island. (Courtesy Maurizio Farhan Ferrari)

the co-management of a state-declared PA following the NIPAS law. This brings to the fore important questions in conservation policy that are likely to enrich the debate at the 5th World Parks Congress in September 2003. How can the conservation efforts of local communities (such as CCAs) be recognised and protected? Do they need legal recognition? How can they complement more conventional state-declared PAs and under what conditions are they an effective substitute?

The experience of the Tagbanwa of Coron Island illustrates that in the current legislative and political context of the Philippines, when an indigenous community is strongly determined to protect its natural resources and rights, when a legal framework supports their rights, and when needed assistance is available from NGOs, action can be effectively taken to obtain recognition of existing rights and protect local ecosystems.

The Tagbanwa are determined to manage Coron Island's resources in a sustainable manner. As a result of the CFSA, for example, forest resources are only used for domestic needs (home building material, food and medicinal plants) and cases of illegal logging (as happened in the past) are no longer tolerated. The first step in the implementation of the Ancestral Domain Management Plan, which started in 2002, concerns an eco-tourism project in Lake Kayangan, the only lake to be open to the public among the eleven found on the island. The management plan for the lake includes a limited number of tourists per day and minimal impact on the environment. Before the Tagbanwa took control of the project, tourist operators from nearby Coron town (located on another island) used to bring any number of tourists to the island with little concern for garbage disposal and carrying capacity. The main environmental and social issue the Tagbanwa want to address is to put an end to destructive fishing in the waters surrounding the island and rehabilitation of the

coral reef ecosystem, an effort which may require assistance by government departments, NGOs and other relevant agencies.

The Coron Island case also shows that for indigenous peoples it may be more effective to bank upon the rights-based approach to biodiversity management and thus obtain a private community title through IPRA, rather than to accept a participatory approach as offered by NIPAS. From their perspective, the latter may merely result in a long series of problems related to the issue of who really holds power within a participatory arrangement. This experience also illustrates the dichotomy between official, state-declared protected areas versus community-conserved areas. The Tagbanwa used an innovative law that recognises indigenous peoples' property rights and customary law (despite its limitations) in an initiative that could be broadly defined as a CCA and rejected a government plan to gazette the island as a PA. In this sense, it is actually a case of conflict between a CCA and a PA, which could be avoided or settled if governments started to recognise and accept the value of CCAs and see them as a valid complement to conventional PAs.

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Notes

¹ Established in 1985

² M. Ferrari's interview with Mr Rodolfo Aguilar, Chairperson of the Tagbanwa Foundation for Coron Island, 29 May 2001.

Un ejemplo de conservación bio-cultural— el Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua-Indiwasi en Colombia

Germán Zuluaga, José Ignacio Giraldo y Marcela Jiménez Larrarte

El Piedemonte amazónico colombiano, localizado en la franja de transición que une la extensa llanura amazónica con la vertiente oriental de la cordillera andina, es uno de los ecosistemas más importantes de Suramérica. Desde el punto de vista biológico, es una de las regiones con mayor biodiversidad en el mundo, y desde el punto de vista cultural, se trata de un territorio en el que habitan varios grupos indígenas especializados en chamanismo y en el conocimiento de plantas medicinales. Estos grupos indígenas encarnan la denominada "cultura del yagé". Esta zona está amenazada por severos procesos de colonización, deforestación, cultivos ilícitos, proyectos petroleros, mineros y energéticos y por graves problemas de orden público, lo que permite prever a corto plazo una catástrofe ambiental de grandes proporciones, al igual que el riesgo de desaparición de los pueblos indígenas.

Los grupos indígenas del Piedemonte amazónico son culturas cuyos sistemas tradicionales de producción y de vida dependen de una tenencia segura de sus territorios y de la protección que estos reciban. Estas son condiciones indispensables para asegurar la sostenibilidad de las formas productivas como fundamento del desarrollo social, garantizar que cualquier incorporación de las comunidades a la economía de mercado sea equitativa, y permitir que la fauna y la flora sigan formando parte vital de la cosmovisión de esos grupos.

En este contexto se inscribe el proceso para la creación de un Área Especial de Conservación Biocultural¹ en la región del Fragua, Caquetá, adelantado en el marco de un convenio suscrito en mayo de 1999 entre la



Figura 1. Taitas de varias etnias pertenecientes a la UMIYAC reunidos en Yurayaco – Caquetá – Colombia (Cortesía Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna)

Asociación de Cabildos Inganos Tandachiridu Inganokuna, la ONG Amazon Conservation Team (ACT) y la Unidad de Parques Nacionales Naturales. Este proceso se sustenta en una concepción según la cual la diversidad biológica y la diversidad cultural son interdependientes, es decir, la conservación de la biodiversidad no es posible sin la participación de los actores que habitan en los ecosistemas amenazados y, a su vez, la diversidad cultural depende de que los grupos étnicos tengan acceso a sus territorios ancestrales y puedan seguir reproduciendo sus modos tradicionales de vida.

Por otra parte, en el marco de la Ley de Ordenamiento Territorial, las autoridades ambientales del orden nacional, regional y local están obligadas a desarrollar los planes de ordenamiento y manejo territorial. Lo anterior plantea algunas consideraciones de importancia para los pueblos indígenas:

Las comunidades indígenas pueden constituir asociaciones de cabildos, que son entidades

de derecho público. En consecuencia las autoridades tradicionales adquieren el carácter de autoridades públicas, con facultades de autoridad ambiental, con el compromiso de participar en los programas de ordenamiento y conservación del medio ambiente.

En virtud del Artículo 56 Transitorio y del Decreto 1088 de 1993, los territorios colectivos representados por los cabildos en sus asociaciones son entidades territoriales de carácter público y por lo tanto están sujetos a la reglamentación propia de los planes de ordenamiento territorial.

Las asociaciones de cabildos deben desarrollar sus correspondientes planes de desarrollo que, para los pueblos indígenas, son "planes de vida" en los cuales debe contemplarse el régimen de manejo ambiental.

Finalmente dada la alta coincidencia entre áreas protegidas y territorios indígenas², que todavía es fuente de conflictos para el manejo de los recursos naturales y la administración de estas áreas, el proceso que aquí se presenta constituye un esfuerzo interinstitucional para el desarrollo de una política ambiental en las áreas protegidas y el bienestar de las comunidades indígenas que en ellas habitan.

El pueblo ingano y su territorio

Los inganos son descendientes de varias etnias indígenas: los grupos migratorios que llegaron al Piedemonte amazónico colombiano procedentes del Amazonas peruano y ecuatoriano, los indígenas mocoas que habitaban en el bajo Putumayo, y algunos sobrevivientes de los andakíes, indígenas combativos que nunca aceptaron someterse al dominio de los conquistadores. Los inganos tienen su principal asentamiento en el Valle de Sibundoy, localizado en el Alto río Putumayo (2.200 msnm), y además habitan territorios rurales de los departamentos de Putumayo, Caquetá y Cauca. Su espíritu trashumante los ha llevado a grandes ciudades de Colombia y a otros paí-

ses vecinos. En los últimos años han demostrado una gran recuperación demográfica y se calcula que en total hay unos 35.000 inganos en el territorio colombiano.

En la actualidad hablan la lengua inga, de la familia lingüística quechua. No hay conocimiento exacto de la lengua original que empleaban sus antepasados, tanto amazónicos como mocoas y andakíes. Con la nueva ola colonizadora de principios de siglo y la presencia de los misioneros capuchinos, los inganos quedaron aislados y fragmentados en cinco grupos: a) los que habitan en el Valle de Sibundoy, b) los que viven en las regiones vecinas a Mocoa, en el Bajo Putumayo, c) los habitantes de la Bota Caucana, d) los que por migraciones viven en pueblos de Nariño, Valle, Amazonas o incluso en algunas grandes ciudades de Colombia y de países vecinos y e) los que viven en la región del Fragua en el Caquetá.

Esta región, además de poseer una altísima diversidad natural, ha sido considerada como centro de diversidad cultural y de manejo ambiental a partir de patrones culturales. En siglos pasados, la región del Piedemonte fue un lugar de encuentro de los sabios indígenas de diversos pueblos amazónicos y andinos que se reunían para compartir sus conocimientos sobre la naturaleza y su concepción del mundo. En efecto distintos clanes unidos por paisajes, cosmovisiones, sistemas tradicionales de producción y sobre todo por el yagé³, su planta sagrada, desarrollaron durante tres siglos diversas estrategias de supervivencia y adaptación, como la adopción de una sola lengua, el quechua o inga, y su ubicación estratégica en lugares de enlace entre tierras altas y tierras bajas amazónicas.

La conservación de la biodiversidad no es posible sin la participación de los actores que habitan en los ecosistemas amenazados y, a su vez, la diversidad cultural depende de que los grupos étnicos tengan acceso a sus territorios ancestrales y puedan seguir reproduciendo sus modos tradicionales de vida

En este nuevo contexto clanes sibundoyes, mocoas, andakíes, limoneños, yunguileños, cundagüenses y fragüeños se reconstituyeron como un solo grupo ante la mirada nacional: el pueblo inga. Sus territorios de uso, ocupación y trashumancia reconquistados por las migraciones del siglo XX se han conservado en buen estado tanto debido a que las presiones colonizadoras se han atenuado, como a lo inhóspito de la región. Solo una mínima parte de estos territorios ancestrales son hoy reconocidos como "resguardos" (un "resguardo" es un territorio indígena legalmente reconocido bajo derechos colectivos). Otros son asentamientos indígenas sin reconocimiento, y la mayoría son ocupados por la colonización indiscriminada o son considerados como *tierras baldías*; estando por tanto amenazados por la explotación y la ocupación inminente.

En la actualidad los inganos están localizados en la región del Fragua en cinco resguardos y en la Bota caucana con 17 comunidades y asentamientos. En el Caquetá conforman la

La conservación de la biodiversidad no es posible sin la participación de los actores que habitan en los ecosistemas amenazados y, a su vez, la diversidad cultural depende de que los grupos étnicos tengan acceso a sus territorios ancestrales y puedan seguir reproduciendo sus modos tradicionales de vida

Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna reconocida por la Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas del Ministerio del Interior. La Asociación desarrolla su Plan de Vida orientado al fortalecimiento de los cinco derechos de los pueblos indígenas: identidad, autonomía, participación, desarrollo y territorio. En este contexto los inganos, consideran que "el indio sin tierra está muerto" por lo que han propuesto una estrategia de recuperación y consolidación territorial,

incluyendo sus actuales asentamientos y resguardos, pero también los territorios ancestrales perdidos por la colonización.

En sus distintos congresos, la Asociación ha

identificado como sus principales problemas territoriales los siguientes:

Los resguardos y asentamientos son muy pequeños y no permiten la autosubsistencia.

Los territorios inganos se encuentran atomiza-



Figura 2. Panorámica del parque (Cortesía Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna - Jose Ignacio Giraldo)

dos, fragmentados y dispersos entre sí, lo que impide la unidad territorial, ambiental y productiva.

El estado actual de los resguardos refleja un grave deterioro ambiental, con una severa disminución de los recursos genéticos de sus bosques.

Los actuales territorios inganos están expuestos a amenazas ambientales: cultivos ilícitos, exploraciones petroleras, tala indiscriminada de bosques y propuestas de megaproyectos.

Los inganos han perdido la continuidad y comunicación con algunos de sus territorios ancestrales y sagrados, ubicados en el Piedemonte amazónico.

Partiendo de esta problemática territorial, la Asociación conforma un comité territorial y en 1998 establece un Convenio para el establecimiento de un Área Especial de Protección en la región del río Fragua con el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, la Unidad de Parques y

Amazon Conservation Team, en el marco de la Alianza Ambiental por Colombia.

Dicho Convenio se sustenta en una serie de premisas fundamentales, a saber:

El Piedemonte amazónico incluye un mosaico de ecosistemas que comprende desde las grandes alturas andinas, hasta el comienzo de la gran planicie selvática. Por tanto, es importante ejecutar una estrategia para mantener la comunicación geográfica, biológica y cultural entre tierras altas andinas y tierras bajas amazónicas.

La diversidad biológica y la diversidad cultural son componentes de dicha estrategia.

El ordenamiento ambiental y territorial debe hacerse desde dos perspectivas: la caracterización biológica (aguas, flora, fauna y paisajes) y la caracterización cultural, basada en los sistemas de conocimiento indígena.

Este proceso debe ser manejado de manera íntegra, de tal forma que trascienda las divisiones territoriales administrativas de Nariño, Cauca, Putumayo y Caquetá.

De acuerdo con el testimonio oral de los ancianos, los chamanes andakíes, mocoas e inganos recorrían la región del Fragua para la extracción de productos útiles de la selva, pero sobre todo para la práctica de sus ceremonias y rituales; en efecto, la región del río Fragua es endémica en yagé, yoco y otras plantas medicinales, y posee lugares sagrados y míticos de referencia constante durante sus cantos y trances.

El problema ambiental está ligado a situaciones sociales conflictivas y complejas: guerrilla, paramilitares, cultivos ilícitos, explotación maderera y petróleo.

La estrategia debe buscar una concertación entre los distintos actores de la región: comunidades indígenas, colonos, organizaciones no gubernamentales, entidades estatales y actores del conflicto armado.

Bajo estos presupuestos se comienza entonces un diagnóstico territorial, ambiental, social y cultural



Figura 3. Mujer ingana (Cortesía Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna - Jose Pablo Jaramillo)

de los resguardos, asentamientos y territorios ancestrales, los resultados del cual se entregan al Ministerio del Medio Ambiente en septiembre de 2001.

Caracterización biológica del territorio ancestral ingano

El proyecto para el establecimiento de un área especial de conservación y manejo sostenible en la región del río Fragua se inició con un diagnóstico de ordenamiento ambiental del área propuesta, mediante el establecimiento de un sistema de información geográfica. Se conformó el Comité Territorial de la Asociación *Tandachiridu Inganokuna*, integrado por siete miembros representantes de los distintos cabildos, con la coordinación de Álvaro Mutumbajoy, gobernador de San Miguel del Fragua y asesorado por el profesional Ignacio Giraldo. El programa territorial fue puesto en consideración del Cabildo Mayor, los cabildos

menores y la comunidad en general. El asesor del programa adelantó la recolección de cartografía internacional, nacional y regional, para establecer un archivo preliminar y tener un punto de referencia en las salidas de campo.

El Comité realizó siete expediciones siguiendo el trayecto de los ríos de la región, con una duración de entre diez y quince días cada una. Dichas salidas estuvieron acompañadas de ceremonias rituales de yagé, y en algunas de ellas participaron miembros del Cabildo Mayor, de los cabildos menores, de otros comités del Plan de Vida, de cabildos vecinos de la Bota caucana y representantes de la Unión de Médicos Indígenas de la Amazonía Colombiana (UMIYAC). El Comité trabajó a partir de los siguientes elementos metodológicos para la recolección de datos en cada una de las expediciones realizadas:

Geo-referenciación del territorio (GPS)

Conformación de grupos para la elaboración de mapas por temas específicos: ríos y quebradas, aves, mamíferos, plantas medicinales, predios ocupados, sitios sagrados, estado de conservación, materia prima para artesanías y árboles maderables.

Apoyo en la base cartográfica: fotografías satelitales, sistema geográfico de la Unidad de Parques Nacionales, Atlas Cultural Amazónico e información general del Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi.

En las expediciones, que se efectuaron entre mayo y junio de 2001, se examinó el estado actual de las cuencas hidrográficas, el grado de deforestación del bosque, los usos del suelo, los predios y propietarios cercanos. Durante catorce días se logró determinar el límite del área que se quiere proteger y la posible ampliación del Parque Nacional Cueva de Los Guacharos. Se recorrió la cuenca del río Pescado, que nace en los Picos de la Fragua y atraviesa el municipio de Belén de los Andaquíes, para luego desembocar en las aguas del Río Caquetá. Esta cuenca se encuentra en óptimas condiciones, con un 80% de bosque primario que garantiza la

regulación del cauce del río y la producción de agua para todas las poblaciones que se encuentra a su paso. Para complementar la información obtenida de los ríos visitados se llevó a cabo una expedición que se denominó *entre ríos*, con el fin de establecer el estado actual de las tierras que están entre uno y otro río. Esta expedición se realizó en mayo de 2001 y tuvo como objetivo de tener mayor claridad sobre el uso y manejo de las tierras en la zona de amortiguación del área especial de conservación. Se lograron identificar los predios que limitan con el área, sus actividades agrícolas y el tiempo de tenencia de las tierras. Se geo-referenciaron todos los predios y se obtuvo una valoración actual de cada uno de los ellos.

Caracterización biológica con el Instituto Von Humboldt

El Programa de Inventarios de Biodiversidad del Instituto de Investigaciones de Recursos Biológicos Alexander Von Humboldt efectuó, en convenio con la Unidad de Parques Nacionales y la Asociación de Cabildos *Tandachiridu Inganokuna*, la *Caracterización biológica del Territorio Indígena Ingano, municipio de San José del Fragua, departamento del Caquetá*. Dicho estudio se hizo en tres transectos en la región del río Fragua entre agosto y septiembre de 2000, con un equipo integrado por miembros del Instituto y el Comité Territorial ingano. Después de examinar los indicadores biológicos de fauna y flora, se entregó un informe final, que destacan los siguientes puntos:

1. En un contexto geográfico regional, los transectos estudiados se ubican en la zona de

El Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua — Indiwasi es el primer Parque constituido en territorio ancestral indígena a través de una declaratoria promovida y solicitada por las mismas comunidades indígenas inganas, lo cual condujo desde el inicio al establecimiento de un sistema de coordinación intercultural orientado por el conocimiento chamánico para el manejo y la administración del área.

En la experiencia surgida en el Fragua se dio vida al concepto de territorio indígena como algo que trasciende el derecho de propiedad sobre la tierra y que se ubica más bien en el concepto de hábitat.

mejor estado de conservación de la Cordillera Oriental, considerando la extensión y el bajo nivel de fragmentación de los bosques existentes.

3. Considerando tanto los resultados de *Rubiaceae* y *Melastomataceae* como los de plantas leñosas en general, se puede afirmar que en la región del río Yurayaco se encuentra uno de los bosques subandinos más diversos del país.

4. Vale la pena destacar, en los transectos de estudio, la presencia de una especie de *Magnoliaceae*, del género *Talauma*, que reviste gran importancia dado que la mayoría de las especies de esta familia han sido categorizadas como amenazadas.

5. Se confirmó la presencia, entre muchas otras, de dos especies de aves que sólo estaban registradas en las cercanías del río Napo en Ecuador. Estas son el colibrí *Campylopterus villaviscencio* y el hormiguero *Myrmotherula spodionata*.

6. Otro registro importante es el de *Tinamus osgoodi*, ave amenazada en peligro crítico de extinción a nivel global y nacional.

8. La presencia de ciertas especies de mariposas refleja una biota mucho mejor conservada y es evidencia de que la zona presenta una gran influencia amazónica.

10. La fauna de hormigas y otros insectos de la región de Fragua es rica, en comparación con muestreos similares que se han realizado en otras zonas de la misma vertiente de la Cordillera Oriental.

11. Los resultados biológicos obtenidos en el transecto Fragua y el análisis comparativo regional con otros transectos de muestreo realizados por el Gema, ratifican la importancia biológica del suroriente de la Cordillera Oriental.

Caracterización histórica y cultural del territorio ancestral ingano

El las siete expediciones siguiendo el trayecto de los ríos de la región además se hizo una caracterización cultural del territorio mediante la identificación de fauna y flora con énfasis en animales para cacería y plantas medicinales, y la incorporación de los códigos culturales y chamánicos que permiten conocer la cosmovisión indígena, los traslapes invisibles de ocupación y manejo del territorio y la ubicación de sus santuarios y lugares sagrados para constituirlos en núcleo del área protegida.

El reconocimiento de los territorios ancestrales del pueblo ingano del Caquetá se ha realizado a través de tres fuentes: a) las fuentes bibliográficas, b) el testimonio oral de los ancianos y c) la exploración directa, llevada a cabo por el equipo territorial de la Asociación Tandachiridu Inganokuna. La región del río Fragua ha sido territorio ocupado por poblaciones indígenas desde el siglo X de nuestra era, tal como lo confirman diversos estudios arqueológicos. Un estudio arqueológico en la zona de Belén de los Andakíes, Fragua Chorroso y San José del Fragua confirma hallazgos de cerámica precolombina en tres complejos habitacionales⁴. El primero de estos complejos fue asociado a los andakíes del Alto Caquetá⁵.

La primera exploración de colonizadores españoles la región fue realizada en 1542 por Hernán Pérez de Quesada, quien encontró la región habitada por numerosos pueblos indígenas a los que denominan "indios palenques"; fue Pérez de Quesada el que bautizó a esta región con el nombre de *Fragua*, debido al calor intenso y a que allí fraguaron los caballos⁶. Según Castellvi, los habitantes de ese triángulo descrito por Pérez eran andakíes⁷, y el pueblo Valladolid descrito por los cronistas correspondería al actual municipio de Puerto Limón⁸. En la Misión San José del Puerto, sobre el río Pescado, se reporta la presencia y el bautismo de indígenas andakíes para el año de 1778⁹. Numerosas crónicas e



Figura 4. Ave del parque (Cortesía Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna - Jose Ignacio Giraldo)

informes de misiones en los siglos XVIII y XIX confirman la presencia de andakíes en un amplio espacio de la vertiente oriental de la Cordillera Oriental, entre los ríos Caguán, al norte, y Caquetá, al sur.

Los capuchinos llegaron a la región del Piedemonte amazónico colombiano en 1904 y se instalaron paulatinamente en Sibundoy, Mocoa y Florencia, desde donde extendieron su labor misionera a toda la región. Aparecen las primeras excursiones que relatan las costumbres de los indios¹⁰, y ya se habla de la presencia de inganos, un pueblo que no figuraba como tal en la literatura de siglos anteriores. Las investigaciones históricas posteriores han permitido concluir que los actuales inganos son el resultado de una reconfiguración étnica entre indígenas mocoas (habitantes del valle del río Mocoa) y andakíes, quienes al verse derrotados militarmente, adoptaron una estrategia de adaptación a las misiones y adoptaron la lengua quechua o inga que actualmente emplean.

De acuerdo con el testimonio oral de los ancianos, los chamanes andakíes, mocoas e inganos recorrían la región del Fragua para la extracción de productos útiles de la selva, pero sobre todo para la práctica de sus ceremonias

y rituales; en efecto, la región del río Fragua es endémica en yagé, yoco y otras plantas medicinales, y posee lugares sagrados y míticos de referencia constante durante sus cantos y trances.

Aunque los diversos sitios de asentamiento de las comunidades inganos tenían continuidad geográfica y de uso con las partes altas de la cordillera, años más tarde el gobierno Colombiano les reconoce resguardos limitados en extensión sobre la parte baja únicamente, dejando fuera las zonas altas que pasaron a considerarse *tierras baldías*, a pesar de su continuo uso por parte de los inganos. Varios testimonios confirman la presencia histórica de los inganos en las zonas altas del Fragua. Así, el Taita Roberto Jacanamijoy¹¹ asentado en Yurayaco, confirma ser descendiente directo de los andakíes y relata que durante las ceremonias chamánicas entra en contacto con andakíes que viven en las cabeceras de los ríos Fragua, Fragueta y Yurayaco. De igual modo, dice que una parte importante de su aprendizaje lo realiza en estas regiones, en donde consigue los objetos ceremoniales, tales como plumas, chaquiras, semillas y plantas alrededor de los sitios sagrados conocidos con el nombre de *salados*.

En 1999, el Taita Laureano Becerra¹², actualmente la autoridad tradicional más importante de los inganos del Caquetá, relata con detalle los caminos que los inganos habían establecidos en las montañas del Fragua, para comunicarse secretamente entre Yurayaco, San Miguel del Fragua, Puerto Limón, Yunguillo, Cundagua y Mocoa.

Las expediciones realizadas por el Comité Territorial, además de coleccionar información biológica, permitieron recolectar la información

La experiencia seguramente contribuirá al futuro reconocimiento de ese territorio como resguardo indígena.

cultural que confirma el uso territorial ancestral de la zona. Los siguientes fueron los resultados más importantes¹³:

La región está surcada con caminos señalados por plantas sagradas y medicinales, tales como el yoco y el yagé.

La región tiene un altísimo endemismo de plantas medicinales y sagradas, conocidas por los inganos en su propio idioma y que todavía utilizan en sus prácticas médicas.

Se identificaron varios lugares sagrados, coincidentes con el testimonio de los abuelos. En especial se destacan los *salados* del Loro, la Danta, el Cerrillo y el Venado, distribuidos a lo largo y ancho del área propuesta.

Así mismo, en las expediciones se rescató la toponimia indígena de los diferentes ríos y quebradas en función de su ubicación, contenido simbólico de importancia para la supervivencia cultural.

Finalmente, durante las expediciones, los inganos realizaron ceremonias de yagé que les permitieron identificar los espíritus o seres invisibles (dueños de la selva), quienes debido a la colonización se habían refugiado en las montañas del Fragua.

Así pues, el territorio histórico de ocupación, uso y comunicación de los inganos y sus ancestros, en la zona alta del Fragua no les fue reconocido a los indígenas, por lo cual estos quedaron relegados a las partes más bajas. No obstante, la región del río Fragua sigue siendo importante para la cultura material, simbólica y espiritual del pueblo ingano del Caquetá y hoy se considera que, además de su importancia biológica, la recuperación de este territorio es necesaria para la supervivencia de la cultura indígena y de sus conocimientos y prácticas médicas.

Alianzas interinstitucionales

Con todas las expediciones adelantadas, la información colectada de la región del río



Figura 5. Taita José Becerra. Ingaño (Cortesía Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna - Jose Pablo Jaramillo)

Fragua y la caracterización biológica y cultural terminada, se realizó un taller final desde el 26 al 30 de agosto de 2001 en el resguardo de San Miguel del Fragua, cuyo objetivo era presentar el trabajo efectuado por el Comité Territorial. Este evento logró reunir a representantes de las diversas instituciones y organizaciones involucradas en el proceso, construyéndose así una verdadera alianza para la creación del área especial de conservación. Estas instituciones son: Amazon Conservation Team, el Instituto de Etnobiología, el Instituto Alexander Von Humboldt, la Umiyac, la Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu

Inganokuna y la Unidad de Parques Nacionales. Finalizado el trabajo de campo, se inició la fase de digitalización de la información cartográfica obtenida hasta el momento y la construcción del Sistema de Información Geográfico –SIG, incluyendo variables culturales, ambientales y geofísicas, con la elaboración de mapas territoriales, culturales y biológicos. Por último, se realizó una *consulta previa* en noviembre de 2001 para la creación del Área Especial de Conservación Biocultural, la cual contó con la participación de funcionarios de la Unidad de Parques Nacionales, el Ministerio del Interior - oficina de Asuntos Indígenas y las autoridades de la Asociación de Cabildos Tandachiridu Inganokuna. El proceso descrito condujo a la declaratoria por parte del gobierno de Colombia, el 25 de febrero de 2002, del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua – Indiwasi, sobre una extensión de 680 mil hectáreas.

Conclusión: la trascendencia jurídica y política del establecimiento del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua-Indiwasi de Colombia¹⁴

La declaración del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua – Indiwasi es un hecho de política ambiental sin precedentes en la historia del Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia. Es el primer Parque constituido en territorio ancestral indígena a través de una

declaratoria promovida y solicitada por las mismas comunidades indígenas inganas, lo cual condujo desde el inicio al establecimiento de un sistema de coordinación intercultural orientado por el conocimiento chamánico para el manejo y la admi-

La Constitución de Colombia asigna a las áreas del Sistema de Áreas Protegidas los atributos de inalienabilidad, inembargabilidad e imprescriptibilidad. Los mismos atributos se reconocen a las tierras de los pueblos indígenas, por la fundamental función dichas tierras que cumplen en la sobrevivencia integral de las culturas

nistración del área¹⁵. Con la creación de este Parque Nacional Natural, la Unidad de Administración Especial del Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia (UAESPNN) reafirmó el principio de que la conservación de la biodiversidad es una tarea que conlleva la protección de los valores culturales asociados a la base natural, y de que la primera sin la segunda es inviable, o por lo menos costosa en términos sociales y ambientales.

A lo largo de todo el proceso se respetaron los derechos de las comunidades indígenas, aplicando una política que hasta ese momento no se había aplicado con el mismo alcance en otros ámbitos o sectores de toma de decisiones en el Estado. No sólo el pueblo ingano participó en los estudios de caracterización ambiental que se exigen para la constitución de un área del Sistema, sino que la iniciativa para la creación del Parque surgió de los mismos indígenas, y pese a que el territorio a ser declarado no se encuentra titulado como resguardo indígena, se siguió el procedimiento de consulta previa previsto en la Ley. En la experiencia surgida en el Fragua se dio vida al concepto de territorio indígena como algo que trasciende el derecho de propiedad sobre la tierra y que se ubica más bien en el concepto de hábitat. El territorio indígena no es algo fácil de aprehender, medir o delimitar. Fueron sus especiales significados culturales, no mensurables o cuantificables, los que motivaron en gran medida la declaratoria del área y que hacen del Parque Indiwasi un caso especial, pues con él se le da una nueva –o más bien poco explorada- dimensión a la categoría de Parque Nacional Natural como categoría de protección cultural.

Es interesante observar que en la revisión de las categorías existentes en la legislación de Colombia para el logro de los objetivos propuestos desde un inicio por parte de los inganos (constitución de un área de protección especial, biológica y cultural, que expresara el

sistema de derecho ingano sobre su territorio y que involucrara una experiencia de manejo compartido) se encontró que la categoría de "parque nacional natural" era la que ofrecía mayores garantías, pese a que tal vez esta potencialidad no ha sido reconocida en distintos ámbitos indígenas o administrativos ambientales. Esta experiencia constituye un reto no sólo para el Sistema de Parques sino para los mismos indígenas, puesto que está en juego la funcionalidad de la figura y la política aplicadas, así como la oportunidad de los indígenas de ganar espacios y experiencia política para su futura consolidación como entidad territorial en el marco de la estructura de la administración pública en materia ambiental.

La experiencia seguramente contribuirá al futuro reconocimiento de ese territorio como resguardo indígena. Para el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente de Colombia no existe objeción jurídica para la titulación de territorios a comunidades indígenas de manera posterior a la declaratoria de un área del Sistema, porque se trata de derechos adquiridos por las comunidades aún antes de la existencia del área y que por tanto deben ser reconocidos por el Estado. La Constitución de Colombia asigna a las áreas del Sistema los atributos de inalienabilidad, inembargabilidad e imprescriptibilidad. Los mismos atributos se reconocen a las tierras de los pueblos indígenas, por la fundamental función dichas tierras que cumplen en la sobrevivencia integral de las culturas. La creación del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua – Indiwasi trasciende el reconocimiento formal de los derechos indígenas y contribuye en los hechos a la construcción de un país más inclusivo, participativo, plural y diverso.

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Nacional Natural Alto Fragua Indiwasi y actualmente es director del Programa Territorial del Instituto de Etnobiología. **Marcela Jiménez** (mjarrarte@hotmail.com) es Abogada egresada de la Universidad de los Andes y Asesora jurídica de la Unidad de Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia. Experta en legislación ambiental y áreas protegidas, apoyó el proceso de declaratoria del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua Indiwasi.

Notas

¹ El concepto Conservación Biocultural hace referencia a la interdependencia entre conservación de la diversidad biológica y conservación de la diversidad cultural.

² De acuerdo con la Unidad de Administración Especial del Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia (UAESPNN), el traslape entre territorios indígenas y áreas protegidas en Colombia alcanza un 25% del total del área administrada por la Unidad.

³ *Banisteriopsis* spp.

⁴ Brouillard, G.. *Declaración Preliminar de las Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el Caquetá*, Documento Interno, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Bogotá, 1973.

⁵ Consorcio D.I.S Limitada – Enrique Dávila Lozano, *Estudio de Impacto Ambiental: Estudio Arqueológico*, Volumen 9, Anexo 5, Estudio de mejoramiento y pavimentación de la carretera Puente San Miguel, Villa Garzón, Mocoa, Bogotá, Septiembre de 1998.

⁶ Pérez de Quesada, H., *Informe del País de la Canela*, Mayo 16 de 1543, En: *Documentos inéditos para la historia de Colombia*, Friede Juan (Editor), Volumen 1º, Bogotá, 1955-1960.

⁷ de Castellvi, M. y A. Ciceri, "Textos concordados de la expedición de Hernán Pérez al Dorado. Sinopsis de elementos pan-científicos bosquejada", *Revista Amazonia Colombiana Americanista*, Sibundoy, Volumen 2, # 4 – 8, Junio de 1944

⁸ de Castellvi, M.. "Itinerario de la expedición de Hernán Pérez al Dorado", *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, Academia Colombiana de la Historia, Bogotá, 1945.

⁹ Informe de Misiones, Archivo Central del Cauca, Colección Colonia, Fondo Eclesiástico, 11 ms. Signatura 56-70, 15 de Agosto de 1778.

¹⁰ de Pinell Fray Gaspar, *Excursión Apostólica por los ríos Putumayo*, San Miguel de Cusumbios, Cuyabeno, Caquetá y Caguán, Imprenta Nacional, Bogotá, 1928.

¹¹ Comunicación personal con Germán Zuluaga, Yurayaco, 1985.

¹² Comunicación personal con el Cabildo Mayor de la Asociación Tandachiridu Inganokuna, Cosumbe, Río Caquetá, 1999

¹³ Informe Final, *Diagnóstico Territorial y Ambiental de la Región del Fragua*, Comité Territorial, Asociación Tandachiridu Inganokuna, Yurayaco, 2001.

¹⁴ Por Marcela Jiménez Larrarte

¹⁵ La Resolución de declaratoria del Parque determina "Incorporar los códigos culturales y chamánicos en el régimen de ordenamiento y manejo del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua – Indiwasi, de tal forma que integre la cosmovisión indígena, los traslapes invisibles de ocupación y el manejo del territorio en la cosmología ingana".

Co-management of protected areas, the oil and gas industry and indigenous empowerment—the experience of Bolivia's Kaa Iya del Gran Chaco

Nick Winer

The Kaa-Iya del Gran Chaco Park in southern Bolivia is the first national park in the Americas to be created at the specific request of an indigenous group. The *Capitanía de Alto y Bajo Izozog* (CABI), representing some 9,500 Guaraní Izoceños living in 25 communities along the Parapetí river, now co-manages with the Government the 3.4 million hectare Park. By working with the government to create this park, CABI has established an extensive buffer zone between itself and the expanding agro-industries based in Bolivia's second city Santa Cruz. In addition, a request for its own territory of 1.9 million hectares along the Parapetí river is currently being finalised, which will give the Guaraní Izoceños access to a total of 5.8 million hectares or nearly 5% of Bolivia.

The Guaraní Izoceños have a long history of political agitation for land rights and possess the structures necessary for successful negotiations. With external support they have succeeded in pressuring the hydro-carbon industry, which has been building the largest gas pipeline in South America, from Argentina to Brazil passing through Bolivia and crossing the Park, into carrying out a comprehensive EIA and implementing its recommendations. This has brought in significant compensation payments which CABI has used for development projects in its own territory and to support the management of the Park.

The Kaa-Iya del Gran Chaco National Park is the largest in Bolivia and holds the largest area of dry tropical forest under full-protected area status anywhere in the world.

CABI's strategy is to develop its territorial integrity using the Park and its co-management rights as a buffer that creates the space to re-build cultural self-confidence and move gently into a market economy. The strategy seeks to reduce out-migration to the agro-industries near Santa Cruz

and to develop sustainable enterprises based on traditional natural resource management activities. Under the co-management agreement, the Park becomes both a major centre for conservation and a guarantee of the physical and cultural integrity of the Guaraní Izoceños' resource base.



Figure 1: Children in Isoso (Courtesy Hal Noss)

CABI and the Wildlife Conservation Society

Since 1991, CABI and the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) have been collaborating in the design and implementation of a major community-based wildlife management programme in Bolivia's Chaco region. WCS was concerned that Bolivia was the only country in the region that still contained large areas where Chacoan ecosystems and habitats remained relatively intact, and it saw the establishment of a

protected area as an essential first step in the conservation of the region. CABI was searching for a way to halt an expanding agricultural frontier and to define livelihood alternatives for the Izoceño people that did not have the negative environmental, socio-economic and cultural consequences associated with the forms of farming and ranching that have been the basis for Santa Cruz's agro-industrial growth since the 1950s. Independently of WCS, CABI's leadership reached the conclusion that the establishment of a protected area would provide both a legal basis for halting the expansion of the agricultural frontier and a focal point for defining new production alternatives. Based on these distinct, but convergent, sets of interests regarding the future of the Bolivian Chaco, CABI and WCS began to working together in the area in 1991.

The *Capitanía de Alto y Bajo Izozog* (CABI), as political, cultural and technical representative of the Guaraní-Izoceño of the Bolivian Gran

Political awareness and demands for territory have been accumulating since the historic Indigenous People's march on La Paz in 1945.

Chaco has, over the years, become a symbol of grassroots political and environmental movements. Its success, and its perceived failures, owe

much to is opportunistic assessment that compromise and partnership with Central Government remains the only viable route to securing both political and territorial recognition.

Although recent gains have been impressive, political awareness, along with demands for territory, have been accumulating since the historic Indigenous People's march on La Paz in 1945. Three years later, CABI succeeded in sending a delegation to La Paz where it gained its first formal land rights, only to lose them in 1953. Since the late 1970s, when meetings were initiated with other indigenous groups, particularly with the Ayoreode, and with the formation of the *Central de Pueblos Indigenas de Santa Cruz* in 1981, strategic alliances have created openings for greater recognition. These developed at a time when international development assistance was beginning to recognise the impor-

tance of links between rural peoples and the non-agricultural environment that sustain important parts of their economies.

When, during the 1980s, the German and Bolivian governments agreed to design and implement a Natural Resources Protection Plan for the department of Santa Cruz, local organisations were asked to participate. The subsequent sharing of information stimulated discussion within CABI about the scale and impact of Santa Cruz's expanding agro-industries and about how the Guaraní-Izoceños themselves were to improve their own economic status at a time of growing regional economic opportunities without jeopardising traditional social structures and values.

In 1986, shortly following this critical environmental awakening, changing political realities in La Paz produced a return of the land rights that had been abrogated by the Government of the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* in 1953. The Guaraní-Izoceños received 65,000 hectares and in 1991 one of its members became President of the newly formed *Confederación Indigena del Oriente Boliviano*. At this time the Wildlife Conservation Society was broadening its interest in the Chacoan Ecosystem and had entered into a dialogue with CABI. CABI had by then begun to appreciate that its own view of what constituted its legitimate territory represented too large a claim for realistic political consideration. Accordingly, in conjunction with WCS, it designed a strategy to safeguard the status of a significant area of land without generating politically unacceptable demands. A split claim was developed:

- A request for a 3.4 million hectare national park to be owned by the State, but jointly administered by CABI's technical arm, FII and the appropriate department of government.
- A request for a Guaraní-Izoceño territory of 1.9 million hectares, subject to 3rd party claims being resolved.

Coinciding with CABI's growing involvement in

The Park owes its existence to an indigenous organisation's effort to present and consolidate its territorial land claims through the creation of the Park and the establishment of their traditional community land (*Tierra Comunitaria de Origen*).

environmental affairs was a change of government in La Paz during 1993, which brought in the Government of Sánchez de Lozada and his Aymara Vice President Victor Hugo Cárdenas. An era of liberal economic reform, awareness of Indigenous issues, and decentralised local government under the PPL (*Ley de Participación Popular*) was ushered in.

In 1995, the year that CABI's proposal was accepted for the establishment of a legally protected area of 3.4 million hectares, the Kaa-Iya del Gran Chaco National Park (KINP) was declared with CABI appointed as co-administrator. This was the first such initiative by an indigenous organisation in the Americas. CABI had now formally become community representative, NGO (through the FII – *Fundación Ivy Iyambae* - its technical arm), a part of local government, and park co-administrator. CABI entered the co-administration agreement with support not just from WCS and USAID, which had begun supporting the programme to develop both the Park and territorial recognition, but also with its own funds generated from Hydro-Carbon activity within the Park and its claimed indigenous territory.

The most ambitious pipeline project undertaken in South America transects 250 kilometres of claimed indigenous territory and Park land. The 3,100 km-long Bolivia-Brazil Gas pipeline is a 32" diameter pipe carrying gas from south of Santa Cruz to Porto Alegre in S.E. Brazil. As a condition for their support of the pipeline project, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank required the pipeline owners to undertake an environmental impact assessment study. Based on this study, the multi-lateral banks required the pipeline owners to design and implement an Environmental Management Plan (EMP) and an Indigenous People's Development Plan (IPDP). The EMP defined the actions to be taken during and after the construction of the pipeline to reduce any

negative environmental impacts associated with the construction of the pipeline, while the IPDP sought to reduce or mitigate any negative social and economic impacts of the pipeline's development on the indigenous peoples living in the area affected by its construction, and to help them position themselves to reap some of the benefits of the economic growth the project will bring to the region. The \$3.7 million programme included a \$1 million trust fund to support the Park, \$300,000 for strengthening indigenous organisations, about \$700,00 for pilot sustainable production activities, and \$1.5



Figure 2: The Chaco (Courtesy Hal Noss)

million to support land titling for indigenous territorial claims by the Guaraní-Izoceños, the Chiquitanos and the Ayoreodes.

The project's first 10 years

The establishment of the KINP, together with CABI's role as co-manager, opened the door for a broader community-based conservation effort. In 1995, USAID/Bolivia joined the CABI-WCS partnership and began to provide financial support. Initially, this support was modest and focussed on working with CABI and the Izoceño people to define both the technical and administrative challenges that CABI would need to address in its role as co-manager of the KINP and the natural resource management issues confronting the Izoceño communities that would be the focus of conservation efforts outside the park boundaries. CABI also received support from USAID's centrally funded Biodiversity Support Project to conduct a community mapping exercise, the first in a series of efforts to help people whose management experience had been limited to family and community lands to think about broader land and natural resource management issues.

During 1996, CABI played a leading role in the successful effort of lowland indigenous organisations to include the concept of indigenous territory in Bolivia's new agrarian reform law. In early 1997, taking advantage of the provisions of the new law, CABI presented a demand for a *Tierra Comunitaria de Origen* (TCO). Although many indigenous organisations presented territorial demands around the same time, the case of CABI was unique because both the territorial demand and its proposal to establish and administer the KINP responded to a vision of establishing an area in the Chaco that would assure the survival of Izoceños as a people, based on the option of defining an approach to rural development that sought to construct alternatives to the productive activities that dominated the regional economy. These alternatives were not clearly defined or articulated, but the general goal was that they should permit Izoceños to satisfy

livelihood needs without having to abandon values and practices that are important to their identity as a people. This goal reflected two major concerns:

- That economic growth needed to be equitable, allowing Izoceños to improve their standard of living as a people, as opposed to promoting accumulation of wealth by a small number of individuals; and
- That alternatives should not carry the high environmental costs characteristic of the farming and ranching activities that dominate the agro-industrial economy of Santa Cruz, including deforestation, soil degradation, and the destruction of the habitats of key wildlife species.

As a result, in contrast to other cases in Bolivia, where parks and indigenous territorial demands overlap and are the source of conflicts based on competing forms of land tenure and land use, CABI's approach created the opportunity to manage 5.3 million hectares of the Bolivian Chaco – an area nearly the size of Costa Rica – based on principles of conservation and sustainable use of natural resources. How best to support CABI in passing from the political challenge of creating this vast area to assuming the technical and administrative challenges of effectively



Figure 3: River Parapetí (Courtesy Hal Noss)

managing it was the major concern of the project identification and planning exercises that were the focus of WCS and USAID support. These exercises culminated in the design of the Kaa-Iya Project, jointly implemented by WCS and CABI, with support from USAID/Bolivia, which began in mid-1997 and ran through October 2000. USAID then extended its support for an additional three years, through October 2003.

The Kaa-Iya Project has focused on five major areas: (1) applied research, participatory wildlife population and ecology research and the definition of wildlife management practices; (2) the institutional strengthening of CABI and its technical arm, the Ivi-Iyambae Foundation (FII); (3) environmental planning and monitoring; (4) environmental education, and (5) management planning.

Applied Research

The applied research programme provided basic information on the biology of critical Chacoan species and Chacoan ecology, using methods that involve broadly based participation by Izoceños. The programme has enjoyed the participation of 700 hunters, of whom no more than 150 participated at any one time, from 23 communities, who collected data on hunted animals, including species, measurements, sex, location, and habitat type. This information has been the basis for community-level consultations, which have resulted in recommendations for improving the management of key species.

Discussions have been held with individual communities at which research findings have been elaborated and some basic understandings have been arrived at. For example, there is consensus that external hunters should not be admitted into Izozog, but no agreement as to what administrative system should be used to enforce it. Some communities have expressed a willingness to limit hunting of certain species, while others have not. A consensus as to how to bring together these differences at an Isozo

wide level is still being sought. The final resolution depends on the completion of the TCO titling programme, which will provide CABI with the authority to define its territorial boundaries and regulate the kinds of productive activities that take place inside them. The community-level proposals will then be incorporated into a TCO-wide management plan that meshes conceptually and operationally with the management plan for the park.

Institutional Strengthening

In this programmatic area, CABI/FII completes and begins to implement an institutional development strategy that includes:

- A clear statement of strategic objectives and the role to be played by FII¹ as CABI's technical arm,
- A definition of relationships with the Bolivian government, donor agencies and other organisations that must be implemented for the strategic objectives to be achieved, and
- A plan to procure the resources needed to implement activities that will permit the strategic objectives to be achieved.

Environmental Planning and Monitoring

This component aims at developing a community-based natural resource management programme which focuses on:

i) The sustainable utilisation of species and the development of small scale businesses based on re-valuing traditional cultural activities, enhancing the role of women in society, and teaching business skills to a society mastering the painful transition to a market economy. These are being developed as a core component of CABI's institutional strengthening and as a platform through which to provide women with both greater opportunities and increased voices in community affairs. The core philosophy behind each activity is the importance of implementing CABI's objective of re-vitalising and re-valuing traditional skills and knowledge.

ii) The development of a management plan for the TCO and a broad based community understanding of the TCO concept and the rights and responsibilities that will be attached.

iii) Implementing the park's management plan and strengthening the co-administration agreement at the field level.

iv) Establishing a regional environmental monitoring system covering 5.4 million hectares of the Bolivian Chaco (KINP plus the Izoceño TCO). This monitoring system will focus on identifying and recommending actions to address threats posed by the agricultural and ranching frontier

The hydro-carbon industry, and a responsible EIA process, brought in significant compensation payments, which CABI has used for development projects in its own territory and to support the management of the Park.

and continuing hydrocarbon development. It will also contribute to the design and implementation of a bi-national Chacoan conservation strategy between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Environmental Education

This component has developed and implemented a formal education programme in the schools of Izozog. It is run primarily by local school teachers and parents' committees (*jun-tas escolares*), with the project providing active follow-up through Izoceño promoters. The programme has received wide recognition for the sensitive manner in which local environmental and cultural knowledge has been elaborated for integration into the school curriculum.

Management Planning

The Kaa-Iya Project completed the draft management plan for the Kaa-Iya Protected Area in 1998. During 1999, the draft management plan was presented to the Izoceño and other communities in the park's area of influence, affording them an opportunity to submit comments and suggestions with respect to the content of the plan before it was presented to the government, and to discuss how changes in the management of the protected area would affect the people living around it. In August 2000, SER-

NAP (*Servicio Nacional de Areas Protegidas*) formally requested that the Minister of Planning and Sustainable Development issue a Ministerial Resolution making the management plan the guiding document for the KINP. The plan was formally approved via Ministerial Resolution No. 261/00 of the Ministry of Sustainable

Development and Planning, on 6th September 2000. The plan was praised by the authorities for the high quality of the research on which it was based and for the exceptional level of participation by local people in its elaboration.

What gives the plan its true weight as a document to underpin the KINP co-management arrangement is the strength of its socio-economic and institutional data regarding the buffer zones surrounding the Park. The plan also cross-references management actions by zones with linear management programmes for protection, research, eco-tourism and education.

The project has worked with CABI/FII and the park administration to review, and insist on, compliance with agreements signed with energy companies. These include companies working in the right-of-way of the Bolivia-Brazil Gas Pipeline, as well as those doing hydrocarbon exploration and exploitation inside the protected area under agreements awarded by the Government.

The establishment of the park is, in itself a major success. The supporting management plan is a rich document that provides an excellent underpinning for maintaining the park's integrity, providing that reasonable resources are dedicated to its implementation. A co-administration agreement is of significance for the future development of any protected area, not as a strict zone of preservation, but as part of the human patrimony of the area in which it is located. It is a landmark agreement. The unique fact that the Park owes its existence to an indigenous organisation's effort to present and consolidate its territorial land claims through the creation of the Park and the establishment of the TCO gives the co-administration

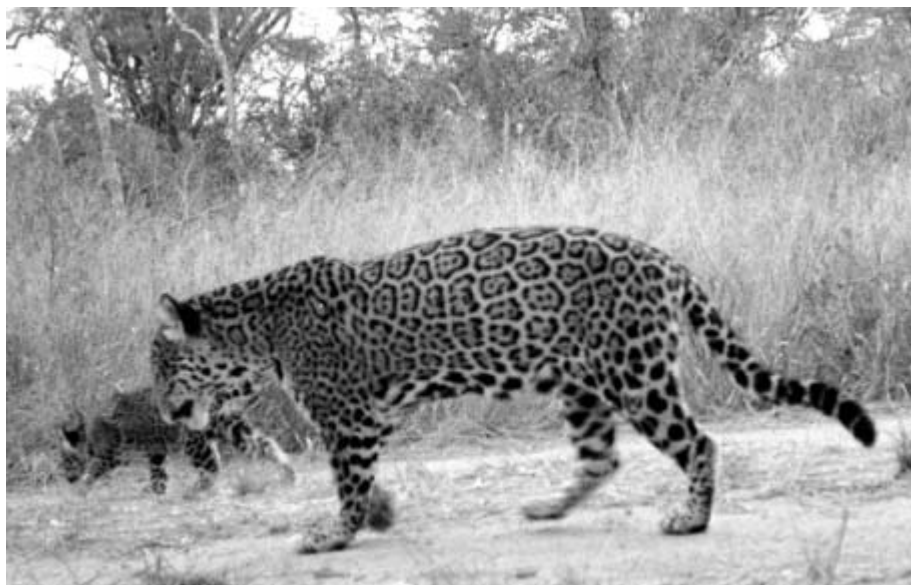


Figure 4: One of the Chaco's estimated 1,500 Jaguars - *Panthera onca* (Courtesy Hal Noss)

agreement considerable force. Through it, the Izoceños acknowledged that they will remain living outside the park. For its part, the Government agency SERNAP agreed to take on an indigenous organisation, rather than a conservation body, as its management partner. Clearly this signals a new era for community participation in protected area management.

Co-Administration

Bolivia contains 16 eco-regions and 198 recognised ecosystems. 210 of Bolivia's threatened 300 vertebrate species are found in the protected area system. 17% of Bolivia currently falls under some form of protection, and 12% has been declared as constituting protected areas:

- National Parks (IUCN categories I - II) = 6.77%
- Natural Integrated Management Areas (IUCN III - IV) = 5.89%
- Indigenous territories with protected area status (IUCN III - IV) = 4.65%

The Environmental Law (*Ley del Medio Ambiente - LMA*)² defines Protected Areas as areas under State protection for the purposes of preserving wildlife, genetic resources, natural ecosystems, watersheds, and generally the natural patrimony of Bolivia (Art. 60 LMA);

Protected Areas are part of the State domain (Art. 61 LMA). The LMA provides that a special law will define the categories of Protected Areas and the rules for their establishment, management and conservation (Art. 64 LMA).

The legal rights associated with the co-administration of protected areas were first alluded to in 1993 by a government decree (*Decreto Supremo N° 23445 del 25 de Marzo 1993*) in which the then authority for Protected Areas, the *Dirección Nacional de Conservación de la Biodiversidad*, was charged with establishing management commit-

tees to strengthen regional participation, that of traditionally established communities, and the participation of indigenous groups. Article 62 of the Environmental Law (*Ley de Medio Ambiente 1996*) established that any public body, private non-profit body, traditionally established community or indigenous group had the right to participate in the administration of protected areas.

On this legal foundation a formal agreement (24th of November, 1995) was drawn up between the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources and CABI and its technical implementing partner FII. The stated objectives were to facilitate the participation of CABI and FII in the administration and management of the Park, subject to the conditions of the agreement and its appended annexes.

In reality, SERNAP was in no position to take on the management of Bolivia's largest protected area on its own. A source of support in terms of both finance and personnel was needed. CABI's success in negotiating a substantial packet of support in mitigation of the environmental impacts of the Bolivia-Brazil gas pipeline's trajectory through the Park and TCO made it a viable economic partner. Government resentment that CABI, rather than the government, had become the beneficiary of the Trust

Fund in support of the Park was minimised by the requirement that CABI had to spend the money on park management and administration. Through the co-administration agreement both parties must jointly agree on the areas in which Fund income is spent. CABI also recruits the park guards, thus having considerable influence over personnel and creating strong links between the Izoceño community and the park's daily operations. The guards are on government contracts, thus ensuring that SERNAP also has technical oversight of their activities.

The co-administration agreement is a very powerful document giving to the indigenous people far more than just consultative rights. CABI and FII form an integral part of the Park's work planning team, they provide more than 50% (Year 2000) of the annual budget, recruit and place staff, supervise field staff and provide the administrative back up to the Park's operations through FII's office in Santa Cruz.

This agreement has worked well to provide a basis for the Government to view co-administration as a management tool with a lot to offer in terms of sharing a burden that is clearly too large for SERNAP to handle alone. It demonstrates that if co-administration agreements can be predicated on sound management plans that provide detailed socio-economic data and clear management actions linking socio-economic values with bio-physical values, then the roles and responsibilities defined in the agreement will make excellent sense. To date, the agreement for Kaa Iya de Gran Chaco National Park has succeeded in generating confidence at senior levels despite teething troubles at the field level. This confidence forms the basis for SERNAP's wider interest in developing a protocol for replicating this style of agreement.

The value of a co-management partner was well demonstrated to the Government when in

late 1997 contractors responsible for the construction of the pipeline entered the KINP with heavy machinery, accompanied by armed soldiers, to begin opening the pipeline's right of way. In the absence of an agreement with the park administration specifying exactly what work was to be done, how it was to be accomplished and what specific measures would be taken to minimise impacts on the park, this invasion was illegal. CABI, as co-manager, took immediate action. Park guards blocked the advance of the equipment, pending an agreement in compliance with the Law³.

CABI's action sent a clear signal to the pipeline sponsor of the seriousness with which it took its role as co-administrator. This encouraged the pipeline owners to accelerate their negotiations with indigenous organisations,



Figure 5: Woman weaving in Isoo (Courtesy Hal Noss)

which had until then been proceeding at a leisurely pace. It also prompted the multi-lateral banks financing the project to consider CABI's proposals for how their operational directives regarding environmental impacts and indigenous people should be applied. An agreement to this end was signed with the pipeline owners in December and countersigned by

Petrobas in February 1998, after which the machinery was released and work on the right of way was begun.

Institutional Arrangements – Strengths and Weaknesses

The two partners – SERNAP and CABI – have their own strengths and weaknesses, and their own objectives. SERNAP (*Servicio Nacional de Areas Protegidas*) was established by decree 25158 of October 1998 to act as an autonomous government agency in charge of the nation's protected areas.⁴ Under the decree, SERNAP became an operational agency of the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Planning, responsible to the Vice Minister of Environment, Natural Resources and Forestry Development. Its mandate gives it the authority to delegate management to local community organisations, NGOs or private sector entities on the basis of an agreed management plan. To date, six areas are operating under agreements for co-administration.

SERNAP's problems are typical of nearly all developing country wildlife departments. The amount of money invested from central government sources in Bolivia, as elsewhere, remains critically low, partly due to the traditional difficulty of determining the value of key environmental features to the national economy. Without an accepted system of valuing protected areas and other resources, they will remain undervalued in budgetary terms and their depletion will remain under-taxed.

CABI is not a conservation organisation in the normal sense of the word and actively promotes the utilisation and exploitation of natural resources for both economic and cultural purposes. The partnerships that it has with SERNAP, WCS and USAID need to be understood from that perspective. The Kaa-Iya Park is a means to an end and not an end in itself. That Isoso itself is shown to have a relatively stable and diverse wildlife population suggests that Guaraní-Izoceños have a stable and balanced set of customs and traditions with respect to

wildlife which has so far managed to maintain a sustainable balance between supply and demand.⁵ For CABI, maintaining indigenous peoples' access to land and preventing third-party landowners from having access to, and control of, areas of spiritual, cultural and economic importance are the primary motivations behind the partnership with SERNAP.

The agreement between the government and CABI (*Convenio que se suscribe entre el Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y La Capitanía del Alto y Bajo Izoq (CABI) para la Administración del Parque Gran Chaco "Kaa-IYA"*) for the joint administration of the Park may well be the only one in which an organisation representing indigenous people not only has management rights for its part of the buffer zone (TCO), but also for the Park abutting it. Yet, neither the excellence of the agreement, nor the goodwill of either party, can be a guarantee of smooth implementation. Success will require that CABI/FII is perceived by SERNAP as a worthy technical partner in the enterprise. SERNAP has sometimes found this difficult as the partnership began unequally, with CABI/FII bringing to it more in terms of personnel, finances and administration than SERNAP. SERNAP sees itself as an arm of big government with a technical mandate to whom CABI/FII is an administrative asset but a technical burden. In addition, the Park Director may not appreciate significant external resources supporting the Park through CABI/FII rather than through SERNAP as a government agency.

CABI's strategy is to develop its territorial integrity using the Park and its co-management rights as a "buffer" ... a space to rebuild cultural self-confidence and move gently into a market economy.

Hydro-Carbon Exploitation and Regional Economic Development

Hydrocarbon development and the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects linked to rapid expansion of the hydrocarbon industry are the most important forces shaping

land use in lowland Bolivia⁶. Hydrocarbon development has been declared a national priority by the government, which means that the application of environmental laws, and, indeed, the application of laws pertaining to the land use interests of every other sector of the society, is subordinate to the goal of encouraging foreign investment in the expansion of the hydrocarbon industry. As a result, even national parks like KINP may not be able to guarantee protection for the biodiversity of areas considered to have potential for hydrocarbon development.

There are several dimensions to the impacts that hydrocarbon development is having. One area of concern is that of direct impacts associated with the construction and operation of new facilities. The extent of these direct impacts varies considerably. For example, the impacts associated with the construction of new natural gas pipelines, while significant, are for the most part limited to the opening of a gash through the landscape, and the companies sponsoring this construction have been much more conscientious about addressing those impacts than has frequently been the case in the past. On the other hand, the impacts associated with the drilling and operation of natural gas and oil wells are frequently major, and have the potential of causing severe damage to the health and livelihood strategies of people living in the area, and to bio-diversity generally. In addition, a considerable amount of old equipment that has not been properly maintained is currently being used to exploit existing reserves. Old equipment and poor maintenance practices contributed to three major oil spills during the year 2000.

While the direct impacts of hydrocarbon expansion, such as habitat and land fragmentation by gas pipelines, are substantial and should not be underestimated, the indirect impacts arising from the kinds of economic growth that such expansion encourages will have a much

greater long-term impact on land use, and on the chances that conservation and sustainable development efforts will be successful. Gas pipeline rights of way and access roads open up previously inaccessible areas to illicit timber extraction, hunting and colonisation. The expansion of roads and the demand of the industry for a wide variety of services encourage land speculation and rapid unregulated economic growth in many areas of the region. The very presence of these other processes limits the land use options of local people, contributes to the displacement of the rural poor, and leads to the concentration of lands in the hands of a small number of wealthy owners. In the longer-term, these processes serve neither development nor conservation.

It is important to acknowledge that the growth of the hydrocarbon industry offers opportunities as well as threats and challenges. Areas such as the Chaco and the Chiquitano Forest were already under threat from an expanding agricultural frontier, illegal timber extraction, unregulated mining concessions and colonisation. The economic changes associated with hydrocarbon exploitation have the potential of accelerating these processes, if actions are not taken to address the kinds of indirect impacts mentioned above. However, the capital requirements and

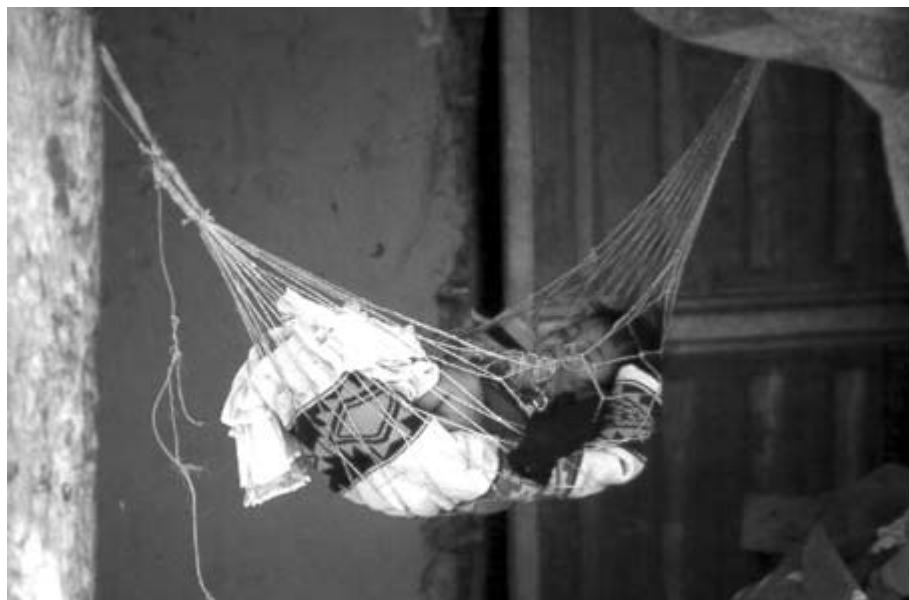


Figure 6: Peace in Isoso (Courtesy Hal Noss)

time commitments that characterise the hydrocarbon sector, combined with encouragement from multilateral banks and international conservation organisations, have meant that companies in the hydrocarbon sector have in some cases been more conscientious in conducting and acting upon environmental impact assessments, and accepting responsibility for the impacts of their activities, than have representatives of other industries whose activities threaten the region. The most immediate outcomes of this difference have been the creation of private, locally controlled funds that can contribute not only to addressing the impacts of hydrocarbon development, but also to longer-term, locally-controlled conservation efforts, and the establishment of institutional mechanisms to mediate relations between local populations and the companies that comprise the industry. These fora make it easier for the relevant actors to work together to define what are the most relevant impacts and decide how to address them. The agreement signed between the sponsors of the Bolivia-Brazil gas pipeline and indigenous organisations provides a concrete example.

In the longer-term, the implications of the transformation of the regional economy as a result of the expansion of the hydrocarbon industry and greater regional economic integration (Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay) are mixed. On the one hand, pressures on natural resources that demonstrate value will inevitably increase as market conditions change. On the other, population distribution and patterns of land use may change in ways that favour conservation and sustainable development efforts. For example, as the regional economy becomes less based on agriculture and ranching, and as increased competition from Argentina and Brazil requires farmers and ranchers to increase their capital investments significantly, rural population growth is likely to slow, or, in some areas, become negative. Farming and ranching strategies will then be based more on the efficient use of capital, rather than on extensive land use and heavy

reliance on labour that is poorly paid or unremunerated. If adequate attention is paid to boundary definition, land titling, and identifying productive activities that offer new economic opportunities in the changing regional context, the regional transformation may not end up threatening the region's relatively undisturbed ecosystems. The long-term prospects for conservation and rural development may, in fact, improve.

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Notes

¹ As CABI's strategy developed, it became clear to its leadership that they would need to address a series of technical and administrative challenges beyond the capacity of the indigenous political organization. CABI created the Fundación Ivi-Iyambae (FII) as a Bolivian NGO, which would develop and house the necessary capacity.

² Law No.1333 of April 27th, 1992.

³ Petrobras, the principal contractor for the pipeline's construction, responded with public declarations that Indians were seeking to pressure the sponsors of the pipeline to increase compensation payments and were blocking an infrastructure project vital to the national interest. No mention was made that the Indians in question were uniformed park guards implementing their legal mandate. This bias was taken up in the national media, which never mentioned the official nature of the action taken by the Indians.

⁴ Prior to the creation of SERNAP, Bolivia's national parks were administered by the *Dirección Nacional de Biodiversidad (DNCB)*, a directorate of the Vice-ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and Forestry, under the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Planning.

⁵ CABI/FII's efforts to reconcile conservation objectives with those of defending the rights and interests of its constituency were recognised in 2001, when the Government of Spain awarded CABI the XI Annual Bartolomé de las Casas Prize for exceptional contributions to environmental conservation and the protection of indigenous cultures. The case was also featured as key example in the IUCN/ WWF volume *Indigenous and Traditional Peoples and Protected Areas: Principles, Guidelines and Case Studies*—a volume published in 2000 by the IUCN as part of its Best Practice Protected Areas Guideline Series (no. 4)..

⁶ The Oil and Gas sector's activities take priority over those of Parks and Protected Areas. Some safeguards are built into the law (*Ley de Hidrocarburos*, March 1997) such that the article of the Constitution (Article 171) that deals with the protection of Indigenous Peoples, and the regulations supporting the Environmental Law (*Reglamentos de la Ley del Medio Ambiente*, April 1996), are applicable even though they do not take legal precedence.

Politics and participatory planning of Pohnpei's watershed and environment— an update from the Federated States of Micronesia

Andrew J. Tilling

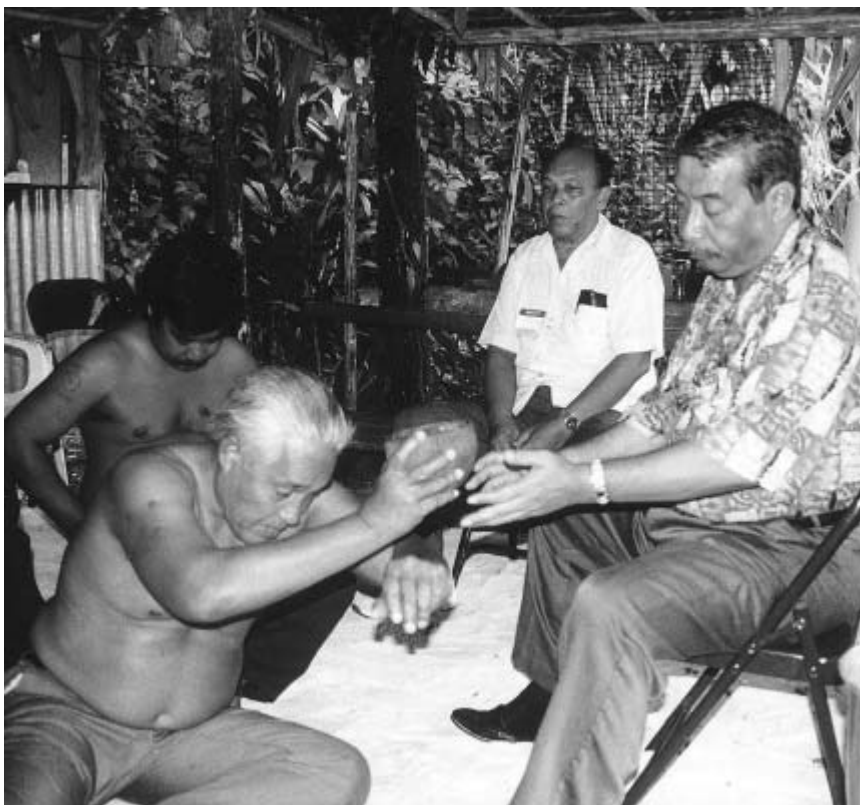
The loss of indigenous forests and biodiversity on the island of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia in the northwest Pacific is of national and regional concern and of international interest.

This tropical volcanic island of approximately 35,500 ha has a steep, mountainous interior, with a peak of 780 m, and an average rainfall of 3,090 mm, rising to an estimated 7,500 mm in the rugged mountains. The interior is heavily vegetated, comprising several forest types including upland, palm, swamp and dwarf or cloud forest at high elevations. Agroforestry and secondary forest is found at lower elevations and in coastal areas, together with some grass or fern savannah.¹ Extensive mangrove forests, up to 4 km wide, fringe the island. The flora and fauna are amongst the most diverse in Micronesia, including unique upland palm forest.

The topography, high rainfall and extensive, highly erosive soils make the island an extremely fragile ecosystem. While the lowlands have been extensively modified, until comparatively recently the inaccessible interior remained relatively unmodified and was heavily depopulated during the 19th century.² The present population of the island is approximately 34,000.

One of the main desires of villagers was for a planning and management system built on traditional social structures and resource management practices.

Settlement has spread around the circumference of the island and has been moving inland. The lowland areas, which were traditionally sustainably used, are now under



Picture 1: The first cup of the liquor extracted from the sakau (kava) roots is traditionally offered to the Chief, in this case the Nahnken of Nett. (Courtesy Andrew Tilling)

increasing threat as Pohnpeians move from subsistence to a monetary economy and a modern way of life.

Conventional response to environmental degradation

Efforts to conserve the island's watershed and mangroves date back to the early 1980s when a vegetation survey undertaken by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Forest Service and local foresters revealed the deleterious effects of inland population migration and associated deforestation. Subsequently, the increasing commercialisation of a traditional crop, *sakau* (kava - *Piper methysticum*, a mildly narcotic plant of the pepper family) became a central concern. Once reserved for high-ranking individuals and drunk on ceremonial occasions, it is now widely consumed and traded in the local market, making it the most significant cash crop for vil-

lagers with few other livelihood options.

In 1987 the Pohnpei government introduced the Watershed Reserve and Mangrove Protection Act following the delineation of the area using photos from a 1975 aerial mapping exercise, soil survey information and five specially flown aerial reconnaissance missions. Approximately 5,100 ha of the central upland forest (*Nanwel*) and 5,525 ha of coastal mangrove forest (*Naniak*) was designated as a protected area in order to safeguard water supplies, cultural and archaeological sites and the high level of endemic flora and fauna and to provide for the economic potential of eco-tourism and recreation.³ However, when survey teams made attempts to delineate the boundaries of these reserves, they were forced to abandon their efforts by angry villagers armed with sticks and bush knives. It became apparent that local communities had not been adequately consulted about the purpose of the legislation and its intended benefits. They resented attempts by the government to impose rules and regulations on the use of land and resources that they regarded as local, communal property, despite the fact that these applied to public land. It became evident that an alternative, more inclusive process was needed.

The alternative approach

An alternative watershed management project was then formulated with the assistance of The Nature Conservancy (TNC). Technical assistance for watershed management was obtained from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), lasting until 1996. The South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme (SPBCP) provided support for biodiversity conservation from 1994 to 2002.

An underlying premise of the SPBCP was a belief that empowering local people was criti-

cal to biodiversity conservation in the Pacific islands. Locals would have to take increasing responsibility for the management of the natural environment as much of the land and coastal resources were owned and used under customary regimes, and governments had little jurisdiction or enforcement of authority at village level. Furthermore, an integrated conservation-livelihood approach would be needed as locals are highly depended on the natural environment.

Traditional chiefs of two municipalities have declared that no agricultural activity is to take place in the Watershed Forest Reserve and it is hoped that this lead will be followed in the other three municipalities as well.

In Pohnpei, a participatory planning and management programme was initiated with the help of the SPBCP. Local villagers and politicians were enthusiastic about this approach. One of the main desires of villagers was for a planning and management system built on traditional social structures and resource management practices. In historical times, land use activities were controlled by chiefs, headed by paramount chiefs who had jurisdiction over five autonomous territories (*wehi*) that correspond to present day municipalities. These chiefs had authority over and responsibility for the allocation of all lands and they settled land-use disputes. However, since the introduction of a land reform programme in 1912 that established private land ownership, responsibility for environmental management was centralised by the State government, with a concomitant waning of the powers and authority of traditional chiefs.

Though the participatory approach was well received by both villagers and traditional chiefs, the success of conservation efforts depends on a number of prerequisites. The devolution of power and decision-making to the local level is necessary and the bolstering of the powers of local chiefs most desirable for the long-term success of this approach. Tilling (1997) suggested different roles for stakehold-

ers: the State government providing a broad overview and policy framework, municipalities articulating and developing strategic plans and specific policies and clans and families developing action oriented site and management plans.

The upshot

Time passes slowly in the Pacific. It is now sixteen years since the government first introduced legislation to designate the watershed reserve, but the pace is now changing. An effective management framework is finally evolving. The government recently passed the Watershed Forest Reserve Rules and Regulations, enabling it to request management support from the municipalities. A mem-



Picture 2: When not kept in check by respected rules, deforestation for the cultivation of the kava roots can be substantial. (Courtesy Andrew Tilling)

orandum of understanding is being signed by all agencies involved, outlining individual roles and collaborative schemes, and the State Attorney General's Office is currently working on

joint law enforcement agreements with municipal governments. Monitoring and surveillance contracts have been signed with two municipalities and it is expected that another three will be signed soon.⁴

Despite earlier concerns found by Ogura (2003) over the capacity of municipalities to implement laws due to funding constraints, last year the recently formed Pohnpei Resource Management Committee, led by the current Lt. Governor of Pohnpei, obtained \$120,000 from the Pohnpei Legislature. These resources are now being used to survey the boundary of the reserve. In U municipality, where demarcation of the boundary is being undertaken, municipal police check the boundary line and surroundings every month. They report all infractions to the municipality and the *Nahnmwahrki* (paramount chief). Several people have been discovered contravening the law and have been jailed.⁵

In a survey of key informants, Ogura (2003) found some ambivalence about traditional leaders taking an active role and concerns about their impartiality. Nevertheless, their cultural and moral authority is very high. The *Nahnmwahrkis* of U and Madolenihmw municipalities have declared that no agricultural activity is to take place in the Watershed Forest Reserve and it is hoped that this lead will be followed in the other three municipali-

Local communities have taken on significant tasks, such as developing Community Action Plans, coordinating watershed activities within villages and conducting workshops on natural resource management, though there are no formal co-management agreements between villagers or users groups and the State government... [but] the commitment of government to the principles and practice of co-management is still to fully materialise [...].

ties too.⁶ The *Nahnmwahrki* of U has declared that any person planting *sakau* above the boundary line will lose their traditional title and their village chief (the *Soumas*) will have to answer to him.⁷

Local communities have taken on significant tasks, such as developing Community Action Plans, coordinating watershed activities within villages and conducting workshops on natural resource management, though there are no formal co-management agreements between local villagers or users groups and the State government.⁸ This is an area warranting consideration if local communities are to be intimately involved in decision-making, management and cost sharing. In other parts of the world, such as in Nepal and India, the formal "hand-over" of forests to user groups has facilitated collaborative arrangements and the development of binding management plans. Despite this shortcoming, the community efforts seem already to be paying off. Forest clearance has decreased from 492 ha per year between 1975-1995, to 153 ha per year between 1995-2002.⁹

Conclusion

The Pohnpei case study demonstrates that environmentally-positive change can be brought about by strong local pressure and concerted effort by key stakeholders. But this takes time. The challenge is to maintain and increase the recent momentum in order to realise a fully functioning participatory management system. Checks and balances to ensure transparent and impartial decision-making must be part of the process. And the commitment of government to the principles and practice of co-management, which is still to fully materialise, is essential to its success.

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Notes

- 1 Raynor, 1991.
- 2 Trustrum, 1996.
- 3 Anson and Raynor, 1994; Pohnpei State Government, 1995.
- 4 Kostka, personal communication.
- 5 Raynor, personal communication.
- 6 Kostka, personal communication.
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Protecting Miraflores... or protecting the livelihood of small-scale farmers?

Helle Munk Ravnborg

Miraflores, a protected landscape in the northern part of Nicaragua, embodies many paradoxes. One of them is that it was a group of

There is little doubt that environmental concerns were strongly emerging among people in the area and were part of the motivation [for requesting the declaration of the] protected area. Beyond that, however, "protecting Miraflores" was locally conceived as a strategy also to protect the livelihoods of small-scale farmers.

small-scale farmers¹ involved in the production of potatoes, cabbages, coffee and milk who, in 1991, took the first steps towards having it declared a protected area.

Why would small-scale farmers want to have their land declared a protected area with all the restrictions in terms of land management this entails? This was one of the questions I set out to explore as part of my research on organizing

practices and the poor in natural resource management. Based on interviews with farmers, government officials, and representatives and staff from local and non-governmental organizations, I venture that "protecting Miraflores" was locally conceived as a strategy also to protect the livelihoods of small-scale farmers.

Miraflores

Miraflores is situated in the mountains northeast of the Nicaragua town of Estelí. It contains bio-diversity rich patches of mountainous cloud forest, rare species of orchids and birds, and provides ecological services for the township of Estelí and lower-lying farmlands. It ranges from dry plains at about 500-700 m. to a cool, humid plain, *el plan helado*, at about 1,400 m. In the lower parts of the



Figure 1. Miraflores landscape (Courtesy Helle Ravnborg)

area, primarily large-scale farmers keep cattle while further up the slopes, smaller-scale farmers grow shaded coffee, maize and beans. In the upper part vegetables are also grown, often under irrigation. In total, Miraflores provides a home to around 1,000 households.

A significant part of the land in Miraflores was redistributed during the agrarian reform period of the 1980s. Up through the 1980s, the cooperative farmers who had benefited from the agrarian reform received massive technical and economic assistance for their potato and coffee cultivation, encouraging high levels of use of agro-chemicals. Following the change of government in 1990, the technical and legal support to agrarian reform beneficiaries was stopped. The farmers were left in a situation of great economic and legal insecurity. At the same time, due to its high agro-ecological potentials as well as its proximity to Estelí and the Pan-American Highway, several commercially oriented and resourceful farmers started buying land in Miraflores during the 1990s.

Miraflores becomes a protected landscape

It was in this context that, in 1991, the cooperative farmers took the first steps towards having Miraflores declared a protected

area. At the beginning they approached the district council. Later, they presented a request to the National Assembly of Nicaragua for the inclusion of Mirafior in the National System of Protected Areas. This became a reality in 1996. Following this, an amendment to the Nicaraguan legislation concerned with protected areas was approved in 1999 and a series of studies on Mirafior were undertaken under the coordination of the Ministry for the Environment and Natural Resources (MARENA), with the financial support of a Finnish grant. These events proved essential for Mirafior to be assigned the status of "protected landscape", corresponding to IUCN category V and making it one of the few of the kind in Central America.

By the early 1990s, it was becoming increasingly clear to people that they had to halt deforestation in order to conserve both the climate and the flora and fauna of Mirafior as well as to stop using high levels of agro-chemicals because drinking water was getting contaminated. This was what a former cooperative farmer explained when I asked him why they, as farmers, had wanted Mirafior to become a protected area. There is little doubt that such environmental con-

cerns were strongly emerging among people in the area and were part of the motivation to have Mirafior declared a protected area. But beyond that, at least two additional concerns contributed to the farmers' actions.

First, UCA-Mirafior had been established in 1990 as a union of cooperatives to protect the interests of the cooperative members, i.e. the agrarian reform beneficiaries.

As the economic, political and legal situation was highly precarious UCA-Mirafior hoped to attract external support by projecting itself as an environmentally concerned organization of small-scale cooperative farmers in the post-Rio era. The status as a protected area served as a vehicle to attract external support (financial support as well as, to a certain extent, political support).

Second, UCA-Mirafior has all along not only insisted on having Mirafior declared a protected area but also in favour of Mirafior adopting a relatively restrictive management plan. During the 1990s, many small-scale farmers had given up farming. Some did so as they had become severely indebted during the 1980s. Others did it because they felt insecure in their land tenure. Still others did it simply because they felt tempted to sell their land. The small scale farmers who were left feared that they too would get soon squeezed out of farming by the emerging group of resourceful (often absentee) new landlord farmers in the area. Adopting a relatively restrictive management plan with respect to the use of external inputs, the introduction of exogenous species, and the

Adopting a relatively restrictive management plan with respect to the use of external inputs, the introduction of exogenous species, and the use of water for irrigation would make Mirafior less attractive as an object for agricultural investments and instead favour small-scale farmers, whose comparative advantage are labour-intensive approaches and low-external-input farming skills.



Figure 2. Don Adolfo Velasquez of UCA-Mirafior. (Courtesy Helle Ravnborg)

use of water for irrigation was hoped it would make Miraflores less attractive as an object for agricultural investments. This would have favoured the small-scale farmers, whose comparative advantage are labour-intensive capacities and low-external-input farming skills. In this way, protecting Miraflores as a landscape could serve as a strategy also to protect small-scale farming as a livelihood option.



Figure 3. A portion of the wall painting at the control posts at the entrances to Miraflores (this was organised by MARENA (Courtesy Helle Ravnborg)

The management plan as a platform for negotiation –is MARENA ready to mediate?

After the declaration of the protected landscape, a management plan was to be developed for Miraflores and negotiated among its stakeholders. The plan would, among other matters, stipulate the allowed natural resource management activities in the landscape.

Early in 2001, a draft management plan for Miraflores was presented by MARENA. Prior to the official presentation of this draft, some of the larger landowners who the cooperative had hoped to dissuade from the area had organized themselves into the Association of Environmental Producers of Miraflores (APROAMI). APROAMI sought to influence MARENA to abstain from proposing to restrict the use of chemical inputs in the agricultural and pastoral zones, but with no success. At the official presentation of the management plan,

APROAMI also contested the proposals to rehabilitate 4,000 hectares of land, i.e. half of the area, to ensure the integrity of landscape ecological functions, and to regulate the introduction of exotic crop and pasture species. They actually threatened to obstruct the approval of the plan. “*If the landowners do not agree to the management plan, you cannot approve it*”, said one of the APROAMI members, and the MARENA representative reluctantly had to agree. As of today (two years later), Miraflores still lacks a management plan and even if one were endorsed MARENA would hardly have any resources to ensure or create incentives for its implementation.

Instead of a management plan, however, Miraflores possesses an Association of Inhabitants and Producers of the Natural Reserve Miraflores Moropotente—the so-called Miraflores Forum—established in January 2002. One of the stated objectives of the Miraflores Forum is to “*create a platform for the discussion, evaluation and dissemination of the*

management plan for Miraflores". Yet, there is a considerable overlap between the leadership of the Miraflores Forum and APROAMI.

Strategic alliances

Interestingly, the creation of the Miraflores Forum has led to a kind of a strategic alliance in which two groups at opposite ends of the socio-economic spectrum have found common cause in resisting the efforts of cooperative farmers, who appear to stand in the middle. On the one hand are the resourceful, mostly absentee landowners, who constitute a minority in the area and need a numerous alliance partner in order to claim legitimacy. On the other are the poorest segments of the population, many of whom are landless or marginal farmers. The latter are not part of the cooperatives and are poorly connected to external organizations in general. Both the powerful landlord and landless peasants believe to gain from referring to a narrative about the "vicious circle" relationship linking poverty and environmental degradation. Indeed, much of the criticism towards the draft management plan has been levered by them with reference to poverty as the main cause of environmental degradation.

The resourceful landowners refer to poverty in an effort to deflect the attention of external organizations and authorities, as well as the insiders' attention, from the environmental impact of their own natural resource management. "It is the poverty that is destroying the environment", the current president of the Miraflores Forum said at a workshop held the day before the official presentation of the draft management plan. "They [the poor] enter into our properties and cut down firewood; they are destroying our land". The poor segments of the population meanwhile, evoked the "vicious circle" to draw the attention of external organizations and authorities to their unmet basic needs (food security,

housing, health), very important but not directly linked to environmental concerns.

This alliance in opposition to the small scale farmers who promoted the the protected landscape is, in fact, stalling the situation. The *raison d'être* of MARENA are its environmental concerns. If it will recognise that they coincide with the strategic interests of small-scale farmers, if it will have the economic resources and the political courage to argue for and enforce an unambiguous management plan, and if it will be willing to accommodate the concerns of the poorest and more marginal sectors... then there is a hope that Miraflores will become a truly protected landscape.

The creation of the Miraflores Forum has led to a kind of a strategic alliance in which two groups at opposite ends of the socio-economic spectrum have found common cause in resisting the efforts of cooperative farmers, who stand in the middle. [...] Only if MARENA will recognise that its environmental concerns coincide with the strategic interests of small-scale farmers, Miraflores will become a truly protected landscape.

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Note

¹ The farmers were organized in the union of agricultural cooperatives of Miraflores (UCA-Miraflores).

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Una experiencia de co-manejo de bivalvos en el marco de una nueva herramienta de administración pesquera en Chile: las áreas de manejo

Jaime Aburto & Wolfgang Stotz

En Chile, una medida de administración pesquera de co-manejo permite que las organizaciones de pescadores artesanales puedan tener los derechos de explotación exclusivos de los recursos bentónicos en un área delimitada, denominada "área de manejo". Las áreas de manejo son explotadas bajo un régimen en el cual la autoridad pesquera (Subsecretaría de Pesca) debe aprobar la propuesta técnica elaborada por un organismo competente, el cual es contratado por las organizaciones de pescadores artesanales. El Grupo de Ecología y Manejo de Recursos (Ecolmar) de la Universidad Católica del Norte trabaja asesorando a las organizaciones de pescadores artesanales en temas relativos al manejo de recursos y áreas de manejo. En la actualidad asesora directamente a 8 agrupaciones de pescadores artesanales, con un total de 12 áreas de manejo.

La Organización de pescadores de Caleta Tongoy¹

Una de las organizaciones con las que trabaja Ecolmar es la organización de pescadores de Tongoy. Caleta Tongoy posee características únicas dentro de lo que es el esquema tradicional del pescador artesanal en Chile. Esta organización es una de las más grandes del norte de Chile, pues está compuesta por casi 500 personas. La gran mayoría de estos pescadores participan de algunas de las 13 empresas de cultivo que han sido constituidas por los pescadores artesanales de Tongoy. Sin embargo, existe un pequeño grupo de aproximadamente 50 personas que son extractores de orilla y no participan de los grupos de cultivo. Estas personas viven exclusivamente de la extracción de la macha o "surf clam"— *Mesodema donacium*— un molusco bivalvo que vive exclusivamente en la zona de rompientes de las playas de arena.

Pesquería de *Mesodesma donacium* en el centro norte de Chile y el efecto del fenómeno de El Niño (1997 - 1998)

La costa del centro norte de Chile es en su mayor parte rocosa, por lo que los bancos de machas se encuentran confinados en pequeñas bahías. La población de machas más grande de esta parte del país se encontraba en el banco de Bahía Coquimbo, distante unos 40 kilómetros al norte de Tongoy. En Bahía Coquimbo, durante muchos años y en un régimen de libre acceso a la pesquería, se concentró la extracción de machas por parte de los pescadores de la región. En el año 1997 trabajaban en Coquimbo alrededor de 600 personas, y el único sistema

de regulación que existía eran cuotas impuestas por las propias organizaciones debido a que las capturas comenzaron a decaer; sin embargo, las cuotas no tenían fundamentos biológicos. Durante el invierno de 1997 y parte de 1998, la

costa de Chile se vio afectada por el fenómeno de El Niño. En la zona de Coquimbo, que presenta un clima semi desértico, se registraron intensas precipitaciones, provocando que el Río Elqui, que desemboca en la Bahía Coquimbo, arrastrara una gran cantidad de sedimento que sepultó el banco de machas. Con ello terminó la pesquería en Bahía Coquimbo y comenzó el éxodo de un gran número de pescadores, parte de los cuales se trasladó a un pequeño banco de machas ubicado en Bahía Tongoy.

En el aspecto social y organizacional el plan de manejo fue un éxito. Los pescadores habían asimilado la importancia del trabajo asociativo. Hubo un cambio en el sentido de propiedad del recurso y por último, lograron un papel más activo en el proceso de comercialización. Se obtuvieron mejores ingresos como producto de una gestión más eficiente, y no por la vía de extraer más recurso.

El inicio del área de manejo de Caleta Tongoy

En el año 1999, la agrupación de pescadores de Tongoy y la Universidad Católica del Norte comenzaron los estudios requeridos por la Subsecretaría de Pesca para obtener el área de manejo. Las evaluaciones mostraron que el banco estaba en una situación crítica. La fracción adulta de la población era escasa, como resultado de la fuerte explotación a la que fue sometido el banco durante el año 1998 y el verano de 1999. Sin embargo, durante el verano de 1999 se registró en Bahía Tongoy un gran reclutamiento de machas, que a pesar de la escasa biomasa disponible para la captura, permitía proyectar extracciones a futuro.

Al momento de iniciar los estudios en el área de manejo Tongoy, la macha era explotada sin ningún tipo de control; había más de 200 pescadores trabajando en el área, la gran mayoría de los cuales ni siquiera pertenecía a la organización de pescadores de Tongoy. Los dirigentes de Caleta Tongoy, preocupados por esta situación y sin consultar a las bases de la organización ni a la unidad técnica competente, optaron por solicitar a las autoridades fiscalizadoras y a la Armada de Chile el cierre de la pesquería. Esta decisión se hacía efectiva para todos los pescadores, incluyendo a los socios de Caleta Tongoy. Con esta acción se buscaba facilitar la fiscalización por parte de las autoridades para controlar la pesca clandestina. Sin embargo, al cabo de dos meses de cierre de la pesquería, al interior de la Caleta Tongoy se comenzó a generar un fuerte problema social, ya que para los macheros este recurso constituía su única fuente de ingresos.

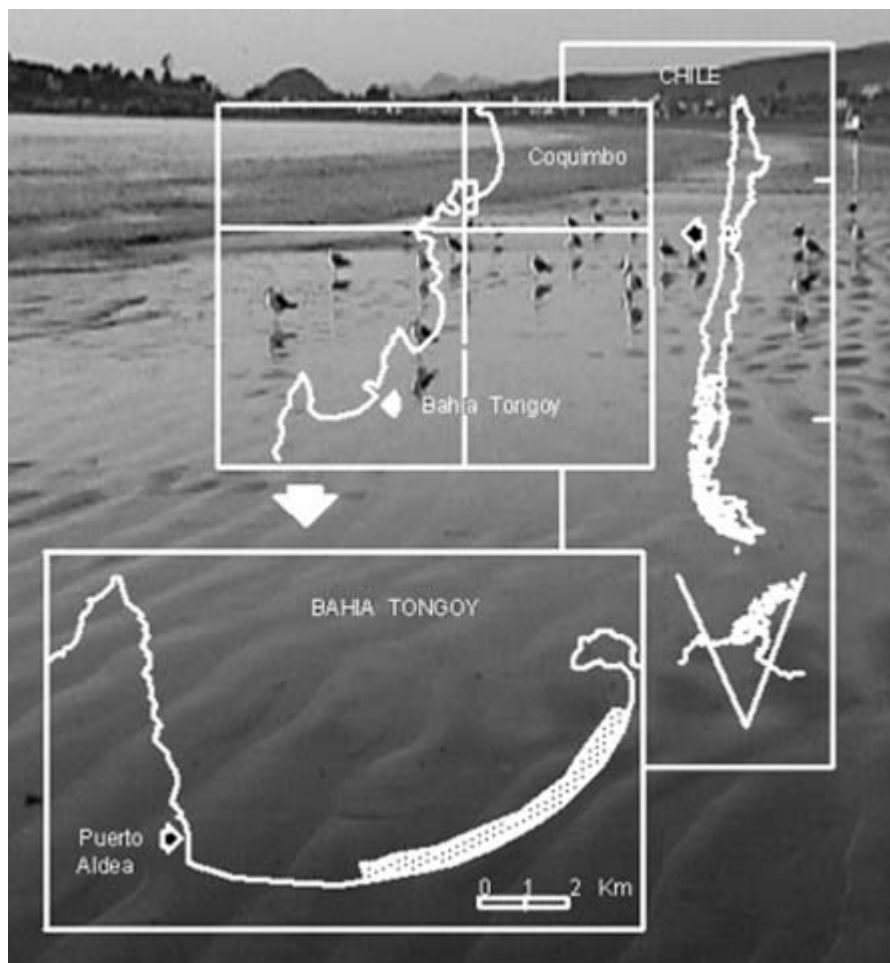


Figura 1. Ubicación geográfica de Bahía Tongoy y Bahía Coquimbo. La zona achurada representa el sector correspondiente al área de manejo de Caleta Tongoy. (Cortesía Jaime Aburto)

Pesca experimental y los primeros pasos en el manejo de la pesquería de la macha

Para buscar una solución al problema, se organizó un encuentro entre todos los involucrados en la pesquería de la macha. A este encuentro fueron invitados sólo los dirigentes de la organización de pescadores y los macheros. Asistieron, además la Armada de Chile, el Servicio Nacional de Pesca (Sernapesca, organismo fiscalizador de las actividades relativas a la pesca) y la Universidad Católica del Norte, organismo a cargo de ejecutar el estudio de situación base del área. En la reunión se resolvió reanudar la pesquería de la macha, bajo una modalidad de pesca experimental. Esto significó deberes y compromisos para todos los involucrados en el proceso de pesca experimental. Las autoridades (Armada y Sernapesca) se comprometieron a prestar todo el apoyo posible

para la fiscalización de la pesquería y el control de a pesca ilegal. El Gremio de Tongoy se comprometió a entregar a los macheros la

Existió una desvinculación de los dirigentes de la organización en el proceso de la pesquería, dejando a los macheros la administración de un recurso que era responsabilidad del gremio.

administración y el control de la pesquería de la macha. Por su parte, el grupo de macheros asumió el deber de realizar la vigilancia del banco durante las 24 horas del día y de llevar un estricto control de las capturas.

Además, la unidad técnica

recomendó que el número de usuarios se debía mantener al mínimo posible, debido a la escasa abundancia de recurso por sobre la talla mínima de captura (60 mm).

Bajo estas condiciones, establecidas en conjunto por los participantes en la reunión, se reanudaron las cosechas con un volumen máximo de 6.5 toneladas mensuales. Paralelamente, el consultor (la Universidad) comenzó a trabajar en el diseño del plan de manejo. Una vez definidos los límites dentro de los cuales se podía

establecer la cuota de captura, se realizó otra reunión, esta vez sólo con los dirigentes de los macheros. El objetivo de este nuevo encuentro era establecer cuáles eran las expectativas económicas que tenían los pescadores para la explotación del banco de machas. Las expectativas de los pescadores se encontraban dentro del margen ecológico y socioeconómico establecido en el plan de manejo; así, las capturas se iniciaron con una cuota de 7.5 toneladas mensuales, pudiendo llegar a un máximo de 10 toneladas en los meses de verano, cuando el recurso tiene una mayor demanda.

Los primeros efectos del plan de manejo

A los pocos meses de haber iniciado los trabajos en el marco del plan de manejo, se comenzaron a notar los primeros efectos. Hubo un ordenamiento de la pesquería y un fortalecimiento de la organización del grupo de macheros. El plan de vigilancia operaba las 24 horas del día. Existía una fuerte fiscalización sobre la extracción del recurso, con una comisión formada por los propios macheros, que eran encargados de velar por el cumplimiento de las cuotas asignadas. Pero quizás el logro más importante fue el control sobre el proceso de comercialización. En el caso de los macheros de Tongoy, era frecuente encontrar un gran número de comerciantes que se movían a lo largo de la playa, muchas veces transportando grupos de macheros que, por diversas razones, como por ejemplo adelantos de dinero, se veían en la obligación de comercializar el producto con el intermediario. Además, generalmente había un acuerdo entre los intermediarios para controlar los precios, poniendo en conjunto un precio máximo de



Figura 2. Actividad de cosecha en Bahía Coquimbo (año 2003) (Cortesía Marcelo Valdebenito)

compra. De esta manera, la posibilidad de controlar el proceso de la comercialización por parte de los macheros era escasa.

Sin embargo, con el trabajo asociativo la organización comenzó a negociar la extracción en forma colectiva. A través de un proceso de licitación se buscó al comerciante que ofreciera las mejores condiciones de compra del recurso. En pocos meses de trabajo el precio de la macha aumentó desde USD0.57 a USD1.7 el kilo. En el aspecto social y organizacional el plan de manejo fue un éxito. Los pescadores habían asimilado la importancia del trabajo asociativo. Hubo un cambio en el sentido de propiedad del recurso y por último, lograron un papel más activo en el proceso de comercialización. Se obtuvieron mejores ingresos como producto de una gestión más eficiente, y no por la vía de extraer más recurso.

Desarrollo de la pesquería en el área de manejo Tongoy

Durante el año 1999 y parte del 2000, la pesca se desarrolló en forma ordenada. Sin embargo, a partir del año 2000 la extracción ilegal se comenzó a intensificar. La vigilancia era sobrepasada y muchas veces se registraron

hechos de violencia entre macheros y pescadores ilegales. A los problemas sociales que se comenzaban a desarrollar se sumó la falta de un buen reclutamiento durante los años 2000 y 2001. El plan de manejo había sido diseñado de manera que se pueda proyectar la biomasa presente en el banco en un horizonte de tres años, bajo el supuesto de que el reclutamiento podía presentar variabilidad de un año a otro. Sin embargo, nunca se esperó que esta variabilidad se tradujera en prácticamente cero individuos juveniles durante dos años seguidos.

Hasta ese momento el banco presentaba una alta biomasa de machas adultas. A lo largo de todo el sector del área de manejo era posible extraer el recurso sin mayor problema. Sin embargo, la biomasa que estaba siendo removida del banco no estaba siendo reemplazada por individuos juveniles. El alto valor comercial que tenía el recurso (USD1.7 el kilo) permitía que en un par de horas de trabajo al día los pescadores pudieran satisfacer sus expectativas económicas. Esta situación comenzó a generar una falsa sensación de éxito, tanto en los macheros como en el resto de los pescadores de Tongoy, quienes veían que con poco esfuerzo se obtenían grandes beneficios económicos. De esta manera, un grupo de 75 pescadores pertenecientes a la organización, pero que no habían sido incluidos en el proceso de extracción del recurso, comenzó a presionar a los dirigentes de la agrupación de pescadores de Tongoy para ingresar a la pesquería de la macha. El colapso del banco era inminente. Durante dos años la extracción se había concentrado en una sola cohorte, sin un nuevo reclutamiento. El éxito del plan de manejo había sido administrar ese reclutamiento y ordenar la pesquería, permitiendo que durante 3 años 50 personas pudieran vivir de la extracción de la macha. En junio del 2001 la evaluación del banco de machas de Tongoy reflejaba el colapso de la pesquería.

Las lecciones aprendidas

Las lecciones más importantes se relacionan con el aspecto social del proceso. En particular:



Figura 3. Selección de los individuos bajo talla mínima de captura (60 mm) para ser devueltos al mar. (Cortesía Marcelo Valdebenito)

1. Participación amplia y de las organizaciones apropiadas. Organizar y administrar una pesquería dejando al margen de las reuniones a la gran mayoría de la miembros de la organización (que no eran exclusivamente macheros), generó posteriormente conflictos que podrían haber sido evitados si desde un principio el proceso hubiese sido realmente participativo, informando a todos los pescadores del gremio cuál era la real situación del banco de machas. Por otro lado, existió una desvinculación de los dirigentes de la organización en el proceso de la pesquería, dejando a los

No contamos con la tecnología ni el conocimiento para influir sobre el potencial productivo de las áreas de manejo. [...] Si no podemos manejar variables ambientales y/o biológicas, ¿que podemos recomendar a los pescadores?

macheros la administración de un recurso que era responsabilidad del gremio. Esto es importante de destacar, ya que en encuentros informales con los propios macheros, muchos de ellos señalaron que no siempre las cuotas establecidas

eran respetadas, lo cual podría haberse detectado si se hubiese implementado un sistema de control por parte de la propia organización de pescadores de Tongoy.

2. La importancia de un conocimiento de la biología de los recursos a manejar.

Muchos aspectos de la dinámica de poblaciones de la macha son poco conocidos, y esto es válido para muchas de las especies que hoy se explotan bajo el régimen de áreas de manejo. Los recursos son afectados por variables ambientales que no se pueden controlar. Entonces, ¿que es lo que se maneja realmente? No contamos con la tecnología ni el conocimiento para influir sobre el potencial productivo de las áreas de manejo. Se han realizado esfuerzos para producir, por ejemplo, individuos juveniles de macha en laboratorio para implementar medidas de redoblamiento; sin embargo, esto aun no se consigue. Si no podemos manejar variables ambientales y/o biológicas, ¿que podemos recomendar a los pescadores?

3. Asimilar las lecciones aprendidas sobre la marcha. Durante los años 2000 y 2001 se registraron grandes reclutamientos de machas en el banco de Bahía Coquimbo; probablemente las larvas fueron aportadas por el banco de machas de Bahía Tongoy, ya que hasta ese momento no se habían encontrado machas en Coquimbo. Esto ha permitido que actualmente en Bahía Coquimbo se esté desarrollando una intensa pesquería de machas bajo el régimen de área de manejo. Hasta el momento la pesquería es ordenada y existe un fuerte control por parte de los pescadores para que se respeten las cuotas. Pero, ¿que pasará ante eventuales fallas en el reclutamiento o ante un nuevo fenómeno de El Niño? Nuestra recomendación actual es intentar aprovechar al máximo la biomasa actual disponible, sobre una talla mínima de captura. Esto es importante pues la población esta sufriendo una alta mortalidad natural, de modo que no resulta posible reservar biomasa para cosechas en los próximos años. La biomasa que en Tongoy se intentó reservar para un horizonte de tres años, en Coquimbo se proyecta a un año plazo. Dentro de un año se volverá a evaluar la situación, en una medida de administración que no es estática y que se irá adaptando en la medida que se amplían los conocimientos sobre el recurso y se incorpore a los pescadores, a través de un proceso participativo, en el diseño y administración de los planes de manejo y las pesquerías.

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(Wstotz@ucn.cl) trabajan en el Grupo de Ecología y Manejo de Recursos del Departamento de Biología Marina de la Universidad Católica del Norte en Coquimbo, Chile. Ellos quieren testimoniar sinceros agradecimientos a la organización de pescadores de Tongoy, especialmente al grupo de macheros quienes hicieron posible que desarrollan su trabajo. Además quieren expresar sus agradecimientos al Dr. **Hugh Govan**, miembro del Steering Committee del CEEESP/CMWG para el medio marino-costero por sus valiosos y desinteresados comentarios y sugerencias.

Nota

¹ Caleta es el nombre que se da al lugar físico donde operan los pescadores artesanales. También se llama así a las agrupaciones mismas.

Manejo participativo de áreas protegidas ¿Un paso hacia la autodeterminación de los pueblos indígenas? La reserva de biosfera Bosawas en Nicaragua

Ralph A. Buss y Eileen Mairena Cunningham

La actual discusión sobre conceptos y contenidos de co-manejo o manejo participativo y la conservación de los recursos naturales bajo la participación activa y decisiva de los pueblos indígenas en América Latina se basa en dos pilares fundamentales. El primero es la elaboración y desarrollo de conceptos sectoriales sobre las diferentes formas y niveles de manejo participativo (participación como concepto transversal, compatibilidad entre conocimientos tradicionales-locales y académicos-occidentales, diferentes cosmovisiones sobre aprovechamiento sostenible de los recursos naturales, etc.). Y el segundo es, la discusión general sobre la autodeterminación indígena como derecho humano colectivo, con todas las implicaciones que esto conlleva como son el derecho a la propiedad, posesión y uso de los recursos naturales y participación equitativa en el ámbito político, económico y social en los procesos de toma de decisiones a nivel nacional e internacional.



Figura 1: Ceremonia cultural durante la inauguración de la casa de cultura Mayangna en Sakalwas. (Cortesía Ralph Buss)

Manejo indígena de áreas protegidas

Las Naciones Unidas estiman que los pueblos indígenas constituyen una población de 300 millones, distribuidos en más de 70 países. Representan culturas, lenguajes, conocimientos y creencias únicos y su contribución al patrimonio mundial, por ejemplo en el arte, la música, las tecnologías, las medicinas y la agricultura es incalculable. Los pueblos indígenas representan una diversidad cultural enorme, puesto que viven en entornos geográficos, sociales y políticos sumamente diversos. La diversidad de los pueblos indígenas, la historia de cada uno y el contexto en el que viven hace que sea muy complicado encuadrarlos en una definición única. Ellos mismos, en general, rechazan las tentativas exteriores de definirlos y subrayan su derecho a autodefinirse como un principio fundamental. Sin embargo, resulta útil contar con una definición de trabajo y la que proporciona el relator especial de las Naciones Unidas, José Martínez Cobo, es la que generalmente se considera más aplicable.¹

"Las comunidades, poblaciones y naciones indígenas son aquellas que contando con una continuidad histórica de las sociedades anteriores a la invasión y a la colonización que desarrollaron en sus territorios, se consideran así mismas distintas de otros sectores de la sociedad y están decididas a conservar, desarrollar y transmitir a las generaciones futuras sus territorios ancestrales y su identidad étnica, como base de su existencia continuada como pueblos, de conformidad con sus propios patrones culturales, instituciones sociales y sistemas jurídicos" (Doc. No. E/CN.4 sub2/1986/87).

El término Manejo Participativo de áreas prote-

El Manejo Participativo puede incentivar la conservación, el uso sostenible de los recursos, el manejo de los conflictos socio-ambientales en forma pacífica, el reconocimiento y protección de los derechos indígenas y una distribución más equitativa de los beneficios sociales y económicos

gidas se refiere según Borrini-Feyerabend "a una alianza establecida de común acuerdo entre los interesados de un territorio o conjunto de recursos amparados bajo el estado de protección para compartir entre ellos las funciones de manejo, derechos y responsabilidades"². En el caso de los pueblos indígenas se trata de arreglos institucionales en donde representantes gubernamentales y/o no-gubernamentales e indígenas entran en un acuerdo formal que especifica los derechos, poderes (sobre uso y toma de decisiones), responsabilidades, obligaciones y beneficios de cada una de las partes y sus mecanismos de control en cuanto al manejo y aprovechamiento de los recursos dentro de un área específica.

El Manejo Participativo puede brindar muchos beneficios a las áreas protegidas, ya que lleva no sólo a mayor integridad ecológica sino también a una mayor integridad social y cultural. Además puede contribuir a incentivar la conservación, el uso sostenible de los recursos, el manejo de los conflictos socio-ambientales en forma pacífica, el reconocimiento y protección de los derechos indígenas y una distribución más equitativa de los beneficios sociales y económicos.³

Condiciones previas para el Manejo Participativo con pueblos indígenas son:

- A nivel nacional e internacional el reconocimiento legal, político y constitucional de títulos de propiedad colectiva indígena para sus tierras y/o territorios ancestralmente habitados por indígenas, los cuales serán auto-administrados por ellos, haciendo efectivos los derechos tradicionales de uso de los recursos naturales de estas áreas.
- La actualización y concertación en forma participativa de los marcos legales nacionales (Ley de Medio Ambiente, Forestal, Pesca, Biodiversidad, Propiedad Intelectual Colectiva, etc.) con los pueblos indígenas con el fin de garantizar el respeto a sus conocimientos y costumbres tradicionales de manejo de sus territorios.

Los pueblos indígenas definen su derecho a la autodeterminación como principal derecho humano colectivo.

- Un cambio fundamental en las estrategias y conceptos estatales de manejo de áreas protegidas como conceptos meramente administrativos-institucionales.
- El entendimiento de Manejo Participativo como un proceso dinámico, integrado por diferentes sistemas de uso y manejo de los recursos naturales (tradicionales indígenas como occidentales) en forma equitativa, los cuales se entretajan hacia un concepto global integral. Las ventajas de cada sistema se optimizan y se evita la dominación de un sub-sistema sobre el otro, pretendiendo alcanzar un situación 'win-win' para todos los actores involucrados.
- Una participación de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas durante los procesos de toma de decisión, en todas las etapas y niveles, de tal manera que se dé un balance a su favor en el poder de decisión - se pretende alcanzar una mayoría estratégica de los representantes indígenas en los gremios de toma y mecanismos de decisión.

Derecho indígena a la autodeterminación

Como puntos de partida para la discusión tenemos las siguientes tesis:

- Los pueblos indígenas dependen fundamentalmente, para su sobrevivencia cultural y social, de sus conceptos tradicionales de aprovechamiento sostenible de sus propios recursos (tierra, agua, bosque, biodiversidad, etc.) basados en sistemas holísticos y colectivos de conocimientos, propiedad (inclusive intelectual), derecho, estructura social y espiritual.
- Los pueblos indígenas definen su derecho a la autodeterminación como principal derecho humano colectivo. En esto no existen modelos homogéneos, sino que cada pueblo indígena y cada país tiene sus propias expresiones y prácticas de autodeterminación indígena: existen tratados, leyes especiales, reglamentaciones y acuerdos sobre autonomías locales, comunales, municipales, comarcales o regionales, las cuales abren espacios para

la creación y el desarrollo de instituciones propias y regulan las relaciones entre los pueblos indígenas y los gobiernos nacionales. Este proceso se desarrolla paralelamente al reconocimiento internacional de derechos indígenas y la propiedad colectiva indígena sobre sus territorios y recursos naturales.

- Para la formación de sociedades y sistemas democráticos multiculturales y multiétnicos, el concepto de estados y naciones mono-étnicos centralizados, un modelo común en América Latina y reflejado en la actualidad en la gran mayoría de las constituciones políticas, tiene que ser revisado y rediseñado. La multi-etnicidad requiere cambios constitucionales, como se ha logrado por ejemplo en Nicaragua y Bolivia, y cambios cualitativos sustanciales en la distribución de los poderes del estado, así como de los mecanismos de toma de decisiones de las naciones.

Frente a estos supuestos encontramos los siguientes problemas fundamentales que quedan por resolver:

- El reconocimiento de derechos subsidiarios⁴ y a su vez el no reconocimiento de derechos sustanciales⁵ por los sistemas jurídicos y las constituciones nacionales.
- Una limitada o casi nula participación de los pueblos indígenas en las estructuras y mecanismos de toma de decisiones en todos los niveles. Las constelaciones de poder en los estados nacionales del continente americano muestran un fuerte desequilibrio en contra de

La multi-etnicidad requiere cambios constitucionales, como se ha logrado por ejemplo en Nicaragua y Bolivia, y cambios cualitativos sustanciales en la distribución de los poderes del estado, así como de los mecanismos de toma de decisiones de las naciones

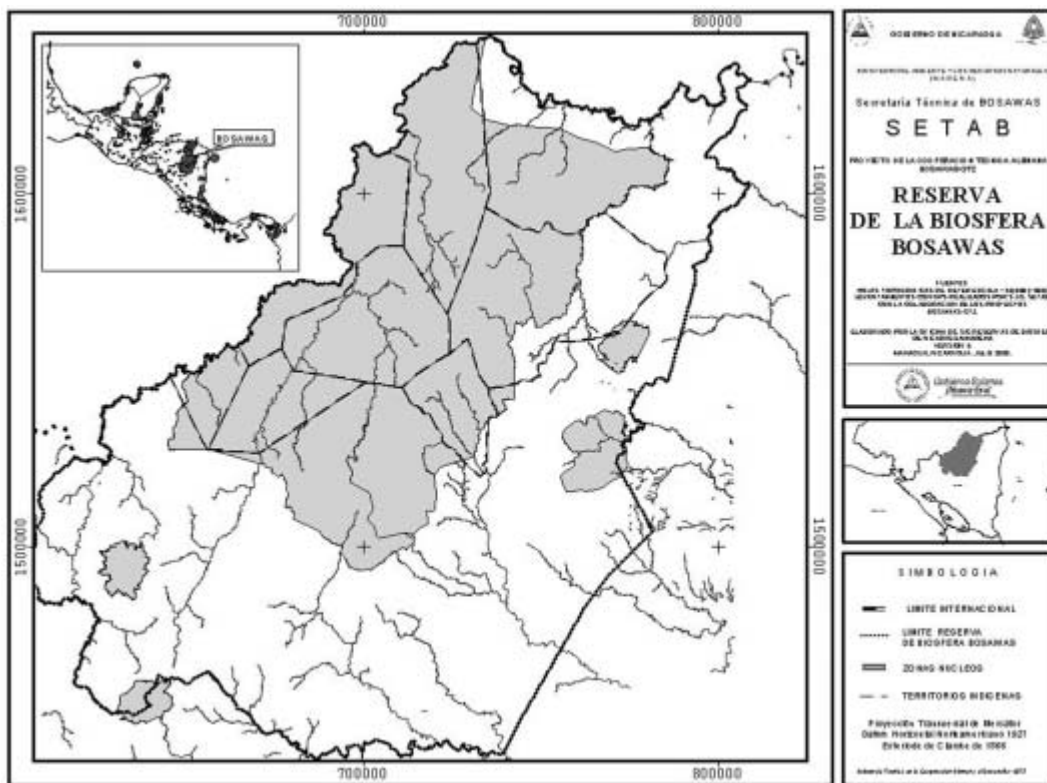
los pueblos indígenas, aun en países con mayorías indígenas como Bolivia y Guatemala.

- Instrumentos y marcos jurídicos nacionales e internacionales, que marcan un cambio positivo hacia el fortalecimiento de los derechos indígenas a la autodeterminación,

pero que esconden el fuerte riesgo de ser abusados en su implementación forzando una nueva forma de colonización y asimilación de los pueblos indígenas. La entrada en vigor del Convenio 169 de la OIT, por ejemplo abrió las puertas a la creación de bases jurídicas que permitirían el ingreso de intereses transnacionales a territorios indígenas. Se habla de un proceso de consulta a los pueblos indígenas como prerrequisito para inversiones y concesiones de explotación en territorios indígenas, pero no se definen los mecanismos de amparo para los pueblos indígenas. En el marco de una alta concentración de recursos naturales no explotados en territorios indígenas, el Convenio 169 satisface el interés de los grupos del poder económico en contar con un marco jurídico claro para acceder a su avasallamiento.⁶

La Reserva de Biosfera BOSAWAS en Nicaragua

La Reserva de Biosfera Bosawas (RBB), reconocida por la UNESCO en el año 1997 y miembro de la red mundial de reservas de biosferas, respaldada por ley nacional (Ley 407) desde 2001, está ubicada en el Noreste de Nicaragua, representando una extensión total de 20,000 km², el 14 % de la superficie del país. Es la región protegida menos alterada más extensa de Centroamérica con bosques pluviales, y conjuntamente con áreas protegidas de Honduras (Parque Nacional Río Patuca, Reserva de Biosfera Tawahka, y Reserva de Biosfera Río Plátano), forma el corazón del Corredor Biológico Mesoamericano. Los diferentes ecosistemas se caracterizan por una alta biodiversidad, aún desconocida, con un alto grado de endemismo. Durante el año 2003 se está llevando a cabo el proceso participativo de definición y elaboración de la propuesta de *Reserva de Biosfera Transfronteriza "Corazón del Corredor Biológico Mesoamericano"* entre Nicaragua y Honduras, con la entrega de la solicitud formal a la UNESCO para la creación y reconocimiento de esta primera Reserva de Biosfera Binacional en América Latina, en la cual BOSAWAS como parte



logrado obtener el marco legal para el reconocimiento oficial de sus derechos autóctonos sobre sus tierras y propiedades comunales y para el otorgamiento de títulos de propiedad comunitaria sobre el territorio por parte del estado nicaragüense, en un proceso cuya ejecución está abierta.

La RBB se creó por Decreto Ejecutivo (44-91) en el año 1991, siendo la razón para ello la amenaza que existía de convertir esta área en un polo de desarrollo agropecuario. Se quería defender uno de los bosques tropicales más

nicaragüense aportaría un 65% de su extensión total de 35,000 km².

En la zona núcleo de la reserva, con 7500 km², habitan casi exclusivamente las etnias indígenas Mayangna y Miskitu que mantienen hasta la presente sus formas tradicionales de manejo integral y sostenible de sus ecosistemas. El 80 % de la población Mayangna de aproximadamente 12,000 habitantes vive en la Reserva. Después de la guerra de los años 80 aumentó en forma acelerada la toma descontrolada de tierras en la zona de amortiguamiento de la reserva BOSAWAS por parte de colonos mestizos, lo que lleva a una destrucción constante de los recursos naturales y a una fuerte amenaza del hábitat de los pueblos indígenas.

Los pueblos indígenas, en base a un proceso de fortalecimiento cultural y étnico, mantienen sus formas tradicionales de producción y organización. Su economía de subsistencia integral de agricultura migratoria, pesca, caza y recolección les obliga un manejo sostenible de grandes áreas en forma comunal y multi-comunal. Los territorios indígenas son para estos pueblos de suma importancia para la sobrevivencia económica y étnica-cultural. En el año 2003 se ha

intactos de Centroamérica de las políticas de Reforma Agraria y Reinserción de repatriados. La intención era en ese entonces asentar en esta zona a miles y miles de nicaragüenses, que durante la guerra vivieron en Honduras y eran miembros de la Resistencia Nicaragüense. Ante esta amenaza fue que el entonces Director del Instituto de Recursos Naturales manifestó a la Presidencia de la República su preocupación, encargándosele a él de elaborar un borrador para el decreto de Ley, que al término de escasamente una semana se acepta, sin que haya mediado para ello una previa consulta con los pueblos indígenas que viven en la zona. Este nacimiento poco participativo, el cual con razón ha causado y causa críticas de varios sectores de la sociedad, se enmienda en forma legislativa con el posterior Decreto 32-99, el cual estructura el manejo de la RBB sobre una amplia participación, asegurando un papel para el Consejo Regional Autónomo de la Región Atlántico

En la zona núcleo de la reserva Bosawas habitan casi exclusivamente las etnias indígenas Mayangna y Miskitu que mantienen hasta la presente sus formas tradicionales de manejo integral y sostenible de sus ecosistemas.

Norte y gobiernos municipales y las estructuras organizativas de las comunidades indígenas en la Comisión Nacional de BOSAWAS (CNB) y sus órganos de trabajo.⁷

Durante los años 2001 al 2003 fue elaborado bajo dirección de la Secretaría Técnica de BOSAWAS (SETAB)⁸, y aprobado finalmente por el MARENA y los demás miembros de la CNB el Plan de Manejo de la RBB, mediante un proceso participativo de consulta y concertación entre los actores locales y nacionales, en donde se destacan 18 talleres municipales y territoriales-indígenas con la presencia y participación activa de más de 200 representantes locales de unas 100 comunidades rurales, y la extraordinaria contribución de los Territorios Indígenas en la gestión local de los recursos naturales. Este Plan establece el manejo adecuado de la RBB, incluyendo la participación activa de las comunidades indígenas y locales, los sectores e instituciones con presencia en la zona y otras instancias que interactúan en este escenario geográfico, político y social, por medio de la concertación estratégica de acciones y actividades que deben ejecutarse en la RBB. Los planes territoriales de manejo de los 6 Territorios Indígenas formalmente constituidos (*Mayangna Sauni As, Mayangna Sauni Bu, Sikilta, Miskitu Indian Tasbaika Kum, Kipla Sait Tasbaika y Li Lamni Tasbaika Kum*), más el recién formado *Territorio Mayangna Sauni Arunka* (cuyo plan territorial está en elaboración) y los planes de ordenamiento territorial municipal (POTEM) de los 8 municipios de la RBB fundamentan la base operativa del referido Plan de Manejo.

Los 4 Programas de Manejo con sus respectivos sub-programas y líneas de acción forman el concepto básico de la implementación del Plan, haciendo énfasis en el co-manejo y la co-gestión del mismo. Los programas de manejo han sido formulados con la visión de la amplia participación de los distintos actores locales que están presentes en la RBB y

con su debida coordinación para la ejecución de estos. Estos programas tienen una estrecha vinculación con la Estrategia de Sevilla y el Marco Estatutario de la Red Mundial de Reservas de Biosfera del año 1995, donde se definen las tres funciones generales que deben cumplir las Reservas de Biosfera: Conservación, Desarrollo Sostenible y Apoyo Logístico.

Los Programas de Manejo de Bosawas se relacionan con estas funciones:

- Protección y Manejo de Recursos Naturales y Biodiversidad
- Producción Sostenible
- Étnico Cultural
- Administración, Logística y Monitoreo

Formalmente, la SETAB tiene la facultad de establecer formas de co-manejo y co-gestión con otras instituciones, organizaciones, asociaciones territoriales indígenas para el manejo de



Figura 2: Casa tradicional Mayangna en el río Wasbuk. (Cortesía Ralph Buss)

áreas en la RBB, de acuerdo a lo contemplado en la Ley No. 407, al establecer como una de las funciones de SETAB la administración de la RBB. En este contexto se percibe la co-gestión como una resultante de diferentes funciones y facultades, entre las cuales se destacan los aspectos

de comunicación, coordinación y co-manejo interinstitucional e intercultural entre los diferentes actores.

La participación en el manejo de áreas protegidas apoya al fortalecimiento de la autodeterminación indígena

El proceso BOSAWAS, dirigido y rectorado por la SETAB está acompañado en el marco de convenios de cooperación, vinculado y coordinado con programas y actividades por parte de organizaciones internacionales bi y multilaterales⁹; en él se contemplan como metas claves la conservación y preservación de la biodiversidad y el espacio de vida de los pueblos indígenas que tradicionalmente habitan la zona y el desarrollo sostenible de la región de la RBB.

La autoorganización de los territorios indígenas en base a una solución de la tenencia de tierra multi-comunal es considerada por las instituciones involucradas en el proceso como la base conceptual para la aplicación de un sistema de Manejo Participativo de la RBB.

‘Participación’ es un concepto bastante amplio y complejo, pero tiene que ver con poder de decisión, y se puede definir como el esfuerzo

En el año 2003 se ha logrado obtener el marco legal para el reconocimiento oficial de los derechos autóctonos sobre sus tierras y propiedades comunales y para el otorgamiento de títulos de propiedad comunitaria sobre el territorio por parte del estado nicaraгуense, en un proceso cuya ejecución está abierta.

organizado por parte de grupos marginados, sean hombres o mujeres, para aumentar su control sobre los recursos y estructuras/organizaciones.

Participación no se logra únicamente con la voluntad de querer participar o de “dejar” participar, sino que necesita de una serie de requisitos. Uno de ellos es la autogestión indígena, que bajo la

filosofía del proceso BOSAWAS se logra a través del fortalecimiento de las capacidades propias de autogestión.

El avance en este fortalecimiento se ha logra-



Figura 3: Río Pis Pis, medio de comunicación del territorio Mayangna Sauni As. (Cortesía Ralph Buss)

do en varios campos, como son la implementación de programas de capacitación de líderes locales¹⁰, la realización de proyectos de desarrollo comunal bajo responsabilidad de las autoridades locales¹¹, el fortalecimiento organizativo de los curanderos y parteras tradicionales Mayangna, el rescate cultural de diferentes áreas de la cultura Mayangna (educación bilingüe, artesanía, etc.), entre otros.

Varios mecanismos se han venido utilizando para el fortalecimiento de la autogestión; el proceso de legalización de los territorios autóctonos de los pueblos indígenas Mayangna y Miskitu es uno de ellos y constituye un buen ejemplo.

Al comienzo del proceso de legalización de los territorios indígenas en la región de BOSAWAS¹², los actores principales (las comunidades indígenas) analizaron y definieron los fundamentos y límites en los cuales se basan los derechos autóctonos y tradicionales de las comunidades sobre sus tierras. Para ello realizaron estudios socioeconómicos e históricos, de la historia oral indígena, mapeos, etc.

En un segundo paso, durante un proceso de concertación entre las comunidades, definieron la extensión del territorio y las comunidades que pertenecerían a este. Paralelamente con este paso definieron la organización sociopolítica y administrativa para el manejo del territorio multi-comunal y eligieron a sus representantes formales, basándose en la organización comunal y la tradición de la toma de decisiones por consenso. En seguida las autoridades y represen-

tantes comunales entraron en un largo proceso de comunicación y negociación con las comunidades y territorios limítrofes para lograr el consenso Inter-comunal sobre las extensiones y límites del territorio.

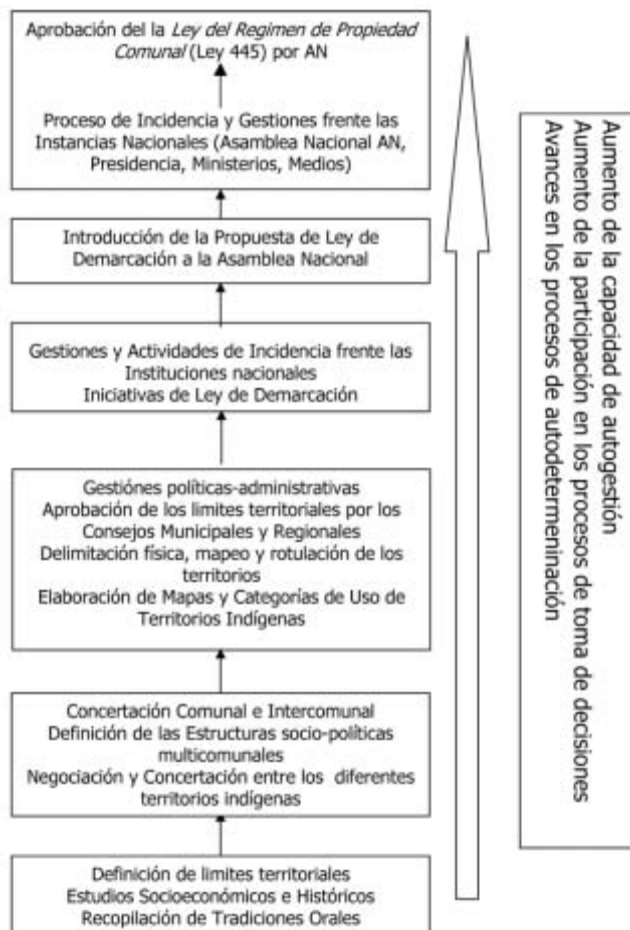
Después de la aprobación entre las comunidades vecinas de los límites territoriales los representantes indígenas entraron a la etapa de gestión a nivel municipal, y con la aprobación de los límites del territorio por el consejo municipal, realizaron gestiones a nivel regional. Con el Gobierno y Consejo Regional de la Región Autónoma Atlántico Norte (GRAAN y CRAAN) las negociaciones fueron realizadas en forma conjunta entre los representantes de todos los territorios indígenas de la región de BOSAWAS y los representantes regionales. Como resultado de este proceso, el más largo y difícil, el CRAAN aprobó en forma unánime en una resolución del Consejo Regional la creación de seis territorios indígenas de la región de BOSAWAS con los límites previamente concertados entre los territorios.¹³ Paralelamente, las organizaciones de base lograron la demarcación física de sus territorios.¹⁴

Como último paso para la legalización final de los territorios indígenas de la región de BOSAWAS queda pendiente su reconocimiento por parte del Gobierno Central de la República de Nicaragua.¹⁵ En múltiples ocasiones, durante los últimos seis años, los representantes indígenas han gestionado frente a las instituciones competentes¹⁶, sin resultados positivos, este paso decisivo de la titulación.

Sin embargo, a raíz de una serie de presiones en octubre de 1998 y por iniciativa legislativa del Presidente de la República, se introduce a la Asamblea Nacional el primer anteproyecto de Ley que regula el Régimen de Propiedad Comunal de las Comunidades Indígenas. Ante esto, los Consejos Regionales de la Costa Atlántica, junto con los pueblos indígenas y comunidades étnicas aprovechan este espacio y desarrollan un proceso de consulta de este anteproyecto de ley en forma participativa, que culminó en septiembre del año 2000 con la

entrega formal de una propuesta de Ley unificada de los 2 Consejos Regionales a la Asamblea Nacional para su dictamen y aprobación.

Esta propuesta con el título *Ley del Régimen de Propiedad Comunal de los pueblos indígenas y Comunidades Étnicas de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua y de los Ríos Bocay, Coco, Indio y Maiz (Ley 445)*



Grafica 1.

fue discutida en la Asamblea Nacional durante 2 Legislaturas diferentes, entre los últimos 3 años, y finalmente aprobado en diciembre del año pasado.¹⁷ En enero 2003 entró en vigencia esta *Ley del Régimen de Propiedad Comunal de los Pueblos Indígenas y Comunidades Étnicas*, dándole a los pueblos indígenas y comunidades étnicas de la RBB el marco legal necesario para el reconocimiento de sus tierras y recursos naturales comunales. Este es un requerimiento

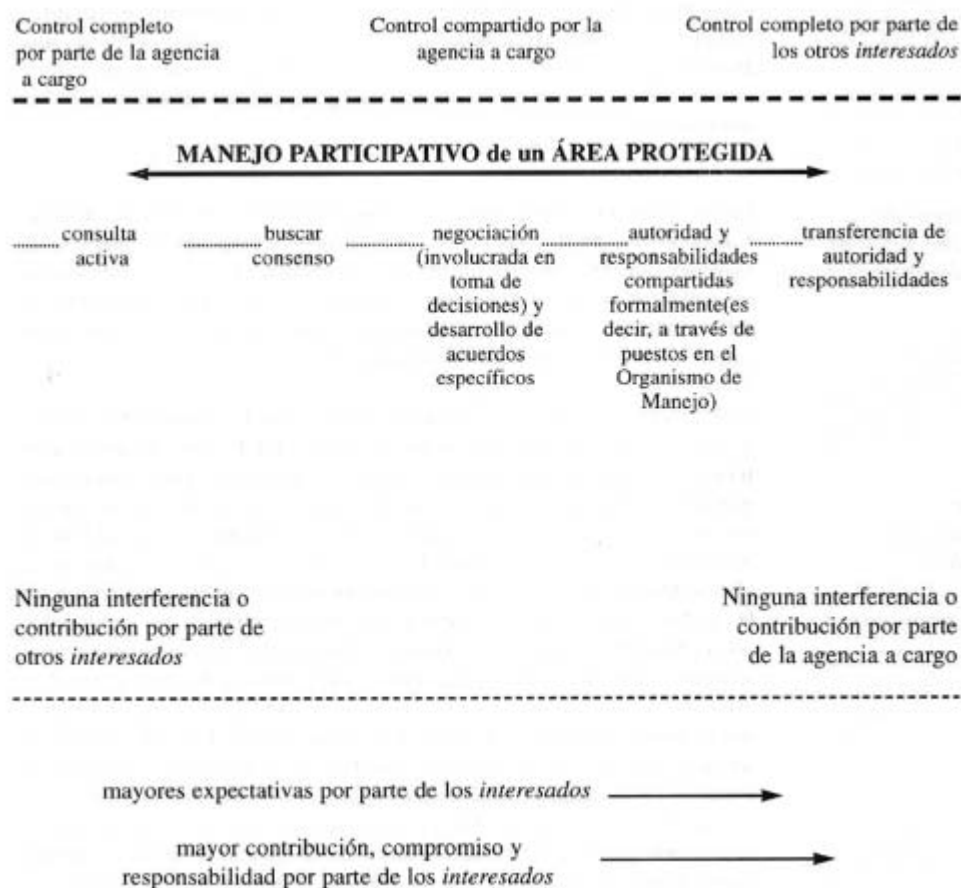
fundamental para el diseño e implementación de un sistema de co-manejo de áreas prioritizadas dentro de la RBB.¹⁸

Todas las etapas aquí mencionadas (véase grafica 1) fueron conducidas y guiadas por las autoridades de los territorios indígenas, quienes actuaron como responsables de todo el proceso, siendo acompañados y apoyados con diferentes formas de asesoría, sin quitarles su iniciativa propia y sus decisiones de actuación.

Durante este proceso el rol de la asesoría externa y de otros actores involucrados se basó y limitó por un lado al fortalecimiento de la auto-organización de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas y a la asesoría en la auto-administración de los territorios con el objetivo de aumentar las posibilidades y potenciales de los Mayangna y Miskitu para la protección de sus territorios.

Por otro lado se brindó asesoría técnica con la definición y el levantamiento de los límites territoriales, el procesamiento de los datos (vía GPS y SIG), la elaboración de mapas y planes de manejos de los territorios indígenas y la asesoría legal para acompañar a las asociaciones durante sus procesos de legalización de sus hábitats tradicionales.

Producto del lineamiento participativo es la actual zonificación de la Reserva, la cual se basa en conceptos de uso sostenible de la tierra de estas comunidades indígenas y donde los seis territorios indígenas cuentan con su propia planificación y zonificación de uso de sus territorios según sus conceptos y categorías tradicionales de manejo sostenible.



Grafica 2: Esquematización de la participación en el manejo de un Área Protegida¹⁹

Aumentando la participación...

Refiriéndonos a la definición de manejo participativo de Borrini-Feyerabend (grafica 2) podemos observar que en el proceso BOSAWAS el desarrollo del concepto comenzó con la definición y designación vertical de la RBB por parte de las instituciones del Estado sin ninguna consulta a los pueblos indígenas como actores principales en y del área protegida. En el transcurso de los últimos 10 años se logró paulatinamente avanzar en el diagrama desde la izquierda hacia la derecha, aumentando con este la participación e influencia activa y el control por parte de las autoridades de los territorios indígenas.

Durante este proceso continuo destacan actividades y pasos decisivos para el diseño y la implementación del concepto de co-manejo de

la RBB con los pueblos indígenas Mayangna y Miskitu.

- La ampliación de la CNB por 6 representantes de los territorios Indígenas, los 8 Alcaldes de los municipios de BOSAWAS y el presidente del Consejo Regional Autónomo para alcanzar una mayoría estratégica en el máximo gremio de decisión
- La delimitación y demarcación de los territorios indígenas
- La zonificación del uso de la tierra de los 6 territorios indígenas
- La elaboración, concertación y aprobación del Plan de Manejo de BOSAWAS
- La unificación de la propuesta de ley de demarcación de tierras indígenas por los Consejos Regionales Autónomos de Nicaragua
- La aprobación y puesta en vigencia de la *Ley del Regimen de Propiedad Comunal de los pueblos indígenas y Comunidades Etnicas de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua y de los Rios Bocay, Coco, Indio y Maiz (Ley 445)* por la Asamblea Nacional

La decisión del gobierno de Nicaragua de reconocer formalmente las tierras y propiedades comunales indígenas, mediante la Ley 445 - recientemente aprobada-, y el arranque del pro-



Figura 4: Vista aérea de los bosques pluviales de BOSAWAS. (Cortesía SETAB)

“... las partes convienen no implementar modalidades de co-manejo que involucren directa o indirectamente los territorios indígenas, mientras no concluya el proceso de su titulación...”

ceso de titulación de las tierras y territorios indígenas, significan un salto decisivo en el camino hacia un manejo participativo de la RBB, lo que significa compartir las responsabilidades y beneficios del corazón del Corredor Biológico

Mesoamericano. En el marco de la Década Internacional de los Pueblos Indígenas de las Naciones Unidas, Nicaragua tiene en sus manos una contribución importante a la autodeterminación de los pueblos indígenas de América Latina.

Epílogo

Entre los días 15 y 22 de junio del año 2003, 60 autoridades indígenas de los territorios y comunidades miskitu y mayangna de la RBB se reunieron en Bilwi, Puerto Cabezas, para discutir y concertar los avances en el proceso de titulación de sus territorios y la implementación de un sistema de manejo colaborativo entre sus asociaciones y las entidades del estado nicaragüense. El evento fue auspiciado y dirigido por la Junta Directiva del Consejo Regional Autónomo del Atlántico Norte, cuyos miembros también acompañaron las diferentes sesiones del taller. Además se contó con la participación de representantes de la Asamblea Nacional de Nicaragua, del Parlamento Indígena de América, de la SETAB y de la Cooperación Alemana (GTZ).²⁰

El alto nivel de la discusión mantenida durante los 7 días de trabajo refleja no solamente la necesidad urgente y vital para las comunidades indígenas de Nicaragua de contar con el reconocimiento de sus territorios ancestrales, sino también la gran capacidad de sus líderes y autoridades para asumir estas responsabilidades y compromisos. Los resultados se manifiestan en los Acuerdos de Bilwi, firmados entre las máximas autoridades indígenas Miskitu y Mayangna, la Junta Directiva del Consejo Regional Autónomo y el representante del Ministerio del Ambiente y los Recursos Naturales (MARENA-SETAB).

Partiendo de la premisa de la importancia que tiene la RBB, en especial sus 7 territorios indíge-

nas, debido al potencial humano, cultural, ambiental y económico que encierra para sus pobladores, quienes aspiran y sueñan con un territorio que les asegure una vida con dignidad, ha tomando en cuenta el acentuado interés en promover un manejo compatible con la cosmovisión, espiritualidad y visión integral que asegure el ejercicio pleno de los derechos de las comunidades y pueblos que habitan la Reserva, se definieron los siguientes compromisos y acuerdos.

1. *Coordinar esfuerzos y recursos para que la demarcación y titulación de los 7 Territorios Indígenas de la RBB culmine de forma exitosa a la mayor brevedad. Las autoridades territoriales firmantes de estos acuerdos invitan a otras autoridades comunales y territoriales a sumarse al los esfuerzos de la implementación de la Ley 445.*
2. *El fortalecimiento de las capacidades propias de las autoridades territoriales indígenas de auto-organización, auto-administración y autogestión de sus territorios y recursos es de primordial interés para el manejo de la reserva. En este contexto, las partes involucradas se comprometen a intensificar esfuerzos para asignar y movilizar recursos que incrementen la capacidad de los miembros de las Asociaciones Indígenas de la RBB y las autoridades de las comunidades indígenas a fin de que asuman dichas funciones.*
3. *El marco jurídico multiétnico del país crea las condiciones propicias para explorar e implementar modelos innovadores e inclusivos de manejo de áreas protegidas localizadas en territorios indígenas. En ese sentido, las partes convienen no implementar modalidades de co-manejo que involucren directa o indirectamente los territorios indígenas, mientras no concluya el proceso de su titulación (...).*
4. *Las partes convienen articular los elementos del Plan de Manejo de la RBB, especialmente los planes de manejo territoriales indígenas, a la Estrategia de Desarrollo Regional que está formulando el CRA-RAAN (...) y coordinar la gestión ambiental en el marco de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas y comuni-*



Figura 5: Familia Mayangna con su principal medio de comunicación, el pipante. (Cortesía Ralph Buss)

dades étnicas.

5. *Los abajo firmantes articulan esfuerzos para concertar una propuesta de Modelo de Manejo y Administración de la RBB en el marco de los derechos de autonomías regionales y comunales reconocidas en la Constitución Política, el Estatuto de Autonomía y la Ley 445, coordinados por el CRA-RAAN.*
6. *Las partes firmantes invitan a alcaldías municipales, ONGs, Universidades, Agencias de Cooperación Internacional y otros actores relevantes en la RBB a sumarse a estos acuerdos para contar con un marco de armonía y coordinación que facilite a los pueblos indígenas y comunidades étnicas avanzar hacia el ejercicio de sus derechos.*
7. *Los abajo firmantes se comprometen a adoptar mecanismos de coordinación que impidan el otorgamiento de concesiones para el aprovechamiento de los Recursos Naturales en los territorios (...) en tanto no concluya el proceso de titulación.*
8. *Las partes (...) acuerdan a profundizar los mecanismos de saneamiento de los territorios indígenas.*
9. *Las autoridades territoriales solicitan al CRAAN la instalación inmediata de la CONADETI y la CIDT para proceder en forma inmediata con el proceso de demarcación y titulación de los territorios indígenas de la RBB.*

10. *El CRAAN y las autoridades territoriales se comprometen a promover ante la Asamblea Nacional la ratificación del Convenio 169 de la OIT, para continuar así fortaleciendo el marco legal de los derechos indígenas territoriales en Nicaragua.*

Ralph Alexander Buss (ralphabuss@yahoo.de), antropólogo de origen alemán, se ha dedicado en los últimos 12 años al trabajo con los Pueblos Indígenas en Centroamérica, especialmente las comunidades miskitas y mayangna/sumu de la Costa Caribe de Nicaragua. **Eileen Mairena Cunningham** (eileen_mairena@yahoo.com), antropóloga de la Costa Caribe nicaragüense con amplia experiencia de trabajo con los Pueblos Indígenas y Comunidades Étnicas en Guatemala y Nicaragua, esta asesorando el Parlamento Indígena de América con sede en Managua, Nicaragua. Este trabajo forma parte de los resultados obtenidos durante el proceso de asesoría de la Cooperación Técnica Alemana (GTZ) a la Secretaría Técnica de Bosawas (SETAB), como institución rectora y administradora del Ministerio del Ambiente y los Recursos Naturales de Nicaragua (MARENA) para la Reserva de Biosfera Bosawas, entre los años 1994 y 2003. Los autores quieren agradecer a sus colegas Carlos Cruz y América Coronado de la SETAB por sus contribuciones.

Notas

¹ Definiciones similares se aplican en instrumentos legales internacionales, como el *Convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT) sobre Pueblos Indígenas y Tribales en Países Independientes*, el proyecto de la *Declaración Americana sobre Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas*, el proyecto de la *Declaración Universal sobre los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas*, entre otros.

² Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997, pagina 3.

³ Según Budke, 1999.

⁴ Como el derecho al propio idioma, religión, autoorganización, etc.

⁵ Como la autodeterminación política, económica, social y cultural; propiedad colectiva sobre los territorios y sus recursos naturales, propiedad intelectual colectiva, participación política equitativa en las instancias nacionales e internacionales, etc.

⁶ Según José del Val, Director Ejecutivo del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, exposición presentada ante la reunión de la *Iniciativa Indígena por la Paz*, Cancún, México, mayo 2000.

⁷ El decreto No 44-91 crea la CNB, cuyas funciones consisten en asesorar y apoyar al MARENA, gestionar asistencia financiera y técnica así como proponer políticas para el manejo de la RBB.

⁸ En el año de 1996, por medio del decreto ejecutivo No 32-96, se crea la Secretaria Técnica de BOSAWAS (SETAB), la cual funciona como una instancia ejecutiva de gestión y representación de la CNB.

⁹ Banco Mundial, BID, OEA, Comunidad Europea, GTZ, KfW, USAID, ASDI, DANIDA, etc.

¹⁰ Los Programas multilingües de *Diplomados y Técnicos básicos en Derecho y Desarrollo Indígena y Desarrollo Comunitario* (DIDIM Mayangna, Mestizo y Miskitu); véase también Mairena, 2001.

¹¹ Como la autoconstrucción de infraestructura social, programas agroforestales (cacao orgánico), etc.

¹² Acompañado por la SETAB, GTZ, The Nature Conservancy, entre otros.

¹³ Los 6 territorios indígenas, 3 del pueblo Mayangna y 1 del pueblo Miskitu y 2 multiétnicos son: Mayangna Sauni As, Mayangna Sauni Bu, Mayangna Sauni Bas, Miskitu Indian Tasbaika Kum, Kipla

Sait Tasbaika, Li Lamni Tasbauka Kum.

¹⁴ Este proceso contempló, entre otras actividades, apertura de carriles, medición con GPS, amojonamiento y rotulación, reforestación de los carriles.

¹⁵ Vía Decreto Presidencial, Ley de Demarcación, etc.

¹⁶ Presidencia, MARENA, INRA/OTR, INETER, Asamblea Nacional, Medios de Comunicación, para mencionar solamente los más relevantes.

¹⁷ *Ley del Régimen de Propiedad Comunal de los Pueblos Indígenas y Comunidades Étnicas de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua y de los Ríos Bocay, Coco, Indio y Maiz (Ley 445)*.

¹⁸ Los Artículos 27 y 28 de la Ley 445 definen lo siguiente: *La administración de áreas protegidas en tierras comunales será bajo el sistema de manejo conjunto con las comunidades indígenas y el Estado*.

¹⁹ Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997, pagina 17.

²⁰ *Taller de Difusión, Capacitación y Fortalecimiento Organizacional, en el contexto de la Demarcación y Titulación de los Territorios Indígenas de la Reserva de Biosfera BOSAWAS en el marco del CBA*, Bilwi, 15 al 22 de junio del 2003, organizado por el CRA-RAAN y la SETAB con apoyo del Proyecto BOSAWAS/GTZ.

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Community-Based Management and National Forests in the Western United States— Five challenges.

Randall K. Wilson

In the past decade, co-management has emerged as an increasingly important approach for resolving conflict and making management decisions regarding national forests in the western United States.¹ This trend is, in part, a response to regional social and economic changes. Beginning in the early 1990s, many rural western communities experienced rapid urbanization and a concomitant shift in local economies from resource extraction to service sector based industries.² Resultant conflicts over local land use issues catalyzed support for new approaches to environmental decision-making that might ameliorate these disputes and strike a better balance between the dual goals of local socio-economic well being and ecological health. By increasing the participation of local residents in public land use discussion and, more specifically, by encouraging open dialogue and collaborative learning between disparate local interests and Forest Service managers, co-management approaches appeared to many as a viable means of achieving these goals.³

However, given that these forests are *national* forests, and given the long time horizon for implementing and assessing the ecological and socio-economic outcomes of these efforts, many questions remain over the efficacy of co-management approaches. For example, how do they reshape community-forest relations? To what extent do they mediate regional socio-economic transformations? How well do they integrate local and national scales of governance? And how do they adapt to place-specific social and environmental contexts? In contrast to proponents' claims that community-based collaboration offers the best hope of achieving sustainable and equitable community-forest relations, critics charge that it can also work to undermine environmental protection laws by giving resource extraction industries undue influence over management decisions.

This essay offers an overview of the major

issues facing community co-management of national forests in the western United States. These include the challenges of 1) community representation and the question of scale, 2) the role of institutional

authority and scientific knowledge, 3) translating public input into policy, 4) policy implementation and assessment, and 5) adapting collaborative efforts to place-specific social and environmental contexts. It is suggested that these five challenges are exacerbated by two additional factors: first, the continued influence of

the 19th century institutionalization of public lands that has historically framed community-forest relations in the region; and second, the unique place-based social and environmental contexts within which various co-management efforts develop. After a brief introduction to public land institutions and local communities in the United States, these five challenges are examined and illustrated with selected examples of co-management on national forests in the western region.

Local communities and national forests

The vast majority of protected areas in the United States lie within the national system of public lands and resources. These are the national parks, forests, monuments, wildlife refuges, and other areas governed by federal agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service, National Park Service (NPS), Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS).

National forests (and BLM lands) differ from other forms of public lands insofar as the original rationale for their retention within the public domain includes the continuation of natural

National forests differ from other forms of public lands in the United States insofar as the original rationale for their retention within the public domain includes the continuation of natural resource development for commercial purposes.

resource development for commercial purposes.⁴ Within these areas, ecological preservation for human recreational activities, scientific research, or endangered species protection did not emerge as a management priority until the 1960s with the adoption of a multiple use philosophy.⁵

For many rural towns and communities surrounding what would become national forests, community-forest relations were historically defined by commercial resource extraction activities. As 19th century Euro-American settlers established new towns and settlements in the inter-mountain West – often displacing pre-existing indigenous, Latino, or Indo-Spanish communities – they frequently relied upon forest resources to support local mining, logging and livestock economies. The transformation of many of these lands into national forests in the late 19th and early 20th centuries therefore didn't challenge the dominant principle of commercial resource development, but rather the *manner* in which it was carried out. This was a reflection of the Progressive Era (approximately 1890-1920) ideals through which national forests became institutionalized.

The legacy of the progressive era

For the first one hundred years after independence, the dominant attitudes toward public lands and resources in the United States were characterized by a process of land acquisition (colonial westward expansion), followed by settlement (the transfer of the public domain into private ownership), and relatively unfettered commercial development.⁶ By the close of the 19th century, however, the social and ecological costs of these

New laws passed in the 1960s and 1970s encouraged public participation in the management of national forests, but in an individual and nationalistic sense, rather than in a collective or community-based sense.

laissez-faire policies were taking their toll in the form of deforestation, soil erosion, large-scale forest fires, the loss of native species, and a host of urban social and economic problems.⁷



Figure 1. Collaborative learning in practice. U.S. Forest Service officials meet with local residents to discuss range management issues as part of a community-based effort to revise the forest plan for the San Juan National Forest in Colorado. (Courtesy Randall K. Wilson)

Progressive ideals were a response to this state of crisis. In general terms, progressives argued that only the federal government could provide the objectivity, rationality and expertise needed to properly regulate, manage and provide for the public good.⁸ In the field of natural resource management, these ideals were reflected in Gifford Pinchot's notion of progressive conservation. According to Pinchot (1911), the first principle of conservation was the development of natural resources for human use, but in the most rational and efficient manner possible. By preventing the wasteful practices of those seeking short-term economic gain, the vast natural resources in the United States would not be squandered, but last for generations. These ideas were summed up in the famous phrase: '*the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run.*'

Achieving these ends, however, required a significant shift in U.S. land policy, namely, the retention of significant portions of the public domain in federal ownership. In this way, the land could be managed according to scientifically rational principles by a corps of highly trained and 'unbiased' state officials.

The first national forest reserves were set aside in 1891. In 1905, the reserves and the agency responsible for their stewardship, the

U.S. Forest Service, were established in the Department of Agriculture under the leadership of Gifford Pinchot as the first Chief Forester of the United States. Over the next ninety years, the national forest system grew to encompass over 191 million acres in 153 individual national forests and 18 grassland units.⁹

The idea that local public land communities were a part of ecosystems, and that the values, priorities and land use activities of local residents must be included in any meaningful large-scale resource management plan, became increasingly important.

Local residents, who remained economically dependent on these new national forests, now found community-forest relations mediated by the federal government. Officially, Forest Service managers became responsible for managing the forests according to 'objective' scientific principles. In practice, however, local residents and industries continued to exercise varying

levels of influence over management decisions depending on their relationship with the local ranger.

Institutionalizing public participation

Public participation in the management process was formalized in the 1960s and 1970s with the passage of a series of new federal environmental laws. The 1964 Wilderness Act, the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, the 1972 Endangered Species Act, and the 1976 National Forest Management Act all contained provisions for public input into agency decision-making. Generally these took the form of public notices and meetings. In some cases, the laws included citizen suit provisions, allowing citizens to challenge agency decisions in court if it could be proven that the agencies did not follow environmental laws.

Significantly, these laws stressed public participation in an individual and nationalistic sense rather than in a collective or community-based sense. True to their Progressive Era roots, they emphasized that national forests are *national* public lands, owned by all citizens of the United States. And as such, all citizens should have an

equal voice in their management. Some laws specifically guarded against the undue influence of special interest groups that might try to 'capture' federal resource management agencies. The 1972 Federal Advisory Committee Act prohibited private or non-governmental groups from directly influencing or advising federal managers. In this way, public participation was designed to allow individuals to express their personal views or concerns, rather than groups promoting a collective interest.

In sum, while new environmental laws served to formally expand public participation in the management of national forests and other public lands, the *form* of participation was severely limited. Rather than facilitating dialogue and open discussion, public hearings have tended to be linear presentations of information from federal officials to a public audience.¹⁰ Individual statements are heard and recorded, but little exchange or collaborative learning takes place, neither between citizens and government officials nor between citizens themselves. In some instances, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, officials later revealed that management decisions were often made *a priori*. If federal managers were indeed unbiased experts with final decision-making authority, then public hearings served little purpose. Indeed, the perception by public participants that this was in fact the case motivated some to begin looking for a more constructive alternative approach to public involvement.

The rise of forest co-management

In the 1990s, regional socio-economic shifts created increasing tensions in many western rural communities over public land use issues. Long-term residents involved in the logging, ranching or mining industries watched these activities in the national forests continue to decline. At the same time, the growing influx of new ex-urbanite residents created pressures for the suburban transformation of rural landscapes and an impetus for new management priorities on national forests, namely, to facilitate recreation opportunities, protect endangered species, and preserve aesthetic or other ecological val-

According to one study, over 90% of national forests in the United States were engaged in some form of collaborative stewardship as part of their management strategy by 1997.

ues.¹¹

It became increasingly clear that the existing institutional structure for integrating local public input into national forest management processes was insufficient. Rather than providing a forum

where local residents and federal managers could work together to solve common problems, many perceived the formal model of public hearings as serving to exacerbate local disputes and further alienate federal officials from community residents. For local ranchers and loggers, it was evident that a new strategy was needed to preserve their way of life. Conversely, some new residents were beginning to appreciate the value of rural working landscapes as an important part of broader ecosystems of which the national forests were an integral part.

Meanwhile at the national level, through the mid-1980s and early 1990s, the ideas of ecosystem management were beginning to gain support among federal and state resource managers. The idea that local public land communities were a part of ecosystems, and that the values, priorities and land use activities of local residents must be included in any meaningful large-scale resource management plan, became increasingly important. At the same time, the national response to neo-liberal economic policies translated into efforts to downsize federal government institutions, stressing the creation of public-private partnerships to share the cost burden of social services and programs (including public land management).

At both the national and local scale then, there was growing support for more collaborative and community-based approaches to national forest management. As groups such as the Quincy Library Group in California, the Applegate Partnership in Oregon, and the Ponderosa Pine Forest Partnership in Colorado began to emerge and provide concrete examples of what might be achieved through collaboration, interest in community-based approaches proliferated rapidly across the western region. According to one

study, over 90% of national forests in the United States were engaged in some form of collaborative stewardship as part of their management strategy by 1997.¹² Yet despite this convergence of interest and rising popularity of new approaches, a number of challenges have tended to persist. Reflecting the lasting influence of the progressive era ideals upon which public lands and institutions were founded, these challenges have impacted efforts to initiate, implement and evaluate community-based management on national forests throughout the American West. Five of the primary challenges to community-based collaboration and some of the local efforts to address them are outlined below.

Issues and challenges

Scale and public representation

One of the concerns most often raised by critics of community-based approaches regards the question of public representation. This challenge occurs at two spatial scales. One is national; the other is local.

At the national scale, the challenge of representation harkens back to Progressive Era principles stating that since national forests belong to all citizens of the United States, then all should have an equal right and opportunity to voice their perspectives on management questions regardless of where they reside. More specific manifestations of this concern come from nation-



Figure 2. A prescribed burn. Local residents and SJSF officials examine the impacts of prescribed burning as a forest management tool. (Courtesy Randall K. Wilson)

al environmental NGOs whose constituents often live in eastern, coastal or mid-western cities located far from western public lands. According to these NGOs, co-management approaches can indirectly give undue influence to resource extraction industries since the majority of local residents remain dependent upon these industries for their economic well being.¹³

One response to these concerns is to recognize that local residents have a unique relationship with public lands and resources. Given their historical economic dependence, they are disproportionately impacted by resource management decisions. Therefore, they should be given a strong voice. Moreover, local residents can be more aware of local conditions than non-local citizens who may be supporting a particular management decision that is not well suited to local contexts. A further response sees the local support for management decisions that can be gained through collaborative interactions as crucial for the effective implementation of these decisions. As noted above, federal agencies often do not have the necessary resources to enforce, monitor and evaluate all management plans and regulations without some form of local assistance.

While each of these responses may ring true to a certain extent, collectively they still fail to provide a legal basis for allowing disproportionate local influence in public land decision making processes.¹⁴ It is partly for this reason that several national environmental NGOs have strongly opposed the forest management plan proposed by the Quincy Library Group in California for the Lassen, Plumas and Tahoe National Forests. The plan calls for greater protections for certain sections of these forests, while opening other parts up to increased logging in order to prevent forest fire outbreaks and aid local economic development.

In contrast to these national scale concerns, at the local scale, the issue of representation centers on the question of who represents the views of the community in co-management discussions. While in many cases stakeholders (i.e., individuals with vested interests in forest management decisions) can be identified and invited

to the table by Forest Service officials, this does not mean that they will actually participate. For a variety of reasons, racial or ethnic minorities, low-income residents, or other socially marginalized groups may not be well represented – if at all – in co-management fora. For example, in the forest plan revision effort for the San Juan National Forest (SJNF) in Colorado, Forest Service officials made concerted efforts to include members of local indigenous communities in collaborative planning discussions.¹⁵ Tribal members, however, rarely attended. The long history of poor relations between indigenous peoples and the federal government, as well as with Euro-American residents, presented powerful barriers to their participation.

Incorporating local knowledge into forest management decisions has contributed to unique and innovative plans and strategies.

Such local social and historical conditions suggest that inviting representatives of community stakeholders to take part in co-management discussions should be only one of several strategies undertaken to garner meaningful public input. In the SJNF case, officials made multiple visits to reservation headquarters in order to interact directly with tribal representatives on forest management issues.

Authority and the role of scientific knowledge

A second major challenge to co-management of national forests concerns the daunting task of expanding public participation in management discussions, while at the same time maintaining specific standards of scientific knowledge and expertise as the basis for weighing different perspectives and making decisions. As participation is broadened, there tends to be a corresponding increase in the number of those at the table who may not have this expertise, nor are able to understand the scientific data or terminology employed in group discussions. This is what Daniels and Walker (2001) refer to as the 'fundamental paradox' of public policy.

One adverse outcome of this situation is a further limiting of public representation. Those

who are intimidated to speak or otherwise engage in scientific discussions may find their voices muted or silenced even though they are physically at the table.¹⁶ And yet, the key point that complicates this issue lies in the fact that the authority of state managers derives in part from the assumption that they are the bearers of scientific expertise that enables them to best manage the resource in question. Recall that the Progressive Era institutionalization of federal agencies as stewards of public lands was premised on the ability of government officials to act in a disinterested and unbiased manner, relying on objective scientific information to make management decisions.

Two methods of addressing this issue have come to the fore. The first is to incorporate education of public participants as part of the collaborative process. This differs markedly from the public hearing model in which managers have tended to lay out a rationale defending a preconceived decision. Rather, in a collaborative context, forest managers explain the full range of issues pertinent to a topic, the variety of known management options, and the terminology necessary to understand and evaluate current thinking. The intent is to help everyone to contribute to the common goal of discerning the best management strategies or plans for the

For a variety of reasons, racial or ethnic minorities, low-income groups, or other socially marginalized groups may not be well represented – if at all – in co-management fora.

national forest, by choosing among available options or developing new innovative ideas.

This task is aided by the second response to this challenge, namely to recognize the value of other types of knowledge or 'ways of knowing.'

These alternatives may be local knowledge derived from long-term experience living within place-specific environments. Such knowledge comes in a multiplicity of forms and may contradict official scientific ways of thinking. For example, it may reflect unique understandings of the impacts of grazing or logging practices in certain areas, the dynamics of local native wildlife or plant species, or the location of particular sites

in the forest holding spiritual, historical or other culture-specific value.

Taken together, these two responses reflect what Daniels and Walker term 'collaborative learning' (see Figure 1). Numerous examples of such learning have helped to develop unique and innovative management plans and strategies that attempt to address the dual concerns of local economic and ecological health. The Ponderosa Pine Forest Partnership in Colorado used such an approach to develop a plan for small diameter timber sales that simultaneously helped to revive the local timber industry and restore the ecological health of ponderosa pine forests (see Figure 2).

Translating public participation into policy

A third and related issue is finding a way to translate the public input gained through collaborative learning into forest management policy and practice. The key challenge here is the legal restriction against interest groups serving in an advisory role for public land managers as prohibited by the 1972 Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA). Despite their orientation toward improving public participation, community-based groups interested and ready to be involved in management efforts can still be viewed simply as 'special interest' groups. As such, any specific set of management recommendations they produce cannot legally influence public land management decision processes in a direct way.

In response, it is often argued that to the extent that collaborative learning has indeed occurred between federal officials and various local residents, then the final decisions emerging from co-management processes can still be seen as reflecting 'unbiased' expertise. The difference is that this expertise has been sharpened by the forest managers' participation in collaborative learning processes where they engaged in open dialogue with various individuals sharing different types of knowledge, perspectives and values.

This reasoning may not satisfy local participants in co-management efforts, who wish to see direct evidence that their invested time and effort has resulted in a specific policy. However,

for smaller site-specific management issues – and increasingly also in larger comprehensive forest planning efforts – collaborative learning has become the primary response to the challenge of policy formation.

The more significant form of this challenge arises when community groups draft full proposals that are offered as the guiding document for national forest management. This was the case with the national forest management plan produced by the Quincy Library Group in California. The only way it could be legally adopted and implemented by the Forest Service was through an act of Congress, which passed it into law in 1998.¹⁷

Implementation and monitoring

The fourth challenge to co-management of national forests concerns the extent to which resultant management decisions are put into practice, monitored and evaluated. As noted

Collaboration is viewed as an ongoing process of building relationships, knowledge, and a sense of community responsibility.

earlier, reductions in agency budgets and personnel in recent years have hindered the ability of many public land institutions to adequately carry out their full management duties. Increasingly, local resident volunteers have

become an important resource in conducting implementation and monitoring tasks associated with various management projects.

Coggins (1998) points to the transient nature of local residents and their involvement in co-management as problematic on this account. He notes that several dynamics occur as membership changes and different individuals move in and out of the participatory process. First, newer members have not benefited from earlier collaborative exchanges with Forest Service officials and other residents. Hence, they may not be as committed to or knowledgeable about the management plan. As a result, the quality of public monitoring of various forest management projects may be inconsistent and, therefore, negatively impact future evaluation efforts. Second, since the assistance of local residents in implementing and monitoring management proj-

ects relies on volunteerism, there is no guarantee that the monitoring portion of the project will see completion. If local residents are relocated, lose interest, or otherwise can no longer perform these duties – and the Forest Service does not have available resources – the entire project may be threatened.

Many co-management efforts have addressed this issue by emphasizing the ongoing, long-term, iterative nature of collaboration and forest management in general. Rather than viewing public participation in management discussions as a singular event, producing a final and absolute outcome (i.e., a forest plan), collaboration is viewed as an ongoing *process* of building relationships, knowledge, and a sense of community responsibility. Facilitators of co-management approaches increasingly stress this point. Management plans and decisions must be flexible and adaptive to changing conditions. Public involvement must also be flexible enough to incorporate new participants, though neither of these goals is easily achieved given the rigid legal and institutional contexts within which forest planning traditionally occurs.

Adapting to place-specific contexts

The fifth challenge is acknowledging the way co-management approaches adapt to different place-specific social and environmental contexts. Such contexts are important insofar as they reflect the different ways in which regional socio-economic transformations have played out in different locales, leading to different public land use issues and concerns. These in turn can affect the goals of community groups, as well as the shape and form adopted in order to realize them.

At first glance, one might expect local community interests to be just that: a reflection of the specific local conditions and issues facing different local communities. However, as co-management processes have gained greater acceptance at the national level (e.g., becoming one of the Forest Service's four "key concepts" in the agency's revised national forest management planning rules in Fall 2000), they have become subject to greater levels of standardization. Again, the influence of Progressive Era ideals,



Figure 3. Reviving the local timber industry and improving forest health in southern Utah. As part of a community-forestry project, a new small diameter mill was purchased with help from the Four Corners Sustainable Forest Partnership. (Courtesy Randall K. Wilson)

such as maximizing efficiency, can be seen in the recent efforts by several federal agencies to develop standardized mechanisms for evaluating the social and ecological outcomes of co-management.

The diversity of form and organizational structure taken by many community-based efforts, however, often belies such uniformity and complicates efforts to determine standardized outcomes. This is exemplified in the vast diversity of community-forestry projects that are part of the Forest Service's Four Corners Sustainable Forests Partnership, an effort to provide financial and technical assistance to over forty community-forestry initiatives on national forests in the Southwest United States. Three case examples are offered below for illustration.

The first is the Greater Flagstaff Forest Partnership (GFFP). The GFFP is located in Flagstaff, Arizona, a medium sized city with a diversified economy and the home of Northern Arizona University. Given the city's size and high level of urbanization, the GFFP is involved in community-forestry projects that focus on two goals: ecological restoration and the reduction of the threat posed by wildfire to private residences in the city's 'wildland-urban interface.' This metropolitan context is further reflected in the GFFP's form and organizational structure. It is a very large and formal organization with representatives of over thirty community, environ-

mental and governmental organizations. The relationship to the nearby Coconino National Forest is characterized by a special contract that allows the GFFP to offer management recommendations without violating FACA.

In contrast to the GFFP, the Southern Utah Forest Products Association (SUFPA) is a much smaller and informal community-based forestry project located in Torrey, Utah, near the Dixie and Fish Lake National Forests. With much of the local economy still dependent on logging, mining, and ranching, it was hit particularly hard during the regional transformations of the 1990s. As a result, SUFPA's goals are two-fold: 1) to reinvigorate the local timber industry by maintaining a steady supply of timber for production, and 2) to develop and market new forest products that can strengthen the local economy. Toward these ends, SUFPA has helped purchase a small diameter timber mill for a local business and opened a store featuring local forest products (see Figure 3). The organization is small with one permanent staff member relying on informal interaction with community residents and government officials to achieve these goals.

A third community-forestry effort in the region, the Catron County Citizen's Group (CCCG) is located near the Gila National Forest in New Mexico. In contrast to the GFFP and SUFPA, the Catron County group views community stability in terms of conflict resolution and economic development as the main goal of its forest management effort. The CCCG is promoting several restoration forestry projects to order to revive the local timber industry and at the same time build bridges between the young people in their community. Toward this end, the project includes a youth education component where local young adults are learning about forest restoration techniques and skills that can help them find employment in the local area.

In short, these three community forestry initiatives reflect the different social and environmental contexts – the different *places* – in which they are occurring. The wide range of goals, strategies and decision making structures presented in these cases raise questions regarding the efficacy of standardized evaluation methods. For example, the community building goals of

the CCCG may take much longer to realize and be more difficult to measure than the economic gains pursued by SUFPA. And each of these goals and processes may differ yet again from the time frames needed to assess the ecological restoration goals of the GFFP.

Conclusion

Co-management of national forests in the western United States continues to proliferate at a rapid pace. The goal of balancing local economic growth with sound ecological restoration practices holds great appeal to many rural residents and federal officials alike. Despite these trends, the five challenges facing community-based approaches examined here have yet to be resolved. The persistent influence of Progressive Era principles embedded within the institutional structure of public land agencies continues to be felt, as do the unique social and ecological contexts within which collaborative efforts take place. In most if not all cases of community involvement in managing national forests in the American West, it is simply too soon to accurately assess the ultimate socio-economic or ecological outcomes they have helped to produce. We do not know if such approaches can in fact lead to more sustainable and equitable community-forest relations. Until that time, each of the issues raised above provides important entry points for further research that can improve our understanding of co-management processes.

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Notes

- 1 Brick et al., 2001.
- 2 Riebsame et al., 1997.
- 3 Wondolleck and Yaffe, 2000.
- 4 Hays, 1959.
- 5 Multiple use became the official management philosophy with the passage of the 1960 Multiple Use and Sustained Yield Act.
- 6 Limerick, 1987.
- 7 White, 1991.
- 8 Hays, 1959; Nelson, 1995.
- 9 Zaslowsky and Watkins, 1994.
- 10 Kemmis, 1990.
- 11 Riebsame et al., 1997.

- 12 Selin et. al, 1997.
- 13 McCloskey, 1996.
- 14 see Wilson, 1999.
- 15 Wilson, 2000.
- 16 Goodwin, 1998.
- 17 Marston, 2001.

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Gouvernance et démocratie locale dans les Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France

Hanane Allali-Puz, Eléonore Béchaux et Catherine Jenkins

En 1967, dans une France encore très centralisée, les Parcs Naturels Régionaux ont été conçus par l'Etat français comme première expérience de territoires intercommunaux échappant aux limites administratives et s'organisant de façon décentralisée pour porter un projet adapté à des enjeux spécifiques de protection de l'environnement et de qualité du cadre de vie.

Un Parc Naturel Régional est un territoire rural habité, reconnu au niveau national pour sa forte valeur patrimoniale et paysagère, qui s'organise autour d'un projet concerté de développement durable. Il a pour vocation¹ de protéger et de valoriser le patrimoine naturel, culturel et humain de son territoire en mettant en œuvre une politique innovante d'aménagement et de développement économique, social et culturel respectueuse de l'environnement. Le projet du parc est élaboré dans la concertation la plus large possible entre les forces vives du territoire concerné. L'accord qui se dégage entre les collectivités du territoire (Communes, Départements et Régions) et les différents partenaires sur ce projet de territoire est mis en forme dans un contrat : la Charte.

L'initiative de la création d'un parc revient à la Région² qui en propose le périmètre d'étude avec l'accord des communes concernées. La délimitation précise du périmètre se fonde sur la valeur du patrimoine naturel et paysager et sur la cohérence des enjeux du territoire pressenti. Les limites d'un Parc ne sont donc pas fixées par rapport à des limites administratives. Le parc peut être à cheval sur plusieurs divisions administratives et une commune peut être amenée à adhérer au projet de Parc pour une partie de sa superficie seulement. L'Etat approuve la Charte par un décret du Premier Ministre pris sur rapport du Ministre chargé de l'Environnement pour une durée maximale de 10 ans renouvelables, et classe ainsi le territoire.

Dans les Parcs, le concept de gouvernance

repose sur un dosage subtil de démocratie électorale et de démocratie participative dans les différents processus de décision et d'action. Se posent ainsi les questions pour les Parcs Naturels Régionaux : comment intégrer de façon opérationnelle les principes de gouvernance dans leur fonctionnement? Avec quels dispositifs et quels partenaires ? A quelles étapes du projet de territoire? Nous tenterons ici de répondre à ces questions au travers de l'analyse de l'organisation interne des Parcs, de l'élaboration de la Charte, et de la mise en œuvre de cette Charte.



Figure 1: Village fortifié au XIV^{ème} siècle, qui défendait l'accès à Pélussin et à Virieu.

(Courtoisie Fédération des Parcs / J-L Rigaux)

Le fonctionnement d'un Parc Naturel Régional **Qui élabore la Charte?**

Si les premiers Parcs de la fin des années 70 étaient créés dans une démarche descendante sous l'impulsion de l'Etat, depuis une quinzaine d'années l'initiative vient davantage de la base. A l'origine d'un projet de parc, quelques personnes « rêvent » d'un territoire permettant de concilier harmonieusement les intérêts de chacun des acteurs. Porté par des élus engagés, municipaux ou régionaux, ou des associations locales, le travail de création du Parc revient à convaincre l'ensemble des communes et des parties prenantes intervenant sur le territoire du bien fondé d'un tel projet, puis à bâtir avec eux ce projet.

Le processus d'élaboration d'un projet de Parc implique donc une réflexion politique s'appuyant sur un travail technique préalable. Ces niveaux politiques et techniques se retrouvent au sein d'une association d'étude qui comprend un organe politique (Conseil d'Administration ou Comité de Pilotage), un dispositif de concertation et de propositions (les Commissions et groupes thématiques) et une petite Equipe Technique qui anime et prépare les travaux.

Un organe politique

Les réflexions et le pilotage politiques du projet associent les partenaires publics et privés suivants :

- Les élus des communes du territoire et des collectivités territoriales concernées (et non leurs services techniques);
- Les services déconcentrés de l'Etat ;
- Les organismes socioprofessionnels ;
- Les associations locales.

Cette instance décisionnelle peut regrouper 30 à 50 personnes représentatives à des titres divers qui s'engagent, pour la durée nécessaire à

l'élaboration du projet de Charte (trois à cinq ans), à participer gratuitement aux réunions de travail.

Une équipe technique

Composée généralement de 3 à 5 personnes, l'équipe technique³ s'appuie sur le travail des Commissions pour préparer les décisions du Comité de Pilotage et pour rédiger la Charte et établir le plan du Parc. Elle peut également mener des actions de préfiguration qui confortent son rôle sur le territoire et contribuent à définir les enjeux du territoire.

Un dispositif de concertation

Des Commissions ou groupes de travail ont pour vocation de nourrir la conception du projet de Parc naturel régional en s'appuyant sur un bilan initial. Elles représentent le lieu où le débat sur l'élaboration du projet de Parc doit être le plus ouvert. Les commissions doivent permettre à tous— professionnels (agriculture, forêts, tourisme, commerces, artisanat, entreprises...), associations, responsables administratifs et partenaires institutionnels, particuliers, acteurs de la chasse et de la pêche, élus et représentants locaux— d'être représentés afin d'exprimer leurs préoccupations. Les élus qui arbitrent au sein du comité de pilotage participent à ces commissions et en assurent souvent l'animation, afin de faire le lien entre réflexions techniques et décisions politiques pour le projet de territoire.

Ce travail peut être organisé par secteur géographique et/ou par thème (développement économique, gestion des milieux naturels, etc.). Chacun des champs d'intervention du futur Parc doit être analysé en Commission. Le fonctionnement de ce dispositif nécessite une information préalable importante (courrier personnalisé, réunions publiques, permanences dans les communes, information par voie de presse) afin de susciter une participation maximale aux travaux des commissions.

Le projet du parc est élaboré dans la concertation la plus large possible entre les forces vives du territoire concerné [...] et mis en forme dans un contrat : la Charte. [...] Les limites d'un Parc ne sont donc pas fixées par rapport à des limites administratives.



Figure 2 : Caps et Marais d'Opale : parcours découverte. (Courtoisie François Mulet)

Des liens avec les institutions nationales

L'interlocuteur institutionnel national des Parcs est le Ministère de l'Environnement. C'est lui qui valide le contenu de la Charte de chaque Parc naturel régional et propose le classement du Parc par décret interministériel. Les autres ministères directement concernés par les Parcs (généralement Collectivités locales, Agriculture, Tourisme, Equipement et Aménagement du territoire, Urbanisme, Industrie, Planification) sont appelés à donner leurs avis consultatifs au Ministre de l'Environnement avant classement du Parc. Leurs services déconcentrés sont donc invités à participer aux groupes de travail et commissions qui les concernent.

Dans les Parcs, le concept de gouvernance repose sur un dosage subtil de démocratie élective et de démocratie participative dans les différents processus de décision et d'action. [...] La réglementation prévoit qu'un Parc soit géré par un syndicat mixte qui regroupe des représentants élus de toutes les collectivités qui ont approuvé la Charte.

La Charte est un document juridico-institutionnel qui engage tous les niveaux publics, le Département, la Région et l'Etat. Les Départements et la Région approuvent la Charte et participent directement aux processus de décision et aux financements des programmes d'action. Une convention d'application de la Charte, signée avec le représentant de l'Etat en Région, précise comment les services

déconcentrés de l'Etat participent à la réalisation des objectifs de la Charte. Dans ce sens, la Charte est un outil performant de mise en cohérence des politiques publiques.

Un « cœur fonctionnel » de structure commun aux 40 Parcs...

Une fois le Parc créé, sa Charte définit un partage des rôles entre l'organisme de gestion du Parc (dont elle précise la composition et l'organisation fonctionnelle) et les autres partenaires (communes, acteurs économiques locaux) ou intervenants sur le territoire (Départements, Régions, services de l'Etat). La réglementation prévoit qu'un Parc soit géré par un syndicat mixte qui regroupe des représentants élus de toutes les collectivités qui ont approuvé la Charte.

Le syndicat mixte (dont les statuts sont différents pour chaque Parc), toujours présidé par un élu territorial, a pleins pouvoirs pour piloter la mise en œuvre de la Charte, de l'évaluation préalable à la révision, et mener ses propres actions. Il constitue l'instrument juridique permettant à différentes collectivités locales de travailler et de décider ensemble des modalités de mise en œuvre de la Charte. L'Etat n'est pas membre de la structure de gestion (à l'exception du Parc de Camargue).

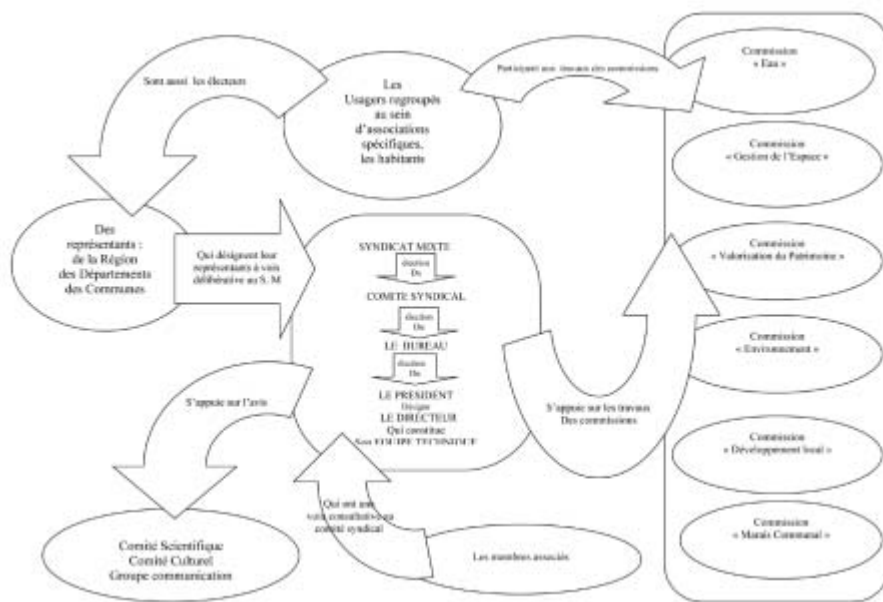
Nous verrons en troisième partie que les instances et processus de concertation sont variables suivant les Parcs. Néanmoins, l'ensemble des 40 Parcs naturels régionaux en France partage un « cœur fonctionnel » commun, dont certains organes émanent directement de l'association de préfiguration :

- **L'organe de décision et de gestion financière** est le Comité Syndical, qui désigne en son sein un Bureau qui est lieu de débat, d'arbitrages et de décisions. Ce niveau décisionnel est composé, selon les Parcs, exclusivement ou très majoritairement, par des élus des collectivités concernées.
- **Une Equipe Technique** de 20 à 35 personnes selon les Parcs est constituée et dirigée par un Directeur (désigné par le Président) qui assure l'animation de la mise

en œuvre de la Charte

- **Les Commissions du Syndicat mixte**, à l'image de celles constituée lors de l'élaboration de la Charte, sont largement ouvertes et actives. Y participent surtout les élus du territoire, les acteurs économiques et associatifs, des techniciens des services administratifs et des habitants intéressés. Elles élaborent des propositions, débattent du programme, visitent les réalisations, etc.
- **Le Conseil scientifique** intègre des associations et des personnalités scientifiques issues ou non du territoire (universitaires, chercheurs, spécialistes des sciences biologiques et des sciences humaines). Le Parc met à contribution sa capacité d'expertise, de suivi scientifique et d'évaluation des actions et de leurs impacts.

Le schéma 1 présente pour exemple le « cœur fonctionnel » du Parc des Marais du Cotentin et du Bessin.



...mais aux équilibres technico-politiques variables

Malgré cette trame commune, le fonctionnement interne d'un Parc est très variable et révèle l'équilibre fragile à trouver en permanence entre les enjeux techniques et politiques et l'implication des citoyens. Ainsi, par exemple :

- Les statuts du Comité Syndical peuvent donner autant de voix (si ce n'est moins) aux communes qu'aux Régions, ce qui peut créer des rapports de force entre elles. Ils peuvent ouvrir cette instance aux partenaires « consultatifs » et leur donner des voix « décisionnelles de fait ».
- Les personnalités du Président et du Directeur, leurs relations (de force ou de confiance) et leur leadership au sein, d'une part, du Comité Syndical et, d'autre part, de l'équipe technique influencent fortement l'équilibre technico-politique dans le fonctionnement du Parc.
- La qualité des travaux des Commissions dépend fortement de la qualité d'animation de leur Président (issu du Comité syndical) et de leur degré d'ouverture aux partenaires.

Les statuts du Comité Syndical peuvent donner autant de voix (si ce n'est moins) aux Communes qu'aux Régions, ce qui peut créer des rapports de force entre elles. Ils peuvent ouvrir cette instance aux partenaires « consultatifs » et leur donner des voix « décisionnelles de fait ».

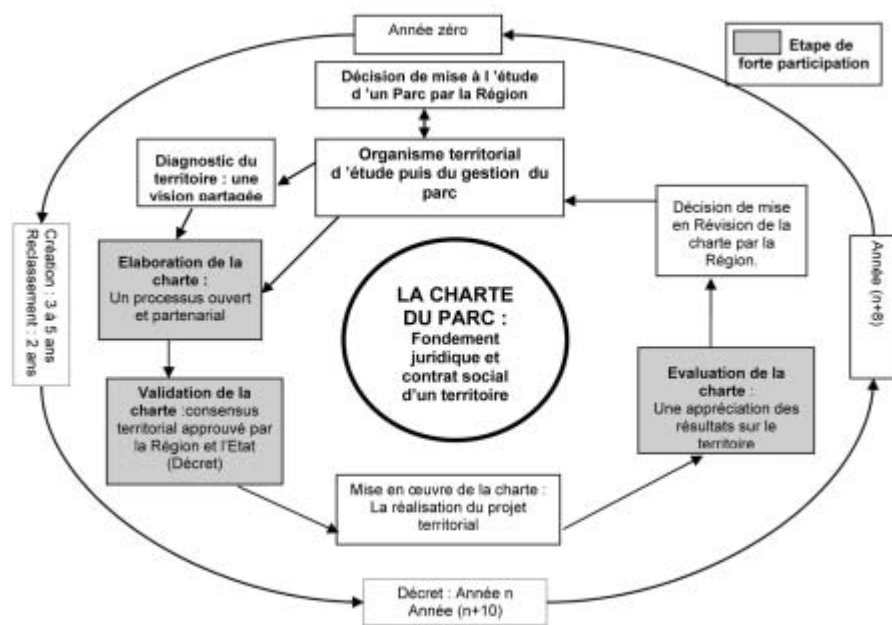
L'équipe technique joue un rôle capital, plus ou moins renforcé suivant les Parcs. En effet, par son rôle dans la structure de gestion et auprès des différents groupes participatifs, l'Equipe technique est la cheville ouvrière du système de gouvernance. Sans une équipe pluridisciplinaire de haut niveau, relativement restreinte (20 à 30 personnes), la gouvernance territoriale exposée ici aurait du mal à être une réalité quotidienne. Cependant,

elle peut être technocratique et avoir tendance à trop préparer les décisions du Bureau, voire les travaux des Commissions, et à assurer maîtrise d'ouvrage et maîtrise d'œuvre de projets pouvant être portés localement.

Le Conseil Scientifique n'est pas toujours une réalité dans les Parcs et il est souvent peu

consulté. Cependant, certains Parcs, tels celui de la Brenne, ont renforcé les Sciences humaines, ce qui peut les appuyer dans leur travail de démocratie locale.

L'organisation institutionnelle qui assure l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre d'une Charte repose donc sur l'intégration verticale des différents niveaux territoriaux, Commune, Région, Etat, sur un équilibre technique et politique et sur des personnalités telles que le Président et le Directeur. Considérons désormais le processus et les étapes qui permettent d'élaborer la Charte du Parc.



Schema 2. Etapes de la vie d'un Parc Naturel Régional

Une bonne gouvernance est indispensable pour l'élaboration de la Charte du Parc

L'élaboration de la Charte : un processus ouvert, partenarial et participatif

La légitimité de la Charte repose sur le nombre et la nature de ses signataires, sa reconnaissance par l'Etat, l'affirmation publique qui en est faite, et le rôle reconnu à la structure qui la porte. Sa crédibilité repose sur sa durée, la précision des engagements des partenaires, les moyens financiers, humains ou techniques qu'ils

entendent dégager pour en assurer la mise en œuvre.

Le noyau des quelques personnes engagés dans l'association de préfiguration va donc devoir convaincre l'ensemble des acteurs d'un territoire à construire un projet commun, à s'unir autour d'une vision commune de leur avenir. Tout le travail repose, à chacune de ses étapes, sur un processus construit de dialogue et de concertation. L'élaboration de la Charte d'un Parc se fonde sur une démarche participative de qualification, de planification de l'espace et de construction du projet de territoire. Trois étapes sont à distinguer:

- Un regard : L'identification et l'état initial du territoire ;
- Un horizon : l'élaboration d'un projet pour le territoire ;
- Un chemin : la définition des modalités de mise en œuvre du projet

Un regard

Parce qu'elle alimentera les réflexions de tous les partenaires pour une action à venir, cette lecture partagée du territoire ne peut se limiter à une expertise technique. Au delà de

ses propres préoccupations, chaque partenaire doit s'appropriier l'identité du territoire :

- Sa richesse patrimoniale et les menaces qui pèsent sur lui ;
- Les liens entre les enjeux culturels sociaux, économiques et écologiques;

Sans une équipe pluridisciplinaire de haut niveau, relativement restreinte (20 à 30 personnes), la gouvernance territoriale aurait du mal à être une réalité quotidienne. Un important travail de synthèse [doit être fait] pour hiérarchiser les problèmes à résoudre et dégager les grandes orientations de développement et de protection à 10 ans pour l'avenir du territoire.

- Les différents niveaux de solidarité territoriale (régional, national et international) ;
- La pertinence et les conséquences des choix pour son évolution à long terme ;
- La manière dont d'autres institutions ou groupes sociaux se représentent le projet;
- La "situation" du futur Parc par rapport aux autres aires protégées et projets territoriaux.

La discussion publique de l'état initial et des axes d'intervention possibles qui en découlent est une phase importante d'appropriation du projet.

Un horizon

A partir de cet état initial, il importe de déterminer collectivement quels sont les enjeux du territoire. Cette étape nécessite une large concertation entre les élus locaux et les principaux acteurs du territoire, une approche qualitative d'analyse avec des outils de diagnostic du

Toutes les formes de concrétisation sont à rechercher : programmes d'actions, conventions avec les partenaires privés, associatifs, institutionnels ou professionnels ; statuts et moyens financiers de l'organisme de gestion du futur Parc ; organisation et composition de l'équipe technique du futur Parc.

territoire (inventaires du patrimoine, carte des populations, fréquentation touristique, analyse socio-économique...). Elle doit être suivie d'un important travail de synthèse pour hiérarchiser les problèmes à résoudre et dégager les grandes orientations de développement et de protection à 10 ans pour l'avenir du territoire. Ce travail sur le futur doit permettre également la définition d'espaces à vocations spécialisées, et se traduire par des règles du jeu à respecter et des responsabilités à assumer pour

chacun.

Cette vision prospective doit donc être forte, simple et lisible, constituant le cadre politique du territoire, intégrant les objectifs de toute aire protégée. Elle peut être abordée par une méthodologie prédictive (calcul de l'évolution sur la base de données quantitatives et qualitatives) ou

par une méthodologie projective (au vu des éléments actuels sans modification externe forte, on détermine l'état du territoire tel qu'on le souhaite dans dix à vingt ans).

La représentation cartographique fait également partie des méthodes de concertation. Elle permet en effet à chacun d'exprimer sa connaissance des lieux, de mieux comprendre son rôle sur le territoire et de susciter les débats. Elle permet ainsi de faire ressortir les enjeux et les accords sur le projet de territoire à moyen et long terme et peut constituer un support d'évaluation.

Un chemin

Les enjeux et priorités d'action étant définies, il y a lieu ensuite de réfléchir à leur mise en œuvre pour les 10 ans à venir, et aux responsabilités de chaque partenaire en fonction de ses compétences et de ses moyens. Ceci revient à envisager le "chemin" qui permettra à chacun de mettre en œuvre la Charte (ou de participer à sa réalisation). Toutes les formes de concrétisation sont à rechercher : programmes d'actions, conventions avec les partenaires privés, associatifs, institutionnels ou professionnels ; statuts et moyens financiers de l'organisme de gestion du futur Parc ; organisation et composition de l'équipe technique du futur Parc. Notons que la mention de ces moyens conforte l'engagement et assure une certaine confiance en l'avenir (même si les financements des parcs restent très dépendants de fonds publics).

Remarquons également que cette méthode qui peut paraître simple est difficile à mettre en œuvre : la tendance reste de proposer un programme actions, un chemin, avant un projet de territoire, un horizon. Certes, cela demande plus de temps, mais donne une réalité au développement durable...

La formalisation de l'accord

La Charte du Parc est un document qui comporte un rapport écrit qui exprime clairement le projet du territoire à 10 ans et un plan de Parc, document cartographique d'aménagement du

territoire. La carte s'accompagne d'un commentaire précis qui devra :

- Traduire les usages et fonctions donnés au territoire par la communauté (dans son ensemble et pour ses différents espaces) selon ses enjeux dominants.
- Identifier les secteurs d'intervention prioritaires ;
- Matérialiser les grands principes d'intervention selon la nature et les vocations de tel ou tel espace (équipements à créer, sites ou monuments à préserver, type d'activité à soutenir, etc.).

Des annexes définissent aussi les moyens financiers nécessaires à la réalisation du programme d'actions au titre des diverses politiques publiques et des moyens propres nécessaires à la structure de gestion du Parc.

Cet ensemble est soumis à l'accord de l'ensemble des partenaires. Depuis 2000, un débat public est rendu obligatoire, ce qui conforte la validation du projet par l'ensemble des habitants du territoire. A l'examen des accords locaux, la Région par délibération approuve la Charte et sollicite le classement du territoire en Parc Naturel Régional. La création du Parc est effective lorsque l'Etat valide la Charte et classe le Parc par décret.

Les forces et faiblesses de l'accord ***Un processus collectif***

L'union fait la force : cette devise pourrait seule justifier l'engagement des partenaires dans une démarche de Parc Naturel Régional. Mais ce principe simple, suffisant pour traduire l'intérêt de travailler en commun, est un peu faible pour fonder un accord de fond opérationnel. Tout le travail d'animation et de gouvernance présenté ci-dessus est essentiel pour parvenir à cette adhésion et permettre une action collective organisée au delà de l'acte formel de signature.

L'adhésion collective recèle une force d'entraînement, qui va au-delà de la simple juxtaposition des engagements propres à chaque partenaire. Si la Charte est un document juridico-institutionnel, elle tire surtout sa force de l'accord



Figure 3 : Château-Grillet au piémont rhodanien, plateau Pélussinois. Manoir du XVIème siècle et vignobles en terrasse. (Courtoisie Fédération des Parcs / J-L Rigaux)

moral qui lie les partenaires. Ce ne sont pas les signatures au bas d'un document qui font Charte, mais l'appropriation par chaque acteur des objectifs collectifs et la manière dont il entend les mettre en œuvre. De ce point de vue, la liste des opérations à réaliser est secondaire par rapport à l'entente sur des principes d'action.

Une adhésion locale et volontaire

Par rapport aux autres espaces protégés, la spécificité des Parcs réside dans la complémentarité de ses objectifs de développement durables et dans le caractère négocié de ce pro-

jet de territoire : la Charte du Parc. Si les Parcs Nationaux et les Réserves Naturelles sont régis par une logique réglementaire, les Parcs Naturels Régionaux obéissent à une logique d'engagement contractuel de tous les partenaires concernés. L'adhésion des élus du territoire et des acteurs locaux à la Charte est un acte individuel volontaire. Une commune qui n'approuve pas la Charte ne sera pas dans le territoire du Parc. Les acteurs locaux s'engageront en approuvant la Charte à travers leurs instances (associations, organismes professionnels, etc.) et en signant des conventions de partenariat. Il importe en effet que chacun des protagonistes adhère pleinement aux principes collectifs appelés à orienter et à justifier leur action.

Soulignons, cependant, que le besoin d'un minimum de force réglementaire pour la Charte a été perçu. Une loi de 1993 la renforce en lui donnant une portée juridique⁴. Ainsi, les gestionnaires du Parc et toute personne de droit privé ont une possibilité de recours en cas de non-respect de la Charte.

...mais des jeux de pouvoir et un système complexe

Si l'adhésion des acteurs à la Charte est volontaire, ceux-ci ne sont pas toujours totalement libres de leurs choix. Dans les faits, deux types de pressions influencent les positions des acteurs locaux et, notamment, des responsables municipaux.

Le premier provient des relations de contrôle que l'Etat peut exercer, des relations inégalitaires entre les collectivités locales et territoriales sur le plan des moyens financiers et de l'accès à l'information (connaissance des dispositifs ou d'exemples extérieurs, accès à l'expertise). Les relations entre pouvoirs publics subventionneurs et collectivités ou groupes sociaux demandeurs influencent les décisions ou peuvent créer des liens de subordination.

Le second type de contraintes est lié à ce qui peut être perçu comme « l'opinion publique ».

Des groupes de pression ou des campagnes médiatiques peuvent influencer la décision des élus. Cela justifie d'autant plus les mécanismes de participation et l'instauration d'une meilleure information des populations intéressées, de façon à ce que l'accord collectif repose sur un large consensus social et pas seulement sur les élus.

La construction de l'accord local est forcément complexe, peut paraître opaque et technocratique aux habitants du territoire. Cela tient non seulement à la diversité et aux intérêts divergents des partenaires, mais aussi, aux délais nécessaires pour des arbitrages qui s'inscrivent dans des horizons temporels différents. Cette prise en compte de la dimension temporelle est importante parce qu'elle permet de passer d'un accord ponctuel à une vision durable de l'action collective (dans une approche patrimoniale), dépassant la durée des mandats des élus. Le décalage temporel vient aussi de la difficulté à articuler des objectifs

à moyen et long terme avec des procédures administratives et financières à durée déterminée. Cette gestion du long terme, dont la nécessité est évidente en matière d'environnement, doit également inspirer les choix collectifs tels que la programmation des équipements et l'action économique, notamment dans ses implications foncières.

Donc le parc aura un jeu permanent pour veiller à ce que tous les signataires de la Charte respectent ce cadre et contribuent à sa mise en œuvre. En plus de 30 ans d'expérience, les Parcs ont acquis un réel savoir-faire sur le processus long et complexe d'élaboration d'une Charte, processus qui repose essentiellement sur des capacités d'animation, de médiation, de concertation et d'information. Mais comment ses engagements sont-ils honorés ? La mobilisation des acteurs dans la gestion de leur territoire est-elle une réalité ?

Si les Parcs Nationaux et les Réserves Naturelles sont régis par une logique réglementaire, les Parcs Naturels Régionaux obéissent à une logique d'engagement contractuel de tous les partenaires concernés.

Une gouvernance locale qui mérite des améliorations

Le système participatif d'un Parc est relativement complexe. Au-delà du système de concertation interne que nous avons abordé en première partie, des instances consultatives, des groupes de concertations thématiques évoluent dans le temps, en nombre comme dans la manière de fonctionner. Ce système permet de soutenir des actions et d'impliquer directement les acteurs du territoire dans la mise en œuvre du projet de Parc. La participation est aussi conditionnée par la qualité de l'information dont les acteurs disposent. Enfin, l'obligation de réviser la Charte tous les 10 ans et de solliciter à nouveau un accord individuel de tous les partenaires en projet collectif est un atout important pour la participation.

Des instances de concertation variables : contrat et engagement

Les représentants des collectivités pourraient décider seuls de la mise en œuvre de la Charte ; ils ont la légitimité du suffrage universel.

Certes, ils ont un rôle important dans le processus d'information, et de consultation de leurs citoyens. Mais ils ne peuvent être représentatifs de tous. Dans les faits, tous les Parcs se dotent d'un système participatif propre, adapté à la nature de leur territoire, à la richesse ou la faiblesse de sa vie collective (associations, groupements de professionnels locaux, etc), à son organisation intercommunale, plus ou moins complexe et à l'implication ou non des villes périphériques.

On ne peut en effet comparer les processus de concertation et de dialogue d'un Parc regroupant quelques dizaines de communes et moins de 10.000 habitants à celles d'un Parc de 150 à 200 communes regroupées en une vingtaine de structures intercommunales. On ne peut non plus comparer un Parc constitué par un Département et une Région à un Parc impliquant plusieurs, avec tout ce que cela entraîne comme partenaires publics et professionnels, et lourdeurs institutionnelles et procédurales. Le tableau présentant les caractéristiques de 10 parcs (Tableau 1) témoigne de ces différences de dimension et de complexité institutionnelle.

Tableau 1. 10 exemples de Parcs naturels régionaux (sur les 40) qui témoignent de leurs diversités

| Parcs | Régions | Départements | Communes | Superficies en ha | Habitants 1999 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------|-------------------|----------------|
| Armorique | Bretagne | Finistère 29 | 39 | 113 500 | 51 500 |
| Ballons des Vosges | Alsace Franche Comté Lorraine | Haut-Rhin 68 Territoire Belfort 90 Haute-Saône 70 Vosges 88 | 203 | 291 500 | 253 500 |
| Camargue | Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | Bouches du Rhône 13 | 2 | 86 500 | 8 000 |
| Chartreuse | Rhône-Alpes | Isère 38 Savoie 73 | 52 | 69 000 | 35 000 |
| Guyane | Guyane | Guyane 97-3 | 4 | 611 300 | 8 872 |
| Loire-Anjou-Touraine | Centre Pays de la Loire | Indre et Loire 37 Maine et Loire 49 | 136 | 235 000 | 177 000 |
| Luberon | Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | Alpes de Haute-Provence 04 Vaucluse 84 | 67 | 165 000 | 148 000 |
| Morvan | Bourgogne | Côte-d'Or 21 Nièvre 58 Yonne 89 Saône-et-Loire 71 | 94 | 226 000 | 33 000 |
| Normandie-Maine | Basse-Normandie Pays de la Loire | Manche 50 Mayenne 53 Orne 61 Sarthe 72 | 150 | 234 000 | 85 500 |
| Queyras | Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur | Hautes-Alpes 05 | 11 | 60 000 | 3 000 |

Le « cœur fonctionnel » du Parc est complété par des instances consultatives et des groupes de pilotage des principaux programmes et d'animation thématiques de natures différentes. Des groupes de pilotage liés à la mise en œuvre d'actions impliquent des procédures publiques, en particulier, l'attribution de subventions spécifiques. Des groupes de réflexion et d'échanges nécessaires à l'évolution des pratiques professionnelles et des activités sur le territoire visent à faire émerger des « modes de faire » particuliers, des collaborations nouvelles et des constructions de « réseaux ». Ces groupes sont plus informels et plus libres dans leurs méthodes de travail que les commissions, ce qui leur donne beaucoup de créativité et de convivialité. Ils comprennent surtout, voire exclusivement, des représentants de la société civile concernés par le thème de travail : socioprofessionnels, enseignants, simples habitants, usagers. Ces groupes informels ont tendance, avec l'appui du Parc, à prendre de l'ampleur et à se constituer en associations qui viennent ainsi enrichir le système de gouvernance du territoire. Plutôt qu'un organigramme décisionnel prédéterminé, additionnant les acteurs

concernés par la Charte, les Parcs développent donc un système de gouvernance souple et évolutif fondé sur des modes participatifs contractuels portant l'engagement des personnes.

Les gestionnaires du Parc et toute personne de droit privé ont une possibilité de recours en cas de non-respect de la Charte.

La gouvernance dans l'action : une responsabilisation des acteurs organisés

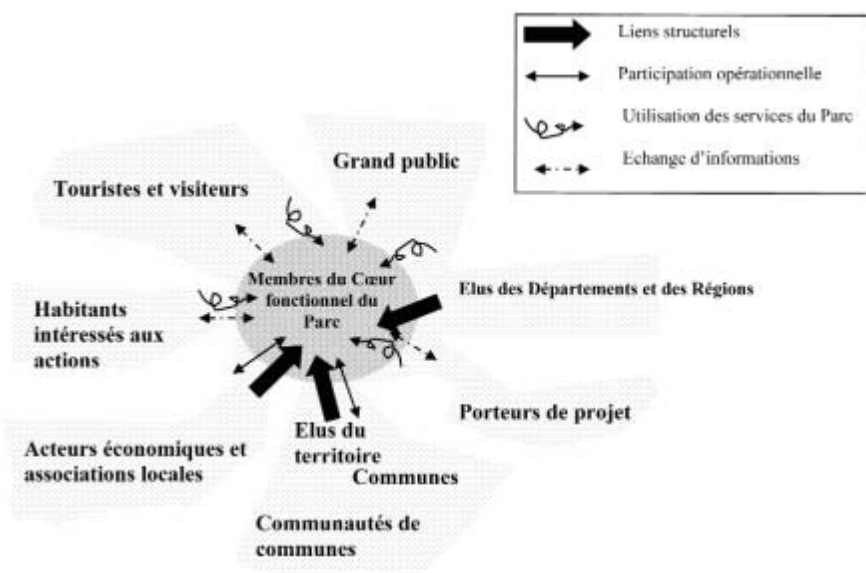
Pour mettre en œuvre la Charte, le Parc va, d'une part, fournir de l'assistance technique⁵ aux communes et autres collectivités engagées (par exemple, sur la gestion de l'eau, des déchets, etc.) et, d'autre part, soutenir⁶ des porteurs de projets locaux (prioritairement associatifs), les citoyens devenant acteurs directs du projet de territoire. C'est à travers les Commissions et les groupes consultatifs que se fera la sélection des projets à soutenir, soumis au Comité Syndical (car les projets impliquent des fonds publics).

Dans un grand Parc comme celui des Ballons des Vosges, avec 203 communes et plus de 250.000 habitants, 381 structures (associations, services publics) représentant les «

forces vives du territoire » participent aux 9 Commissions du Parc. Le dialogue avec l'instance décisionnaire s'établit par un « aller/retour » de près de 80 fiches-projets par an, et les propositions sont retenues à 90% par le comité syndical, dans la limite des budgets disponibles.

La communication et l'information, éléments incontournables d'une bonne mobilisation des habitants du Parc

La participation effective des forces vives du territoire à la réflexion et à l'action nécessite toujours une étape préalable



Schema 3. Les champs de la participation dans les Parcs Naturels Régionaux

d'information et de sensibilisation. Elle s'organise selon 2 niveaux : une communication générale et une communication pour des publics « ciblés ».

La communication « générale » d'un Parc s'appuie sur ses rapports écrits, comme le « journal du Parc » distribué dans les boîtes aux lettres des habitants, des supports informa-

Les groupes informels ont tendance, avec l'appui du Parc, à prendre de l'ampleur et à se constituer en associations qui viennent ainsi enrichir le système de gouvernance du territoire.

tiques comme le site web du Parc, consultable par tous, et des manifestations grands publics : fête du Parc, rallye de découverte, expositions, concours photos, etc. Au delà de la simple information, il y a dans ce domaine un vaste champ d'expérimentation sur les moyens de développer au sein de la population du Parc un sentiment

d'appartenance et de solidarité et la possibilité d'identifier des « personnes » ressources potentielles.

La communication ciblée vise à mobiliser les acteurs économiques et associations, pour inciter à une participation opérationnelle à l'action du Parc. Des publications spécifiques, des appels à projets ou à contribution à travers la presse locale, une information relationnelle par l'équipe technique du Parc sont des moyens assez classiques. Mais l'efficacité de cette communication est aussi liée aux contacts directs des élus et techniciens du Parc avec les personnes concernées.

Par ailleurs, la mise en place de formations professionnelles, intégrant une sensibilisation à l'environnement est un moyen d'inciter les différentes catégories socioprofessionnelles à une participation active.

La démarche d'évaluation : un atout pour la participation

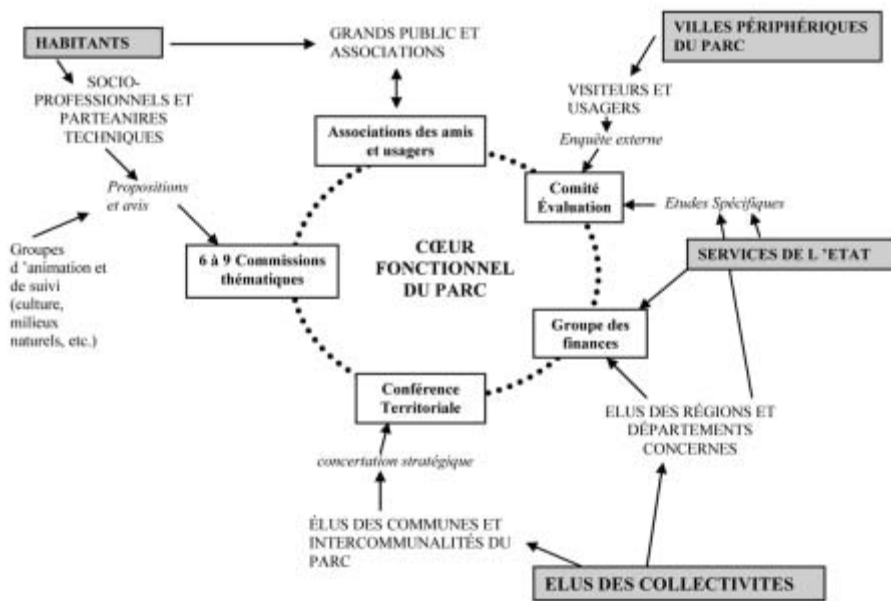
La révision de la Charte, pilotée par l'organisme de gestion du Parc, peut être assimilée

à une « re-création », puisque chaque partenaire devra à nouveau valider le projet de territoire et s'engager à y contribuer pendant 10 ans. Chacun a alors le loisir de s'interroger sur l'avenir du territoire, sur l'intérêt qu'il a à continuer à s'inscrire dans les objectifs du Parc naturel régional et sur ce qu'il en attend dans l'avenir.

Cette révision s'appuie sur un processus d'évaluation des résultats de la Charte précédente, identifiant les acquis, les difficultés, le mode de fonctionnement des partenariats et du système participatif du Parc. Cette évaluation s'appuie sur le travail de suivi et d'appréciation du Conseil scientifique, des Commissions et des groupes de travail, ainsi que sur la recherche d'indicateurs de résultats consensuels. Ce travail nécessite la mise en place d'un dispositif associant le suivi des actions et le suivi de l'évolution des caractéristiques patrimoniales et socio-économiques du territoire du Parc. Interne au Parc, il est enrichi par des « regards extérieurs » : expertises scientifiques, enquêtes auprès de la population et, ponctuellement, partenaires étrangers, etc.

L'évaluation constitue un important outil de pilotage de la mise en œuvre de la Charte, de consolidation de la participation et de responsabilisation des parties-prenantes. De fait, de nombreux Parcs, sans attendre la fin des 10 ans de validité de leur Charte, instituent un autre temps fort d'évaluation à mi-parcours de la Charte. Cela leur permet d'identifier les changements à prendre en compte et des actions qui ont eu un effet «

[Les élus] ont un rôle important dans le processus d'information, et de consultation de leurs citoyens. Mais ils ne peuvent être représentatifs de tous. Dans les faits, tous les Parcs se dotent d'un système participatif propre, adapté à la nature de leur territoire, à la richesse ou la faiblesse de sa vie collective (associations, groupements de professionnels locaux, etc.



Schema 4. Systeme participatif dans le fonctionnement du Parc.

levier » important sur le territoire et de relancer et de qualifier leur système participatif. Une large restitution de l'évaluation est essentielle pour rendre compte de l'action du Parc aux organismes financiers, aux partenaires techniques et, surtout, aux habitants du territoire et aux citoyens.

Mais ceci reste théorique pour certains parcs. Il n'existe pas à ce jour de système d'évaluation commun au réseau des Parcs et sa rigueur est très variable. Pour certains, exercice trop intellectuel inutile, pour d'autre, devant se limiter à un bilan, le processus d'évaluation est inexorablement destiné à se renforcer face à l'exigence croissante des financeurs et de la société civile.

Conclusion

La prudence écologique, l'efficacité économique et l'équité sociale associées à la transparence de la prise de décision sont les principes de bonne gouvernance d'un territoire. Ces dernières années, le terme de gouvernance a été employé pour désigner l'ensemble des processus de régulation de la société, exercés conjointement par des acteurs publics et privés, dès lors que ces acteurs de statuts divers

décident ensemble et coordonnent leurs interventions. La pratique de la gouvernance relève des dimensions politiques, sociétales, économiques et humaines du territoire sur lequel elle s'exerce. Elle implique toutes sortes de relais de réflexion et d'actions, d'animation et de communication, pour une meilleure écoute des besoins locaux, de meilleurs projets, plus d'initiatives et une création de sens collectif.

Un Parc Naturel Régional n'a pas le pouvoir de contraindre mais le devoir de convaincre.

Il est une structure de médiation entre des acteurs, des échelles, et des problématiques divergentes, voire opposées. Il est donc « obligé » de mettre œuvre une « bonne gouvernance » qui garantit cette conciliation : au travers du fonctionnement de ses instances et de ses activités. Certaines étapes telles que l'élaboration ou l'évaluation de la Charte sont des périodes d'effervescence participatives. Chacun des 40 Parcs de France tente ensuite d'entretenir cette implication locale par la responsabilisation directe des acteurs organisés dans la prise de décision, dans les actions, grâce à un important travail d'animation, d'écoute, de communication, d'information et de formation.

La réalité de cette « bonne gouvernance » est variable suivant les Parcs et dépendra en permanence de sa capacité à maintenir la confiance et l'équilibre entre les élus, l'équipe technique et l'ensemble des acteurs du territoire.

Cette spécificité de la démarche des Parcs Naturels Régionaux français démontrée ici a suscité depuis toujours, et en particulier depuis l'avènement du concept de Développement Durable en 1992, un grand

nombre de demandes de partenariats de la part de gestionnaires de territoires remarquables, d'États ou de collectivités. Des projets et appuis ponctuels sont menés dans divers pays et permettent au réseau des Parcs de partager et d'améliorer ses pratiques de gouvernance qui restent encore en grande partie à inventer pour relever durablement les grands enjeux de notre planète...

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Notes

¹ Les Parcs ont 4 missions : (1) la protection du patrimoine naturel et culturel, (2) le développement économique et social (3) l'accueil et l'information du public et (4) l'expérimentation.

² Ils existent en France 3 niveaux de décentralisation (environ 37 000 communes, 100 départements et 26 Régions). Les unités décentralisées sont gérés par des élus (au Suffrage Universel), dont les compétences augmentent au fil des étapes de la décentralisation (1972, 1982, 1995, 2003). Elles sont désignées sous le terme de collectivités locales et territoriales (Département et

Région). En 1982, les lois de décentralisation font des Régions des collectivités territoriales de plein exercice, avec un budget, des compétences (dont l'aménagement du territoire) et une Assemblée de représentants élus. A ces 3 niveaux correspondent les services déconcentrés de l'Etat, coordonnés par les Préfets de Région et de Département.

³ Suivant le portage principal du Projet de Parc, ceci émane de la Région ou des Communes concernées.

⁴ Elle est opposable aux documents d'urbanisme des communes.

⁵ Montage des dossiers pour obtenir des financements, conseil technique, mise à disposition de données et personnes ressource, etc.

⁶ Informer, aider au montage des dossiers, financer.

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SUMMARY

A Regional Natural Parc (PNR) is a way to make concrete a policy of sustainable development. It includes a territory, a project regarding it and a Charter, which ties and engages around a specific contract the relevant social actors in the territory.

The governance of the PNRs has three levels: (i) the level of its own internal organisation, (ii) the level of the adoption of the Charter, which makes explicit the land use plan for the Parc (iii) the level of the daily practice and implementation of the plan. Each Parc is managed by a public structure gathering the elected officials from all the local administrative units that have approved the Charter. This organisational structure, managed by the elected officials, is continuously seeking a balance between political and technical concerns and the willingness to engage the civil society. Each step in the elaboration of a Parc Charter is developed through a large participatory process and an often difficult negotiation among elected officials, administrators and local actors. The Charter, collective contract to be signed by all of them, guarantees their engagement in the initiative for at least 10 years. The job of developing the Charter is not only a responsibility of the elected officials. It does, in fact, engage in the reflection, decision-making and action various other institutions and actors in the territory. The Regional Natural Parks still have much to experiment and innovate towards a new practice of local rural governance. They are in the midst of an important learning process.

Une filière économique pour préserver les paysages du Pantanal

Edson Rodrigues Santos, José Marques de Souza,, Jean-Philippe Delorme et Reginaldo Luis Lima de Barros

Le Pantanal, immense plaine inondable s'étendant sur 3 pays— Brésil, Bolivie, Paraguay— couvre une superficie de 170 000 km², dont 140 000 au Brésil. Partie basse du bassin versant du haut fleuve Paraguay, son relief est très plan avec des déclivités de l'ordre de 6 cm/Km sur l'axe nord-sud, et 25 cm/Km sur l'axe est-ouest. La combinaison de l'extrême concentration de la pluviométrie¹, de l'afflux des eaux collectées sur une surface de captage de plus de 220 000 km², des pentes très faibles, des crues du fleuve Paraguay, et de l'unique sortie de drainage que constitue le fleuve lui-même, occasionne un régime très marqué d'alternances d'inondations et de sécheresses.

Chaque année 60-70% de la région est inondée pendant 5 à 6 mois, avec des hauteurs d'eau pouvant atteindre 5 mètres au-dessus du niveau de la saison sèche, ne laissant émergées que les parties les plus hautes de l'écosystème. Considéré comme la plus vaste zone humide de la planète, le Pantanal représente 3% de toutes les zones humides du monde. Il est également un écosystème extrêmement productif, abritant une biodiversité exceptionnelle, en quantité remarquable. Certains auteurs prétendent que le Pantanal abrite la plus forte concentration de faune du Nouveau Monde, comparable aux populations animales les plus denses d'Afrique. Parmi les espèces phares, facilement observable au Pantanal, comptent notamment le cerf des marais (*Blastocerus dichotomus*), la loutre géante (*Pteronura Brasiliensis*), le Ara Hyacinthe (*Andorhynchus hyacinthinus*) le jaguar (*Panthera onca palustris*) et la jabiru d'Amérique Latine (*Jabiru mycteria*), avec aussi 95 espèces de mammifères, 656 espèces d'oiseaux, 162 espèces de reptiles, plus de 300 espèces de poissons et 1700 plantes à fleurs sans compter les aquatiques et les herbacées.

Peuplé il y a au moins huit mil ans par des chasseurs-cueilleurs, mais probablement de



Figure 1 : Paysage du Pantanal. (Courtoisie O. Andre)

façon saisonnière et itinérante² le Pantanal n'a été colonisé et occupé de façon permanente qu'il y a deux cent ans. Dès lors, le mode d'exploitation de cet écosystème s'appuie exclusivement sur l'élevage de gros bétails en système très extensif³, dans le cadre de propriétés pouvant compter plusieurs centaines de milliers d'ha⁴. Tourné dans un premier temps vers la production d'animaux adultes, les conditions de milieux et l'évolution de la situation économique ont peu à peu orienté le système vers un élevage naisseur, sur prairies naturels. De ce fait, et bien que ses paysages en présentent toute l'ap-

parence, le Pantanal actuel n'est pas le fruit d'un équilibre purement naturel. En y introduisant un élevage très extensif et des pratiques de gestion des prairies par le feu, l'homme a certainement ouvert ce milieu un peu plus qu'il ne l'était déjà, permettant également de conserver une importante diversité de faciès. Cependant, hier immenses, les propriétés ont vu leur taille décroître progressivement par le jeu des héritages, phénomène encore accéléré par un processus de décapitalisation rapide. En 1980, 78% des fazendas ont déjà des surfaces s'échelonnant entre mille et mille cinq cent ha⁵, chiffre qui pour la même classe passe à 84% en

1996, confirmant une tendance très net au morcellement du foncier.

Face à ce déclin des superficies, un double phénomène a été observé depuis quinze ans : abandon pure et simple des fazendas, devenues économiquement non viable en système extensif, ou intensification du système de production par déboisement des parties hautes et introduction de prairies artificielles. Ce double phénomène entraîne de profondes modifications du milieu, soit par la fermeture rapide des paysages, accompagnés d'incendies incontrôlable en période d'étiage⁶, soit par une élimination de la couverture forestière et une disparition des

prairies naturelles au profit de graminées exotiques comme la *Brachyaria humidicola*.

La très faible occupation humaine du Pantanal⁷, son enclavement et l'isolement lié à l'extrême difficulté de l'accès en période d'inondation ont également entraîné un abandon progressif de l'engagement des communes en matière de service publique pour ce territoire, accélérant la dégradation des conditions de vie, la diminution de la population permanente et aggravant le déclin de l'activité économique. Processus de déprise agricole, exode rural accéléré, modification du milieu naturel et du tissu social, c'est dans un contexte de crise et en effet en partie à cause de cette crise que le projet de Parc régional du Pantanal a été mis en œuvre. Implanté dans le Pantanal Sur Mato Grossensse, sur initiative du Gouvernement du Mato Grosso du Sud, d'une partie de la population locale et avec l'appui technique de la Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France, le « territoire d'étude du Parc », c'est-à-dire son extension maximale possible dans le futur est de 4 millions d'hectares. Ce territoire inclue totalement ou en

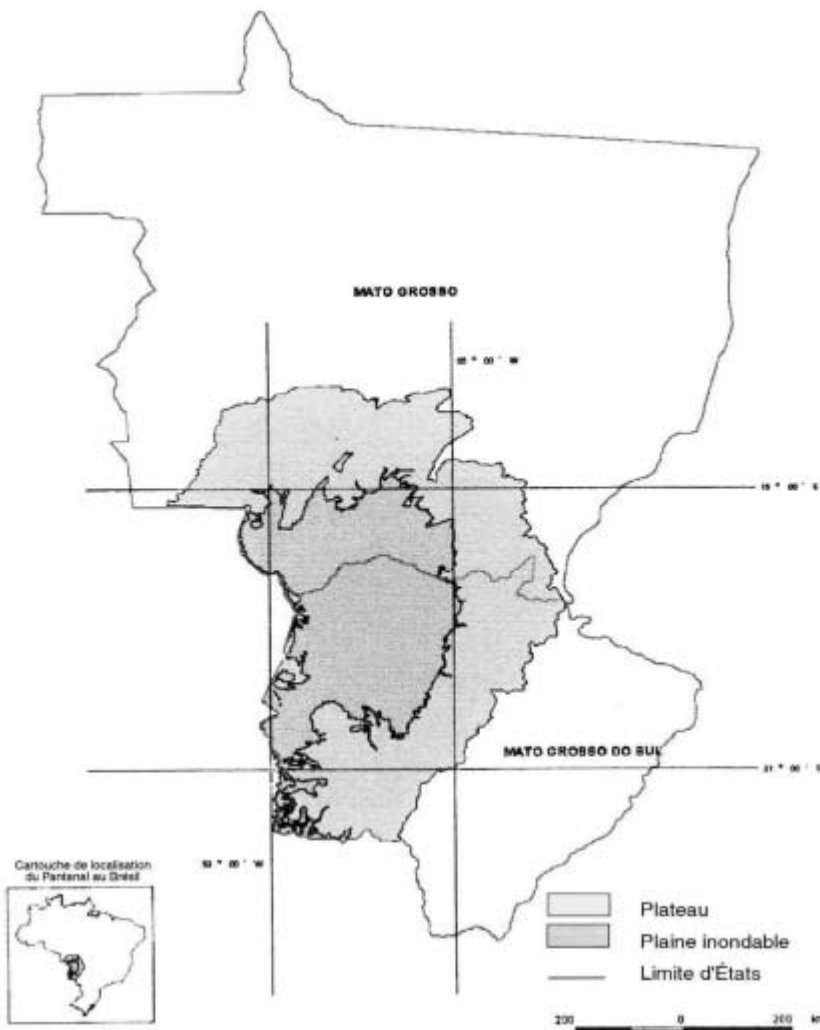


Figure 2 : Situation du Pantanal dans les Etats du Mato Grosso et du Mato Grosso du Sud. (Courtoisie PRP/CIRAD)

partie cinq municipalités et trois sous bassins hydrographiques, pour une population permanente évaluée à 14 000 habitants. Le processus s'est engagé en août 1998 et a abouti en août 2002 à la création du Parc Régional du Pantanal par décret du Gouverneur de l'État du Mato Grosso du Sud. Basé sur un principe d'adhésion volontaire et individuelle des propriétaires⁸ à un projet global de développement durable de la région, le territoire actuel du Parc représente d'ores et déjà une superficie d'un million deux cent cinquante mille ha et regroupe 164 fazendas.

Au-delà d'un projet de protection de l'environnement, le Parc Régional du Pantanal s'est donné comme objectif d'être un instrument fin d'aménagement du territoire, permettant d'aborder toutes les dimensions du développement durable. En s'appuyant sur un travail de structuration et de mise en réseau des acteurs, il a également permis d'aboutir à la construction d'un espace institutionnel nouveau, permettant d'intégrer les pouvoirs publics et la société civile à la définition et la mise en œuvre de politiques d'intérêt général.

Commencé en 1998, ce travail, pour la partie institutionnelle, s'est largement appuyé sur le cadre légal brésilien existant et notamment sur l'idée du troisième secteur, appelé par ailleurs *secteur public non étatique*. Ce concept définit que le "public" ne doit pas être le seul apanage de l'État mais est aussi de la responsabilité de la société civile. Afin de permettre la construction de ce nouvel espace et la formalisation des partenariats nécessaires entre pouvoir public et société civile, la figure juridique d'OSCIP

(Organisation de la Société Civile d'Intérêt Public) a été créée au Brésil en 1999⁹. Ce nouveau statut, attribué par le Ministère de la justi-

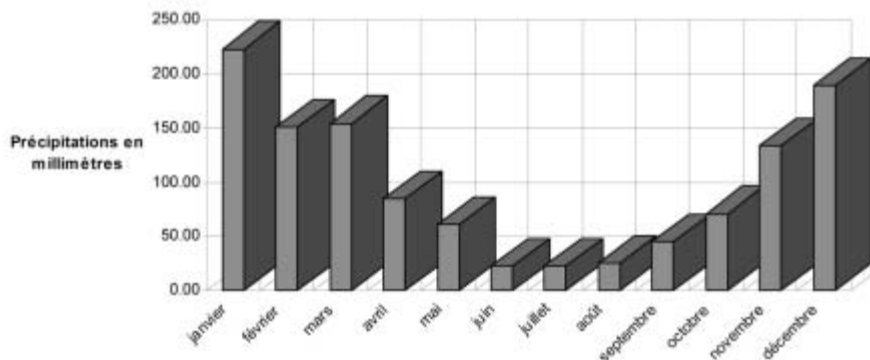


Figure 3 : Diagramme de pluviométrie (Courtoisie PRP – J.P. Delorme)

ce, permet à des associations de droit privé et sans fins lucratives d'être habilitées à mettre en œuvre, dans le cadre d'accord de partenariat particulier avec les pouvoirs publics, des programmes concernant notamment les domaines de l'éducation, de la culture, de la lutte contre la pauvreté et de la protection de l'environnement.

Quatre millions d'ha, 0,3 habitants par km², un milieu enclavé et isolé de tout où le plus proche voisin se trouve à des heures de trajet, quand les eaux permettent de se déplacer, sont des conditions qui font de l'homme pantaneiro un individualiste par nature. Peu d'organisation et de travail en commun, pas d'espaces dans les institutions en charge de la définition des politiques publiques... un travail participatif au Pantanal ne pouvait se faire sans une première phase d'organisation de la population et de structuration des acteurs. Dans cette optique et dès 1999 un travail de terrain exhaustif a été initié de façon à identifier les partenaires locaux et appuyer leur organisation. En un an ce travail a abouti à la création ou à la réactivation de huit associations fondées sur une base géographique ou représentantes de secteurs d'activités comme le tourisme ou l'éducation.

En février 2000, aidés par l'équipe d'appui technique, les représentants de ces 8 associations locales et l'État du Mato Grosso du Sud, se sont constitués en une Association pour la Création du Parc, appelée Institut du Parc du Pantanal. Appuyée pendant toute sa phase de création par une équipe technique pluridisciplinaire, elle compte dans son conseil d'administration des représentants des communautés

locales et de l'État et prévoit dans ses statuts d'intégrer un représentant de chacune des communes concernées par le territoire du Parc. Parallèlement à cette construction institutionnelle, des groupes de travail ont également permis d'établir une vision commune sur les problèmes actuels, les atouts et le devenir souhaitable pour le Pantanal. Cette base consensuelle mais ambitieuse, a permis de définir les grandes lignes et les stratégies à mettre en œuvre pour réaliser un projet de territoire global et intégré, qui se structure autour de huit objectifs :

- Faire progresser le système de production traditionnel afin de maintenir l'activité d'élevage extensif, dans le respect des équilibres écologiques ;
- Créer de nouvelles activités économiques complémentaires à l'élevage extensif et appuyer le développement de celles déjà émergentes
- Harmoniser et coordonner les activités des pouvoirs publics sur le territoire
- Renforcer, adapter et faire appliquer la législation environnementale
- Améliorer le niveau des services publics sur le territoire
- Sauvegarder la culture *pantaneira*
- Contribuer à identifier, localiser et réduire les dégradations affectant le territoire
- Mieux connaître la biodiversité du territoire, mieux la conserver et mieux la valoriser

Ce projet, après une phase de discussion et de négociation, a ensuite été décrit dans un document : la Charte du Parc Régional du Pantanal, qui outre le fait d'être un guide servant à orienter les actions de tous les partenaires impliqués, est également un engagement contractuel formel

entre ces mêmes partenaires. C'est sur la base des propositions contenues dans ce document et à la demande de l'Institut du Parc du Pantanal, que le Gouverneur de l'État du Mato Grosso du Sud a créé par décret, en date du 29 août 2002, le Parc Régional du Pantanal.

La reconnaissance officielle du Parc Régional du Pantanal est de cinq années, en fonction de la durée du projet de territoire présenté dans la Charte du Parc. La prolongation de cette reconnaissance, par période de cinq années, est conditionnée à ; (i) l'élaboration d'un bilan des activités à être présenté par le Parc au Secrétariat à l'environnement de l'État du Mato Grosso du Sud, pour évaluation des résultats, (ii) la présentation d'un nouveau projet de cinq

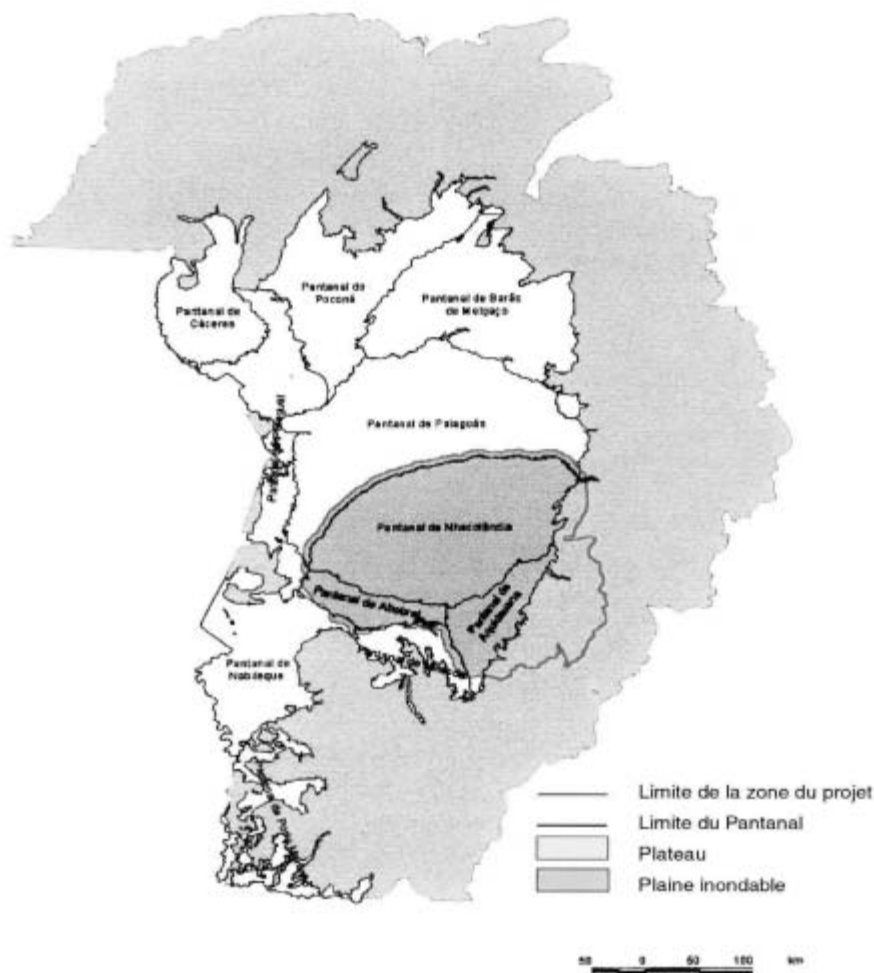


Figure 4 : La zone du projet dans la région du Pantanal (Courtoisie PRP /CIRAD)

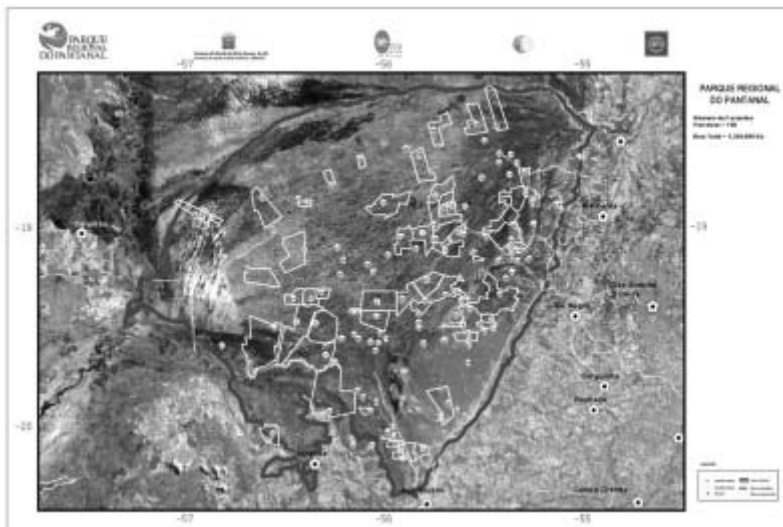


Figure 5 : Délimitations du territoire d'étude et représentations d'une partie des fazendas ayant adhérées au Parc - mars 2003 ; Le travail de délimitation des périmètres des propriétés adhérentes au parc est en cours de réalisation, seule une partie des fazendas partenaires sont localisées et représentées et sur cette cartes (Courtoisie PRP – Luiz Antonio Paiva)

ans et (iii) la présentation d'une nouvelle Charte.

Cette démarche pilote au Brésil, permet de tester des solutions nouvelles pour la mise en œuvre de politiques de protection de l'environnement. La dimension de pacte, à travers l'établissement de contrat formel entre partenaires, qu'ils soient personnes physiques ou juridiques, publics ou privés, permet un engagement en toute connaissance de cause, de chacune des parties impliquées. Un terme de cinq ans avec évaluation de la politique mise en œuvre, engage également les partenaires à une obligation de résultat et à une évaluation permanente des actions engagées en relation aux objectifs de développement et de préservation.

Outre un espace physique représenté par la somme des superficies des fazendas impliquées, le Parc est aussi un espace institutionnel permettant d'intégrer les actions des niveaux administratifs Fédéral, d'État et communal, des institutions de recherches privées et publiques, du tissu associatif local, national et international et de la population locale à la réalisation d'un projet défini et approuvé en commun. C'est une démarche de participation active et responsable qui se met en place dans le cadre du

Parc, ou chacun des acteurs connaît le processus dans lequel il s'insère, les raisons d'être de ce processus et les compromis auxquels l'engage son adhésion volontaire.

Aujourd'hui, l'Institut du Parc du Pantanal, est devenu la structure technique du Parc et a été qualifiée comme OSCIP en décembre 2002. L'équipe technique impliquée depuis 5 ans dans le processus de création est maintenant chargée de la mise en œuvre de la politique arrêtée dans la Charte. La structure est financée en partie par le biais d'un accord pluriannuel entre le Parc et le Gouvernement du Mato Grosso du Sud, mais a également diversifié ses sources de financement. Pour ce faire, des accords ont été passés avec d'autres administrations notamment fédérale¹⁰, des bailleurs de fonds internationaux comme le Fonds Français pour l'Environnement Mondial et des organismes de recherches comme le CIRAD et l'EMBRAPA¹¹ ou encore des Associations de protection de la nature comme le WWF et le WCS. La marque apposée sur les produits certifiés parc le Parc Régional du Pantanal est également un outil de financement de la structure, qui selon les projections permettra de financer une grande partie des coûts fixes.

Au niveau technique, c'est bien avec la conviction que la conservation du Pantanal en tant que milieu naturel et habité passait, entre autre, par le maintien en milieu rural des communau-



Figure 6 : L'élevage au Pantanal. (Courtoisie O. Andre)

tés locales avec des pratiques d'élevage exten-

Le Pantanal actuel n'est pas le fruit d'un équilibre purement naturel — en y introduisant un élevage très extensif et des pratiques de gestion des prairies par le feu, l'homme a certainement ouvert ce milieu un peu plus qu'il ne l'était déjà, permettant également de conserver une importante diversité de faciès.

Le programme du veau biologique du Parc régional du Pantanal (VITPAN), fait partie de la gamme de réponses mises en place par l'équipe technique, pour induire une nouvelle façon d'envisager la production au Pantanal. Valoriser le mode extensif sur prairies naturelles, pour protéger les paysages du Pantanal, est l'approche développée dans ce cas. Ce programme est également exemplaire de la capacité du Parc à intégrer de multiples partenaires, dans la réalisation d'actions complexes, au service des objectifs définis pour le territoire. En matière de production et pour des questions de conditions de milieu, le Pantanal c'est peu à peu spécialisé dans l'élevage extensif naisseur. Les animaux élevés jusqu'à l'âge de douze mois sont ensuite traditionnellement vendus à des engraisseurs, de l'état du Mato Grosso du Sud ou des états voisins.

Le veau du Pantanal était de fait un produit intermédiaire dans une chaîne de production plus étendue, soumise aux exigences d'une demande organisée et capable d'imposer ses propres conditions de prix aux producteurs *pantaneiros*. Cette situation ne permettait pas, localement, une bonne valorisation des produits de l'élevage, car il n'existait ni organisation du secteur productif, ni contrôle sur la commercialisation. La majeure partie de la plus value était donc créée en dehors du Pantanal et ne profitait

sif, que furent élaborées les différentes stratégies mises en œuvre par le Parc régional du Pantanal. La diversification des activités économiques, l'amélioration des conditions de vie des habitants et une meilleure valorisation des produits de l'élevage, pour éviter l'intensification du système de production, sont des mesures d'urgence développées au sein du Parc de façon à freiner la tendance à la modification actuelle du milieu.

pas au développement de la région. La stratégie liée au programme du VITPAN a été de faire des veaux et génisses du Pantanal un produit final, différencié par une marque regroupant :

- Une certification d'origine géographique (image du Pantanal),
- Une certification biologique,
- Un aval du Parc sur les conditions environnementales de production et sur la participation de ce produit au maintien des équilibres écologiques de la région.

Il s'agit donc en fait de créer, de bout en bout, une filière "viande du Pantanal" avec une marque attachée. Le travail sur la filière a démarré en juillet 2001 avec l'appui et l'aide financière du Ministère de l'Agriculture brésilien, en développant des actions selon trois axes :

- Définition d'un cahier des charges pour obtenir la certification du produit comme biologique,
- Définition des normes d'un système de production sur prairies naturelles et la définition des caractéristiques du produit final,
- Connaissance du marché intérieur.

Il a impliqué 22 producteurs encadrés par l'équipe technique du projet et des partenaires scientifiques comme l'EMBRAPA, l'Université Fédérale du Mato Grosso du Sud et des organismes de certification. Le cheptel expérimental s'élevait à 550 animaux, provenant de fermes situées sur tout le territoire du Parc, de façon à avoir une bonne représentativité des conditions de production des différentes micros régions. En fin de phase I, les résultats, très encourageants, ont permis, à la surprise de tous de tirer des conclusions permettant l'amélioration générale des indices zootechniques de l'élevage extensif au Pantanal¹². Les analyses

Au-delà d'un projet de protection de l'environnement, le Parc Régional du Pantanal s'est donné comme objectif d'être un instrument fin d'aménagement du territoire, permettant d'aborder toutes les dimensions du développement durable.

organoleptiques, les tests de congélation et les dégustations ont permis de mettre en exergue les qualités spécifiques du produit, de tester le stockage en chambre froide¹³, de tester des modes de préparation de cette viande particulière, de vérifier son niveau d'acceptation par le consommateur et d'évaluer les niveaux de prix acceptés par le marché.

Les premiers lots d'animaux marqués « Veau Biologique du Parc Régional du Pantanal », ont été vendus à des âges variant entre sept et douze mois, pour le double, en moyenne, du prix normalement pratiqué pour des animaux vendus pour l'embouche. Soit le prix d'un animal de trois ans pour des animaux de huit mois en moyenne.

En décembre 2002 le Ministère de l'Agriculture a renouvelé sa confiance au Parc, pour mettre en œuvre une deuxième phase du programme veau du Pantanal, axée sur l'organisation de la commercialisation. Ce volet commercialisation s'organise à travers une association des éleveurs du Parc qui reçoivent l'appui de l'équipe technique pour monter leur structure. Le Parc autorise ainsi cette association à utiliser la marque « Veau Biologique du Parc Régional du Pantanal » déposée auprès de l'INPI¹⁴ et à apposer le logo du Parc sur ses produits. En contrepartie, l'association verse au Parc, un pourcentage sur les valeurs commercialisées¹⁵.

Ce système permet de raccourcir le circuit de commercialisation, de donner au Parc les moyens d'orienter les pratiques vers les objectifs définis dans le projet global de territoire et

assure aussi une grande partie de son budget de fonctionnement.

Aujourd'hui, le système de production est connu et défini, avec un cahier des charges précis. Des solutions ont été trouvées concernant les traitements vétérinaires à appliquer aux animaux, et des distributeurs ont été identifiés, de façon à assurer l'écoulement régulier de la marchandise et l'approvisionnement du marché. La phase test terminée, les résultats du programme ont été diffusés et l'ouverture à des nouveaux participants a commencé. Les critères de sélection des nouveaux adhérents ont été définis¹⁶ et le programme compte aujourd'hui 62 producteurs certifiés pour un total de 37.000 têtes de bétail.

De façon à appuyer le programme, le Gouvernement de l'État du Mato Grosso du Sud a également mis en place un système d'encouragement fiscal au développement du programme. Il a été décidé que le 85% de l'Impôt sur la circulation des marchandises¹⁷ sera reversé selon les modalités suivantes : 50% directement à l'éleveur, 50% versé à un fond qui, géré par le Parc, servira au développement d'études sur l'amélioration de l'élevage extensif au Pantanal.

Développer des outils économiques de façon à atteindre des objectifs liés à la conservation des paysages et de la biodiversité *pantaneira* est le pari que le Parc régional du Pantanal est en train de gagner, en construisant une démarche qui pourra être déclinée sur de nombreux autres produits de la région. Le succès de ce programme et les actions connexes développées au Pantanal par le Parc Régional, permettront de maintenir une population traditionnelle dans son milieu, sans augmentation de la pression sur l'environnement.

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Figure 7 : Logo marque du Parc Régional du Pantanal

Edson Rodrigues Santos (parqnat@terra.com.br), Ingénieur agronome, fait partie de l'équipe du Parc du Pantanal depuis 3 ans



Figure 8 : Paysage du Pantanal (Courtoisie O. Andre)

et il est actuellement Coordinateur technique de l'ensemble des programmes de production. **José Marques de Souza** (parq-nat@terra.com.br), Ingénieur agronome, fait partie de l'équipe du Parc depuis 3 ans et il est actuellement le secrétaire exécutif du Parc Régional du Pantanal. **Jean-Philippe Delorme** (pnrp@terra.com.br), Technicien de la Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France, est depuis 1998 le Coordinateur général du Projet de création du Parc régional du Pantanal. **Reginaldo Luis Lima de Barros** (reginaldobarros@terra.com.br) est engagé par le projet comme représentant de la population *pantaneira*, il est à l'heure actuelle coordinateur des volets tourisme et éducation du Parc.

Notes

- ¹ La pluviométrie annuelle se situe entre 900 et 1200 mm, 80% des précipitations sont concentrées sur les mois de novembre, décembre, janvier février et mars.
- ² Actes du Pantanal, 2000.
- ³ Densité de l'ordre de 0,3 à 0,1 tête par hectare.
- ⁴ Ces vastes domaines appelés fazendas, sont habités et gérés au quotidien par les ouvriers agricoles, qui représentent avec leur famille la seule population réellement permanente du Pantanal. Les propriétaires bien que présent très régulièrement sur les exploitations, habitent généralement dans les villes en périphérie du

Pantanal.

⁵ Considérant le système extrêmement extensif et les très faibles indices zootechniques des exploitations au Pantanal, ces fazendas sont considérées comme petites.

⁶ Les moyennes de précipitation mensuelle enregistrées sur une période de 15 ans pour les trois mois d'étiage sont de 30 mm.

⁷ La densité brute du Pantanal est évaluée à 0,32 habitant par km².

⁸ Le Pantanal est totalement approprié.

⁹ La loi 9790/99 également appelée "nouvelle loi du troisième secteur" définit ce nouveau statut juridique d'OSCIP, les conditions d'obtentions, etc.

¹⁰ Le Ministère de l'Agriculture.

¹¹ Le CIRAD, Centre International de Recherche en Agronomie pour le Développement et l'EMBRAPA, Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agronômica.

¹² Sur les troupeaux expérimentaux, tous les indices ont été très largement améliorés : l'indice de fécondité est passé de 50% à 80%, la mortalité de 30% à 8% et 80% des animaux engagés dans le programme ont atteint les minima définis, tant en terme de poids que de couverture adipeuse.

¹³ Il était impératif de connaître les possibilités et les effets de la congélation de la viande du Veau du Pantanal, car la production est hautement saisonnière alors que la demande exige un approvisionnement du marché tout au long de l'année.

¹⁴ L'INPI est Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle.

¹⁵ Les discussions portent sur le reversement au Parc d'un pourcentage de 6% à 8% des valeurs commercialisées.

¹⁶ Avoir sa propriété située sur le territoire du Parc, avoir signée un contrat de pré adhésion au Parc et à la Charte quand elle sera finalisée, ne pas avoir un pourcentage de pâturage artificiel supérieur à 30%, etc.

¹⁷ Cet impôt représente entre 14 et 19% de la valeur marchande des produits.

SUMMARY

The Pantanal, one of the world's largest wetlands, is an ecosystem of exceptional productivity and biodiversity. Inhabited for over 200 years, its landscape has been shaped by a particular interaction of flooding cycles and intensive cattle grazing. As the size of pasture landholdings declined with time, cattle growers started facing an economic crisis. The Regional Park of Pantanal is the result of a pilot project— a cooperation between the State of Mato Grosso do Sul and the Federation of Regional Natural Parks of France, carried out with EU financing arranged by the French Fond for the Global Environment. The project fostered the development of a partnership between the public and private sector (all the land in the Park is privately owned). The Regional Park that is the result of that partnership is built on the synergy among economic advantages (e.g. the commercialisation of the labelled "veal of Pantanal"), quality products and the sound management of a unique environment.

Learning by doing in Port Honduras Marine Reserve, Southern Belize

Will Maheia

The Port Honduras Marine Reserve (PHMR) is located in Southern Belize, Central America. It covers some 500 square miles stretching along the coast of Southern Belize. The reserve was established in 1999 after years of lobbying by local communities and international and local NGOs. A participatory process led up to creation of the reserve but much “learning by doing” had to take place since then, as the local communities and NGOs faced and overcame several challenges.

Residents of the Port Honduras area initially sought the protections afforded by reserve status when they noticed a considerable decline in the flora and fauna in the area and realized that they were not the only ones causing the depletion. Through community exchanges and outreach, many people were drawn into a discussion about the depletion of resources and decided to call upon local and international organizations for assistance. Their primary hopes were that a multi-use reserve might bring economic benefits and a halt to the illegal poaching of manatees and fishing by non local fishermen from Guatemala and other Honduran communi-

If we were going to stop the neighbors from destroying the environment, then our own people had to take responsibility as well.

ties. Among others, an international conservation organization—The Nature Conservancy (TNC)—and a local grass roots organization—the Toledo Institute for Development and Environment (TIDE)—responded to the call for assistance. With the help of the local communities, TNC conducted a Rapid Ecological Assessment and found that there was indeed a decrease in the flora and fauna in the area. Immediately after that, the local communities, TNC and TIDE began to work together to create what is now the PHMR.

The process involved several community meetings at local and national levels, and the Ministry of Fisheries was brought in to give support and



Figure 1. TIDE Executive Director caught his lunch sustainably from the community co-managed Port Honduras Marine Reserve. (Courtesy unknown author)

technical assistance. TIDE was able to effectively promote community involvement throughout this process, in part because the majority of its staff, including myself as Executive Director, were born and raised in the area. The Honduran government formally conferred the Marine Protected Area status on Port Honduras in 1999, establishing three distinct zones: a conservation zone, a preservation zone, and a general use zone. Sustainable fishing is allowed in the general use zone, meaning that fishing by hand lines is there allowed but gill nets are banned. At the same time that it established the reserve, the government authorized a co-management arrangement in which TIDE and the Fisheries Department share responsibilities. Under the management arrangement, TIDE is responsible for the day-to-day management of the reserve and hires its rangers, environmental educators and biologists while the Fisheries Department assists with technical and legal matters. An advisory body oversees the reserve management and is comprised of one representative each from TIDE, the Department of Fisheries and the local town council, plus several community representatives. PHMR is an example of true co-management in the sense that each institution has its part to play, and local people have the power to overrule almost any decision.

After the reserve was established, TIDE continued to work with both TNC and the local communities to come up with the best ways to safeguard its resources. At community meetings we led discussions about threats to the fisheries and the alternative practices people could adopt to sustain their livelihoods. During the meetings, local residents were outspoken in blaming neighbors from Guatemala and Honduras for resource exploitation. When questioned about their own use of destructive gillnets, they replied that they had begun to use them and grown dependent on them only after seeing that no one was checking up on the Guatemalans that were illegally using gillnets in their waters. Over time, however, the use of nets by locals had also become part of the culture. The challenge now was to get locals to be more sensitive to the environment. If we were going to stop the

We at TIDE realized from early on that we could not just ask people to give up their nets without providing an alternative. Our search revealed that tourism was a fast growing industry and that there was a keen interest in sport fishing.

neighbors from destroying the environment then our own people had to take responsibility as well! For years TIDE led discussions with the communities on the best ways to do this. Many of the locals complained that fishing was their livelihood and they had to use gillnets to be competitive, even if they knew that the nets were destructive. Together we all searched for possible alternatives...

We at TIDE realized from early on that we could not just ask people to give up their nets without providing an alternative. Our search revealed that tourism was a fast growing industry and that there was a keen interest in sport fishing. An assessment of the area revealed that if nets were not used in the area, then fish was likely to return quickly. If this was to happen, the net fishing families could receive training to be sport fishing guides. The women in these fishing communities would benefit because they could prepare the food for the guests, and some of the folks in the fishing villages could even convert their homes into guest

houses. The opportunity looked great and the enthusiasm was there.

In 2000 we received through TNC a donation from the Orvis flyfishing cooperation. Orvis sent flyrods and trainers to train our local fisherfolks. Things began to work well. The financial returns for many of the fishermen-turned-guides were great. Some increased their annual salary by several hundred percent and life improved for them and their families.

One of our main challenges was presented by the net-fishermen and women who did not believe they would be good sport-fishing guides and refused to give up the nets voluntarily. In fact, we had realized early on that not everyone could become a sport fishing guide, and we had been looking for alternatives. We offered kayak guide training and other opportunities also connected with the tourism industry. Some of the fishermen became reserve rangers and for others we created a scholarship fund, addressing those who were not benefiting from tourism. One of the stated key reasons for net-fishing was that the families needed to gain money to send their children to school. We identified the families who had kids in school and gave the kids scholarships to go to high school. We also initiated a net exchange program that replaced gillnets with more sustainable fishing tools. This was a great program for many because they could still fish while following sustainable practices. The poaching of manatees stopped completely and within two years the fish population was coming back. We felt matters were really going well...

...but another challenge soon rose its head. With an observable increase in the fish population, a few fishermen felt that it was alright to take their nets out of storage and start all over again. Some even bought new nets. They tried to set the nets when no rangers were around, but one of the most positive things about this co-managed reserve is that the rangers were once fishermen themselves so they knew when nets were being set in the reserve. This led to frequent patrols in certain areas and some non-violent clashes between rangers and

those who were breaking the rules by setting nets inside the reserve.

Given the economic pressures in the region, it is likely that fending off illegal exploitation of fisheries resources will continue to be a challenge in Port Honduras but so far our rangers, the local police, the public and government officials have demonstrated a shared commitment to address this problem. Although our rangers have the power to arrest the ones contravening the law, they prefer not to use such power and serve instead as educators. When a need for arrests arose earlier this year, the rangers quickly called for help from the Local Community Police who responded swiftly and promptly. The police sent a strong message that they will support the work of TIDE Rangers and will carry out the law. More recently, TIDE rangers encountered new fishermen in the reserve using a type

of Asian gillnet that catches virtually everything in the water. The rangers found the poachers with their nets in the water and with big fish, small fish, a conch and even an endangered Hawksbill Turtle in their boat. This time the rangers made the arrest and turned the poachers over to the Fisheries Department. Many members of the local community asked the authorities to give a serious punishment and they were pleased with the result. The poachers were taken to court, fined one thousand dollars, and had all their fishing equipment confiscated. TIDE believes this case demonstrates the true spirit of co-management, with each responsible party playing its role.

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In search of equitable governance models for indigenous peoples in protected areas—the experience of Kayan Mentarang National Park

Cristina Eghenter and Martin Labo



Fig 1: A trail in the forest. It is not unusual for women and men alike to take short, collective expeditions into the forest to look for forest products or collect wild honey. (Courtesy Cristina Eghenter)

Collaborative and community-based management of territories and resources for conservation purposes have become the focus of strategies and activities of non-governmental conservation organizations like WWF since the mid-1980s. The adoption and application of local management practices and indigenous knowledge are viewed as the key to success. These efforts, however, face serious challenges whenever the political and legal context is not ready to embrace participatory management approaches or secure the rights of indigenous people. The efforts also need to effectively respond to the changing economic and social needs of the communities.

This paper draws on the experience of an experiment in collaborative management carried out in the National Park of Kayan Mentarang (KMNP), East Kalimantan, Indonesia, where we examined the factors that encouraged the adoption of collaborative management and the circumstances that might hinder its implementation. The paper briefly reflects upon the history of the project and its search for an increasingly more equitable and sustainable setting for the governance of the protected area. In particular, it recounts the steps taken to get recognition for the rights of the local indigenous communities over access to natural resources in their customary lands, and the long process of negotiation and compromise among various stakeholders.

We argue that the legal and practical premises of the collaborative management of the park will remain uncertain and weak as long as diverging views on what a national park is and who is to benefit from it persist, and as long as the economic needs of the local communities remain un-addressed.

The Kayan Mentarang National Park

The Kayan Mentarang National Park, situated in the interior of East Kalimantan, Indonesian Borneo, lies at the border with Sarawak to the

west and Sabah to the north. With its gazetted 1.38 million ha, it is the largest protected area of rainforest in Borneo and one of the largest in Southeast Asia. A strict nature reserve since 1980, the area was declared a National Park by the Minister of Forestry in October 1996.

About half of the reserve consists of species-rich dipterocarp lowland and hill forest while mountain forest ranges up to Kayan Mentarang's highest mountain at 2,000 m. Forty percent of the park has an elevation above 1,000 m. The area is considered to be one of the world's 10 biodiversity hotspots, which contain a disproportionately high level of species diversity in a relatively small area. Kayan Mentarang National Park has also been identified as one of the Global 200 biologically outstanding eco-regions that best represent the world's biodiversity.

The communities living in and around the park are still *adat* or indigenous communities, largely regulated by customary law or *adat* in the conduct of their daily affairs and the management of natural resources in the customary territory or *wilayah adat*. The communities have native customary rights to the entire territory comprised in the protected area. Ten customary lands are included in the Kayan Mentarang National Park.

The history of the natural landscape of the park is inextricably intertwined with the history of its people. Extensive archaeological remains in the form of stone burial occur in the reserve. They date from about three hundred years ago and were used for secondary burial rites.

About 16,000 Dayak people live inside or in close proximity of the Kayan Mentarang National Park. Roughly half of these people are primarily shifting cultivators. The rest are mainly wet-rice farmers. The inhabitants of the park and surrounding areas depend on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild plants for their



Map 1: Kayan Mentarang National Park. (Courtesy WWF Indonesia)

subsistence needs. Trade in forest products such as gall stones (from langurs and porcupines) and aloes wood or *gaharu* (*Aquilaria* spp), as well as revenues from temporary employment in Malaysia are the principal ways to earn cash for buying commercial goods, pay for school fees, cover travel expenses to the lowlands, and buy work tools and equipment. Under stable circumstances, these activities allow the Dayak people to fulfill their basic needs and remain self-sufficient. It should be said, however, that transportation costs are very high, and that only the existence of government price subsidies has managed to keep prices of essential goods under control.



Fig 2: Rattan basket weaving in Long Jelet, Pujungan. Handicraft making is one of the small-scale economic initiatives that are being developed around the park area. (Courtesy Cristina Eghenter)

The communities living in and around the park are still *adat* or indigenous communities, largely regulated by customary law or *adat* in the conduct of their daily affairs and the management of natural resources in the customary territory or *wilayah adat*. The customary chief or *kepala adat* administer the customary law with the help of the customary council or *lembaga adat*. All elected officials at village level and prominent leaders of the community sit on a customary council. The communities have native customary rights to the entire territory comprised in the protected area. Ten customary lands are included in the Kayan Mentarang National Park.

The Nature Reserve established in 1980 was under strict protection status, meaning that no human activity was allowed within the limits of the protected area. WWF together with LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Research) and the local residents conducted a long-term social science research ("Culture and Conservation", 1991-1997) and facilitated community mapping exercises to show that the communities had rightful claims to the land and its resources. The results represented the basis to recommend a change of status from Nature Reserve to National Park in 1994 (where traditional activities are allowed). The change of status was sanctioned by the Ministry of Forestry in 1996.

The process to secure access and control of *adat* land

Lack of tenure security has been for a while a crucially important issue among the Dayak people in the protected area. Although they had been living in the area and made use of forest resources for centuries, the forest they inhabited and managed was legally a "state forest", basically under open access and in which the state could decide to allocate exploitation rights or establish a protected area without any prior consent from the local communities. The communities had very little power and legal control over the forest, and limited ways to secure the source of their economic livelihood against the possibility that logging companies, mining explorations, or outside collectors of forest products would come and exploit the natural resources.

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A workshop was organized to seek legal status for *tana ulen* or protected forests, under traditional customary management. Recommendations were submitted (although to no avail) to the Ministry of Forestry in 1998.

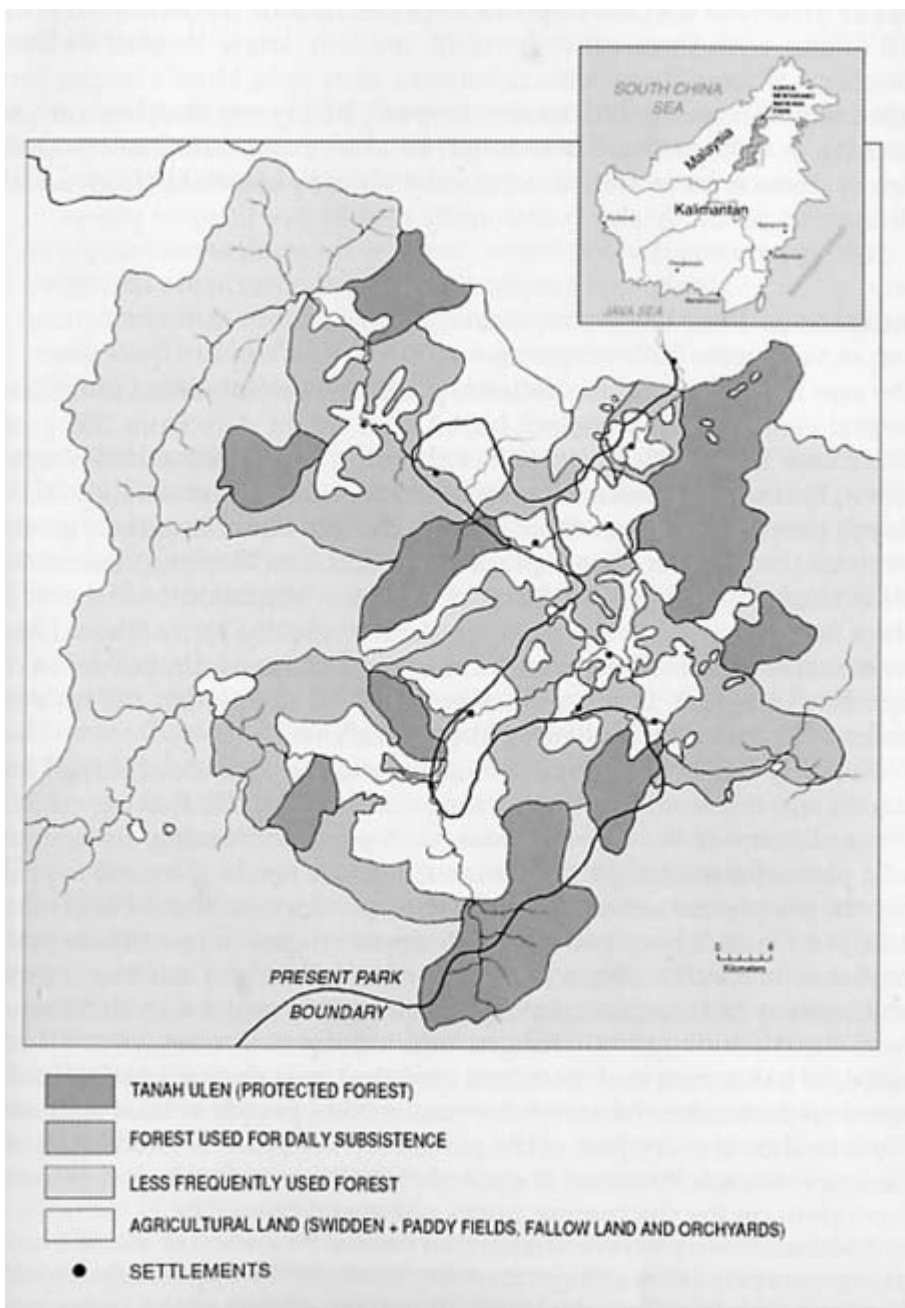
forest products would come and exploit the natural resources.

Given these circumstances, the WWF Kayan Mentarang project designed activities in the field that focused on ways to document and legitimize *adat* claims and *adat* rights of local people

to continue to use and manage forest resources in the conservation area. This was done in partnership with the communities (and most notably with their customary councils) by conducting participatory community mapping exercises (training, implementation, and socialization) in all ten customary lands. The qualitative assessments of the use and availability of forest resources with economic value was also carried out, as well as the participatory assessment of needs and potential of local institutions. Meanwhile, all *adat* regulations regarding the use of land and the management of natural resources were been documented. A workshop was also organized to seek legal status for *tana ulen* or protected forests, under traditional customary management. Recommendations were submitted (although to no avail) to the Ministry of Forestry in 1998.

The main purpose of these field activities was to ascertain, clearly and factually, that local communities had unalienable rights to the land they had occupied for centuries and upon which their livelihoods depended. Once the legitimacy of the claims was established and the traditional management practices documented, this information was to serve as the basis to advocate the role of communities in the management of the park as stewards of the forest. WWF, and in particular

the WWF staff in charge of policy and community affairs, was explicitly aligning itself with the cause of the communities, and taking a key role in all negotiations and interactions sometimes on behalf of the community members themselves.



Map 2: Example of community map used by local people to show their interactions with, and dependence on, the forest part of which has been designated under National Park status. (Courtesy WWF Indonesia and KMNP communities)

In the following phase, WWF led participatory planning exercises in all of the communities of the park to address several of their concerns about the boundaries and regulations of a

The idea of FoMMA, or Alliance of the Indigenous People of Kayan Mentarang National Park, originated with the leaders of the ten customary lands. The purpose was to create a forum where to discuss the aspirations of the indigenous communities and debate issues concerning the management of natural resources in the customary lands of the Kayan Mentarang National Park.

national park. These were perceived as being limiting, repressive, and unfair with regard to the present and future economic needs of the communities. The outcome of the series of community meetings were recommendations for the redrawing of the external boundaries of the national park and draft *adat* / customary regulations that would guarantee the sustainability of natural resources to be adopted for the management of the national park (1998-1999). Moreover, the representatives of the communities within the park met with the National Agency for Forest

Protection and, for the first time, directly conveyed their aspirations that the park be managed by its resident communities (community-based management) in respect of customary law and rights. For the most part, the communities did not contest the importance of preserving forest for the future, but challenged the need for an external, government agency to do it for them. WWF was aware that the issue of who can legitimately and effectively represent community interests remained unresolved. This might have even hurt the initial efforts to advocate a strong decision-making role for the communities vis-à-vis the management of the park in the negotiations with the government authority...

Community institutions and the collaborative management of KMNP

In the months after the events described above, WWF supported the creation of a task-force to establish an inter-*adat* institution, FoMMA, or *Forum Musyawarah Masyarakat Adat*

(FoMMA). This was to become a coordinating institution comprising elected members from each one of the ten customary lands in and around the Kayan Mentarang National Park area. The idea of FoMMA, or Alliance of the Indigenous People of Kayan Mentarang National Park, originated with the leaders of the ten customary lands. The purpose was to create a forum where to discuss the aspirations of the indigenous communities and debate issues concerning the management of natural resources in the customary lands of the Kayan Mentarang National Park. FoMMA was formally established on October 7, 2000 and is concerned with guaranteeing the protection and sustainable management of the forest in the customary lands comprising the national park area. FoMMA is also committed to protecting the rights of indigenous people and enhancing their economic prosperity.

While FoMMA (together with WWF) continued lobbying the government for the creation of a new model of park management that involved local people, major changes were occurring in the political situation of Indonesia. The law on decentralization and regional autonomy, and the new Forestry Law, were formally approved. The changes created a better climate and more conducive political conditions for change in the management of protected areas. In the case of Kayan Mentarang, the outcome was the legal establishment of a collaborative management structure for the National Park. The co-management key institution is the *Dewan Penentu Kebijakan*, or Policy Board. This Board includes conservation representatives of the Central Government (conservation experts from PHKA, the National Agency for Forest Protection and Nature Conservation), representatives of the provincial and district governments, and the local communities represented by FoMMA. The operating principles of the Board emphasize the importance of coordination, com-

The now secured representation and legitimacy of local people on the park management board may not be enough to sustain the long-term interest in the national park on the part of local communities.

petence, shared responsibilities, and equal partnership among all stakeholders. The board was formally established in April 2002 with a Decree of the Ministry of Forestry. It has no full authority concerning management issues, but may advise or make recommendations to the Ministry of Forestry who is to decide and approve.



Fig 3: Rivers are the main means of transportation and communication around the KMNP. Rapids and current make some passages very risky (Courtesy Cristina Eghenter)

The future of the protected area

The collaborative management was clearly a compromise with regard to the initial requests of the communities. Representatives of the communities were involved in the management of the park, but not the only managers of the park. It is too early at this point to say if the collaborative management model adopted for the Kayan Mentarang National Park represents the best arrangement to guarantee protection of the park and secure access and control by the indigenous people. It certainly represents a breakthrough in the context of park management policy in Indonesia. It may also open the way to further, later improvements for the conservation and equitable management of the natural resources.

If existing conditions and problems will be ignored, however, and in particular the issue of economic benefits of the park, the chances of success of this experiment in collaborative management will be severely curtailed. The sustainability of this form of governance is contingent

upon tackling vigorously issues of economic development in connection with conservation and environmental services. The now secured representation and legitimacy of local people on the park management board may not be enough to sustain the long-term interest in the national park on the part of local communities. Their development aspirations and economic needs would also have to be fulfilled by securing present and future benefits across the entire area of the park and buffer zones, and not just at a local level.

The challenge is to devise compensation schemes that can provide tangible and sustainable incentives to local people, and reward them directly for contributing to conservation and protecting biodiversity. All stakeholders, including the international community through donors, need to collaborate and make concrete commitments. Missing this, co-management of the National Park will remain a rather abstract exercise, eluding both good governance and the equitable management of natural resources.

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Community agreements for conservation—balancing community and conservation interests in the Lore Lindu National Park in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia

Regina Birner and Marhawati Mappatoba

In the Lore Lindu National Park of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, different non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been promoting the establishment of community agreements on conservation (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat*). These negotiated agreements between community representatives and the Park Management are a promising attempt to find a balance between the goals of nature conservation and the objectives of the local communities to secure self-determined sustainable livelihoods. Efforts to establish such agreements are ongoing in more than 40 of the 60 villages that border the Park. The agreements form part of a co-management strategy, which a stakeholder forum is currently implementing for the entire Park.

The community agreements for conservation in the Lore Lindu National Park represent an important global trend in nature conservation.

A comparison of the three organizations finds each has a distinct approach to the strengthening of local resource management capacities. CARE's works closely with formal village governments, TNC promotes the setting up of new village organizations, and Yatamba emphasizes strengthening customary institutions.

Negotiation and collaboration between different stakeholders have become widely acknowledged as a promising strategy to meet the challenge of conserving biological diversity while at the same time securing sustainable livelihoods for local communities.¹ Yet, such community-oriented approaches to conservation have also been criticized in recent years by conservationists² and social scientists have expressed an increasing concern that participatory approaches still have to meet the challenge of including socially disadvantaged groups.³ In view of this policy debate, we felt it might be useful to contribute to a better understanding of community-oriented approaches to conservation by conducting a case study of the negotiated agree-



Figure 1: Paddy cultivation in the surroundings of the Lore Lindu National Park. As shown by the survey, local communities are very well aware of the need to protect forest resources to ensure the water supply for their paddy cultivation (Courtesy Regina Birner)

ments in the Lore Lindu area. What makes these agreements particularly interesting is the fact that three organizations with different visions and missions have played a pioneering role in promoting them:

Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (YTM) (Free Earth Foundation), an NGO which concentrates on advocacy for indigenous rights,

The Nature Conservancy (TNC), a conservation NGO, and

CARE, a relief and development organization.

Dedicated community leaders and a Park management with a strong vision to promote harmony between nature conservation and the local communities have made the community agreements possible. Our research on the agreements was facilitated by the kind collaboration of the three organizations, the communities and the Park Management. The research took place within the Indonesian-German research program STORMA (Stability of Rainforest Margins in Indonesia)⁴ and was funded by the German Science Foundation (DFG) and the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ-TOEB). Located in Central Sulawesi, the Lore Lindu National Park covers an area of 218,000 ha and

was declared in 1993 by joining three protected areas that were established between 1973 and 1981. The Park was further extended in 1999. Sulawesi is well known for its high degree of endemism, and the Park represents a local biodiversity hot spot. The Park is, for example, home to more than 80 percent of the endemic birds of Sulawesi and provides habitat to most of its endangered mammal species, such as the anoa, a dwarf buffalo (*Bubalus quarlesi*), and the babirusa, a deer-hog (*Babyrousa babyrussa*). The Park has been proposed as a World Heritage Site and is recognized as a Center for Plant Diversity. The area in which the Park is located is topographically diverse, ranging from sea level to mountain ranges up to 2,600 meters.

Different ethnic groups with varied cultures live in the Lore Lindu area. The impressive ancient stone megaliths found in the area are the testimony of a rich cultural history. Today, the average population density in the six districts in which the Park is located is 19 persons per km², with a large variation between districts. The population growth during the last decade was 2.8 percent. Immigration, mostly by people from Southern Sulawesi, contributed significantly to the population increase.⁵ A socio-economic study within the STORMA project, which was based on a detailed household income analysis, showed that around 60 percent of the households in the research area live below the poverty line.⁶ Around 30 NGOs work in the area of the Lore Lindu National Park. There is also an integrated conservation and development project that is funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). A report prepared by ADB identified the following problems concerning nature conservation: conversion of the forest inside the Park to agricultural land, extraction of rattan, logging, hunting of protected endemic animals, such as anoa or babirusa, and collection of the eggs of the protected maleo bird.⁷ One of the most controversial objectives of the ADB-financed project was the resettlement of one village located

inside the Park. As discussed below, reaching a community agreement on conservation made it possible to avoid the resettlement of this village.

The research approach

We conducted interviews with the leaders and staff members of the three NGOs and with representatives of the Park Management in 2001 and 2002. Together with them, we selected six villages for further research. Our goal was to include only villages where the process of establishing an agreement was already completed. At the same time, we wanted to cover villages with mostly indigenous population as well as those with a mixed population of indigenous peoples and migrants. Another criterion was to include all four districts in which agreements had been promoted. Six villages were selected according to these criteria, three where YTM promoted an agreement (hereafter referred to as Group A), two where TNC promoted an agreement (Group B), and one where CARE promoted an agreement (Group C). In these villages, we interviewed the community leaders involved in the negotiation process. In view of the increasing literature focusing on the challenge of involving disadvantaged groups in participatory processes (see above), we also conducted a survey in a random sample of ten percent of the

households in the six villages. The sampling frame included only households where the members did not have official functions in the village such as village headmen or members of the traditional village council, because we wanted to collect information on the knowledge, participation and perceptions of the "common villager".⁸ An online research paper provides more information on the theoretical concepts used for this research, such as the model of deliberative democracy.⁹

Under the usual village conditions, it is seldom possible to involve all villagers equally in the process of drafting the agreement, especially in large villages. Therefore, communication and the creation of awareness and knowledge about the agreements within the communities is an important task.

Three Different Approaches to Community Agreements

Given the different missions of the three NGOs involved, they had different approaches to promote community agreements on conservation.

The approach of the advocacy NGO

The local NGO YTM was founded in 1992 and aims to promote social justice for indigenous groups in Central Sulawesi. Literally translated, Yayasan Tanah Merdeka means "Free Land Foundation", which reflects YTM's goal to help indigenous peoples to regain rights over their land and resources.¹⁰ YTM trusts in the ability of the indigenous peoples to manage their natural resources in a sustainable way, based on their traditional knowledge and institutions. YTM assists indigenous communities to document and defend their indigenous rights and knowledge, for example, by participatory resource mapping. YTM also has successfully launched a campaign to avoid the construction of a large hydropower dam in the area of the Park. YTM promoted the first community agreement for conservation in the village located inside the Park that was supposed to be resettled, as mentioned above. The process of establishing the agreement lasted approximately two years and provided an important opportunity for learning and gaining experience. YTM first facilitated awareness creation and mobilization within the community, followed

In all villages, the majority of interviewed community members were aware of the community agreements for conservation.

by participatory mapping, a policy dialogue with various state agencies and other external stakeholders, and finally the negotiation of the community agreement on conservation.

The agreement was signed by the director of the Park and the traditional village council (*Lembaga Adat*). Afterwards, a

detailed ten-year management plan was developed, based on the traditional knowledge of the community. The agreement grants the village the right to stay within the Park and assigns an area that can be used for cultivation. The community made a commitment to manage and protect the natural resources according to the



Figure 2: Members of an indigenous community living adjacent to the Lore Lindu National Park wearing traditional clothes. Community agreements on conservation allow indigenous communities to regain customary rights and manage natural resources in the Park according to a management plan based on both their traditional knowledge and the advice of Park Management. (Courtesy Regina Birner)

approved plan, and it helps to enforce the plan rules, for example, by patrolling to prevent rattan collection by outsiders.

YTM later facilitated the establishment of community agreements for conservation in two other indigenous villages after local leaders, who had heard about the first village, came to solicit their assistance. These two villages are located outside the Park and were not under threat of resettlement. However, the communities wanted to regain indigenous rights to ancestral lands now located inside the Park. They also wanted to put an end to being accused of the destruction of resources inside the Park, which, in reality, was caused by external actors with commercial interests such as logging companies or sawmill operators. The agreements with the Park Management grant the traditional village councils the authority to manage resources within the Park to which they hold indigenous rights, subject to consultation with the Park Management. In one of the two villages, the traditional village court system has already been used effectively to prosecute illegal logging operations conducted in the Park by external business operators.

YTM's goal was to develop models and methodologies for community agreements for conservation. After agreements were signed in

three villages, YTM concentrated its activities on a campaign against mining in the Park. Other local NGOs concerned with advocacy for indigenous peoples are now facilitating community agreements on conservation based on YTM's experience. For example, the NGO Yambata is promoting agreements in five villages where the protection of the maleo bird is a major challenge.

The approach of the conservation NGO

TNC is a US-based international conservation organization, with a mission to preserve the plants, animals and natural communities that represent the diversity of life on Earth.¹¹ TNC has worked in the Park area since 1992, in collaboration with the Park Management. Biological surveys and the development of the 25-year management plan for the Park have been major activities of TNC. Together with CARE, TNC has also promoted income generating activities, such as bee keeping and butterfly farming, for communities living close to the Park.

TNC started to promote community agreements for conservation in connection with the development of a zoning and management strategy for the Park. TNC's initial plan was to promote agreements that directly specify the provision of development services by government agencies and other organizations in exchange for a commitment by the communities to implement a jointly developed management plan. Examples of such development services are marketing possibilities for organically produced coffee and drinking water facilities. However, after further discussions, establishing a direct and formal link between development activities and conservation in the agreements was considered to be problematic. TNC has so far facilitated the establishment of agreements in six communities. As in the case of YTM, these agreements grant the communities the authority to manage resources inside the Park to which they hold indigenous rights, according to their traditional knowledge, and subject to a jointly developed management plan. Participatory mapping techniques are used to develop the agreements and management plans. Though not formally part of the agree-

ments, TNC still plans to promote environmentally friendly economic activities, such as small-scale enterprise development, in the villages where it promoted community agreements on conservation.

The approach of the development NGO

CARE is an international relief and development organization whose primary mission is to eradicate poverty. One of CARE's eight sectors of work is Conservation and Environment. In this sector, CARE's goal is to encourage sustainable agricultural practices and protection of the fragile ecological balance, and to address the needs of both poor farmers and the environment.¹² CARE's program in the Lore Lindu area concentrates on the promotion of agricultural and rural development in 22 villages, which are located close to the Park and characterized by high poverty levels. CARE assisted farmer groups, for example, in the establishment of cacao plantations with techniques that avoid soil erosion, the construction of fish ponds, and the improvement of marketing capacities. CARE promoted community agreements for conservation as an accompanying measure to its development program. The agreements did not only address regulations concerning the Park, but also general rules within the village that were considered to be conducive for promoting sustainable development. After completing the first program phase, CARE is now evaluating its experiences. At present, CARE provides funds to the local NGO Yambata to promote the establishment of agreements, as indicated above. In cooperation with other NGOs and the Park Management, CARE currently plays a very active role in promoting the implementation of a co-management strategy for the Park.

Some comparisons

A comparison of the three organizations finds each has a distinct approach to the strengthening of local resource management capacities. Both CARE and TNC work not only with indigenous villages, but also with villages with large migrant populations, where traditional village

Prevention of erosion and flooding and ensuring water supply are perceived as the major benefits from forest protection.

institutions and local knowledge of natural resources are less strong. This presents a particular challenge for sustainable resource management, and CARE's strategy to address it is to work closely with formal village governments (*Kepala Desa*) in developing conservation agreements. TNC, on the other hand, promotes the setting up of new village organizations that are then charged with implementing the agreements. YTM works

The situation of villagers with limited access to agricultural land, who are more dependent on forest resources, needs special consideration in the negotiation process.

only in villages with a largely indigenous population and places emphasis on strengthening customary institutions (*Lembaga Adat*). The decentralization policies that have been implemented after the fall of the Suharto regime in Indonesia are conducive to the strengthening of both customary and new village institutions Table 1 provides a comparative summary of the strategies applied by the three different NGOs.

Table 1. Overview of the conservation agreement strategies of the three NGOs.

Source: compiled by the authors based on interviews with NGO representatives.

| | YTM (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka - Free Earth Foundation) | TNC (The Nature Conservancy) | CARE (Cooperative for Resistance and Relief Everywhere) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Focus of activities | Advocacy for indigenous rights, strengthening of indigenous institutions, "watchdog" of government and international activities (mining, dams) | Support to the Park Management (planning, biological surveys); community development activities as complementary measure | Rural / community development (agricultural extension, infrastructure provision, etc.), sustainable management of natural resources |
| Selection of villages | Villages that request assistance for establishing agreements; only indigenous villages | Villages where conflicts concerning the protection of the Park appear severe | All villages where CARE conducted activities in Phase I of its program in the Park area |
| "Logic" behind community agreement | Commitment to maintain and develop conservation rules, enforced and sanctioned by traditional village institutions, as part of a strategy to regain traditional resource use rights in the Park | Initially: Commitment to maintain and develop conservation rules in exchange for the provision of development services by government organizations and projects; policy was later changed to avoid a direct linkage between conservation commitment and service provision | Conservation rules maintained or developed as part of a general set of rules of conduct within the village; implicitly a prerequisite for the provision of development services |
| Role of the NGO | Facilitator of agreement, provider of support for social mobilization and capacity building in the village, promoter of policy dialogue with various organizations | Facilitator of agreement, broker between communities and organizations/projects providing development services and infrastructure | Facilitator of agreement and provider of development services and infrastructure; financial support to local partner NGO (Yambata) for promotion of agreements |
| Representation of the villagers concerning the agreement | Traditional village institutions (<i>Lembaga Adat</i>) | Representatives of the village chosen especially for the purpose of the village agreement | Formal village government (<i>Kepala Desa</i>) |
| Mapping of resource use | Community-based mapping of traditional resource use rights (using GPS, but not GIS) | Community-based mapping of actual resource use (with GPS and GIS) | Mapping not applied in Program Phase I |

Participation of community members

Table 2 provides an overview of the socio-economic conditions in the six study villages, based on the results of the household survey. The villages have been divided into three groups, according to the NGO promoting the agreement. As Table 2 shows, not all households in the area

have access to sufficient land. In the study village where CARE promoted the agreement, farmers had no paddy land at all, and one fifth of the sample households had less than 0.5 ha of land.

Table 2: Socio-economic conditions of the households (Random sample of 10 percent of the households in the villages, only including households without official functions)

Source: Household survey by authors, 2001/2002

| | Group A (3 villages) | Group B (2 villages) | Group C (1 village) |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| NGO promoting the agreement | (YTM) | (TNC) | (CARE) |
| Mean size of total land holdings | 2.3 ha | 2.3 ha | 1.8 ha |
| Mean size of paddy holdings | 0.6 ha | 0.4 ha | no paddy |
| Households with less than 0.5 ha land | 8 % | 15 % | 21 % |
| Houses without cement floor | 31 % | 39 % | 46 % |

The housing conditions in the sample households, which are an indicator of poverty, also show that more than one third of the families in the study villages live in a state of poverty.

The possibility of land shortages in the next generation emerged as the single most important concern in all groups.

A challenging task that is required in order to make community agreements for conservation work is to involve the community members in the negotiation process. Under the usual village conditions, it is seldom possible to involve all villagers equally in the process of drafting

the agreement, especially in large villages. Therefore, communication and the creation of awareness and knowledge about the agreements within the communities is an important task. Figure 1 shows the percentage of interviewed community members without official functions who participated in the process of negotiating the agreement, for example, by attending meetings or engaging in resource mapping. As can be seen, there are considerable differences across villages.

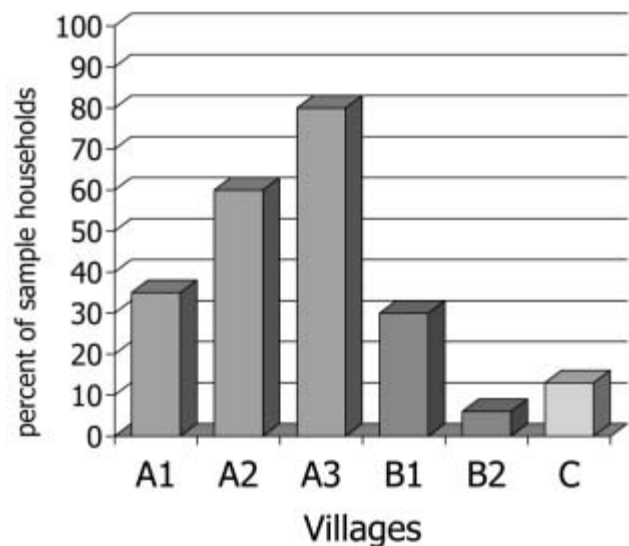


Figure 1. Participation of households in negotiation process (percent of sample households participating in the negotiation process)

Source: Household survey by authors, 2001/2002.

In village A3, which was supposed to be resettled, 80 percent of the interviewed community members participated in the negotiations. Villages A1 and B2 are rather large villages, comprising several hundred households, thus making it more difficult to assure the participation of a high percentage of the village population. A statistical analysis of the data showed that better-off households were not more likely to participate in the negotiation process.¹³ Villagers who are members in many village organizations were more likely to participate, which represents a good opportunity for communication and provision of feed-back.

Figure 2 shows that in all villages, including those where participation rates were low, the majority of the interviewed community members were nonetheless aware of the agreements,¹⁴ but awareness was markedly higher in YTM communities than in TNC and CARE communities. In all cases, community leaders and NGOs encouraged various methods to make the agreements known to all community members, including announcements in churches and mosques. While there is certainly still a need to further enhance

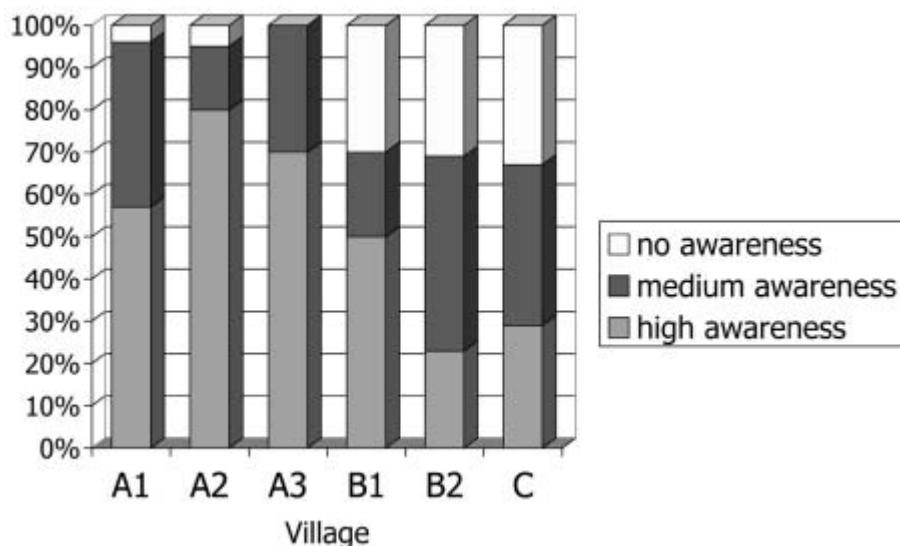


Figure 2: Awareness of households about the agreement
Source: Household survey by authors, 2001/2002

As the agreements are locally negotiated, they can take the specific ecological, socio-economic and cultural conditions at the local level into account. Due to their voluntary character, they can reduce conflicts and problems inherent in the "command-and-control approach" of state agencies.

awareness in some of the villages that established agreements rather recently, one should also avoid using unrealistic standards in assessing the results of Figure 2. In Western countries, one would probably not expect that every community member is immediately aware of every activity, especially in large communities with a variety of programs and activities being implemented.

Villagers' views on benefits and problems

When the community members are well aware of the benefits that nature conservation can have for their livelihoods and that of their children, community agreements for conservation have good prospects to be successful in the long run. The process of establishing such agreements can also help to create awareness of such benefits. Table 3 shows the advantages mentioned by the interviewed community members in response to the question: "what benefits does protection of the forest through the Park have for you or your community?" The question was asked in open format, i.e., without suggesting any answers.



Figure 3: An anoa. One of the conservation objectives of the Lore Lindu National Park is to protect the anoa, a dwarf buffalo endemic to the island of Sulawesi. (Courtesy Regina Birner)

Table 3: Benefits of nature protection perceived by the community members
 (Percent of respondents in the household sample who mentioned the respective benefit)
 Source: household survey by authors, 2001/2002

| | Group A | Group B | Group C |
|---|---------|---------|---------|
| Perceived benefits | (YTM) | (TNC) | (CARE) |
| Prevention of soil erosion | 94 | 100 | 50 |
| Prevention of flooding | 76 | 87 | 50 |
| Ensuring of water supply | 84 | 86 | 54 |
| Prevention of land slides | 56 | 63 | 38 |
| Protection of wild animals for future generations | 41 | 51 | 25 |
| Better air quality | 26 | 44 | 13 |
| Protection of medicinal plants | 27 | 48 | 5 |

Only four percent of the respondents did not mention any benefits. As Table 3 shows, prevention of erosion and flooding, and ensuring water supply are perceived as the major benefits from forest protection. Other advantages mentioned include the prevention of landslides, the protection of animals, better air quality and the protection of medicinal plants.

The interviews also revealed a variety of problems that the community members have concerning the Park. Table 4 lists the answers to a question regarding the disadvantages of the Park that the respondents perceive for themselves or their community (open question format). Almost 80 percent of the respondents mentioned at least one problem.

Table 4: Perceived problems concerning the Park (Percent of respondents in the household sample who mentioned the respective problem)
 Source: Household survey by authors, 2001/2002

| Perceived problem | Group A (YTM) | Group B (TNC) | Group C (CARE) |
|---|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Land shortage for children | 62 | 62 | 30 |
| Community has land rights inside the Park | 55 | 53 | 8 |
| Rattan needed as an income source | 51 | 39 | 17 |
| Shortage of timber for house construction | 28 | 34 | 8 |
| Restrictions on fire wood collection | 29 | 41 | 4 |
| Restrictions on catching of birds | 24 | 21 | 4 |

The long-term success of the community agreements will certainly depend on the possibilities of overcoming these problems. In Group C, where a lower percentage of the interviewed community members perceived problems concerning the Park, the village has access to rather large forest resources outside the Park.

According to their legal status, part of these forests can be converted into agricultural land. The agreements promoted by YTM and TNC address especially the second most important

Each of the three organizations working in the Lore Lindu area has distinct strengths and expertise and each is confronted with a specific challenge.

problem perceived by the households in Groups A and B, as they acknowledge customary land rights inside the Park. While these lands can be used for the collection of non-timber forest products, the management plans do not foresee the cultivation of these lands. Therefore, there is still a need to find solutions for the problem

that land shortages may occur in the next generation. This concern emerged as the single most important problem in all groups. The average land holding sizes reported in Table 2 underline the necessity to act on this problem.

Possible strategies to deal with the problem of land scarcity may include restrictions on migration to the area, the improvement of irrigation capacities, soil conservation techniques to maintain the fertility of the already utilized lands, and the development of non-agricultural income opportunities such as small-scale enterprises. It is also worthwhile to consider the promotion of high value crops such as spices like cardamom and vanilla, which can be grown in a sustainable way but require the development of marketing capacities. The same strategies may be suitable to address the problem that rattan collection is an important income source, especially for poor households. In one of the villages, the interviewed household members with small land holdings explained that they have serious problems because they lost rattan collection as an income source due to the restrictions placed on this activity by the community agreement. This indicates that the situation of villagers with limited access to agricultural land, who are more

dependent on forest resources, needs special consideration in the negotiation process. Another problem mentioned by the interviewed community members were restrictions on timber for house construction and firewood. The promotion of agro-forestry and community forestry may help to overcome these problems.

Conclusions

Even though it is still too early for a final assessment of the community agreements for conservation in the Lore Lindu area, the case study shows that they have a considerable potential for improving natural resource management and the livelihoods of local communities. The agreements constitute an interesting and instructive example of devolution of authority in natural resource management, and can serve as a model for other regions. As the agreements are locally negotiated, they can take the specific ecological, socio-economic and cultural conditions at the local level into account. Due to their voluntary character, they can reduce conflicts and problems inherent in the "command-and-control approach" of state agencies. Making sure that the interests of disadvantaged groups within communities are adequately considered in drafting the agreements remains an important challenge.

One can also derive some wider implications from the Lore Lindu case. The organizations promoting agreements in the Lore Lindu area are part of three worldwide concerns and agendas: defending the rights of indigenous peoples, protecting nature, and ending poverty. Each of the three organizations working in the Lore Lindu area is primarily linked to one of these agendas, and accordingly each has strengths and expertise in distinct fields. YTM has strong expertise in advocacy for indigenous rights and in using sensitive approaches to strengthen indigenous knowledge and institutions. TNC has strong expertise in protecting endangered animals and plants from extinction, and CARE has strong expertise in promoting rural development and helping families to escape from poverty. Each of the three agendas, as represented by these three organizations working in the Lore Lindu

area, is confronted with a specific challenge. Advocacy organizations for indigenous rights are challenged to avoid romanticizing local communities and overlooking power relations, inequity and poverty within communities. Conservation organizations are challenged to avoid instrumentalising local communities for conservation objectives that elites in the West have identified. Development organizations face the challenge to avoid paternalistic approaches and technocratic solutions that are not tailored to local situations. That these challenges are difficult to meet is clear to us all.

The Lore Lindu area has seen both phases of cooperation and conflict between the different NGOs. At times, for example, different NGOs have even tried to promote their own agreements in the same village at the same time. Through working together, organizations representing the three agendas have a better chance of combining their unique strengths and overcoming the challenges they face. This requires dialogue and cooperation, which is not always easy to achieve – for the very fact of their different value orientations, visions, and worldviews. During our last visit to the region in 2002, we were deeply impressed by the dedicated efforts of different stakeholders to work together and coordinate their activities in a co-management strategy for the entire Park – to the advantage of both nature and the local people.

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Notes

- 1 Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2001.
- 2 Terborgh, 1999, Oates, 1999.
- 3 Leeuwis, 2000, Cook and Kothari, 2001, Agrawal, 2001.
- 4 The STORMA program is jointly implemented by the Institut Pertanian Bogor, the Tadulako University of Palu, Indonesia, and the Universities of Göttingen and Kassel, Germany. For further information, see the STORMA website at <http://www.storma.de/>.
- 5 Faust et al., 2003.
- 6 van Rheenen et al., forthcoming.
- 7 ANZDEC, 1997.
- 8 We are aware of the shortcomings of the survey method, but chose this approach because random sampling makes it possible to

get a more representative picture of the village population than methods that involve self-selection (e.g., conducting meetings). Moreover, individual interviews are likely to leave more room for villagers to express their views, compared with situations where other villagers or village leaders are present.

⁹ Birner and Mappatoba, 2002.

¹⁰ For more details, see the YTM website at <http://www.ytm.or.id/>.

¹¹ For more information on TNC's mission and activities, see the website of TNC at <http://nature.org/aboutus/>.

¹² For more information on CARE's mission in different sectors, see the CARE website at <http://www.care-international.org/sectoral.html>.

¹³ We performed a logit analysis with participation (yes/no) as dependent variable, and indicators of economic capital (ownership of land and livestock), human capital (education level), social capital (membership in organizations), and political capital (relations to village leaders) as explanatory factors. The detailed statistical analysis will be published by Marhawati Mappatoba in a book on community-based conservation in the Lore Lindu area that is under preparation.

¹⁴ Respondents who immediately recognized the community agreement without further information were ranked in the category "high awareness", respondents who recognized the agreements after an explanation were ranked in the category "medium awareness", and the respondents who had not heard about the agreement were placed in the category "no awareness".

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Les Aires Marines Protégées, clés de voûte d'une gestion régionale de la zone côtière en Afrique de l'Ouest

Réseau Régional de Planification Côtière Ouest Africain



Figure 1 : Le Parc National du Banc d'Arguin (Mauritanie) est un paradis pour les oiseaux. (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Un réseau d'Aires Marines Protégées en expansion

L'existence d'espaces marins Protégés en Afrique de l'Ouest remonte à des temps immémoriaux. Elle s'exprime en effet par l'existence d'aires sacrées qui ont été créées par la plupart des communautés humaines de cette région. Ces aires sacrées protègent encore par endroit des sites de grande importance pour la conservation. Leur impact est cependant limité dans la mesure où elles couvrent des superficies réduites, n'intègrent que rarement le milieu marin et ont des règles de protection qui sont de moins en moins respectées.

La création d'Aires Marines Protégées (AMPs) modernes, sous la dénomination de Parcs et de Réserves, remonte à 1976 et continue jusqu'à nos jours. C'est ainsi qu'un remarquable réseau d'AMPs vient d'être créé en Guinée Bissau dans le cadre d'un Programme National de Planification Côtière, appuyé par l'UICN et l'aide bilatérale suisse (DDC). Les principales AMPs modernes des 4 pays ouest africains concernés sont présentées dans le tableau 1, ci dessous.

D'une façon générale, les AMPs ouest-africaines ont été créées et délimitées sur la base de critères liés à la conservation des espèces, telles que les oiseaux d'eau ou les tortues marines, ou à la conservation d'écosystèmes fragiles tels que la mangrove. L'inclusion de

Tableau 1. Aires Marines Protégées en Afrique de l'Ouest

| Aires Marines Protégées en Afrique de l'Ouest | Superficie (ha) | Année de création |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|
| MAURITANIE | | |
| Réserve du Cap Blanc | 210 | 1986 |
| Park National du Banc d'Arguin | 1 170 000 | 1976 |
| Réserve de Chat t'Boul | 25 000 | 2000 |
| Park National du Diawling | 16 000 | 1991 |
| SENEGAL | | |
| Park National Langue de Barbarie | 2000 | 1976 |
| Park National Iles de la Madeleine | 450 | 1976 |
| Park National Delta du Saloum | 76000 | 1976 |
| Réserve de Biosphère Delta du Saloum | 180 000 | 1984 |
| GAMBIE | | |
| Park National de Niimi | 4940 | 1987 |
| Baobolon Wetland reserve | 22 000 | 1996 |
| Tanbi Wetland Complex | 6 000 | 2001 |
| Tanji and Bijol Island Bird reserve | 612 | 1993 |
| GUINEE-BISSAU | | |
| Park National des mangroves du Rio Cacheu | 54 000 | 2000 |
| Park National marin João Vieira-Poilao | 49 513 | 2001 |
| Park National d'Orango | 158 235 | 2000 |
| Réserve de Biosphère archipel Bolama- Bijagos | 1 046 950 | 1996 |

superficies marines n'était orientée volontairement vers la conservation des ressources halieutiques que dans les créations les plus récentes.

Contraintes de gestion liées à la spécificité des AMPs ouest africaines

Les AMPs ouest africaines, comme leurs homologues des autres continents, doivent faire face aux difficultés classiques de gestion.

La survie de AMPs dépend par conséquent de la capacité des Etats et des sociétés à les envisager non pas comme des entités spatiales en marge et gelées pour le développement, mais au contraire comme des espaces qui, par leur vocation, s'articulent en synergie avec les autres espaces de la zone côtière.

Recherche et surveillance y sont particulièrement complexes et exigent des moyens considérables. Ces difficultés prennent en Afrique des proportions énormes en raison du contexte de pauvreté. Les aspirations au développement des populations y sont aussi fortes que légitimes et, faute d'alternatives, c'est le plus souvent sur les ressources naturelles qu'elles s'appuient. La pauvreté oblige à satisfaire des besoins immédiats, au

risque d'exploiter les ressources jusqu'à épuisement. Cette tendance s'est brusquement accélérée avec le développement des économies de marché, comme on peut le constater dans le cas de l'exploitation des requins dont les ailerons sont exportés vers l'Asie. Dans ce contexte, les AMPs font figure d'oasis d'abondance et les ressources qu'elles protègent sont de plus en plus convoitées.

A l'échelle des Etats, cette aspiration est tout aussi légitime. Elle se traduit par une floraison de projets industriels qui menacent l'intégrité

des AMPs. Cela concerne en particulier les explorations pétrolières qui s'effectuent au large de la Mauritanie, du Sénégal et de la Guinée Bissau. De même que les flottilles de pêche industrielles étrangères, ces projets ne fournissent pas ou peu de moyens financiers pour le développement d'une recherche scientifique que leur présence rend nécessaire, et que le budget d'Etats endettés ne peut prendre en charge.

Face à ces besoins immédiats, l'existence des aires protégées est toujours difficile à justifier. La survie des AMPs dépend par conséquent de la capacité des Etats et des sociétés à les envisager non pas comme des entités spatiales en marge et gelées pour le développement, mais au contraire comme des espaces qui, par leur vocation, s'articulent en synergie avec les autres espaces de la zone côtière. Et que leur existence vise précisément à garantir sur le long terme la disponibilité de ressources au bénéfice des sociétés. La logique des AMPs se justifie donc par rapport à une conception de l'espace et du temps rarement à la une dans le contexte des pays en développement.



Figure 2 : La pêche est une activité industrielle majeure dans la région ouest africaine. (courtoisie Pierre Campredon).

Les atouts spécifiques des AMPs ouest africaines

La plupart des AMPs de la région sont habitées par des populations résidentes, considérées comme des usagers traditionnels disposant de droits prioritaires ou exclusifs sur les ressources. Présentes depuis de nombreuses générations, ces communautés ont acquis des connaissances approfondies sur le fonctionnement des écosystèmes, l'écologie et la biologie des espèces— savoirs locaux qui s'avèrent essentiels pour la gestion. Bénéficiant d'un droit particulier sur les ressources, ces populations développent un sentiment de responsabilité à leur égard et sont donc directement intéressés à leur durabilité. Leur simple présence au sein des AMPs représente une dissuasion vis à vis des usagers extérieurs, participant ainsi au contrôle et à la surveillance du territoire protégé. L'existence d'oasis de prospérité non habitées, cernées par des pêcheurs vivant sur des territoires aux ressources appauvries, serait en effet intenable, d'autant que les systèmes de surveillance classiques en milieu marin sont très coûteux.

La plupart des activités de développement exécutées dans les AMPs ouest africaines visent précisément à renforcer la présence des communautés résidentes sur leur territoire. L'objectif est non seulement de répondre à leurs aspirations, mais aussi de dissuader l'in-



Figure 3 Les résidents du PN du Banc d'Arguin (Imragen) sont autorisés à pêcher dans le parc marin mais seulement de façon traditionnelle et avec des bateaux à voile, et pas à moteur. (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

vasion d'usagers extérieurs tout en expérimentant des modèles d'utilisation durable des ressources, modèles qui peuvent ensuite servir d'exemple à l'extérieur des aires protégées. La gestion, la surveillance, la recherche et le développement constituent ainsi un ensemble intégré et cohérent qui répond de manière adaptée aux spécificités des AMPs ouest africaines. Cet ensemble s'organise progressivement sur la base des principes de la gestion participative en plaçant les communautés au centre du système. La présence de populations au sein des AMPs constitue par conséquent un atout d'autant plus précieux que les AMPs ouest africaines ne disposent que de ressources humaines et financières limitées. La présence des populations permet donc une gestion plus économique et plus durable des AMPs.

Une dynamique de partenariat régional

Les partenaires nationaux et internationaux de conservation de la zone côtière ouest africaine ont partagé ce constat lors d'un séminaire régional organisé à Saint Louis du Sénégal en avril 2000. Les problématiques rencontrées par les 6 pays de la sous région représentés

dans le réseau (Mauritanie, Sénégal, Gambie, Guinée-Bissau, Guinée, Cap Vert) ont fait apparaître un grand nombre de similitudes et ont montré la nécessité d'une approche régionale commune. Ces problématiques incluent la présence de nombreuses espèces migratrices – dont les populations sont souvent partagées entre

La présence des populations locales au sein des AMPs représente une dissuasion vis à vis des usagers extérieurs, participant ainsi au contrôle et à la surveillance du territoire protégé.



Figure 4 : Le Directeur du PN du Banc d'Arguin avec un pêcheur Imragen. (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

plusieurs pays ; l'existence d'une pêche artisanale fréquemment amenée à traverser les frontières, qui constitue un pilier majeur de l'économie, de l'emploi et de la sécurité alimentaire et qui s'inscrit dans des circuits commerciaux internationaux ; la

La stratégie s'appuie sur une vision partagée ainsi définie : « un réseau cohérent d'aires marines protégées en Afrique de l'Ouest gérées par des institutions fortes, de façon participative, qui valorisent la diversité naturelle et culturelle pour contribuer au développement durable de la région ».

similitude de la nature des conflits notamment entre migrants et résidents ; et, plus généralement, le partage de spécificités culturelles dans la région.

Il est à noter que les 2 pays disposant des plus grandes AMPs (Mauritanie et Guinée Bissau) sont aussi ceux où les traditions de pêche sont les moins fortes. *A contrario* au Sénégal, où les pêcheurs artisans sont nombreux, le contexte socio-économique pour la création d'AMPs est plus contraignant. L'approche régionale permet d'envisager cette dichotomie

de façon constructive, sous l'angle de la complémentarité. La dynamique de création d'extension des AMPs, notamment au Cap Vert et en Guinée, recherche une cohérence éco-régionale globale en termes de représentativité des milieux à protéger. Cette approche vise en outre à encourager le maintien de relations pacifiques entre les peuples, dans l'esprit de

l'initiative « des Parcs pour la Paix ».

Dans ce contexte les AMPs et leurs acteurs ont été reconnus comme des entités privilégiées pour expérimenter une approche régionale de gestion de la zone côtière et de ses ressources, approche qui pourra ultérieurement être disséminée sur l'ensemble du littoral. Pour mettre en œuvre une telle dynamique, les Institutions gouvernementales et non gouvernementales concernées ont décidé de se regrouper autour d'une initiative dénommée « Programme Régional de Conservation de la Zone Côtière et Marine en Afrique de l'Ouest – PRCM » avec l'appui technique du Fonds Mondial pour la Nature - WWF, de l'Union Mondiale pour la Nature - UICN et de la Fondation Internationale du Banc d'Arguin - FIBA et sous les auspices de la Commission Sous-régionale des Pêches – CSR et de l'UNESCO. Le PRCM a commencé ses activités en 2001 avec le soutien financier de la Fondation MAVA et de l'aide bilatérale néerlandaise (DGIS). Il s'est appuyé sur la perspective du Congrès de Durban comme un cadre propice à sa mise en œuvre, d'autant plus encourageant que le continent africain et le biome marin y sont considérés comme prioritaires. Les étapes parcourues (ou à parcourir) jusqu'à



Figure 5 : En visite d'étude dans la réserve de biosphère Bolama Bijagos. (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

Durban ont été les suivantes :

- Signature d'un protocole d'accord entre le WWF, l'UICN et la FIBA (novembre 2001)
- Atelier pour l'élaboration d'une « Stratégie Régionale pour les Aires Marines Protégées d'Afrique de l'Ouest », réalisé en février 2002 à Nouakchott (Mauritanie). La stratégie s'appuie sur une vision partagée ainsi définie : « *un réseau cohérent d'aires marines protégées en Afrique de l'Ouest gérées par des institutions fortes, de façon participative, qui valorisent la diversité naturelle et culturelle pour contribuer au développement durable de la région* ».

Cette vision se décline en 3 domaines stratégiques :

- Renforcement institutionnel et gestion des AMPs
- Contribution des AMPs à la gestion des ressources et au développement durable
- Recherche scientifique à partir des AMPs, et s'appuiera sur un certain nombre d'activités prioritaires :
 - a) Appui à la création et à la co-gestion des AMPs
 - b) Conservation et gestion des habitats et des espèces
 - c) Contribution des AMPs au développement de l'écotourisme
 - d) Bilan prospectif de l'environnement côtier à long terme
 - e) Communication
- Atelier régional de validation technique du Programme, réalisé à Bissau (Guinée Bissau) en décembre 2002

- Réalisation d'un documentaire sur les AMPs ouest africaines
- Validation politique par les Ministres de la CSRP, table ronde des bailleurs de fonds et lancement officiel de la stratégie et du programme au niveau régional (Dakar, juin 2003)
- Lancement de la stratégie et du programme au niveau international (Durban, septembre 2003)

Conclusion

La création et la mise en œuvre de partenariats dans un cadre régional relève du défi permanent, d'autant qu'il s'agit là d'un domaine complexe et d'orientations sur le long terme. Cela s'est avéré possible durant la première phase du PRCM grâce au fait que l'ensemble des parties prenantes politiques, administrations, usagers, ONG, bailleurs etc. y a joué pleinement son rôle. A la veille d'une seconde phase qui verra le début véritable de l'application de la stratégie régionale pour les AMPs ouest-africaines, le Congrès de Durban pourra constituer un encouragement particulièrement utile aux acteurs de ce processus.



Figure 6 : La mangrove est conservé de façon excellent à Formosa (Bijagos). (Courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

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Co-management alive and well in the Caribbean!

Patrick McConney

Community involvement in the management of coastal and marine resources in the Caribbean is receiving increasing attention at several levels and scales. All around the region positive changes in practice and policy are taking place. This is a summary of some highlights.

At the regional institutional level the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM) was launched in March 2003 as an organisation of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Fifteen CARICOM Member States now have a legally mandated regional fisheries organisation within which to work collectively. States that are not members of CARICOM can obtain associate or observer status. Included in the new structure is the Caribbean Fisheries Forum. For the first time, fishing industry organisations, environmental groups, training institutions and others can sit around the table with State representatives on a regular basis and contribute to fisheries policy.

In terms of participatory action research on a regional scale, the Caribbean Conservation Association (CCA) is near the end of a project to develop guidelines for coastal resource co-management as a component of pro-poor integrated coastal management. Implemented in association with the University of the West Indies (UWI), the project researched six cases of fisheries and marine protected area co-management in three countries, with less detailed investigations in others. Focus groups and workshops for information exchange and planning featured highly in the research methodology. The guide-

For the first time, fishing industry organisations, environmental groups, training institutions and others can sit around the table with State representatives on a regular basis and contribute to fisheries policy.



Figure 1: The beach seine fishery in Grenada is a prime candidate for community-based co-management. (Courtesy Patrick McConney)

lines will communicate concepts for successful coastal co-management, and will be written for a general readership.

The CCA is also implementing the Caribbean Regional Environmental Programme (CREP) that aims to facilitate development of thirteen "amenity areas" in countries around the Caribbean. The amenity areas are intended to demonstrate sustainable development at the community level, integrating economic benefits with conservation on manageable scales and through new or strengthened partnerships between communities and government authorities. Capacity building for community-based organisations is a prominent component of the programme.

A trans-boundary initiative of the CCA is the project "Sustainable integrated development and biodiversity conservation in the Grenadine Islands", whose first phase ended in February. The project used a bottom-up participatory process to assist stakeholders in nine islands spread across two countries to develop their own strategic plan for the island chain. The plan is

being endorsed at policy level, and the process illustrated that partnership between government and civil society is critical for progress. One of the goals is for the Grenadine Islands to become a World Heritage Site. Funding for a plan implementation second phase is being sought.

Coastal and marine co-management is also the subject of projects involving the Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES) at the UWI Cave Hill Campus in Barbados. The coastal resources co-management project includes capacity building and pilot project implementation to demonstrate the benefits of collaborative management and encourage learning-by doing. Countries involved range from the eastern Caribbean to Central America, and bring government, NGO and community stakeholders together for joint activities.

Sharing this wide geographic range is the project on Socio-economic Monitoring for Caribbean Coastal Management, better known as "SocMon Caribbean". Socio-economic monitoring is designed to help coastal managers better under-

stand the communities whose activities affect, and are affected by, coastal management decisions. Managers and stakeholders use socio-economic information to minimize the negative impacts of management decisions, demonstrate the value of coastal resources and incorporate community concerns into decision-making. The project has focused on developing a simple set of socio-economic monitoring guidelines tailored for the Caribbean. It recently conducted a regional training workshop on how to use these monitoring guidelines. This project is a joint initiative of CERMES and the World Commission on Protected Areas – Marine (WCPA-Marine).

These initiatives are extremely encouraging and exciting. They show that community participation in coastal and marine resource co-management is alive and well in the Caribbean.

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De la restauration des écosystèmes au développement durable: micro-finance et conservation dans le Parc National du Diawling

Hamid ould Bah, Arhmed ould Boubout, Stéphane Boujou

Après la mise en place d'ouvrages hydrauliques sur le fleuve Sénégal (Manantali au Mali et Diama entre le Sénégal et la Mauritanie), le fonctionnement hydrologique de la partie estuarienne du fleuve s'est profondément transformées et les terres inondables environnantes se sont complètement dégradées. Cette dégradation était due au manque d'eau douce et à la sur-salinisation généralisée des sols consécutifs à la mise en place d'un endiguement de retenue coupant cette zone des

apports saisonniers des eaux de crue du fleuve Sénégal.

La mise en place du Parc National du Diawling en 1991 visait deux objectifs : 1) la restauration des écosystèmes par la mise en place d'ouvrages permettant d'alimenter artificiellement la plaine d'inondation ; 2) l'appui au développement durable des populations afin de compenser les effets négatifs de la mise en place des barrages.

Il s'agissait de recréer la dynamique des

crues naturelles qui baignait saisonnièrement ces sols. Cette gestion artificielle des bassins a permis la régénération des écosystèmes du Parc et des zones périphériques. Ceci a engendré le renouvellement et donc la disponibilité de leurs ressources naturelles qui avaient jusqu'alors totalement disparues pour certaines d'entre-elles (poissons ; *sprobolus robustus*, qui est une herbacée servant au tissage des nattes ; acacia, dont les gousses sont utilisées pour tanner le cuir ; pâturages, etc.). Il s'agissait également, conformément aux objectifs, de relancer, de façon durable, les activités d'exploitations traditionnelles des ressources naturelles dans le Parc et sa périphérie.

La mise en place d'un parc impliquait que certains espaces soient interdits à l'exploitation afin de protéger les ressources naturelles, d'en limiter l'exploitation et de garantir dans le temps la bonne évolution du processus de restauration. C'est dans ce contexte que des appuis dédiés à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations ont été menés par le Parc. Cette communication vise à montrer le cheminement parcouru par le Parc National du Diawling dans ses relations d'intervention avec les populations de sa périphérie. A partir d'un exemple d'action (la micro-finance), il est expliqué comment la synergie entre des objectifs de conservation/restauration et des objectifs de développement peut être atteinte après des étapes logiques d'expérimentation relationnelle où intérêts du Parc et intérêts des populations n'étaient pas toujours bien compris ni articulés.

La période d'expérimentation de la gestion hydraulique du Parc a conduit à l'élaboration d'un premier plan de gestion visant la continuation du processus de restauration des écosystèmes tout en permettant de dégager des bénéfices consensuels pour l'ensemble des acteurs impliqués dans l'exploitation des res-

sources (dont les intérêts sont parfois divergents sinon contradictoires). Cette gestion artificielle des bassins a permis la régénération des écosystèmes du Parc et des zones périphériques.

Période 1993/1999 : des appuis dans l'urgence, des relations tendues

Au cours des années qui ont suivi cette classification et parallèlement aux actions de conservation et restauration, le PND a appuyé les populations de la périphérie du Parc national du Diawling. Ces actions ont concerné divers secteurs d'activités (couture, maraîchage, charpenterie de marine etc.). Mais ces interventions ont souvent pris la forme de compensations suite à la mise sous protection d'espaces anciennement exploités par les populations.

La mise en place du Parc ne s'est pas faite sans difficultés; en effet, les populations du Bas Delta Mauritanien craignaient d'être expulsées de la zone du parc, à l'image de ce qui s'était passé pour leurs parents de la rive gauche du fleuve lors de la classification du Parc National des

Oiseaux du Djoudj au Sénégal. Dans les premiers temps, les relations entre populations et administration du Parc furent très tendues sinon conflictuelles. De nombreuses réunions de concertation furent organisées avec un succès relatif ; elles visaient à rassurer les populations qu'elles ne seraient pas déguerpies, à faire comprendre les objectifs de l'Aire protégée et les résultats que pouvaient en attendre les groupes sociaux locaux car un sentiment de méfiance persistait.

Néanmoins, une dynamique relationnelle était créée et l'idée de la restauration des écosystèmes faisait son chemin. De nombreux conflits ouverts parsèment cette première décennie, mais les capacités de négociation des équipes techniques et les résultats des

efforts du Parc pour la restauration des écosystèmes et des conditions de vie (nouvelle disponibilité des ressources naturelles exploitables traditionnellement) démontraient que le parc, finalement, avait plus d'avantages que d'inconvénients. Cette première décennie a donc montré que le Parc ne se préoccupait pas seulement des oiseaux et de l'environnement, mais qu'il appuyait également les populations riveraines, notamment par des actions d'appuis à la charpenterie de marine, aux activités artisanales, et aux activités maraîchères.

Le contexte particulier de cette première période donnait cependant une priorité à la forme plutôt qu'au fond. Le personnel, en effectif limité et peu expérimenté, n'avait pas les moyens de mener une réflexion en profondeur sur la méthodologie d'intervention. Nombre des actions entreprises furent décidées dans la précipitation et sans beaucoup de suivi, l'important étant de prouver que l'on intervenait pour les populations. De leur côté, ces dernières restaient sur leurs gardes vis-à-vis de cette institution qui s'était arrogée le droit de gérer leur territoire et rechignaient à s'investir dans la gestion participative et les processus décisionnels. De cet agencement contextuel, il est ressorti, après analyse, que les interventions d'écodéveloppement relevaient plus d'une stratégie légitimatrice (de justification de la présence du Parc et pour, les communautés, de mesure de compensation pour leur perte de souveraineté sur les espaces et les ressources) que partenariale (impliquant des discussions critiques sur les interventions, la collaboration et des investissements partagés). A posteriori, il s'avère que cette période de transition était probablement nécessaire sinon inévitable. Elle a notamment permis de capitaliser des acquis indiscutables et de réfléchir sur de nouvelles perspectives d'intervention



Figure 1 : Le pélican, le plus lourd des oiseaux de la région, décolle néanmoins avec élégance. (Courtoisie Stéphane Boujou)

avec les populations locales.

La phase d'appui suivante (phase actuelle) a rétabli l'équilibre des domaines d'intervention en allouant des budgets de façon relativement équitable entre les activités de conservation / restauration (convention FFEM) et d'écodéveloppement (convention UICN). Ceci créait, en outre, des conditions propices à une nouvelle orientation et méthodologie d'intervention.

Période 2001/ aujourd'hui : vers le développement durable

La nouvelle stratégie d'intervention, lancée en 2001 par l'équipe technique PND/UICN, soit une dizaine d'années après le classement du PND, partait des diagnostics des expériences passées et des constats suivants:

- les populations ont eu le temps de constater les avantages induits par la restauration des écosystèmes;
- les populations sont rassurées sur leur intégration en tant que composante sociale, culturelle et économique du Parc ; elles ne seront pas déguerpies ; on s'intéresse à elles;

- le Parc s'est progressivement familiarisé avec les populations, connaît leurs revendications et leurs intérêts et a organisé des plateformes de concertation (comités villageois et inter villageois);
- Les populations ont pu constater que la gestion environnementale visant la restauration des écosystèmes avait des impacts directs sur l'amélioration de leurs conditions de vie. Ceci est indispensable pour pouvoir donner des objectifs multiples (conservation/restauration et amélioration des conditions de vie) aux interventions d'éco-développement;
- Une convention de financement spécialement dédiée aux actions d'éco-développement était disponible.

Nombre des actions entreprises furent décidées dans la précipitation et sans beaucoup de suivi, l'important étant de prouver que l'on intervenait pour les populations.

Les conditions étaient donc en place pour progressivement changer la méthodologie d'intervention et s'engager vers une gestion plus participative allant dans le sens du développement durable. Quelques points de repère ont structuré cette nouvelle stratégie

- L'appui externe du projet complète l'effort que doivent

faire les populations pour arriver à un résultat préalablement identifié conjointement. Ce premier point signifie qu'en aucune manière le Parc ne donne la totalité des choses mais complète l'effort des gens, considérant que si les gens investissent un peu, la sauvegarde de cet investissement sauvegarde également les budgets investis par le parc. Si nous perdons, les populations perdent également.

- L'appui externe privilégie les actions ayant des conséquences sur la gestion ou l'utilisation durable des ressources. Nous avons décidé de montrer la corrélation étroite entre cette volonté d'appuyer les populations et les attentes du PND en termes de conservation.

L'idée est de financer des expérimentations (techniques, organisationnelles) devant déboucher sur des impacts directs pour les populations et des avantages évidents pour la conservation.

- Enfin, pour chaque intervention, la responsabilisation des populations est engagée, les responsables identifiés, les attentes précises et réalistes (du moins en théorie).

Le micro crédit : exemple de synergie entre appuis aux populations et gestion environnementale

Le PND et son partenaire bailleur de fond l'UICN, devaient développer un volet micro crédit et ont donc décidé de relier étroitement cette intervention à des engagements permettant de montrer la synergie entre appui au développement durable et conservation des écosystèmes. L'idée est d'élaborer un partenariat sous forme de contrat de micro finance faisant appel à une contrepartie environnementale formelle et négociée. L'idée qui structure l'intervention est la suivante : le Parc se doit d'améliorer les conditions de vie des populations de la périphérie en veillant à ce que les activités respectent le processus de régénération des écosystèmes et la conservation de la biodiversité.

Plusieurs activités directement liées à l'exploitation des ressources sont exercées par les populations pour subvenir à leurs besoins : le maraîchage, le tannage des cuirs, le tissage des nattes, la pêche, l'artisanat (couture, broderie), l'élevage. A l'exception de l'élevage qui n'a pas fait l'objet d'appui micro-crédit spécifique, ces activités ont été ciblées pour bénéficier d'un appui du parc. L'équipe technique du PND a donc cherché à comprendre en quoi ces activités avaient besoin d'une intervention extérieure et en quoi elles avaient un impact sur l'environnement en général.

Il n'y a pas lieu de détailler ici l'ensemble de la mise en place de ces micro-crédits mais de

s'intéresser à la logique de la mise en place et à la négociation des contreparties. En effet, pour chacune de ces activités, les demandes d'appui concernaient soit des fonds de roulement soit des équipements susceptibles d'améliorer la valorisation des produits, les conditions de travail, les revenus ou la maîtrise des filières par les acteurs (pour les sortir,

les populations prennent l'initiative de venir demander l'appui du Parc pour respecter leurs engagements (Parc comme facilitateur de réunions inter villageoises, Parc comme arbitre d'attribution des permis de pêche, etc.)

notamment, de la dépendance vis-à-vis des commerçants usuriers locaux). Chaque activité a par ailleurs un impact direct sur le renouvellement des ressources et c'est sur la minimisation des impacts que nous avons travaillé. Nous avons cherché à éviter la surpêche, la pollution (sac plastiques pour les commerçants, déversement des acides pour les tanneuses), la dévastation des plants de *sporobolus robustus* ou des arbres pour

les activités de cueillette. Pour chaque activité, nous avons réuni les candidats et avons parlé de ce que nous pouvions faire ensemble, de ce que le PND était prêt à faire en termes d'appui financier à travers la micro-finance et de ce que les gens étaient prêts à faire en termes de conservation des environnements et des ressources naturelles. Il s'agissait d'instaurer un rapport de collaboration complémentaire plutôt que de donner quelque chose gratuitement.

Au terme de la mise en place de ces micro-finances et de leurs remboursements, il s'agissait de prouver que ces personnes seraient les bénéficiaires à court ou moyen termes de pratiques de gestion durable des ressources car elles disposeraient de constats tangibles sur la disponibilité des ressources d'exploitation ou sur l'amélioration de la qualité (des produits, de la vie en général). Nous cherchions à financer une expérimentation commune et non pas légitimer une présence ou une réglementation.

Partant de cette logique, les contreparties ont été proposées et examinées par tous les partenaires impliqués dans cette activité (Parc, UICN, Fédération Luthérienne Mondiale, groupes de population bénéficiaires). Ils ont évalué leur niveau de faisabilité (réalisme) avant de s'engager, en effet, il ne s'agissait pas de définir des objectifs ne pouvant être atteints ce qui aurait entraîné un échec de cette dynamique. Ils ont formulé ensemble les différentes composantes de chaque contrepartie. Il s'agissait aussi de mettre en synergie les interventions dans le domaine de la micro-finance avec les activités que le Parc menait dans les autres domaines, notamment dans les domaines de la régénération des écosystèmes et la conservation de la biodiversité. Pour chaque activité, de nouvelles pratiques ou organisations ont été demandées, le respect de ces contreparties entraînant automatiquement un droit d'accès à un renouvellement du micro financement lors d'une tranche ultérieure.

Des résultats encourageants

Les résultats intermédiaires de cette inter-



Figure 2 : Concertation avec les différents groupes d'acteurs sur l'usage des ressources ; les agents du Parc jouent le rôle de facilitateur et rappellent les contraintes de la restauration des écosystèmes. (Courtoisie Stéphane Boujou)

vention sont plutôt encourageants. En premier lieu, le PND se démarque d'une stratégie argumentaire légitimatrice (nous vous aidons car vous supportez notre présence), stratégie qui se justifiait par le passé mais dont il faut sortir pour atteindre des objectifs de durabilité. L'innovation consiste à se positionner comme partenaire et plus précisément comme partenaire de gestion des ressources naturelles dont la démarche n'est pas de donner mais d'appuyer des initiatives locales : « *nous ne mettons de l'argent dans une action que si vous en mettez vous aussi, l'addition de nos deux investissements permet de dépasser des contraintes liées aux montants que vous ne pouvez pas supporter seul* ».

L'argument est que nous voulons bien supporter les risques d'une expérimentation (nouvelles pratiques, nouvelles organisations, nouveaux produits) parce que nous sommes convaincus que les résultats démontreront les avantages que les populations en tirent. Si la démonstration de ces avantages est attestée par tout le monde et que la dynamique est lancée, les coûts et risques liés au fonctionnement doivent être ensuite supportés par les populations. La mise à disposition de micro-finances permettait de tenir la logique suivante : nous vous aidons à améliorer vos activités économiques et vous nous aidez à améliorer la gestion des ressources naturelles sachant que ces ressources vous sont indispensables ».

Il paraît ici important de faire le point sur le statut des ressources. Les ressources ont un double statut, d'une part ce sont les ressources du parc, institution d'Etat dont les limites sont fixées par décret et qui juridiquement est la seule instance souveraine pour gérer ces ressources, d'autre part ce sont des ressources exploitées par les population dans les limites du Parc et avec l'accord du Parc). L'objectif est de faire constater par les populations l'intérêt qu'elles ont à adopter des pratiques ou mesures de conservation en leur montrant la relation directe entre les résultats

de ces contraintes (comprises comme telle dans un premier temps) et l'amélioration de la disponibilité des ressources et l'augmentation des bénéfices tirés de leur exploitation.

C'est donc bien l'instauration d'un dialogue et l'idée d'un partenariat entre population et Parc qui peuvent être considérés comme les principaux résultats de cette action. Depuis la mise en place par l'équipe technique PND/UICN d'une dynamique partenariale, les populations prennent l'initiative de venir demander l'appui du Parc pour respecter leurs engagements (Parc comme facilitateur de réunions inter villageoises, Parc comme arbitre d'attribution des permis de pêche, etc.) et pour améliorer la gestion de leurs ressources. Cela marque une profonde transformation des mentalités et de la représentation que se font les populations de l'institution de conservation qu'est le Parc National du Diawling. Cela atteste également qu'il y a une meilleure compréhension des logiques qui relient les contraintes de gestion aux bénéfices directs qu'en attendent en échange les populations. C'est ce dernier indicateur qui permet de dire que l'appropriation par les populations des pratiques de gestion durable des environnements n'est pas une chimère, même si le chemin qui reste à parcourir est long et semé d'embûches. Ces résultats ont été rendus possible par les différentes phases d'intervention menées par le Parc et l'UICN à travers un processus continue qui est parti de relations tendues et conflictuelles avec les populations pour se transformer progressivement, sur la base de résultats concrets, en une relation partenariale visant des intérêts communs.

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Nepal's experience in participatory biodiversity conservation with emphasis on buffer zone initiatives

Shyam Bajimaya

From the lowlands of the Terai to the icy heights of the Himalayas, Nepal possesses biological diversity that is truly impressive. Though the country has a land area of just 147,181 sq km (a mere 0.1% of the world's total landmass), it nevertheless possesses over 2% of the world's flowering plants, about 8% of the world's bird species and over 4% of the world's mammal species. This vast biological repository undoubtedly makes Nepal a biological as well as a cultural hotspot deserving of special attention. The fact that two of its protected areas— Royal Chitwan and Sagarmatha National Parks— are listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites stands testimony to this.

Nepal has gone through various stages of experimentation and learning processes in its bid to conserve and manage its rich biological resources, but its relatively recent experience in participatory biodiversity conservation has perhaps been the most educative and constructive. About eight years ago His Majesty Government of Nepal's (HMGN) Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation (DNPWC) first piloted the Buffer Zone Programme in Royal Chitwan National Park in 1995, followed by its implementation in other parks and reserves across the country. Since then, it has become clear that protected areas and local people can help each other in supporting and advancing each other's needs. In this partnership, local communities can gain financially as well as in other ways from protected areas, while protected areas can benefit by involving local people in planning and management. With the DNPWC's Buffer Zone Management Programme now in place, local people have become more proactive towards conservation and have developed a sense of ownership towards the protected areas.

A brief history of biodiversity conservation in Nepal

The first legislation to protect the country's wildlife was introduced during the Rana regime more than 150 years ago. Similarly, the importance of conserving wild species of flora and fauna was officially recognized by HMGN in Nepal's first Five-year Plan (1956-1961). In other words, a great deal of effort has been going on for some time for the protection and management of the country's rich biological resources. The impetus for this has been the recognition that biodiversity is the backbone of both Nepal's economy and the well-being of its people.

And yet, it was only with the passage of the National Parks and Wildlife Conservation (NPWC) Act by HMGN in 1973 that a legal basis was laid down for the establishment of protected areas exclusively for the purpose of conservation. The Act facilitated and spurred the creation of nine national parks, three wildlife reserves, three conservation areas and one hunting reserve across the country in a period spanning less than three decades. From a total area of a mere 4,584 sq km in the 1970s, protected areas (including six declared buffer zones) have grown to encompass today 27,874 sq km, or 18.33% of the country's total land area. Along with these developments, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation was established in the 1980s, and entrusted with the responsibility of planning for and managing these protected areas. The Royal Nepal Army was also deployed to help the management in controlling illegal human activities in some of the protected areas.

While the protected area system came as a blessing for wildlife, there was a price to pay: sudden and strict restrictions and regulations imposed on people living around these protected areas in the use of forest resources.

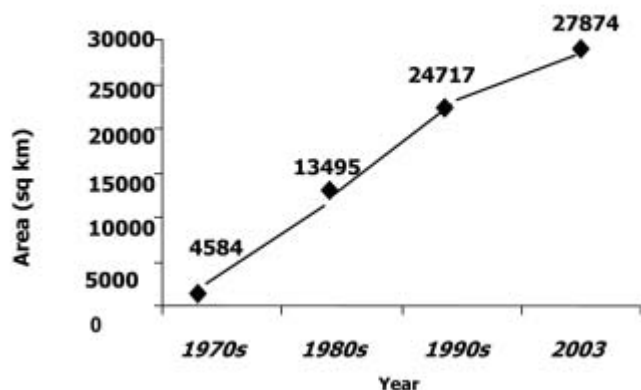


Figure 1: establishment of Protected Areas in Nepal

Conservation successes

Numerous successes in the conservation of biological resources and their diversity have been achieved since the setting up of the protected area system, particularly with regard to ecosystems and flagship species. The system proved to be particularly favourable for the protection of key species such as the one-horned rhinoceros, tiger, Asian wild elephant, gharial crocodile, gaur, etc., which had to recover from relatively low populations. The populations of rhinoceros, tiger and gharial crocodile, on an almost daily decline in the 1960s, have now improved substantially. The rhino count in Nepal in 1973, , for example, was less than 100, but by 2000 it had risen up to 612. Similarly, the number of tigers was around 93-97 only as recently as 1995-96, but by 2001/02 it stood at 340-350. These successes have been achieved through the preservation of key habitats, the protection of important wildlife species via strict law enforcement practices, the reintroduction of certain species through captive breeding measures and even by translocation initiatives. A total of 87 rhinos, for example, were translocated from Royal Chitwan National Park, which has the largest single isolated population in the country, into Royal Bardia National Park and Royal Suklaphanta Wildlife Reserve between 1986 and 2003 in an effort to build a second viable population. With these translocations, the number of rhinos in RBNP and RSWR is also showing gradual increase.

In order to create a safe haven for large species, the DNPWC has made planned interventions through its Tiger Action Plan and is also preparing similar Action Plans for the rhino and snow leopard. The implementation of species-specific action plans have not only helped in reviving these species but have also laid a strong foundation for the landscape approach to biodiversity conservation, which Nepal has recognized and embraced today as the most practical and effective means of managing its natural resources.

The flip side

While the protected area system came as a blessing for wildlife, there was a price to pay: sudden and strict restrictions and regulations imposed on people living around these protected areas in the use of forest resources. Until the coming of the Act, local communities had had ready access to the resources of areas now designated as protected areas, and this change naturally gave rise to discord between the park management and the local communities. The major issues that surfaced include:

- Resource use conflicts over collection of firewood, timber, fodder, non-timber forest products, sand, gravel and boulders;
- Livestock grazing pressure on the parks and reserves;
- Rising human-wildlife encounters;
- Inadequate resources alternative to those within the Pas;
- Inadequate resource management capacity;
- Low environmental awareness;
- Poaching.

It soon became apparent that unless these issues were properly addressed, the government's conservation effort would not be able to move ahead in a balanced and sustainable manner.

Changes in management strategy

In recognition of this fact, and to rectify the situation, the NPWC Act was amended in 1992 to incorporate provisions for "buffer zones" in the protected area system and the sharing of up to 50% of park/reserve annual revenues with the buffer zones communities. A buffer zone is a designated area surrounding a national park or reserve within which the resource use of forest products by local people is regulated to ensure their sustainability. The contribution of local (BZ) communities in the effort is considered imperative, and the management approach had to be shaped accordingly, to accommodate the participation of local people in the country's biodiversity conservation agenda.

At around this time, a participatory approach to conservation had already been adopted for the first time by HMG/DNPWC. This occurred with the introduction of the conservation area concept in the early 1990s when the Annapurna Conservation Area Programme (ACAP) was established. Park regulations

A buffer zone is a designated area surrounding a national park or reserve within which the use of forest products by local people is regulated to ensure sustainability.

made special provisions for local people in the use of natural resources like fuel wood and fodder. Efforts made for the conservation of the natural and cultural resources of the area in partnership with the local communities have been quite successful and have led to recognition that conservation can work even without the imposition of strict external controls on local people. Efforts are now underway to replicate the successes of

ACAP in two other areas – Kanchanjunga Conservation Area (established in 1997) and Manaslu Conservation Area (established in 1998).

In the Terai parks and reserves as well, DNPWC gradually started to introduce the participatory approach as a forerunner to its

buffer zone programme. In nurturing this approach, DNPWC started holding regular coordination meetings with local communities and began to exercise a little more flexibility in giving local people access to park/reserve resource use (e.g. by allowing annual grass cutting inside the parks and reserves). It also started extending its support to social causes and schools (e.g. by providing timber for making furniture and construction purposes) and by introducing other facilities for the benefit of the local people.



Figure 2. Literacy Classes for the communities of Khaptad National Park. (Courtesy DNPWC)

Then came the buffer zone concept with the amendment of the NPWC Act in 1992. The groundwork for this was laid by DNPWC with the technical and financial support of UNDP through the Park People Programme (1995-2001). Its achievements are being institutionalized by the Participatory Conservation Programme since 2002. In the same year, DNPWC also initiated the Bardia Integrated Conservation Project in Royal Bardia National Park with the support of WWF Nepal Program.

The buffer zone programme is an attempt to emulate the lessons and experiences of the conservation area model in the national parks and reserves of the country. Understandably, of course, because of the intense human pop-

ulation pressure in the Terai, the controls and measures on human activities have to remain in place in this case. Even with this, however, the willingness of HMG/DNPWC to make the sudden quantum leap from a strict natural resource protection policy to a participatory approach that aims at a balance between conservation and human needs is a noteworthy achievement. It also demonstrates DNPWC's flexibility and openness to adapt and change as long as adjustments contribute to the conservation of biodiversity and, ultimately, sustainable development.

Subsequent to the amendment of the NPWC Act, the Buffer Zone Management Regulation and Guidelines were approved to design programmes compatible with park management and to facilitate local people's participation in the design and implementation of the management and conservation plans for buffer zones. The amended Act also made provision for the sharing of 30-50% of the park/reserve annual revenue with the buffer zone communities to be utilized for conservation and development purposes. One of the main objectives of establishing buffer zones is to meet the natural resource needs of local communities as well as minimizing human impact on protected areas and avoiding contentious situations

Figure 2: declared Buffer Zone area (1996-2002)

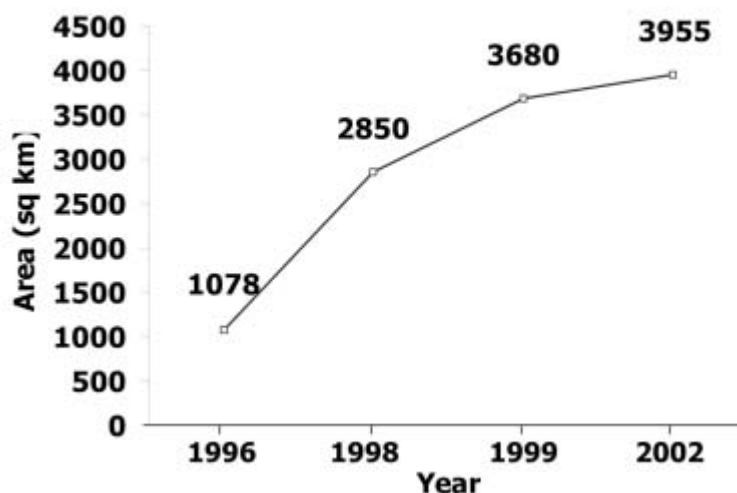


Figure 3. Decared Buffer Zone area (1996-2002)

between the park management and the local residents. The other objectives are to improve the lives of the park-concerned communities and to support them to organize themselves into strong, self-governed institutions capable of undertaking pro-conservation and pro-development activities.

So far, six buffer zones have been declared. These include those at Royal Chitwan National Park, Royal Bardia National Park, Langtang National Park, Shey Phoksundo National Park, Makalu Barun National Park and Sagarmatha

Table 1: Buffer Zone status as of 2003

| Buffer Zone | Declared Year | Area (sq km) | No. of Districts | No. of Village Development Committees | Households | Population |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| RCNP | 1996 | 750 | 4 | 37 | 36,193 | 223,260 |
| RBNP | 1996 | 328 | 2 | 17 | 11,504 | 120,000 |
| LNP | 1998 | 420 | 3 | 34 | 12,509 | 54,326 |
| Shey-Phok NP | 1998 | 1352 | 2 | - | 2,263 | 11,598 |
| MBNP | 1999 | 830 | 2 | 12 | 6,000 | 32,000 |
| SNP | 2002 | 275 | 1 | 2 | 1,288 | 5,869 |
| TOTAL | | 3955 | 14 | | 69,757 | 447,053 |

National Park. The buffer zones of the remaining parks and reserves have also been proposed and the process of officially declaring them is under various stages of progress. Presently, some 14% of the protected areas have been demarcated as buffer zones.

Investment in biogas installation as an alternative energy source in many of the buffer zone households has been particularly effective in reducing fuel wood consumption, minimizing environmental degradation, improving sanitation and hygiene, and reducing the workload, especially for women.

With the coming of the buffer zones and proposed buffer zones, the DNPWC has implemented several programmes in different buffer zones with the support of various partners such as UNDP, WWF-Nepal, CARE-Nepal, DFID, ECO-HIMAL, the King Mahendra Trust and others. The DNPWC carries out all buffer zone management activities in close consultation and partnership with various community-based institutions that have been formed, such as User Groups, User Committees, Buffer Zone Management Committees (BZMCs) and ad hoc local committees.

Major buffer zone management activities and accomplishments

The DNPWC's major activities include the following:

Management of natural resources and promotion of community forests

The DNPWC's work in this area focuses on improving park/reserve management, developing conservation initiatives inside the buffer zone, and leading forest initiatives outside the buffer zone. On the park management front, the DNPWC primarily focuses on activities that have profound positive impact on the conservation of habitats and flagship wildlife species. These include data collection and the development of information systems and buffer zone

management plans. Specific measures to curb poaching activities are also carried out. Conservation initiatives in the buffer zones attempt to reduce the dependency of local communities on the natural resources of the parks and buffer zones. They include partnership arrangements for development initiatives and to address local forest resource needs through community forests. The same forests can also serve as a barrier to reduce human-wildlife confrontations and provide additional habitat for wild animals. Implementation arrangements for community forests are made through a Forest Advisory Committee consisting of the District Forest Office representatives and community animators working under the DNPWC implemented projects. Forest User Groups are formed and undertake activities that support the sustainable use and management of these forests.

At present, there are more than 50 Buffer Zone Community Forest User Groups. More than 1250 ha of community forests have been handed over so far, benefitting over 50,200 households, and more hectares are pending. These forests have brought benefits to both the communities and the protected areas.

Sharing of park revenue

As per the 30-50% revenue sharing mechanism put into place by the amended NPWC Act, over 100 million rupees (equivalent to US\$ 1.28 million approx.) has been allocated so far for conservation and development purposes to the communities of the declared buffer zones of three National Parks - Royal Chitwan, Royal Bardia and Langtang.

The amended Act made provision for the sharing of 30-50% of the park/reserve annual revenue with the buffer zone communities, to be utilized for conservation and development purposes.

Institutional development

The Buffer Zone Support Unit in each park implements conservation initiatives through community animators who promote the creation of community-based organizations like User Groups, User Committees, BZMCs and ad hoc BZMCs; the development of human capital (productive work force); and community capital generation and mobilization (savings and credit). Among other activities, community-based organizations undertake regular self-initiated activities like cleaning and health campaigns, construction and repair of infrastructure etc. for the improvement of the BZs. Both men and women are encouraged to participate to the fullest extent and conservation education and awareness activities carried out by the DNPWC play a key role in the community mobilization process. Altogether there are now six Buffer Zone Management Committees, 161 User Committees, over twenty-five hundred User Groups, and over fifty Buffer Zone Forest User Groups. A Buffer Zone Forum has also been initiated to facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences among park/reserve Wardens and BZMC/ad hoc and BZMC Chairpersons and thereby establish better lateral and vertical linkages of the DNPWC with its buffer zone partners.

Community capital generation and mobilization

The community savings and credit programme plays an important part in increasing the funds available to conservation and development work and in taking buffer zone activities forward in a participatory manner. The programme consists of a savings and credit scheme in which User Group members are required to regularly save money in their User Group account. They can save any amount starting from as low as Rs. 5 per week or month. The savings and credit scheme has been highly successful as it has not only promoted a saving habit among the local people

but has also served as an easily accessible funding source for them to meet their farming and off-farming requirements and sometimes even their household expenses. The scheme has especially benefited women and the poorest of the poor. The total amount mobilized so



Figure 4. Productive investments in the buffer zone of Royal Chitwan National park have supported irrigation initiatives. (Courtesy DNPWC)

far in Chitwan and Bardia alone stands at over Rs. 26 million (US\$ 334,000 approx.)

Training for capacity enhancement

Various training programmes have been supported for the buffer zone communities in order to develop skills and enhance their capacity to carry out productive work. Besides basic managerial and leadership training programmes, the buffer zone communities have received training in areas such as productive livestock rearing, poultry farming and feed production, fishery and nursery management and operation, vegetable farming, fruit plantation, herbal farming, veterinary care and many others to help them become self reliant. Women have also been continuously encouraged to participate in these training programmes. Through the training programs, communities have been highly encouraged to rear improved breeds of cattle and adopt stall feeding practices so that grazing pressure on parks/reserves has been reducing gradually

over time.

Productive investments

Buffer zone communities have been provided low-interest loans from what is known as the Biodiversity Conservation Facility (BCF) to promote micro and green enterprises and introduce appropriate rural technologies that are conservation and environment friendly. A total of 16 million rupees (approximately US\$ 203,000) has been invested so far, which has contributed to creating alternative livelihood opportunities, poverty reduction and improved conservation of the buffer zone natural resources. Investment in biogas installation as an alternative energy source in many of the buffer zone households has been particularly effective in reducing fuel wood consumption, minimizing environmental degradation, improving sanitation and hygiene, and reducing the workload, especially for women.. As a result of this, they have been able to invest more time in educating themselves and carrying out productive activities for economic self-reliance. Similarly, investment in irrigation facilities has also helped to improve productivity and reduce the pressure on park and buffer zone natural resources.

Looking ahead: a vision for sustainability

There are many issues that still stand in the way of effective management and sustainability of the protected area system in Nepal. Some of the major conflicting issues are illegal grazing and timber harvesting, poaching, threats to wetland biodiversity and over exploitation of biological resources, including that of non-timber forest products. Despite the problems and constraints, Nepal has been able to achieve a significant amount of success in the protection and management of its biodiversity. Sectoral and cross-sectoral strategies, as well as criteria for ranking existing threats and prioritizing actions have either been developed or are being developed based on the les-

sons learned.

The integrated conservation and development principle and a participatory approach have contributed to making the DNPWC's biodiversity conservation strategy not only more holistic, but also more realistic. By taking the community based organizations of the buffer zones as partner institutions, the DNPWC has been able to foster an atmosphere of understanding and trust in the local people, which has brought positive changes in the quality of the environment, wildlife and, in the long run, human life. Nepal needs to build upon these achievements and take them further.

One institution alone may not be in a position to confront the whole gamut of issues linked to conservation and sustainable development. A collaborative approach is necessary. The DNPWC has been encouraged by the support it has received from many local and international partners in its efforts, and it will continue to cooperate and collaborate with all those willing to work for the cause of conservation and for the betterment of the lives of the Nepalese people in particular and the welfare of the global community in general.

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Devolving rights or shedding responsibilities?— Community Conservation in Uganda over the last decade

Tom Blomley and Agrippinah Namara

In the early 1990s Uganda embarked on a new approach to wildlife and protected area management that recognised the importance of engaging with local interests and providing benefits from conservation to the local front-line communities. The approach was supported by a range of actors, including IUCN, African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), CARE, USAID and GTZ, through a variety of projects and programmes at national and protected area levels. Ushering in the approach were a host of legislative reforms enacted with either direct or indirect measures to regulate the natural resource management sector in Uganda, including The National Environment Statute (1994), The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995), the Uganda Wildlife Statute (1996), the Local Government Act (1997), and the Land Act (1998). These have been followed more recently by the Forest and Tree Planting Act (2003). Together, these laws and policies define roles and responsibilities of central and local government agencies, as well as local communities with regard to the use and management of the environment and natural

Is resource use a privilege that can be granted or withdrawn by Uganda Wildlife Authority, or is it a right that local communities can demand and are entitled to?

resources. Many of these laws, in fact, provide for the decentralisation of responsibilities from central government down to local levels through local government systems and structures. Within the wildlife sector, the legal provisions within the Wildlife Statute have been supported by a series of management guidelines issued by the Uganda Wildlife Authority such as Guidelines for Revenue Sharing around Protected Areas (UWA, 2000a), the Community-Protected Area Institution Policy (UWA 2000b), Strategy for Problem Animal Management and Vermin Control (UWA, 2001) and the Strategy on Collaborative



Figure 1: A registered resource user checks on his beehives inside Bwindi Impenetrable National Park under the Multiple Use Program. (Courtesy Richard Nuwasasira, CARE-Development Through Conservation Project)

Management (UWA, 2000c).

In this paper we will attempt to take stock of the experiences gained so far in Uganda on a range of approaches variously called Community Wildlife Management, Collaborative Management or Community Conservation. We will explore progress over the last decade in the implementation of measures designed to devolve responsibility for wildlife and protected area management and use to local levels. In particular, we examine three main areas: collaborative management of protected area resources (also known in Uganda as multiple use); control of problem animals and vermin; and the establishment of community-protected area institutions developed to manage conflicts between local interests and park authorities. In the conclusion we will attempt to provide policy recommendations for Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) and partners.

Collaborative management/ multiple resource use

The change in status of many former forest reserves to national parks in the early 1990s fuelled high levels of local conflict due to the



Figure 2: Trap at the edge of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park used to capture bush pigs, a menace to farmers. (Courtesy Richard Nuwasasira, CARE-Development Through Conservation Project)

complete loss of any prior user rights of local communities (such rights had been allowed or poorly regulated under the control of the Forest Department)¹. Following lobbying from both local stakeholders and CARE in 1991, the Board of Trustees of the Uganda National Parks (now UWA) granted permission to Bwindi Impenetrable National Park management and supporting partners to formulate arrangements with communities to allow beekeepers, on a pilot basis, to resume bee keeping activities inside the park, an activity that started in 1992. The program was later expanded in 1993 to allow more activities including access to medicinal plants, basketry materials, seedlings of indigenous tree species and bamboo rhizomes to plant on farms and foot access to spiritual and cultural sites. Currently these agreements are being revised and expanded to include additional frontline communities and 20% of the total forest area. Following the piloting of community resource use agreements in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, the Uganda Wildlife Statute was formulated to include legal provisions for “regulated resource extraction” from national parks. Recognised resource use programmes are currently in operation in six out of eleven national parks in Uganda. The “multiple use” programme in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park has been documented by Wild and Mutebi (1996) and more recently by Blomley (2003), as well as being subjected to two external reviews². Drawing upon these sources as well as our own

experiences over many years of involvement in the programme, we provide a “balance sheet” of the programme below.

Clearly, the multiple use programme opened the way for regulated resource use by around 390 households for forest products and an additional 750 registered beekeepers who now extract forest honey from hives set in the park³. The local benefits in terms of subsistence benefits (fibres and vines for basketry and crafts, medicinal plants for local use, access to cultural sites etc) are undisputed. In addition, many local resource users attach high value to the fact that they can now enter the forest unchallenged by park staff— whereas previously this was an offence punishable by law⁴. It also is apparent that negotiations around resource use and access undertaken in the early 1990s had broader implications in that they began to open lines of communication between park authorities and local communities at a time of deep mistrust and hostility.⁵ Finally, the fact that the initiative was started on a pilot basis with the full backing and support of Uganda National Parks meant that experiences were fed into and informed the development of the Uganda Wildlife Statute.

The programme, however, also had some shortcomings. Perhaps of greatest importance was the question of power relations between the two main parties to the agreements. On one hand are the protected area managers, representing central government, often wearing quasi-military uniforms and fully conversant with laws, regulations and policies. On the other are local community members, largely illiterate, unaware of their rights or responsibilities and poorly organised. This manifested itself in the negotiation process by the park staff adopting a stance of negotiating from a “position of strength”. Rather than entering into open-ended negotiations, with compromises made on both sides, the quality of

The extreme shocks caused by crop raiding to what are already stretched rural livelihoods can undermine at a stroke any of the goodwill generated through concurrent benefit sharing mechanisms.

this process was limited by the willingness of park management to concede (or even discuss) access to resources of any significant value⁶. The outcome of the negotiations therefore has been agreements which provide a limited number of resources, to a limited number of people, but with significant reciprocal responsibilities placed on the shoulders of local communities, including patrolling for illegal activities, reporting law breakers within the community to park staff, assisting in extinguishing forest fires as well as maintenance of detailed records. In short, it would appear that the rights of forest users have been outweighed by their responsibilities to Uganda Wildlife Authority. Of greater concern, perhaps is the issue of security of tenure of local communities over resources in the park. Is resource use a privilege that can be granted or withdrawn by Uganda Wildlife Authority, or is a right that local communities can demand and are entitled to? As pointed out by Ribot⁷, privileges are attributed to subjects while rights are what make people citizens. Participation becomes meaningful when powers are transferred in the secure form of rights.

Management of human wildlife conflicts

Damage to crops and property by wildlife is one of the most widespread and significant problems faced by "frontline" communities living next to forest and wildlife protected areas in Uganda. Due to the problems of remoteness and isolation, households living immediately adjacent to national parks are often with fewest options and limited opportunities to diversify and sustain their livelihoods. This is reinforced by the very real threat of crop raiding, which places additional costs on already stretched households. A common coping mechanism involves the deployment of children as crop guards during daytime and older family members at night, while crops mature and ripen. Children are therefore denied educational opportunities as they are unable to attend school – further reducing opportunities for poverty reduction. Furthermore, research conducted by a number of agencies working around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park suggests that the extreme shocks caused by crop

raiding to what are already stretched rural livelihoods can undermine at a stroke any of the goodwill generated through concurrent benefit sharing mechanisms⁸.

Until the enactment of the Uganda Wildlife Statute in 1996, the management of human wildlife conflicts fell to Uganda National Parks (if the problem originated from a national park), or to the Game Department (for any other area). Following this legislation, game species were categorised either as problem animals or vermin. Vermin are described as non-threatened wildlife species that cause recurrent damage to crops and property (such as bushpigs, baboons and vervet monkeys) while problem animals refer to larger, more threatened species such as gorillas, elephants and chimpanzees. While problem animals remain the responsibility of Uganda Wildlife Authority (due either to their conservation status or threat to human life), the management of vermin has been delegated to local governments. This apparent concession by central government was largely the result of intense lobbying by the increasingly powerful local government interests, expressing dissatisfaction with UWA in dealing with human-wildlife conflicts. On the surface this appears to be a genuine attempt by central government to engage local stakeholders in management decisions concerning wildlife impacts and damage. Experiences from the field, however, would suggest a different picture. This is largely due to the fact that while responsibility for management of key vermin species has been devolved, there has been no corresponding transfer of financial resources. Most local governments appear unwilling to absorb these costs, and those who do appear ill equipped to develop practical solutions, short of simplistic and ineffective options such as the hiring of vermin guards

... Frontline communities suffer a "double marginalisation" ... UWA has rather elegantly shed some of its responsibilities to local governments in the name of "local empowerment". Local governments, however, without corresponding resources and skills, appear unwilling to take up these roles and responsibilities...

or the creation of vermin units. The problem is compounded by the fact that the frontline communities that suffer most severely from crop raiding by wildlife are also often the most politically marginalised, and their specific concerns rarely get reflected in district development plans or budgets.

The net result to frontline communities is that they now suffer a “double marginalisation”.

UWA has rather elegantly shed some of its responsibilities to local governments in the name of “local empowerment”. Local governments, however, without corresponding resources and skills appear unwilling to take up these roles and responsibilities. Traditional coping mechanisms such as hunting and trapping are considered illegal except when targeting a handful of vermin species, while the costs for more

Measures to combat human wildlife conflict (such as ditches, fences or walls) have in large part been underwritten by supportive institutions such as IUCN and CARE, through the provision of technical skills and financing.

labour intensive crop protection measures (such as guarding) fall squarely on the shoulders of frontline communities.

Measures to combat human wildlife conflict (such as ditches, fences or walls) have in large part been underwritten by supportive institutions such as IUCN and CARE, through the provision of technical skills and financing. This external “helping hand”, while resulting in short term benefits at the household level, has inevitably led to question marks over funding, establishment and maintenance responsibilities in the medium to longer term.

Community Protected Area institutions

Establishment of local institutions for natural resources management has been viewed as a critical requirement for community involvement in conservation. In Uganda, institutionalized community participation in wildlife management has been realised through the formation of Community-Protected Area Institutions (CPIs) as provided for in the UWA policy guidelines⁹.

Membership of CPIs is drawn from lower level local governments (parish councils) in those areas immediately adjacent to the park boundaries. Because protected areas often cut across district boundaries, the inter-district nature of this institution makes it unique in a context where district local governments emphasize their autonomy and independence.

The CPIs represent an evolution of an earlier institutional formation – the Park Management Advisory Committee that was initiated in the early 1990s by Uganda National Parks. This institution drew membership from local communities bordering the park (but had no deliberate linkages to local government) and was principally created to advise park management on community matters. Funded directly by park management, it was criticised for being non-representative and with limited powers beyond a broad advisory or consultative role.

The CPI was thus created as a deliberate attempt to give local communities more of a voice, with the aim of “ensuring that interests of communities and PA management are adequately represented in community-PA interactions”¹⁰. In addition, membership was drawn from elected local government officials to ensure greater representation and feedback.

Following input from local governments additional roles were included such as checking excessive behaviour of park staff by performing a watchdog function. These are admirable proposals indeed, but once again experiences from the field would suggest progress has been extremely limited.

As with management of human wildlife conflict, one of the fundamental challenges remains that of funding. Given that the CPI is an institution developed to represent and lobby for community interests and that membership is drawn from local governments, UWA has argued

When many rural parishes have an annual investment budget of less than USD 200, the choice between sending a parish representative to a distant location for a CPI meeting and building a new classroom in the village primary school is not a hard one to make.

that should the costs of establishing and maintaining these institutions come from them, this would create a potential conflict of interest and as a result, financial resources should come from external sources. This rather elegant argument immediately relieved UWA from a substantial financial liability. Local governments, however, appear unwilling to underwrite these costs and quite legitimately claim that these institutions were created under provisions formulated by UWA and with little or no consultation with them. With no local government structures above the district level, questions remain as to the status and financing of these inter-district, cross boundary structures.¹¹

The issue of long-term financing must be seen in the context of costs of operating these institutions as compared with the benefits gained. The costs are significant and are largely based around facilitating the transport and convening of members drawn from remote and distant locations. When many rural parishes have an annual investment budget of less than USD 200, the choice between sending a parish representative to a distant location for a CPI meeting and

building a new classroom in the village primary school is not a hard one to make. Local governments have appeared willing to support the costs of maintaining such institutions only when clear, tangible outputs have been realised. One such example is with revenue sharing. Under the Wildlife Statute, national parks are required to “ring-fence” 20% of revenue gained from park entry fees, for distribution to local community development initiatives in frontline parishes. The CPI is responsible for allocating these funds, selecting projects and overseeing implementation. However, for less definable and tangible goals, such as exploring options for the management of human-wildlife conflicts, local governments appear understandably reluctant to invest in hosting and underwriting institutional transaction costs.

In large part, these costs appear to have fallen to supportive institutions such as projects, NGOs and donors implementing integrated conservation and development projects around national parks. Experience would suggest that in the short term, it may be possible for external agencies to artificially create or inflate incentives for local participation in the resolution of park-people conflicts. This has been achieved by contributing to or covering the transaction costs of institutional activities (such as convening meetings or holding elections). However, where the outcomes and outputs of these meetings appear ill-defined (beyond nebulous outcomes such as conflict resolution), and where the potential for tangible protected area benefits remain very limited, it appears unrealistic to expect local governments to assume these institutional transaction costs.

A secondary concern is that evi-

Longer-term sustainability is questionable. . . . due to a transfer of responsibility from the centre without any corresponding transfer of rights, authority, skills or financial resources to support these processes.



Figure 3: Digging a trench to prevent the elephants of Kibale National Park from encroaching into the surrounding cultivated fields. (Courtesy Purna Chetri)



Figure 4: Enjoying wild fruits from Kibale forest.
(Courtesy Purna Chetri)

dence to date would suggest that local governments or frontline communities have little real opportunity to influence protected area decision making. "Community participation" in protected area management appears still to be largely driven more by rhetoric than reality, within an institution that is still paramilitary in nature and views communities more as a threat than "partners". For example, local park staff continue to feel uncomfortable with CPIs playing a watchdog role¹² through reporting "excessive behaviour" of park staff, or monitoring accumulated revenues in park revenue sharing accounts. This further undermines the willingness of local governments to contribute resources and personnel towards maintenance of CPIs.

Conclusions

In line with a general trend towards decentralisation over the past ten years, Uganda Wildlife Authority has spearheaded the transfer of responsibilities from national to local level across a range of interventions packaged as "community conservation", such as control of problem animals, sustainable resource use and the establishment and maintenance of protected area institutions. The rationale for this has been fostering greater local participation by resource users, local governments and frontline communities in the use and management of protected areas.

Taking stock of the experience of the last

decade, two issues appear to us as central and deserving the attention of the Ugandan Wildlife Authority.

First, while there are clear signs of progress towards mitigating conflicts over use, access and management of protected area resources, much still needs to be done to ensure lasting and equitable solutions to the management of wildlife resources. Specifically, the incentives for participation of frontline communities and local governments in many of the current conservation and conflict resolution initiatives are insufficient when balanced against local costs, including transaction costs (attending meetings, etc.) and costs related to problem animals and vermin. Where community conservation measures have been adopted at the local level, it appears to have been primarily due to donors, projects and NGOs that have stepped in to "fill the gap" and artificially inflate the local incentives. While this short-term measure may be useful in demonstrating the utility of such interventions, unless there are increased incentives for local participation, their longer-term sustainability is highly questionable. In large part this is due to a transfer of responsibility from the centre without any corresponding transfer of rights, authority, skills or financial resources to support these processes.

Secondly, we argue that these problems are reinforced by the very limited awareness and knowledge of lower level stakeholders of their rights and corresponding responsibilities under the legal provisions of the Uganda Wildlife Statute, the Environment Statute and the Local Government Act.

This leads to local interests being significantly disempowered with respect to those of central government and conservation interests.

If community conservation is to be self sustaining, UWA will need to work on three broad fronts. Firstly, it will be necessary to develop measures that provide for more concrete benefits and opportunities from protected areas for lower

Ultimately it is in UWA's long term interest to deal with informed, "legally literate", organised and empowered community institutions.

level stakeholders. Secondly, UWA or central government will need to support lower level institutions, either by directly channelling resources and funding to them or by championing new sustainable mechanisms of support. One option may include setting up a national fund, which could be used to draw down resources in support of interventions about problem animals. Finally, but perhaps most importantly, UWA should make a deliberate effort to inform and communicate with frontline communities and institutions about both their rights and obligations with regards to the management and use of wildlife and forest resources within protected areas. Ultimately it is in UWA's long term interest to deal with informed, "legally literate", organised and empowered community institutions. With such community institutions it will be enormously more effective to negotiate, identify and implement initiatives and to establish mutually satisfactory relations between protected areas and their front-line communities.

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Notes

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- 7 Ribot, 2002.
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The “W” Park of Benin, Burkina Faso and Niger— regional integration, trans-boundary challenges and local participation

Thomas L. Price

The W Park comprises three contiguous, national reserves on the common borders of Benin, Burkina Faso and Niger. The Park encompasses a vast area of 17,000 km² with a far larger adjacent “peripheral” area directly affected by the reserves. Since the creation of a “Parc refuge” in 1927 and its subsequent gazetting in 1937 by the French colonial authorities, the region has been a major site for conservation of emblematic Sudano-Sahelian wildlife and landscapes. The resident human population initially affected by the Park classification was modest, given few local residents due to the combined impacts of disease— particularly river blindness and sleeping sickness— and the emergence of a genuine “no man’s land” between warring states in the 18th and 19th Centuries in this part of West Africa. Since independence there has been a considerable rise in the local population in each country with attendant pressures on land and local, renewable natural resources.

Although the population resident in the contemporary Park was relatively small, there has been an important impact on some communities.

Patterns of rainfall, soil conditions, the international waters of the Niger River and its tributaries and solidarity within social groups and among related villages bear scant relation to the administrative frontiers.

The last village within the Park was eliminated in 1954, well after gazetting, and some of the descendents of its residents now live in the immediate periphery. In the periphery, Park authorities have displaced settlements as late as 1984. These changes— coupled with continued use of Park resources through hunting and gathering as well as for religious and ritual purposes along the Niger River and at the Kudu Waterfalls— make the region a focus for outstanding disputes.

The Park is of regional— indeed international— conservation interest for a range of reasons. The zone is one of the remaining transitional areas



Figure 1: A Fulani herder with his herd near the W Park (Courtesy Bernard Toutain, CIRAD-Emvt)

from Sahelian to savannah vegetation and wildlife, with important examples of the populations once abundant in West Africa. The gallery forests along the tributaries of the Niger River and the central channel of the river are scenic and resource rich, constituting one of the few places of refuge for the African manatee (*Trichechus senegalensis*) and the spotted-necked otter (*Lutra maculicollis*). Among the notable terrestrial species in the Park are the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*), wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*) and), as well as lions, elephants, many other ungulates and diverse and abundant birds populations. Recent scientific investigations have also demonstrated the cultural and historical importance of sites in the W Park from the Palaeolithic period through the 19th Century.

Benin, Burkina Faso and Niger have progressively developed distinct institutions, legislation, policies and management strategies governing their respective protected areas. However, the local populations have many connections and interests across boundaries and have continued to exploit opportunities with only limited reference to national constraints. Patterns of rainfall, soil conditions, the international waters of the Niger River and its tributaries, and solidarity

within social groups and among related villages bear scant relation to these administrative frontiers.

Government authorities have long recognised the fundamental challenges to effectively managing each protected area without addressing common issues across borders. Wildlife moves according to opportunity and pressure, whether from drought or hunting. Human pressures from the search for new fields for producing basic, staple foods or cotton for market, and from the herders' search for pasture and water during annual cycles of migration, call for a regional approach to any form of management and planning.

A regionalized approach, based on consultation, establishing the conditions for local decision-making, and institutionalising joint mechanisms for management has progressively emerged with recognition of the limits of individual, national approaches.

The planning meetings identified some sub-areas and natural resources that should be managed as a "unit" ("unités de gestion des ressources naturelles"). For each such unit a platform for dialogue and negotiation ("natte de concertation/négociation") is expected to be set up, uniting all the social actors—mostly local but some also non-local—who have important interests and concerns at stake.

Following initial meetings between authorities in Benin and Burkina Faso in June 1984 and subsequent discussions with those in Niger, representatives of all three countries signed an agreement to jointly fight against poaching activities. A succession of major meetings starting in 1987 finally led to an overall, regional agreement in 1997. In May 2000, the institutional framework and mechanisms to render it operational were agreed upon with the regional sponsorship of UMEOA and technical support from IUCN.

The "Déclaration de la Tapoa" in May 2000 created a mandate for the new

Regional Coordination for the W Park, with National Components as part of this new region-

al authority. The implications are potentially vast for an overarching management of the trans-boundary Park and formulation and application of policies on a regional basis for the populations and resources in the periphery. Although the coordination, presently supported by the European Union through the ECOPAS Project ("Ecosystèmes Protégés en Afrique Soudano-Sahélienne"), is still in the early stages of integrating physical infrastructure, mobilising human resources and initiating activities with local groups and communities, its regional, collaborative approach has dramatic potential. The governments, in fact, are agreeing to cede national prerogatives to a joint, regional body for decisions about the future of the Park. The regionalized approach will have implications for a unified system of roads, watering points and Park offices including a museum, research centre and administrative offices. Key facilities, such as common entry points for tourists, a common pool for revenues and a tri-country visa for visitors, will further reinforce integration. In order to guarantee national, regional and international interests, a meeting of the "Conseil d'Orientation" with the essential decision-makers convenes each year.

Possibly the most exciting planned innovation is the "real" engagement of local communities in natural resource management in the whole periphery surrounding the Park. The Regional Coordination has called on the diverse range of actors affecting the W Park to join in a process of participatory planning and identification of priorities for immediate and longer term action. The process has brought together government and civil society at the sub-regional level, active in several zones adjacent to the Park in the three countries. The planning meetings have identified some sub-areas and natural resources that should be managed as a "unit" ("unités de gestion des ressources naturelles"). For each

The challenges to effectively addressing pastoralism illustrate the need to take a regional perspective, grounded in negotiation, compromise and decisions taken with the commitment of all concerned actors.



Figure 2. Map of the W Park region.

such unit a platform for dialogue and negotiation (“natte de concertation/négociation”) is expected to be set up, uniting all the social actors - mostly local but some also non-local - who have important interests and concerns at stake. These platforms will constitute the basis of a participatory approach to decision-making on natural resource management, rural development and benefit sharing from Park activities. They are expected to be both formal enough to be respected and listened to and informal enough to remain flexible and open to intervening changes. The plan is ambitious, calling for the mobilisation of many actors and on-going meetings at local and sub-regional levels, and it should take off in a number of pilot “management units”. The current

negotiations of migratory routes and pasture rights for herders includes all of these levels and will be a major test of the viability and effectiveness of the organizational and procedural frameworks.

The process outlined above fits the policy trend in all three countries: a stated “participatory approach” to sustainable agriculture and environmental management, to be implemented in parallel with the decentralization of administrative and fiscal authority. In terms of implementation, however, the process is discouragingly slow¹. A variety of reasons - from donor bureaucracy to lower priority assigned to social versus biological park management issues, from the need to develop local capacities to support the process to the difficulties and time-scales inherent in socio-political change - all concur to stall the translation of approved plans into concrete action.

The ambitions for the W Park go well beyond a return to and recognition of the local, to an institutionalisation of a regionalized perspective on relevant, key questions. For example, how can improvements in management of aquatic resources (such as the African manatee and vital vegetation such as *Echinochloa stagnina*, locally referred to as the “*bourgou*”) move to the right scale? How can vegetation, water sources and farmers’ fields accommodate seasonal and annual

pastoral pressures that extend well beyond the boundaries of the Park? How can regional consultation preserve the rich historical heritage inside of and adjacent to the W Park, constituting both a source of income and cultural pride?

The challenges to effectively addressing pastoralism illustrate the need to take a regional perspective, grounded in negotiation, compromise and decisions taken with the commitment

... we may begin to understand whether the institutionalisation of a regional approach to Park management can effectively respond to the needs and expectations of those concerned at the local level.

of all concerned actors. Contemporary herders' movements inevitably carry them through the W Park in order to avoid conflict with local farmers and profit from the best available, seasonal pasture. But new options for transhumance from Burkina Faso and Niger in the north to market in Benin and elsewhere further south cannot be solved at the local level uniquely. Indeed, decisions about legislation, land use and government policy are at the regional level within each country. Decisions often effect current classifications of land use, for example as natural forest reserves, and even call for discussions with the international bodies responsible for the environment. The W Park falls into categories defined under the Man and Biosphere, Ramsar Wetlands and World Heritage conventions. The new approach to dialogue, planning and applied research at different geographic scales and mobilising diverse actors can provide alternatives to the current state of miscomprehension, mistrust and periodic conflict. The success of just one herder and his flock during one season will depend on solutions that have been negotiated

and materialised over hundreds of kilometres, across ecological landscapes and between nations.

The future of the W Park region will be an important test of the political will in each concerned State and of the constraints and possibilities for trans-boundary management of major protected areas in Africa. Importantly, we may begin to understand whether the institutionalisation of a regional approach to Park management can effectively respond to the needs and expectations of those concerned at the local level.

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Notes

¹ Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, personal communication 2003.

Résumé

Le Parc W - espace partagé entre le Bénin, le Burkina Faso et le Niger - représente la plus grande aire protégée transfrontalière en Afrique avec ses 17.000 km². L'aire délimitée et ensuite classée entre 1927 et 1937 a été répartie entre les trois pays à l'indépendance. Depuis lors, elle a été aménagée par des services administratifs et selon des systèmes juridiques et politiques distincts. Cependant, pour les populations riveraines et leurs activités économiques, le Parc constitue toujours un même ensemble géographique et environnemental.

A partir de 1984 la convergence d'intérêt entre les trois Etats a peu à peu été reconnue et des négociations pour un mode de gestion conjointe du Parc Régional du W ont été entamées. Avec la création d'une Coordination régionale et d'un cadre de concertation permanent entre les responsables de chaque pays, le Parc s'est ensuite doté d'orientations et des mécanismes nécessaires pour faire face aux défis communs. A titre d'exemple, à l'heure actuelle une approche régionale à grande échelle est mise en œuvre pour un aménagement pastoral qui concerne à la fois réserves de faune et de forêts, terres agricoles, zones de pâtures saisonnières ou de stationnement, ou encore lieux de vente du bétail. Une approche intégrée et régionale pour cette question – et plusieurs autres dont l'extension des terres consacrées à la production du coton – implique une reconnaissance à la fois des droits et des pratiques décidée au niveau local et celle des nouvelles formes institutionnelles de coordination qui dépassent les seules limites d'un Etat. Ainsi les choix politiques doivent spécifier les responsabilités de chacun des acteurs à plusieurs échelles, et prendre en compte les obligations internationales liées à l'inscription du parc dans les conventions du Patrimoine mondial, de Ramsar et de l'Homme et la Biosphère. La viabilité du Parc W et de son aire d'influence dépend du succès des actions qui visent à réconcilier les intérêts parfois conflictuels des groupes sociaux voisins du parc, des acteurs privés et gouvernementaux au niveau national et des organismes internationaux de suivi et d'appui à la gestion des espaces protégés. C'est ainsi qu'a été approuvée une approche participative visant la constitution des plate-formes flexibles (« nattes de concertation/négociation ») entre les acteurs concernés par les mêmes « unités de gestion des ressources naturelles » dans la périphérie du Parc W. La mise en œuvre effective de ces orientations et décisions reste toutefois très lente et mériterait de recevoir un appui politique fort et cohérent des trois États concernés pour répondre aux besoins et attentes des populations riveraines et des responsables de la conservation de cette aire protégée régionale.

The Communal Reserves of Peru— waiting for a sound *regimen especial*

Linda Norgrove, Mariana Montoya and Alcides Chávarry

Peru is ranked amongst the top mega-diverse countries of the world. Its desert, mountain and tropical rainforest ecosystems host an exceptionally rich and abundant wealth of biodiversity. According to the WCMC/CIFOR (1997), Peru harbours over 78 million hectares of primary forests that cover almost 60% of the national territory – this represents the second largest coverage in Latin America, after Brazil, and the fourth in the world after Brazil, Indonesia and Zaire. In addition to biological diversity, Peru is considered the tenth most culturally diverse country in the world¹. Over 55 indigenous groups inhabit the Peruvian Amazon, some of which continue to live in voluntary isolation from the outside world. The Ashaninka, Aguaruna, Shipibo, Chayahuita, Cocama-cocamilla, Matisguenga and Huambisa are the most numerous indigenous populations in the Peruvian Amazon.

A stale-mate situation has characterised the management of all Communal Reserves over the past two years, with the national agency responsible for protected areas reluctant to empower indigenous and campesino communities and the Indigenous Federations demanding real co-management with extensive power-sharing.

A variety of strategies have been used by the Peruvian Government to secure the conservation and sustainable use of Peru's valuable natural heritage, key amongst which is the creation of natural protected areas. Peru's first protected area, Cutervo National Park, was established in 1961, and the past four decades have seen numerous expansions and reformulations of the nation's protected areas system. The National System of Conservation Units (SINUC) was created in Peru in 1975ⁱⁱ with four categories of protected areas: national parks, national reserves, national sanctuaries and historical sanctuaries. Parallel to but outside this system, a diversity of stakeholders (for example, indigenous federations) established controlled hunting



Figure 1. The paiche (*Arapaima gigas*) community management group monitoring wildlife population sizes in San Martín, Canon Uriri. (Courtesy Linda Norgrove)

zones, protected forests, and communal reserves. In 1990, SINUC was replaced by the National State System of Natural Protected Areas (SINANPE) and protected forests were incorporated into the system. In 1993, the government again reformed the protected area system and embarked on the development of a vision for SINANPE. 1997 saw the integration of controlled hunting zones and communal reserves into the system, the creation of two new protected area categories— scenic reserves and wildlife refuges— and the elaboration of the Natural Protected Area (NPA) law. The NPA law was approved by Congress in 1999, alongside a ten-year management strategy for the protected area network (Plan Director). Today, SINANPE comprises nine protected area categories (IUCN categories II - VI) and has an extension of 16.3 million hectares, covering 12.74% of the country. 8.41% is composed of categorised protected areas, while the remaining 4.34% comprises reserved zones under temporary status and awaiting definite categorisation.

Despite the advances being made in establishing and managing protected areas in Peru, continuing efforts are needed to improve their management efficiency and effectiveness. These

A number of major stumbling blocks have hindered the elaboration of the *Regimen Especial*. In particular, INRENA and Indigenous Federations dispute the definition of 'Reserve beneficiaries'.

efforts must address internal problems, for example building technical and managerial capacity, as well as external issues that include the constant social, political and economic changes underway in Peruvian society. At times, these changes constitute major threats to the biological and ecological integrity of the system. And yet, they also offer important opportunities. In particular, this is an opportune moment for the National Resource Management Institute (INRENA) to embrace

participatory management strategies, strengthen livelihoods that are inherently linked to sustainable natural resource use, and enhance the mutual benefits that exist between local communities and biodiversity conservation.

This paper presents a discussion of the challenges and opportunities presently facing one category of protected areas in Peru: the Communal Reserve. In particular, we will discuss the reluctance of the Peruvian State to empower indigenous and *campesino* communities to manage protected areas on the state's behalf, and we will propose a number protocols for promoting indigenous and *campesino* involvement in co-management of Communal Reserves.

The Communal Reserves

According to the Peruvian NPA Law, Communal Reserves are created to conserve wild flora and fauna for the benefit of local populations. Five communal reserves exist in Peru, the first created in 1998, covering a total of 1,456,867.74 hectares. At present, not one of these has a formal system of natural resource management in place. The local residents are engaged in traditional and non-traditional natural resources uses within the Reserves. They do not follow state-approved man-

agement plans nor are in any way empowered to counter the frequent incursions by 'outsiders', such as illegal loggers in search of the remaining big-leafed mahogany trees, or small-scale migrants from the Peruvian highlands practicing slash and burn agriculture.² The case of the AmaraKaeri Reserve, described below, exemplifies the lengthy participatory process communities have followed in establishing Communal Reserves and their ongoing frustrations in achieving formal rights to manage them.

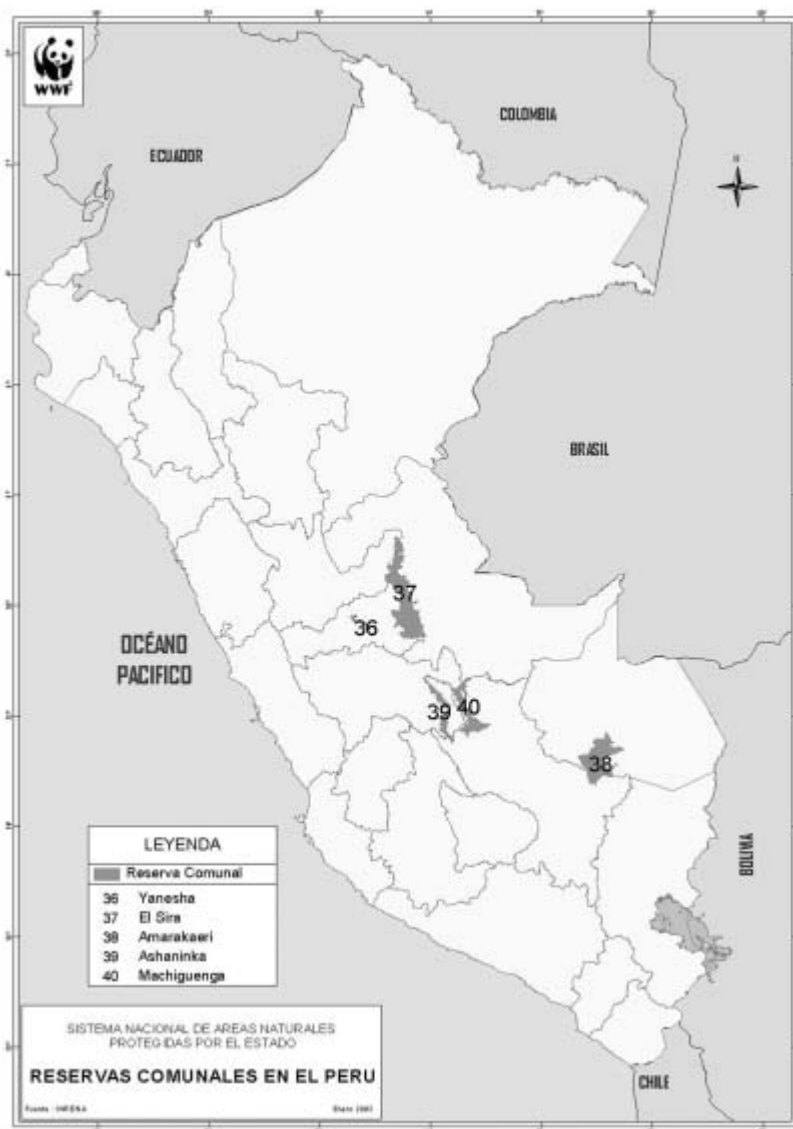


Figure 2. Map of existing Communal Reserves in Peru. (Courtesy WWF Peru)

Amarakaeri Communal Reserve

The Amarakaeri Communal Reserve encompasses 402,335 hectares in the heart of the South-west Amazon Ecoregion and the Vilcabamba-Amboro Corridor. The reserve was first proposed in the early 1980s by indigenous people to defend Harakambut territory from rapidly expanding small-scale gold mining activities in the area and to protect its biological diversity. In 1990, the Sub-Regional Agricultural Authorities of Madre de Dios Department signed an agreement with the Native Federation of the Madre de Dios (FENAMAD), one of the strongest local indigenous federations in the country, and a local NGO to provide technical assistance to FENAMAD that would strengthen their efforts to consolidate their territory in the Department. This agreement included a commitment by all parties to the creation of a Communal Reserve. The possibility of creating Amarakaeri Communal Reserve was thus conceived, and in 1991 the Manu Centre for Rural Development, by means of Resolution No. 004-91, set aside an area for further studies.³

The establishment of Amarakaeri Communal Reserve involved numerous workshops carried out with both indigenous communities and *mes-tizos* living around the area, and widespread stakeholder consultations from the local to the national level. Lands occupied by farmers and/or forest extractors (whether access to these resources was formal or informal) were excluded from the reserve, along with land likely to be demanded for resource-use expansion in the near future. The area was categorised as a Reserved Zone in 2000³ and in 2002 it was officially established as the Amarakaeri Communal Reserve⁴. The creation of an Administration Committee for the area, together with extensive lobbying by FENAMAD, played a large role in securing the final categorisation of the area.

The state sponsored a consultation workshop to discuss the proposed legislation. The workshop generated a heated debate, with the Indigenous Federations arguing strongly that the *Regimen* must be designed in a participatory manner, based on extensive grassroots consultations and not solely a product of the INPA.

At the national level FENAMAD has been advocating for a formal system of control since the reserve's creation in 2002, but to date little progress has been made. A stale-mate situation has characterised the management of all

Communal Reserves over the past two years, with the national agency responsible for protected areas reluctant to empower indigenous and *campesino* communities and the Indigenous Federations demanding real co-management with extensive power-sharing. Caught right in the heart of the struggle, Amarakaeri has been left without an administrator, a chief park warden, park guards, a budget, control posts or infrastructure at a time when pressure on reserve resources has grown the most intense. The ecological integrity and cultural value of this Reserve, as well as the livelihoods of indigenous neighbours dependent on natural resource use for basic survival, are being degraded by illegal mahogany loggers, poachers and small-scale gold miners.

The legal framework for Communal Reserve

The fundamental problem facing Peru's Communal Reserves is that the legal framework and associated administrative guidelines and procedures necessary to enable indigenous and *campesino* communities to manage Communal Reserves on the behalf of the state have not yet been elaborated. The current NPA law only states briefly that Communal Reserve management will have the following characteristics:

- Managerial responsibilities will be allocated to a non-profit civil association composed of direct representatives of local populations.
- This non-profit civil society association will nominate a list of three persons to fill the post of Chief Warden of the Reserve, with INPA making the final selection from the list presented.
- Administrative contracts signed between the

association and INRENA will be supervised by INRENA and an advisory Management Committee. Committee membership is open to all those with stakes in the area and it is considered important that businesses engaged in extractive activities and interested citizens participate in this Committee.

- Traditional resource use by local communities within Communal Reserves will not be restricted, but the trade of natural resources should be carried out according to management plans approved and supervised by INRENA.

Despite its references to these characteristics, the NPA law does not realize a transfer of power. Legally speaking, Communal Reserves must be managed according to a special administrative arrangement termed '*Regimen Especial*', which must be approved by a Directorial Resolution from the Intendency for Natural Protected Areas (IANP). It is this *Regimen*, which will apply to all communal reserves, that still has to be elaborated. The development of the *Regimen* presents a critical opportunity to provide substantive detail to the NPA law's statements on Communal Reserve management, to empower indigenous and *campesino* communities to manage Communal Reserves on the State's behalf, and to take major steps towards securing the conservation of Peru's biodiversity resources.

A number of major stumbling blocks have hindered the elaboration of the *Regimen Especial*. In particular, INRENA and Indigenous Federations dispute the definition of 'Reserve beneficiaries'. The NPA Law states that the administration of Communal Reserves should be driven by Reserve beneficiaries in a highly participatory manner and according to their organisational forms. According to this legislation, the 'beneficiaries' of Communal Reserves include not only indigenous and *campesino* 'communities', but also other resource users.⁴ This definition is contested by Indigenous Federations and local NGOs, which argue that management authority and responsibility must reside primarily with *campesino* and indigenous communities, as they possess customary rights over land and the use



Figure 3. Illegal big-leafed mahogany extraction by non-local people places huge pressures on Peruvian Communal Reserves. Unfortunately the local residents are not yet empowered to intervene. (Courtesy Linda Norgrove)

of natural resources in the territories of the Communal Reserves. These rights, although not recognised in classical western legislation, are respected in the Peruvian Constitution where it is clear that cultural identity, which is inextricably linked to traditional uses of land and natural resource, is a basic human right.

The IANP has recently elaborated a first version of the *Regimen Especial* (June 2003) in a top-down manner involving no participation of indigenous and *campesino* communities. Afterwards, the state sponsored a consultation workshop to discuss the proposed legislation. The workshop generated a heated debate, with the Indigenous Federations arguing strongly that the *Regimen* must be designed in a participatory manner, based on extensive grassroots consultations and not solely a product of the INPA.

Evidently, the development of the *Regimen* presents a huge challenge. On the one hand, the Indigenous Federations argue that Communal Reserves must be managed according to both indigenous and state interests, incorporating a multifaceted management strategy that considers the perspectives of indigenous and *campesino* 'communities', evolving social relationships, and the level of contact that each has made with the outside world. On the other hand, the reluctance of the Peruvian State to empower communities within the protected area

framework, based on a lack of belief in the viability of such a system, is holding up the process of developing and implementing this potentially progressive legislation. To date, the challenge presented has not been recognised as an opportunity by the INPA. It is essential that this situation is constructively tackled as a matter of urgency. As we speak, the Peruvian Communal Reserves are being invaded by illegal resource users. The absence of a formal protection system leaves the both the state and indigenous and *campesino* institutions relatively powerless in the fight against indiscriminate and unsustainable resource use.

The Peruvian *Regimen Especial* for Communal Reserves: proposed protocols

We propose that the state, indigenous and *campesino* institutions base their strategy for the elaboration of the *Regimen Especial* for Communal Reserve management in Peru on a number of fundamental principles. These are 1) participation and empowerment; 2) inter-institutional synergies; 3) a step-wise approach to management; and 4) clear conflict resolution mechanisms.

It is crucial that the State ceases to view local communities as a potential threat to the integrity of the protected area network, and that indigenous and *campesino* communities actively facilitate the participation of all Communal Reserve beneficiaries in the management of these areas

Participation and empowerment

Whilst formally owned by the State and forming an important component of the national system of protected areas, Communal Reserves are created to protect biological resources for the benefit of local populations. Effective participation in the elaboration of the *Regimen Especial* will facilitate the long-term social and cultural sustainability of management, both protecting the traditional land- and resource-use rights of indigenous and *campesino* communities and ensuring the empowerment of local stakeholders.

Whilst indigenous and *campesino*

management abilities should not be romanticised and are limited in many ways, the Communal Reserve represents an opportunity to build upon local strengths and to place decision-making and protection responsibilities in the hands of local residents who can work in close co-ordination with the Area's management committee and the INPA. Indigenous and *campesino* communities have an important role to play in carrying out management on behalf of the State, whilst the State has an important role to play in the provision of local technical and financial assistance, as well as in sanctioning, monitoring and evaluation activities.

Inter-institutional synergies

Multiple groups of people have stakes in the management of Communal Reserves in Peru: indigenous communities, the state management authority (INRENA), small-scale miners, forestry concessionaires, and local authorities. Considering the co-management model being pursued through the *Regimen Especial*, it is particularly important that this *Regimen* clearly defines the roles of these different interest groups in Reserve management, institutionalising processes that facilitate the adaptive co-management of resources. Defined management activities should aim to build upon the comparative strengths of each stakeholder group (see



Diagram 1a. Conflicts and incomprehension among the various actors.

Diagram 1), promoting extensive, multi-faceted participation. This approach can overcome the conflicts that currently exist among all relevant groups depicted in Diagram 1a and move toward the synergy depicted in Diagram 1b.

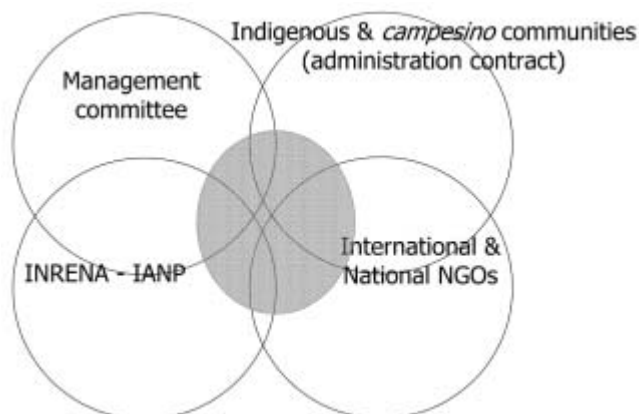


Diagram 1b Inter-institutional synergies can overcome the conflicts

Stepwise approach to management

Communal Reserves call for a stepwise approach to management. They represent situations characterised by constant social engagement, negotiation and bargaining. An attitude of flexibility, adaptation and learning is exceptionally important in the establishment of these new formal control systems, and over time as social and cultural conditions change in response to the new legislation and to wider processes of change within civil society. For example, in the process of organising and instituting a system of protection, care must be taken not to force too rapidly the creation of associations at the local level, nor to undermine suddenly the State's responsibility to supervise and monitor management activities. In themselves, the processes that will lead to the adoption of new roles and responsibilities around Communal Reserves bring about rich learning opportunities for all those involved.

Conflict resolution mechanisms

Inevitably the participation of multiple stakeholders with differing aims and objectives in the management of Communal Reserves will gener-

ate numerous conflicts. It is of paramount importance that clear roles and responsibilities are designed for each of the organisations engaged in management. Simple monitoring and evaluation systems must be developed and regularly revised, and a precise and fair system of sanctioning established and enforced. The greater the clarity and the higher the participation of various stakeholders in the elaboration of each of these systems, the less likely it is that conflicts will arise. Finally, it is important that conflicts are not conceptualised negatively, but are instead valued as positive social encounters.

Conclusion

The *Regimen Especial* for Communal Reserves which is called for in Article 25 of the NPA law has yet to be elaborated and approved. As a matter of urgency, this elaboration must occur and in a highly participatory manner, including extensive grassroots participation that will identify and build upon local perspectives. Not until co-management systems for Communal Reserves are in place will the ecological integrity and cultural values of these areas, as well as the livelihoods of local communities, be protected from illegal resource users. The recently presented



Figure 4. Chiefs of the community of Peruanito in Abinico del Pastaza, a Ramsar site, where a new Communal Reserve is being planned with indigenous communities (Achuar del Corrientes). (Courtesy Linda Norgrove)

Regimen was the subject of a great deal of controversy, as it was produced without indigenous and *campesino* consultation. However, the co-management arrangement proposed under the *Regimen* represents a critically important learning opportunity at all levels. It is crucial that the State ceases to view local communities as a potential threat to the integrity of the protected area network, and that indigenous and *campesino* communities actively facilitate the participation of all Communal Reserve beneficiaries in the management of these areas. Multiple stakeholders have key roles to play in the maintenance of Peru's biological and cultural heritage.

The *Regimen Especial* for the management of Peruvian Communal Reserves has the potential to represent a breakthrough in conservation legislation in the country, providing the opportunity to institute a system of real co-management. Although the *Regimen Especial* alone is not going to resolve the problems associated with illegal activities in Communal Reserves, the elaboration and approval of this *Regimen* is essential

in order to arrive at the installation of long-term and effective systems of protection in the Communal Reserves of Peru.

Linda Norgrove (linda@wwfperu.org.pe) has carried out extensive research in Mexico and Uganda, and is working as Forestry Officer for the World Wildlife Fund in Peru. **Mariana Montoya** (mariana@wwfperu.org.pe) has experience in natural protected area management in Mexico and Peru and is working as Marine Officer for the World Wildlife Fund in Peru. **Alcides Chavarri** (alcides@wwfperu.org.pe) worked for the National Protected Area Management Institute and is presently Environmental Policy Officer for the World Wildlife Fund in Peru.

Notes

- ¹ SNA/WB, 2000.
- ² Forest and Wildlife Law No. 21147
- ³ Supreme Decree No. 028-2000-AG.
- ⁴ Supreme Decree No. 031-2002-AG.

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SNA/WB, *Manejo Comunal de Territorios Indígenas y Áreas Naturales Protegidas en Bolivia, Ecuador y el Perú*, Sociedad Nacional del Ambiente and Banco Mundial, Lima, 2000..

Resumen

Perú está catalogado como un país megadiverso y considerado dentro de los diez países más diversos culturalmente en el mundo. Para conservar esta diversidad y promover el uso racional del patrimonio natural del Perú se han desarrollado una serie de estrategias de conservación, entre ellas una clave, el establecimiento del Sistema Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas por el Estado - SINANPE. El SINANPE tiene un total de nueve categorías de manejo de áreas naturales protegidas (ANP) y una extensión de 16.3 millones de hectáreas, equivalente al 12.74% de la superficie del país. Las Reservas Comunales son una de estas categorías de manejo, creada para conservar la flora y fauna del área en beneficio de las poblaciones rurales locales. En el Perú, existen cinco Reservas Comunales que cubren un total de 1,456,867.74 ha. Las poblaciones locales aprovechan los recursos de la reserva sin planes de manejo aprobados por el estado y no tienen el poder para evitar las frecuentes incursiones de foráneos como infractores madereros que están en busca de árboles de caoba o de agricultores de pequeña escala que migran al interior de esas áreas provenientes de la sierra peruana. En términos legales, las Reservas Comunales se deben manejar de acuerdo con un régimen especial aprobado por una Resolución Directoral del Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales. Este Régimen Especial, establece lineamientos administrativos y procedimientos que debieran ser utilizados para determinar las responsabilidades y medidas correctivas, así como todo lo relacionado con derechos indígenas y comunidades nativas. Sin embargo el proceso de manejo de estas ANPs se encuentra detenido, entre otras razones, porque no están definidos los reales alcances legales del Régimen Especial no por una falta de claridad de la norma sino por una visión sesgada de la misma por parte de los representantes indígenas y del Estado. A la vez tampoco están definidos los niveles de participación, ni se entienden bien las sinergias inter-institucionales. Este artículo presenta una discusión de los problemas y oportunidades que actualmente enfrentan las Reservas Comunales.

Section 4: New resources from CEESP members

SHARING POWER:

learning-by-doing in co-management of natural resources throughout the world

by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Michel Pimbert, M. Taghi Farvar,
Ashish Kothari and Yves Renard,

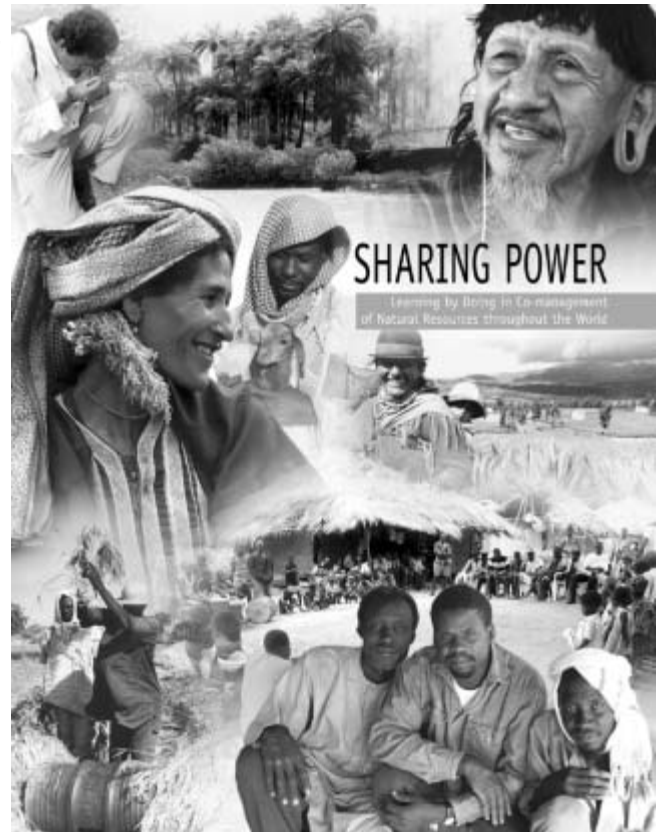
with Hanna Jaireth, Marshall Murphree, Vicki Pattermore,
Ricardo Ramirez and Patrizio Warren

with a foreword by Juan Mayr Maldonado

At the heart of 'co-management' of natural resources is a process of collective understanding and action by local communities and other social actors. The process brings about negotiated agreements on management roles, rights, and responsibilities, making explicit the conditions and institutions of sound decentralized governance. De facto, co-management is about *sharing power*. When successful, it spells out the peaceful and intelligent ways by which communities overcome environmental challenges, take best advantage of nature's gifts and share those in fairness and solidarity. When it fails, it ushers conflicts, human misery and environmental damages.

The "sharing of power" over natural resources in an immense variety of social and ecological contexts is so vast a subject that our book can only touch upon the wealth of existing experience and insights. Yet, we still wish to provide some stepping stones—limited, but still needed in the current world of development and conservation practitioners, too often aloof from historical, political or moral considerations.

We designed this book to support professionals and citizens at large who both wish to better understand collaborative management



processes and develop and enhance them in practice. Our aim was, and still is, to inspire and promote action. For that we offer a variety of vistas and tools, from broad historical and equity considerations to menus of examples, methods and practical checklists distilled from different situations and contexts.

Sharing Power is constructed in four parts. Readers will find in the first part an exploration of natural resource management at the historical interface between traditional and 'modern' societies and an illustration of complex combinations of the old and new devised by communities as a response to current challenges. We discuss issues of actors, entitlements and equity in natural resource management and offer a brief panorama of contempo-

rary forms of co-management in different places and cultures, with examples from agriculture, agricultural research and the management of water, rangelands, forest resources, fisheries and coastal resources, mountain environments, wildlife and protected areas.

The second part of the volume analyses in some detail the co-management process. It summarizes the considerable understanding accumulated in recent decades on starting points for co-management, pre-requisites for successful negotiations (such as effective social communication and internal organization of the parties) as well as rules, methods and conditions of the negotiations themselves.

The third part of the volume covers the form and functioning of co-management plans, agreements and organizations, with examples and discussion about what makes them effective and sustainable. We then explore the experience of social actors engaged as part of

co-management institutions in a variety of settings, learning by doing and improving the management practices on an on-going basis.

Finally, the fourth part of the volume is concerned with policy processes, contents and instruments. It discusses how a supportive and coherent policy environment can be built by concurrent actors at various levels, from the concrete initiatives of local citizens and leaders to the shaping of wordings of global conventions and national legislation. The emphasis is on ways to build and improve policy, with particular attention to social inclusions mechanisms within the complex and inspiring ways of participatory democracy.

The book will be available by the end of 2003 from IIED (info@iied.org), the IUCN World Conservation Bookstore (books@iucn.org) and the CEESP secretariat (nahid@cenesta.org). All the main authors are members of Steering Committee of CEESP/ CMWG. For more information please contact **Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend** (gbf@cenesta.org) and **Michel Pimbert** (Michel.Pimbert@iied.org).

War, Peace and Conservation

by David Pitt

War is hardly ever out of the headlines these days, whether it is the Middle East or the several hundred "small" wars round the world. Some say we have been since 1914 in an epochal war, perhaps the longest war in history and certainly the greatest threat to the protection of natural and cultural heritage. Peace and eco-pacifism, in fact, should be on the top of the conservation agenda, but

rarely are. A first step is for the conservation movement to be better informed. Two excellent books have recently appeared and should be an essential part of our reading and reference.

The first is the Atlas of War and Peace by Dan Smith and Ane Braein of the Norwegian Peace Institute PRIO. This text is published by Earthscan (128pp £11.99) and is part of series that also includes an atlas of endan-

gered species. The book is a veritable A to Z of all the hot spots round the globe from Abkhazia to Zimbabwe, and examines in very clear text, *inter alia*, the causes of the wars, the roles of the US and the UN, peace treaties, death and injuries, land mines, oil and power, AIDS and conflict, refugees, war crimes, child soldiers, peace building and the arms trade. Arms and their proliferation are cited as the real problem and not just the weapons of mass destruction and conventional armaments, which can destroy the planet many times over. In fact, the ubiquitous small arms are now more common than cars.

Arms or more precisely Arms Control is the title of our second book, by Jozef Goldblat of the Geneva Peace Institute (GIPRI). It is also sponsored by PRIO and the Swedish Peace

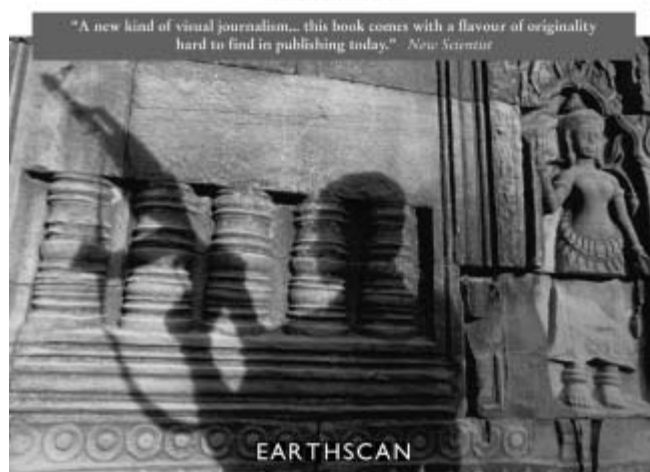
Institute (SIPRI) and published by Sage (396pp £25 pb). The book critically analyses and assesses all major agreements to control arms since the second half of the nineteenth century, but particularly since 1945. It includes, in fact, a carefully chosen selection from these documents in a CD ROM that goes with the book. Conservation does not really feature in much of this, though there is some mention of it in the various Geneva and The Hague conventions. Also of interest is the 1977 Environmental Modification Convention (ENMOD) which sought to prevent the manipulation of the environment for military purposes but which Goldblat calls irrelevant, mainly because it is not clear what is actually banned.

What can we do? Do we not need urgently a framework convention for conservation and peace, perhaps like that for climate change, to protect species and ecosystems in a context of more humanitarian sustainable development, and even some definition and control of conservation crimes? Of course, as we have seen after the Kyoto climate change agreements, conventions have no teeth... Nations— great, good and bad— ignore or break the rules or use dubious devices to circumvent them. Goldblat shows clearly in arms control the vital need for trust, cooperation and confidence-building measures. Here surely the dialogue and participatory skills of CMWG could be used in an expanded open information and learning system towards more appropriate codes of conduct.

David Pitt (dpitt@freesurf.ch) is Chargé de Recherches at the Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI) and has written *Protecting the Atmosphere- the Climate Change Convention and its Context* published by Earthscan. David is a member of CEESP/CMWG. For more details on the Arms Control book please contact ben.sherwood@sagepub.co.uk and, for the Atlas, Helen Rose hrose@earthscan.co.uk.

THE ATLAS OF WAR AND PEACE

Dan Smith



Innovative governance— indigenous peoples, local communities and protected areas

by Hanna Jaireth and Dermot Smyth (eds.)

Innovative Governance analyses progressive laws and policies for protected areas and aims to promote law and policy reform and cross-fertilization across jurisdictions. The book explores diverse innovations in protected area governance globally. Adrian Phillips's introductory chapter highlights innovations exemplified in later chapters. These include the wide range of actors that can now designate and manage protected areas, particularly community conserved areas (CCAs); the broader scale being taken to the designation and management of protected areas (embracing bioregional planning, multiple tenures and transboundary jurisdictions); and the extension of the concept of protected areas to include lived-in productive landscapes.

Various chapters explore the back-to-the-future recognition of customary tenures and the declaration of CCAs by communities on communal territories. Local communities with customary tenure govern forests and woodlands in the East African countries of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. As discussed by Liz Alden Wily, many jurisdictions in Africa are now also recognising the gender dimension of customary tenures and management. Local communities have participatory governance rights in forests in the South Asian countries of India and Nepal, but less-so tenure. The Awa's forests in Ecuador can be declared protected areas, with the Awa governing through locally elected councils. In the Philippines and Australia, CCAs can be declared over ancestral lands. Brazil also recognises Indigenous peoples' rights to exer-

cise their traditional way of life, including in protected areas.

The recognition of multiple actors in governance is exemplified by diverse categories of marine, migratory bird and other wildlife protected areas in Canada, where mechanisms for the recognition of customary tenures and indigenous peoples' rights are also well recognised. Co-management and participatory governance also occur in the absence of customary tenure recognition, for instance for the Galapagos Marine Reserve in Ecuador. In New York State, public and private partnerships and a multi-stakeholder advisory council are governance institutions for urban culture parks/heritage areas in that state's landmark heritage system. Stakeholders' roles in protected area management now also extend to participatory monitoring and evaluation and the recognition of local communities' interests and values in such assessments.

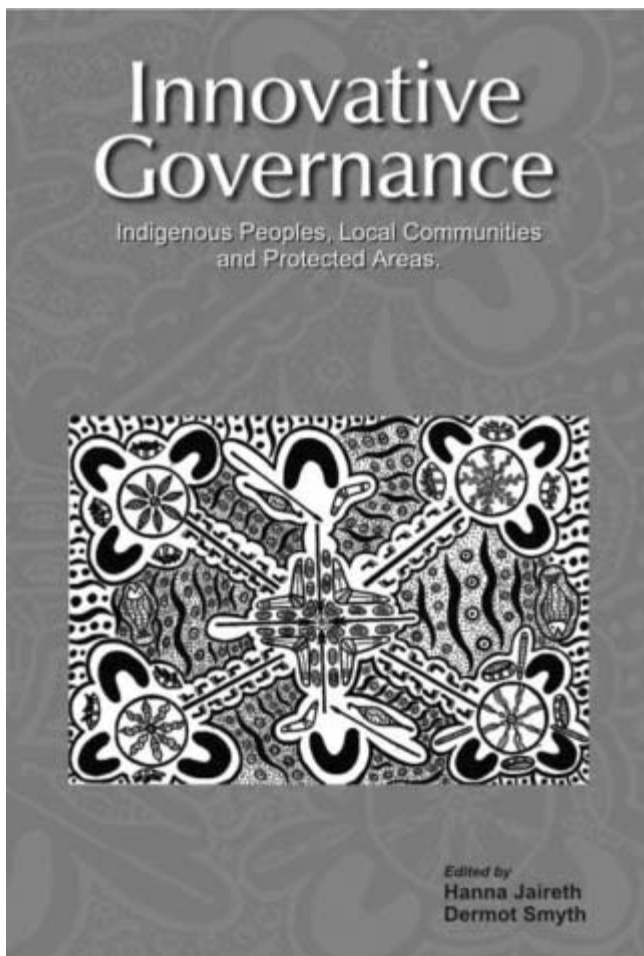
The book includes several chapters that focus on innovations in protected area governance that are noteworthy for not being government controlled. The Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network, for example, is building communities' capacity to manage near-shore customary marine tenure areas by exchanging ideas and experiences in a multi-site participatory learning and action initiative. In the Silves Lakes region in the Brazilian Amazon, grassroots conservation efforts include designating aquatic reserves, and monitoring and enforcing legislation where government agencies have been inadequately resourced to do so. Similarly, in Ecuador, the Awa protect their forests with regulations agreed by the

Assembly of the Federacion de Centros Awa, an Indigenous organisation.

Other innovations include laws, policies and community initiatives that take an ecosystem-scale or transboundary approach to the governance of natural and cultural resources, as promoted by the Convention on Biological Diversity. In Canada, for example, the Oceans Act of 1997 promotes stewardship and collaboration, taking into account economic, social and environmental objectives at the ecosystem scale. In Australia a range of governance mechanisms are available for non-government stakeholders to support protected areas within a bioregional context. In Tanzania communities may establish management plans that

embrace communal and national protected areas.

The concept of ecologically sustainable development now pervades protected area governance. It includes the principle that decision-making processes should integrate both long-term and short-term economic, environmental, social and equity considerations for current and future generations. It also recognises that the global dimension of environmental impacts of actions and policy should be clarified and upheld. Other discernible influences on governance innovations include international human rights norms. Such innovations validate the designation and management of IUCN Category V and VI protected areas as productive cultural landscapes that can be used sustainably, and that both government and non-government stakeholders can be passionate about protecting and maintaining for future generations. Community determination to implement, extend or precede state governance mechanisms features throughout the book.



Contributors to the book include **Bill Aalbersberg, Liz Alden Wily, Sandra Bicego, Paul M. Bray, Janet Chernela, Maurizio Farhan Ferrari, Ana Flávia Barros Platiau, Julia E. Gardner, Pippa Heylings, Hanna Jaireth, Vicky H. Johnston, Ashish Kothari, Paul B. Latour, Anna Lawrence, Mark Mallory, Manolo Morales, Adrian Phillips, Etika Rupeni, Lea M. Scherl, Dermot Smyth, Steve Szabo, Kesaia Tabunakawai, Alifereti Tawake, Marcelo Varella, and Joeli Veitayaki.** The book is one of the outputs of the TILCEPA and the Co-management Working Group, produced for the 2003 World Parks Congress (WPC). TILCEPA is a joint Theme of the IUCN's Commission on Environmental, Economic, and Social Policy (CEESP) and the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA). The volume is published by Ane Books, New Delhi (2003). Orders for the book may be placed with Sunil Saxena, Ane Books, 4821 Parwana Bhawan, 1st Floor, 24 Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, Delhi – 110002, Fax : 23276863, E-mail : anebooks@vsnl.com. For further information please contact **Hanna Jaireth** <lawjs@ozemail.com.au> and/ or **Dermot Smyth** <erus@tpg.com.au>. Hanna is an environmental lawyer and Dermot a consultant on environment and development matters. They are both members of CMWG and of the core group of TILCEPA.

Equidad entre áreas protegidas y comunidades locales— reflexión desde Mesoamérica y el Caribe

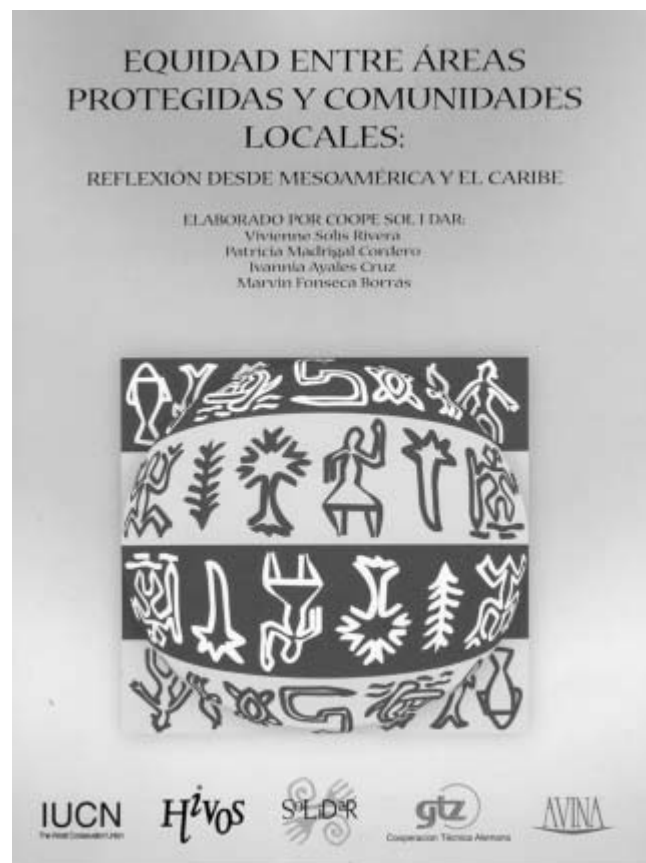
por Coope Sol i Dar, San José (Costa Rica), 2003.

"Small review" by Thora Amend

Los autores de la presente publicación (V.

Solís, P. Madrigal, I. Ayales, y M. Fonseca de la ONG Coope Sol i Dar de Costa Rica) se habían propuesto un pequeño reto: recopilar, analizar y sistematizar la diversidad de experiencias sobre el manejo comunitario de recursos naturales y el manejo conjunto de áreas silvestres existentes en la región de Mesoamérica y el Caribe, incluyendo también temas de equidad y espacios silvestres protegidos. Para ello, organizaron un interesante taller de intercambio de experiencias y estimularon el contacto de los participantes vía Internet. Como parte del trabajo de TILCEPA-CMPA y el CMWG-CEESP de la UICN y con el apoyo de varias organizaciones (UICN, Hivos, GTZ, AVINA y CIID-UPAZ) se logró alcanzar este objetivo propuesto: hace pocos meses se publicó el documento, con un diseño sencillo pero muy atractivo, el cual refleja muy bien — al igual que otras publicaciones elaboradas por Coope Sol i Dar—el espíritu de la ONG, en el sentido de fortalecer la integración de los espacios culturales y naturales. La pequeña publicación ofrece información conceptual básica, pero contiene sobre todo una gran riqueza en estudios de casos, que permiten discutir los temas de la conservación de los recursos naturales en función de la diversidad de modelos de gestión local existentes en la región, y ver el co-manejo como una herramienta que favorece una distribución más justa y equitativa de beneficios y responsabilidades.

Las lecciones aprendidas a partir de las más de 20 experiencias de gestión comunitaria en la región analizadas desde sus actores estimulan



una reflexión entusiasta. Los autores esperan que esta reflexión contribuya a propiciar un intercambio más horizontal entre los diferentes actores. Como producto de este trabajo de sistematización, se ha logrado construir una propuesta hacia la cooperación internacional que permita dar seguimiento al intercambio de las experiencias de campo existentes, privilegiando a los actores comunales en los procesos de manejo conjunto. El capítulo final del librito brinda algunas conclusiones que pueden ser retomadas como aporte de esta región al V Congreso Mundial de Areas Protegidas, Durban - República de Sudáfrica, 2003.

Thora Amend (amend@sinfo.net) trabaja en el Proyecto Sectorial "People and Biodiversity in Rural Areas" (GTZ) Panamá. Para más información sobre la publicación consulte: www.coopesolidar.org. Thora y los autores de la publicación son miembros del CEESP/CMWG.

Linking local learners— negotiating new development relationships between village, district and nation

by C. Lightfoot, C. Alders and F. Dolberg

announcement by Ricardo Ramirez

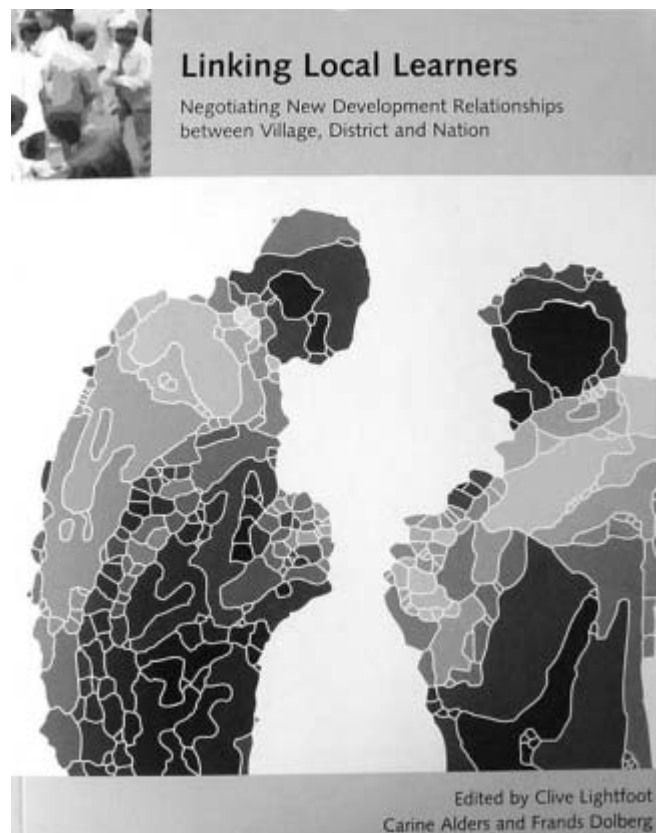
In many countries agricultural services are being privatized and decentralized. Under such new approaches farmers are expected to demand services from privatized advisors using public funds channelled through local governments. In many ways the old roles of demand and supply are now reversed, a fact that calls for dramatic changes in skills, attitudes, and relationships. No one has a blue print for how this process will work, let alone the necessary training that all parties need to shift into their new roles. The new relationships need to be designed through a process of negotiation and learning.

Linking local learners gathers experiences from several countries, and especially from East Africa, which brought together a wide range of stakeholders to negotiate new relationships for agricultural and rural development. The book was prepared following a workshop in Tune, Denmark, where different experiences from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Peru, the Philippines and Canada were shared and analysed. Those with interest and concern about co-management processes will find many common elements with the learning approaches developed and described in this book, as more numerous and various stakeholder earn a voice in re-inventing agriculture in this era of privatization and decentralization.

The book is organized into four parts. Part one tell the East African stories, as well as ISG's and its partners' experiences in Canada, Peru and the Philippines. The results of the

participants' reflection on the learning approach to decentralization are presented in part two. Part three concerns how participants see the future, while part four assesses the achievements of the learning groups.

The publication was made possible thanks to the joint efforts of ARDAF, Agroforum and Danida in Denmark and ISG and CTA in the Netherlands. It was produced in 2002 by Agroforum (Denmark) and the International Support Group (ISG, The Netherlands) and is available on line at www.isglink.org, in the *Experiences* page. **Ricardo Ramirez** (rramirez@uoguelph.ca) is the Chair of the International Support Group (ISG) and a member of the Steering Committee of CEESP/ CMWG in charge of CM and social communication.



Local forest management—the impact of devolution

by David Edmunds and Eva Wollenberg (eds.)

Presentation by E. Wollenberg

In the last two decades, forest agencies around the world have sought to decentralize government decision-making and, in some cases, devolve management authority to local “civil society” actors. Community-based organizations, nongovernmental organizations and other nongovernmental actors have also worked to devolve more control over forests to local people. The calls for devolution from government to civil society at the local level, however, have reflected different visions of the distribution of entitlements and responsibilities between the state and its citizens. A gulf remains between the state’s vision of devolution as a means for achieving better “forests” and/or expanded forest exports, and the local forest users’ vision of devolution as a support to local livelihoods and a means towards self-determination.

Whether initiated by actors within civil society or by governments, assessments of devolution have been complicated by the frames of reference brought in by each group. The views of government foresters have tended to dominate formal evaluations. Their concerns about the impact on forest quality of a far-reaching transfer of forest management authority to communities has dominated discussions of devolution’s effectiveness. The perspectives of the local civil society, especially of disadvantaged groups such as the poor, ethnic minorities and women, have received less attention. Criteria related to fair access to land, rights to self-determination and the definition of what constitutes a forest resource have been undervalued or dismissed as “political.” In other words, the debate on whether devolution has worked has been framed by the competing visions of what devolution is expected to achieve.

In this study we focused attention to the less frequently considered perspective of local people. We assessed devolution in India, China and the Philippines by examining changes in the political

space that devolution has created for local people to express their views and exercise their priorities. We examined this space along three dimensions: how local people exercised control over (1) changes in the extent and quality of forest, (2) their economic assets and livelihood strategies, and (3) political processes of decision-making. We purposefully used the term “control” to distinguish between models of political participation that solicit some limited input to decisions by forest agencies and those that address the interests of a constituency through downward accountability to them.

We found that the impacts of devolution policies that reflect the conceptual frameworks and interests of foresters have disappointed local forest users, which had different expectations of devolution. The state in each of our three case study countries maintained control over forests through taxes and regulation, contractual agreements and influence over local organizations. Little true authority was devolved to local forest users. As a matter of fact the forest users even lost some benefits in some cases. The divergence between the state’s interests and those of local users reflected a clear trend of state control across the three countries. According to governments, the space for local forest management has expanded. According to many forest users, it is certainly not large enough. In particular, the changes have not yet been felt as a positive impact upon their livelihoods.

This book has been produced by Earthscan, IFAD and CIFOR in 2003. **Eva Wollenberg** (l.wollenberg@cgiar.org) and **David Edmunds** are Research Fellows at the Center for International Forest Research (CIFOR) in Indonesia. Eva is a member of CEESP/CMWG.



LOCAL FOREST MANAGEMENT

Edited by DAVID EDMUNDS and EVA WOLLENBERG



Young people call for protection of the worlds mountains!

by David Pitt

One of the interesting spin-offs from the International Year of the Mountains has been a call from the children of the international community of Geneva to better protect the world's mountains in the future. The occasion in March 2003 was the 10th anniversary of Earth Focus magazine, founded by Sadruddin Aga Khan and produced by the Bellerive Foundation in partnership with the International School of Geneva. The first issue, a modest broadsheet published just after the Rio Earth Summit, was an early attempt to highlight the problems in the mountains. Now Earth Focus (whose motto is "one planet-one world") is an award winning international publication. What is most interesting about this well produced, colourful magazine, to quote the cover, is that it is "*produced by young people for young people of all ages*".

The Geneva children's declaration makes the point that more than half the world's population need mountains, above all for water (the focus of the new International Year), but pollution, wars, over-development, climate change, etc. are threatening to destroy mountains and their priceless natural and cultural heritage. The declaration goes on to make three points. First, the biggest problem is that people do not know there is a problem. The declaration calls on children to protest peacefully and to speak up, particularly on the Internet. Second, visitors to the mountains can respect nature by shooting only with cameras, not lighting fires or leaving rubbish, keeping to the path or piste, and car-pooling. Third, when back home it helps to save water and reduce pollution. Reducing pollution from cars is especially important since car exhaust leads to global warming, which is melting and deforesting the mountains, leading to erosion and floods. Children are also encouraged to walk and bake cakes to help support those groups working to protect the mountains. The declaration concludes – "*Your grandchildren will thank you.*" The presentation of a mythical mountain



Figure 1. The Snow on the peaks. "...the biggest problem is that people do not know that there is a problem." (Courtesy Christian Chatelain)

country illustrates the problems of mountains and has lessons for all of us (<http://home.cdl.ch/alpannia/index>)- The full text of the declaration and details of the publication Earth Focus, as well as other Alp Action information, can be obtained from alpaction@bellerive.org.

David Pitt (dpitt@freesurf.ch) is a member of the CEESP/CMWG Steering Committee co-responsible for CM in mountain environments. He has co-authored with Sten Nilsson "Protecting the Atmosphere, the Climate Change Convention and its Context" and "Mountain World in Danger", both published by Earthscan.

Sustainable Livelihoods

Field projects

The Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods (WGSL) continues to be engaged with several field projects, concentrated in West Asia. An awakening of interest in the institution of seasonal migration by *nomadic pastoralists* has led to the project, **Reviving nomadic pastoralism in Iran: Facilitating sustainability of biodiversity and livelihoods—A learning by doing project**, to support migratory pastoralists by the Iranian Centre for Sustainable Development (CENESTA) with the support of WGSL (which is hosted by CENESTA). The aim of the project is the strengthening, rehabilitation and making functional again of the institution of seasonal migration among nomadic pastoralists as an enterprise capable of providing sustainable livelihoods and conserving nature. The full project proposal can be downloaded from <http://www.cenesta.org/projects/pastoralism.htm>. The project will constitute the fourth participant in the project of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) on "Sustaining Local Food Systems, Agricultural Biodiversity and Livelihoods" which has been running in three other countries (India, Indonesia and Peru). More information on the IIED project which is supported by The Netherlands Ministry for Development Cooperation (DGIS) and the MacArthur Foundation can be found at www.iied.org/sarl/research/projects/t5proj01.html.

In collaboration with UNDP/GEF and the Department of Environment of Iran, WGSL has recently started work an Inception Mission, during the start-up phase, of the **Asiatic Cheetah Conservation Programme**. WGSL aims to move far beyond a simple "socio-economic" survey of the area, particularly because a number of "emergency conservation measures" are being undertaken by the government, some of which may have a bearing, even negative ones, on stakeholder attitudes and behaviour towards conservation in general, and conservation of the Asiatic cheetah and its natural habitat and associated biota in particular. The work of the inception mission is concentrating on two parallel and inter-related processes: the eco-social process and the bio-ecological one and will result in a consultative national workshop.

WGSL is involved in 2 projects on **Integrated Participatory Production and Pest Management**. The first is an on-going project working with farmers in Iran (see <http://www.cenesta.org/projects/ippm.htm>), and the second builds on the Iranian project to launch the first IPPPM project in West Asia and North Africa. Six countries will be involved in the project, for which there has already been one planning workshop: Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Iran.

Policy for Sustainable Livelihoods

WGSL is helping to organise a workshop on Mobile Peoples and Conservation at the **World Parks Congress** with the overall objective of mainstreaming issues specific to mobile peoples into integrated conservation and development thinking. The specific objectives of the workshop are the development of an "**Action Plan on Mobile Peoples and Conservation**" and its Integration into the Durban Accord and Action Plan. TILCEPA, SLWG, and CMWG were all active in the development and support to the **Dana Declaration on Mobile Peoples and Conservation** (www.danadeclaration.org).

Members of WGSL reported on the Dana Declaration at a Side Event at the UNCCD CRIC (Committee to Review Implementation of the Convention) 1 in Rome, November 2002, and at UNCCD Thematic Programme Network 3 (Rangenet) Workshop on Best Practices for Rangeland Management and Sand Dune Fixation in Tehran in December 2002. In addition, WGSL has provided input into West Asia region's report for the Global Drylands Imperative Challenge Paper on Pastoralism, to be presented **UNCCD COP 6**, and will participate at the regional meeting in preparation for COP6 in Abu Dhabi, and COP6 itself this August in Havana, Cuba.

WGSL/CEESP participated organizing 3 workshops during the **NGO/CSO Forum for Food Sovereignty**, which was held in parallel to the World Food Summit: *five years later*, in June 2002 in Rome. In addition, the Executive Officer of CEESP was a member of the drafting committee of the Political Statement of the NGO/CSO Forum for Food Sovereignty (available at <http://www.foodsovereignty.org>). The three workshops (whose reports are avail-

able at <http://www.cenesta.org/projects/FoodSovereignty.htm>) were entitled: Workshop on Rangeland Management and Pastoralism in Arid Lands; Livestock Diversity: Keepers' Rights, Shared Benefits and Pro-Poor Policies and Workshop on Water and Drought. The outcomes of the workshops were fed into the Political Statement of the Forum and have been used in follow-up action.

To follow up the results of the Forum for Food Sovereignty, the International Planning Committee of the Forum (IPC) has negotiated an ongoing working relationship with the FAO, starting with the report *Developing A New Relationship Between the Food and Agriculture Organization and Non-Governmental and Civil Society Organizations: A summary of principles and action proposals presented by the International Planning Committee to the Director-General of FAO*. The Executive Officer of CEESP is the IPC's regional focal point for West and Central Asia and North Africa and as such provides a link between the IPC, WGSLS and CEESP. The priority action areas of the IPC are the following: Right to Food Sovereignty and Food Security; Access to, management and local control of resources; Agro-ecology/organic farming and other family-based food production and Trade and Food Sovereignty. Within this context, WGSLS has been represented at the Ninth session of the Commission on Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture; is active on lobbying for a treaty on animal genetic resources for food and agriculture; participated in planning meeting for a proposed international campaign for "more and better aid" for agriculture; and participated in a meeting to plan for a proposed World Bank assessment of technology in the WESCAN region. Most recently a workshop of IPC focal points in the West and Central Asia and North Africa region was held at the FAO Regional Office in Cairo to lay the foundations for a joint plan of action between NGO/CSOs and the FAO at the regional level, as well as to discuss preparations for the upcoming FAO-NGO/CSO Regional Consultation in Qatar in March 2004.

WGSLS is spearheading an initiative to update the classic critique of technology from the environmental, human development and livelihood perspectives, *The Careless Technology—Ecology and International Development*, which was published some 30 years ago. Thirty years later, CEESP has joined hands with CENESTA (an Iranian NGO and host of the Chair of CEESP) around the **Careless Technology Revisited** initiative, supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, which will explore:

- *What progress has been made since The Careless Technology was published?(specifically look at the developments that have taken place regarding the recommendations that were made during the CT conference)*
- *Is the overhauling of traditional societies by crude technological intrusion any more achievable or desirable today?*
- *Are those responsible for international development still ignoring the environmental, health and cultural side effects of technology on the peoples of the South?*
- *Bilateral and multilateral agencies have discussed for 30 years about ways to include ecological and social considerations in their decision-making processes. What has this achieved, besides rhetoric?*

The original book was made available at WSSD in CD-ROM format and is also available for downloading from the internet (<http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/publications/SL/CT.htm>). WSSD was also the venue for initial planning meetings for the updating of *The Careless Technology*, which have been followed up by meetings in Boston and Tehran. The project is being led by Adil Najam, CEESP member, and professor at the Boston University. Include the e mail of Adil here

Several members of CEESP have joined forces to work on an initiative, tentatively called the **Red List of Endangered Cultures**, and are discussing the problems faced by vulnerable ethnic communities—including issues of cultural adaptation and integrity—and their relationship to environmental change and biodiversity loss. The elaboration of a Red List of Endangered Cultures is being considered to render this crisis better known and recognised. Initial work was led by Jeff Gritzner, CEESP Regional Vice Chair for North America, working at the University of Montana, and Claudia Carr, University of California at Berkeley, who held initial workshops during WSSD. The initiative is now addressing linkages with the Terralingua initiative, and broadening the perspective into a larger workplan on culture and conservation, which is being prepared and further developed for The World Conservation Congress, 2004. Key partners include: the new (proposed) CEESP Deputy Chair, Juan Mayr; Ken MacDonald (CMWG member); Francine Madden (Terralingua); Ashish Kothari (TILCEPA); and Pete Brosius (American Anthropological Association, CMWG).

WGSLS has recently become involved in the **Africa Mining Network**, which is one of 2 activities being undertaken in Africa under Project M of the UN Development Account which addresses issues relating to sustainable

mineral-based development. WGSL and CEESP are expected to play a key role under a number of themes that have been agreed on for activities and discussion groups: small-scale and artisanal mining (sustainable livelihoods, etc), environment (biodiversity, land use, protected areas, etc), gender, governance (co-management and participation generally), human resources (learning sites, capacity building, etc), society (local economic development/sustainable livelihoods). (Key contact Kwabena Mate : kwabenamate@yahoo.co.uk)

Publications

The Sustainable Livelihoods Working Group has collaborated with the Collaborative Management Working Group on a special issue of *Policy Matters* (Issue 10). More information can be found in the Collaborative Management section, immediately above.

Pastoral life in Iran: a changing landscape, Seedling (magazine of GRAIN - Genetic Resources Action Network), January 2003, by Maryam Rahmanian & Taghi Farvar, <http://www.grain.org/seedling/seed-03-01-en.cfm>

Collaborative Management

Initiatives January-May 2003

The work of CMWG in 2003 has continued to stress publications and the collaboration with TILCEPA (CEESP-WCPA joint Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas). Membership has also continued to grow. In August 2003 the CMWG standing members are nearly 300. In terms of recent regional focus, stands out **Africa** as a whole (two meetings held there, one dedicated volume under development). We are engaged however, to further develop initiatives in **South East Asia**, a region so-far relatively neglected by CMWG activities, and to this end a new Coordinator has been appointed: Maurizio Farhan Ferrari. Maurizio is scouting for a co-coordinator in the region and gearing up for a full start of activities in 2004.

Several members are discussing a potential development of CMWG initiatives in the area of **culture and conservation**. Related to this, CM in dryland/ pastoral environment will likely receive more attention, also as a consequence of an approved project on CM of pastoral environments in Iran (several CMWG members were involved in developing the project proposal and are now expected to implement it). Initiatives in collaboration with the IUCN Sustainable Use Specialist Group are envisaged.

Meetings and policy initiatives

Meetings among CMWG members (often jointly with TILCEPA members) have also been held in **Pune** (India) in January 2003, in **Pretoria** (South Africa) in February 2003, in **Managua** (Nicaragua) in March 2003, in **Santiago** (Chile) in March 2003, in the **Kompienga** (Burkina Faso) in March 2003, in **Ancona** (Italy) in April 2003 and in **Manila** (the Philippines) in April 2003. The meetings in Pretoria, Kompienga, and Managua developed three declarations that make reference to co-management issues and are downloadable from the CEESP website (see also Section 3 in this PM issue)

Policy initiatives on the development of a **new characterising dimension for protected areas — governance type**—have been discussed at another meeting (Speaking a Common Language) held in Moreton in Marsch (UK) in May 2003. Several CMWG members were present and collaborated towards common policy goals.

The CMWG member of the Steering Committee in charge of CM in mining operations and the Chair of CEESP have jointly attended a meeting on Mining in Africa, where initiatives for **CM of mining operations** have been envisaged. Further work is on going.

Initiatives July-December 2002

The CMWG work in 2002 focused on publications and proposal development. In terms of regional focus, stand out West and Central Africa, Central America, and Europe. The year has also been characterised by a vigorous collaboration with TILCEPA, the joint CEESP/ WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas. Indeed, CMWG and TILCEPA activities have often merged. The very limited financial resources of the group have been mostly spent to support initiatives in and about the West and Central Africa regions, continuing a trend of region-focused spending, allowing more focused and effective results (in 2001, the CMWG funds had been focused in the Caribbean region). Specific CMWG meetings have been held as often as possible, taking

advantage of gatherings attended by several members, as in the case of the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD, Johannesburg, August-September 2002), and others.

Membership and discussion list

The year 2002 has seen a major growth of membership for the CMWG (over 50% growth in one year). At the end of 2002 we were 250 members from over forty countries (half of which in the South), each of them personally introduced/ recommended by other members . (The trend continued in 2003 and we are now at about 300 members)

The discussion list of the group has been quite active, with exchanges on current opportunities for CM-related work, announcements of publications and initiatives and debates on a variety of subjects. These ranged from the spiritual benefits of conservation to ways to support members active in protecting their local environments from oil, gas and mining industries, from denunciation of political abuses and possible corruptions in conservation-related controversies to an in-depth discussion on a "de-construction of protected areas mythology"; from the environmental consequences of war to the repercussions of the current political turmoil on the CAMPFIRE initiatives in Zimbabwe. The main languages utilised in the discussion group are English and Spanish. A Brazilian chapter of the CMWG discussion list, coordinated by the CMWG representative in South America, Claudio Carrera Maretti, is also very active discussing CM issues.

Applied research

As many members of the CMWG are also members of TILCEPA, CMWG activities and TILCEPA activities have tended to merge. A project entitled Ecosystems, Protected Areas and People (EPP) assured a limited but useful pool of resources for some regional applied research that involved a large number of CMWG members. The research has focused on the regional status and characteristics of community conserved areas and co-managed protected areas and on the history of conservation. The reports and papers produced so far are downloadable from the CEESP website at <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg-grp/TILCEPA/community.htm>. The synthesis report is recommended as a step towards a very much needed merging of experiences and lessons learned from various regions: http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/community.htm#synthesis

Regional initiatives

Europe

Numerous European members of CMWG gathered in Carynthia (Austria) in June 2002 as part of the meeting of IUCN and WCPA members from Europe. We organised a specific workshop on co-management which was very well attended and saw cases from all over Europe illustrated and discussed. The report of the workshop is available on the CEESP website at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/CMWG/Report on CM at WCPA 2002.pdf , developed by the member Kathryn Furlong. As part of the gathering, CMWG members and partners from Europe also had several side meetings on a project proposal on co-management of protected areas in Central and Eastern Europe, known as COMPAS (the latest proposal can be downloaded at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/CMWG/COMPAS proposal Jan 2003.pdf). The proposal was then completed and submitted to several donors. Funding has not been fully achieved, but one donor expressed the desire of participating in co-funding.

Groups of members have worked together in specific locations, as for the Swiss, French and Italian CMWG members who organised a major meeting to demand a participatory form of trans-boundary protection for the Mont Blanc area and are now active in national follow up meetings with the local constituencies.

Hugh Govan— CMWG Steering Committee member in charge of CM in marine environments— has been active in Europe as organiser of two courses in the module on Approaches to Coastal Planning and Management of the Masters Degree on International Studies in Aquatic Tropical Ecology (ISATEC) at the University of Bremen: 1. Participatory techniques and Stakeholder Analysis and 2. Trans-disciplinarity and Management. In that occasions he offered a key note speech on Participatory processes in Coastal Zone Management in the symposium 10 Years after Rio - Steps towards a Sustainable Use and Development of Coastal Areas, Carl Duisberg Gesellschaft, Bremen (Germany).

Central America

In Central America the cooperative Sol y Dar, where numerous CMWG members work, including the CMWG Deputy Chair Vivienne Solis organised a CMWG workshop on communities, equity and protected areas in September 2002. The workshop discussed the possibility of establishing a CM learning network in Central America and produced a publication which can be downloaded at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/community.htm#solidar. A campaign involving CMWG members from different countries was also launched by a member from Honduras, to protest the encroachment of shrimp farming into a RAMSAR site.

West Africa

In West Africa CMWG members have been active in two main areas. The first regards the co-management of the periphery of the trans-boundary Park W, uniting Burkina Faso, Bénin and Niger. Some of them are in charge of initiatives while others are employed as key consultants. As part of this initiative, co-management is being envisaged in informal ways around "management units" of natural resources in the periphery of the Park, to be identified by the relevant local actors. An important link is also with the decentralisation policies in the three relevant countries.

Also in West Africa, a network of marine protected areas has been planned in February 2002 (meeting in Nouakchott, Mauritania). A further workshop held in Guinea Bissau in October 2002 co-sponsored by IUCN, WWF, FIBA and CEESP/CMWG identified CM learning by doing initiatives as a crucial need to be satisfied as part of the future regional work programme. Several CMWG members participated in the workshop and played a key role in the development of a forward-looking project proposal. The project is available upon request from gbf@cenesta.org.

USA

Hugh Govan— CMWG Steering Committee member in charge of CM in marine environments— has offered courses on **participatory processes in Integrated Coastal Management**, participatory aquaculture research, and multi-stakeholder planning for marine environments at the Summer Institute in Coastal Management (Coastal Resource Center of the University of Rhode Island).

Publications

Policy Matters, Issue 12 (this issue in your hands) is a joint CEESP/WCPA issue of the CEESP newsletter, dedicated to community empowerment in conservation. The issue is co-edited by five CMWG members (Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Alex de Sherbinin, Chimère Diaw, Gonzalo Oviedo and Diane Pansky) and includes articles by more than 50 CMWG members overall..

Policy Matters, Issue 10: PM 10 2002 saw the publication of the largest and most substantial issue of CM News published before CM 12 (148 pages!), a special issue jointly with Policy Matters dedicated to Sustainable Livelihoods and Co-management of Natural Resources and launched at the WSSD meeting in Johannesburg, in September 2002. This issue was edited by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend with Taghi Farvar and saw the active participation (as authors, reviewers, etc.) of 58 CMWG members! The issue is available for download at <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/Publications.htm#policy>.

Local communities and protected areas: 2003 has seen the production of a publication in Spanish (**Equidad entre Areas Protegidas y Comunidades Locales: Reflexion desde Mesoamérica y el Caribe**), can be downloaded at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/community#solidar. The publication developed as a spin-off of the September 2002 meeting in San José of Costa Rica and was launched as part of the Managua meeting on protected areas in March 2003. A declaration from that meeting includes direct reference to CM issues (available at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/WPC/Conclusiones Managua meeting 3.03.pdf)

Parks: A joint WCPA/CEESP issue of Parks dedicated to partnerships in Africa (editors Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend and Trevor Sandwith—both CMWG members) including articles by 7 CMWG members has been completed and distributed in June 2003.

A booklet on **Local Communities, Equity and Conservation in Southern Africa: Lessons Learnt and Recommendations** from a Southern African Technical Workshop edited by Webster Whande, Thembele Kepe and

Marshall Murphree with the collaboration of many CMWG members. It includes and highlights the Pretoria declaration (see section 2 of this issue)

Currently under final development are:

- A joint IIED-CEESP publication (350 pages!) co-authored by 4 long-standing CMWG members in association with—literally—hundreds of others. It is entitled **SHARING POWER— Learning by Doing in Co-management of Natural Resources throughout the World** by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Michel Pimbert, Taghi Farvar, Ashish Kothari, and Yves Renard, with Hanna Jaireth, Marshall Murphree, Vicky Pattemore, Ricardo Ramirez and Patrizio Warren. (see section 4 of this issue)

- A handbook entitled **Evaluating Governance— a Handbook to Accompany a Participatory Process for a Protected Area**, available in draft form at the World Parks Congress in Durban, this coming September. The volume is being written by Peter Abrams, Grazia Borrini Feyerabend, Julia Gardner and Pippa Heylings – all CMWG members.

- *CEESP Occasional Papers Series*. In 2002 the CMWG developed its first publication for the CEESP Occasional Papers Series (printing and distribution expected to be completed in 2003). The booklet, in French, is entitled **Tchim Tchiami : Fierté de la Cogestion— Au cœur de la biodiversité d'Afrique Centrale, les communautés locales ont fait du Parc National de Konkouati-Douli leur propre aire protégée s'étendant de la côte océanique aux montagnes forestières du Mayombe**. The authors are Christian Chatelain, Marcel Taty, Jean Claude Nguinguiri and Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend — all CMWG members. The booklet recount a story of the development of a co-management partnership for a national park in Congo Brazzaville, a protected area set in an extremely unfavourable socio-political environment. The story includes plenty of counter-intuitive happenings and lessons learned applicable to other areas. We decided to commission and publish this booklet for two main reasons. The first is that publications on co-management in French, and especially about African initiatives, are scarce and in high demand. The second is that the specific experience of the co-management setting of Konkouati-Douli National Park, particularly instructive and worth recording and diffusing, is currently under threat. We hope the booklet may help it regain strength. We expect that the CEESP booklet will be utilised in the Central Africa schools currently engaged in pilot CM training experiences, as well as in forthcoming learning-by-doing initiatives in West Africa.

TILCEPA & CMWG: The World Parks Congress

CEESP has been extremely active since late 2002 with preparations for the World Parks Congress. TILCEPA has been asked to co-ordinate the cross cutting theme on communities, equity, and protected areas in the World Parks Congress (WPC), to be held at Durban in September, 2003. The TILCEPA core group has been working actively on the planning of the WPC, linking TILCEPA with the seven streams planned for the Congress under the coordination of Ashish Kothari. Meanwhile the CMWG Chair has been co-organiser of the Governance Stream along with Jim Johnston of Parks Canada.

Indigenous Peoples

TILCEPA has been facilitating the Ad Hoc Indigenous Peoples' Committee on the Parks Congress, to maximise the participation of indigenous representatives. Several representatives have been confirmed to speak at the plenary sessions, and many more at the various stream workshops.

TILCEPA at WPC: Cross-cutting Theme on Communities and Equity

The input of TILCEPA into the various streams at the Congress has been worked on by the stream links and is now almost finalised. Around 45 presentations will be made on behalf of TILCEPA.. CEESP initiatives include the cross-cutting theme on Communities and Equity (which cuts across all 7 streams, below), as well as a large part of events in the Governance Stream.

Stream 1: Linkages in the Landscape

Stream 2: Building Support

Stream 3: Governance

Stream 4: Capacity Building
Stream 5: Management Effectiveness
Stream 6: Sustainable Finance
Stream 7: Gaps in the system

Community Park : A space will be set aside at the WPC solely for use by communities. This space, called the Community Park is designed to accommodate exhibits and events organised by communities. It is being sponsored by UNDP and Equator Initiative, and TILCEPA is one of the co-organisers. There will also be facilities for film shows and other audio visuals. A coordination committee has been formed to oversee the facility and TILCEPA is represented on this committee by Alejandro Argumedo (ipbn@web.net), Gonzalo Oviedo (gonzalo.oviedo@iucn.org) and Maryam Rahmanian (maryam@cenesta.org).

Participation in Ecosystems, People and Protected Areas

A full synthesis report for the Ecosystems, People and Protected Areas project has been submitted and currently a draft is being prepared for the WPC. We are currently commissioning/ collecting work on culture and conservation in view of the 2004 World Conservation Congress, where we hope to have this as a key area of concern and attention. Overall contact: Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org)

Outputs from TILCEPA

Book on Innovative Laws and Policies

Hanna Jaireth (lawjs@ozemail.com.au) and Dermot Smyth (erus@tpg.com.au) have shepherded one of TILCEPA's publication outputs for the Congress - Innovative Governance: Indigenous Peoples, Local Communities and Protected Areas (see Section 4 of this issue)

Durban Accord

A draft text of the Durban Accord was created and posted onto the IUCN website (<http://www.iucn.org>) and people were invited to send in their comments. A new draft is expected anytime now which will be further revised at the WPC. TILCEPA members have given in comments, and Taghi Farvar (taghi@cenesta.org), possibly in association with Chimere Diaw (c.diaw@cgjar.org) represents us on the drafting committee.

Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas: Guidelines towards more equitable practices and governance systems

A preliminary draft of the guidelines has been prepared and passed onto a consultant for editing. We hope to have a fuller draft ready for the WPC where it could be worked on further. Contacts :Grazia (gbf@cenesta.org) and Gonzalo Oviedo (gonzalo-oviedo@iucn.org)

WPC recommendations

During the World Parks Congress, a number of recommendations will be considered in the context of the Workshop Streams and Theme sessions over **11-13 September**. The topics were selected and draft recommendations have been prepared in advance to enable participants to contribute their views.

These draft recommendations provide a means to focus participants' discussions on key issues and, through scheduled discussion groups and the Workshop Streams and Themes, to develop concrete guidance to address the issues. All recommendations are linked to either a stream or a cross cut theme at the Congress. They focus on major protected areas issues or global policy issues that impact protected areas. None are site specific, nor do they address topics that are beyond the province of protected areas. The following topics are directly related to TILCEPA.

Community Conserved Areas : Ashish Kothari and Neema Pathak

Co- managed Protected Areas : Grazia Borrini Feyerabend

Mobile Peoples and Conservation : Maryam Niamir-Fuller

Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas : Aroha Mead, Alejandro Argumedo and Gonzalo Oviedo

Good Governance and Protected Areas : Jim Johnston and Grazia Borrini Feyerabend

Recognition and legitimisation of innovative governance types for Pas : Jim Johnston & Grazia

Spiritual Values of Protected Areas : Allen Putney

Poverty and Protected Areas : Joshua Bishop, Stewart Maginnis and Lea Scherl

These drafts have been posted to the following website

<http://www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/wpc2003/english/outputs/recommendations.htm#motions>

Please send in your feedback to the persons in charge if you have some input.

TILCEPA mandate on non-official protected areas

The WCPA Steering Committee had in October 2002 given TILCEPA the mandate to develop a note on protected areas other than those managed by governments. This was to result in a recommendation for the WPC to endorse.

Some TILCEPA members have been working on the note, have circulated it widely for comments, and are currently further revising it for presentation at the WPC. Meanwhile, elements from it have also been incorporated into the draft Recommendations that TILCEPA and the Governance Stream are making, for adoption at the Congress (see elsewhere in this Communique, on Recommendations).

Apart from email distribution, the note has also been circulated at some preparatory meetings in which TILCEPA has taken part (e.g. the ones in Dhaka, Bangladesh; see elsewhere in this Communique). Feedback from these will also be incorporated.

It is not yet clear whether the note as such will be presented to the WPC for endorsement, or whether its key elements will be integrated into one or more of the other Recommendations. The approach that TILCEPA has taken in this note, in particular regarding Community Conserved Areas, already figures in a number of documents of the WPC, and has also been picked up in a different form in the proposed Programme of Work of the Convention on Biological Diversity.

Contact Ashish Kothari : ashishkothari@vsnl.com

Inputs into the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)

A full set of recommendations for inputs into the CBD have been developed, focusing on "stakeholder involvement in conservation" (the stated theme for us), which were approved but taken in separately by the secretariat and to be included by them. We are tracking the process to ensure that these recommendations are appropriately included. Contact : Grazia Borrini Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org). During the WPC Juan Mayr Maldonado (juan-mayr@hotmail.com) has been kindly asked to be the TILCEPA Focal Point for CBD.

TILCEPA preparatory meetings

The TILCEPA core group has held two major planning meetings in the run up to the World Parks Congress, first in **Rolle** and **Gland** in November 2002 and the second in Pune, India in January 2003. The meeting in Switzerland was called to develop a coherent strategy and action plan, in view of the World Parks Congress of 2003, "to advance the legitimacy and full recognition of conservation by indigenous and local community (community conserved areas) and conservation of official protected areas in partnership with indigenous and local communities". The report of that meeting is available on the internet at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/WPC/Rollesummary-final.pdf.

The meeting in **Pune** had essentially two aims: to discuss the issue of Community Conserved Areas, and to consolidate the preparations for the WPC. It started with a discussion on Community Conservation with presentations by a community from the Uttaranchal state of North India. Almost all the streams of the WPC were represented and a fair amount of progress was made on the planning process for the presentations within each stream and the schedule of TILCEPA within the Congress. Other TILCEPA pre- and post-Congress outputs were discussed at

some length.

TILCEPA has also been represented at a number of meetings planning for the streams of the WPC and at regional preparatory meetings. TILCEPA was represented at preparatory meetings in Paris, New York and Gland in relation to Stream 1: Linkages in the Landscape. Stream 3 has promoted a number of preparatory meetings and gatherings at WCPA meetings.

A representative of TILCEPA gave a presentation on Community Conserved Areas in Southeast Asia at the 3rd WCPA Southeast Asia Regional Meeting held in **Manila** in April 2003. The Southern Africa Workshop on Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas was held in Pretoria in February 2003 and the Kompienga workshop in Burkina Faso, in April 2003 are describe in Section 2 of this issue. All the declarations and reports can be obtained at the TILCEPA site at http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/TILCEPA.htm.



CEESP & IUCN

Mining and biodiversity: exploring the role of IUCN

IUCN announced a proposed partnership (later redefined as a dialogue) with the International Council on Mining and Minerals (ICMM) during the World Summit on Sustainable Development. IUCN and ICMM agreed to use the recommendations of the report of the *Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development Project* as a basis for moving forward. This \$9.7 million project was initiated by 9 leading mining companies who invited the World Business Council for Sustainable Development to commission the project. The International Institute for Environment and Development, IIED was selected as the implementing agency.

The announcement of the IUCN-ICMM partnership generated considerable dismay, controversy and debate, including among IUCN's own membership. A wide range of civil society organisations united in their declaration of a "Greenwash" campaign.

As a Commission of IUCN, and concerned with the effective and fair engagement of all stakeholders in managing natural resources, CEESP members felt it was important to contribute to the resolution of the controversy. CEESP Steering Committee member, Professor Alejandro Nadal of the El Colegio de Mexico, produced a commentary on the economic component of the MMSD. The CEESP SC sent a letter to the President of IUCN and to IUCN Council preceding the Council meeting in December 2002 to give some constructive feedback to IUCN on the process. The final Council decision, as well as all other related documents are available online at <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/mining.htm>.

Biosafety & GMOs: "proposing options for an IUCN contribution"

CEESP, as well as the other commissions, were asked to provide feedback on a draft IUCN Discussion Paper which was prepared for the last Council session, entitled, "Biosafety and Genetically Modified Organisms: Background for the Enunciation of an IUCN Position and Plan of Action." The paper responds to Resolution 2.31 of the Second World Conservation Congress, which required the Director General to "propose options for an IUCN contribution" in that arena. Following extensive review by the CEESP Steering Committee and other members of the Commission, we presented our input to the Programme and Policy Committee of Council. Following the Council debate a web portal was established to elicit comments from the wider IUCN membership. The CEESP comments were made available on that website and received overwhelming support from participants in the discussion.

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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 five thematic areas:

- Collaborative Management of Natural Resources (**CMWG**)
- Sustainable Livelihoods (**WGSL**, including poverty elimination and bio-diversity conservation)
- Environment and Security (**WGES**)
- Environment, Trade and Investment (**GETI**)
- 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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Community Conserved Areas and Co-Managed Protected Areas— towards Equitable and Effective Conservation in the Context of Global Change

A provisional synthesis of a number of regional reviews and papers on the above topics commissioned by TILCEPA (joint CEESP/WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas) in 2002 and 2003. TILCEPA was engaged in this effort as part of the Ecosystems, Protected Areas and Peoples (EPP) project.

Includes regional reviews of CCAs and CMPAs as well as papers on community-based natural resource management in Southern Africa on the history of conservation.

CEESP and WCPA members are encouraged to consult this work and offer comments to Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org), which will be greatly appreciated in a publication intended for the Conference of the Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in February 2004.

The synthesis document can be seen on (http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/community.htm#synthesis)

The reviews and other papers can be consulted on (http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/TILCEPA/community.htm).

For them, migration is a way of conserving the diversity of nature...

They have been called stewards of the drylands, and the guardians of biodiversity. They have co-existed with nature for thousands of years.

They have been accused of overgrazing their range, yet their system for managing natural resources is exemplary.

They have been discriminated against, and have often been forced to sedentarise against their will. Governments and private actors have expropriated their rangelands, and have built settlements, military bases and oil refineries that bring them no benefits.

The Kuchi People of the Qashqai nomadic pastoral tribe in Iran have now found that their mobile way of life holds some hope for them. They have organised themselves in elected Councils of Elders and set up community investment funds, including a Fund for the Conservation of Nature... CEESP has been working with its host institution and IUCN member CENESTA to learn from their experience for policy options that are used for national and international policies and plans.

CEESP.

Theme/ Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods.

A component of IUCN with poverty eradication in its mandate.

(http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Wkg_grp/SUSL.htm)

