IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic & Social Policy

Policy Matters

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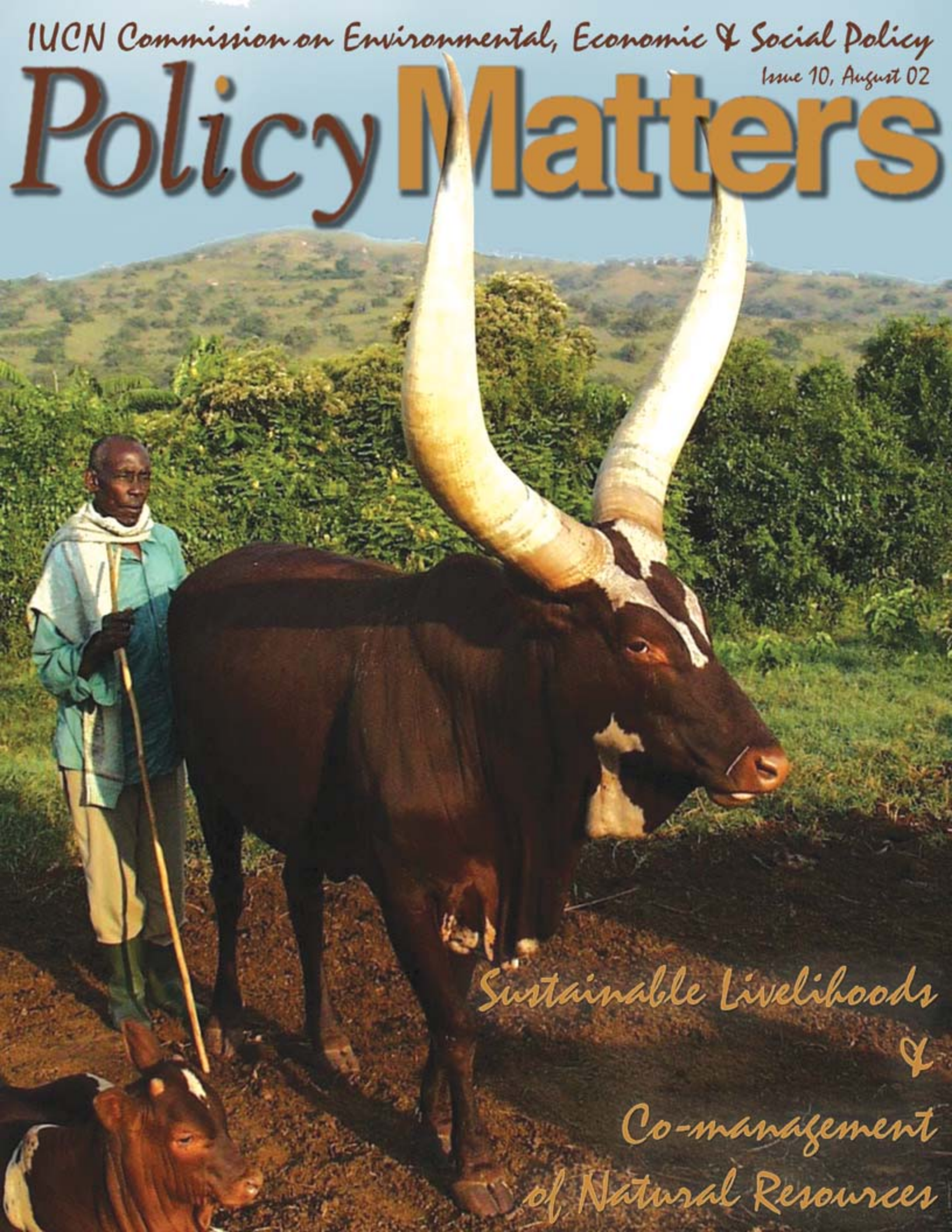

Sustainable Livelihoods & Co-management of Natural Resources

The Careless Technology Revisited

Thirty years ago, *The Careless Technology—Ecology and International Development* (M. Taghi Farvar & John P. Milton, eds.), quickly became a classic critique of technology from the environmental, human development and livelihood perspectives. The post-World War II idea that traditional societies should be overhauled overnight by blindly copying Western technology was questioned at its very core in a powerful and articulate analysis, which planted the seeds of many current lines of thought about sustainable development.

Thirty years later, IUCN/ CEESP and CENESTA (Centre for Sustainable Development, Tehran) have joined hands around *The Careless Technology* Revisited initiative, supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, to take stock of the ensuing changes and gauge the trends for the future.

The initiative has reproduced, in CD-ROM format, the classic volume which has long been out of print. A follow-up volume, tentatively entitled The Careless Technology Revisited, is to be published in 2003.

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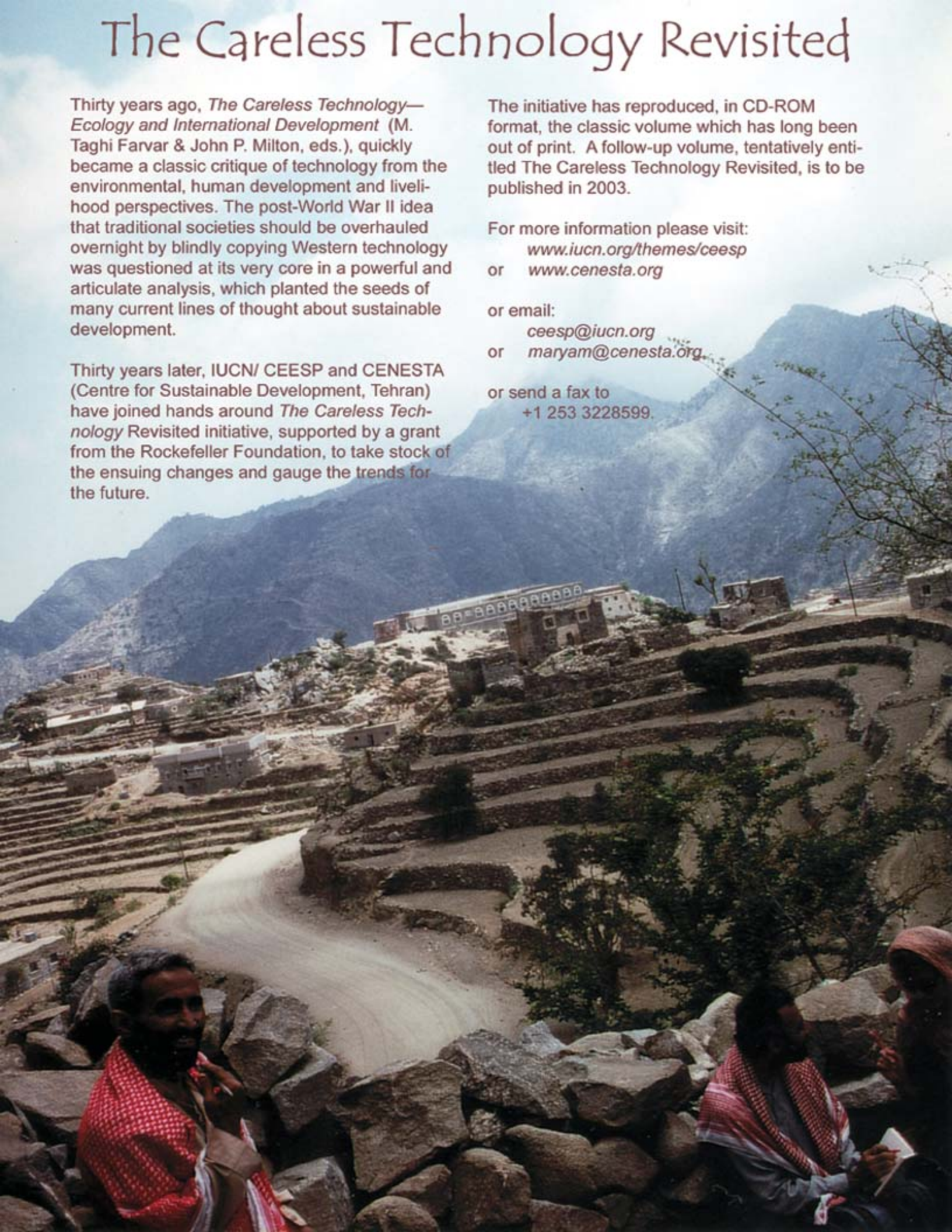

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The heart and soul of conservation

the editors

This issue of *Policy Matters* is dedicated to *sustainable livelihoods* and *co-management of natural resources* and contains the contributions of CEESP members belonging to the two working groups related to the above themes.1 For the World Summit on Sustainable Development we considered appropriate to ask the members of these working groups to contribute their experiences and reflections and, from those, to draw lessons and policy recommendations.

As illustrated by CEESP members from five continents, sustainable livelihoods are intimately related to the sustainable use of natural resources and the conservation of species, habitats and the services provided by healthy environments. They are also, however, intimately related to equity. Sustainable use and effective conservation initiatives have been amply investigated in recent decades. Their crucial decisions do not have much to do with fixed "thresholds of intake" any more than with fences and physical barriers. They depend, rather, on the existence of human institutions capable of responding in a flexible way to changing social and environmental conditions, capable of assuring a delicate and intelligent balance among a variety of valuable concerns. In turn, this balance is intimately related to equity, i.e. to assuring a fair share of management benefits and costs, rights and responsibilities among the various social actors involved. All of the above is what co-management processes, agreements and institutions are increasingly providing all over the world. With that, sustainable livelihoods are being fostered, protected, assured for thousands of communities.

The first section of *Policy Matters 10* discusses the intimate linkages between government policies and livelihood outcomes. It spans cutting edge reflections, such as critical views on contemporary major development initiatives like NEPAD, the Plan Puebla Panamá or Vision 2020 in Andra Pradesh, as well as thoughtful considerations on how a history of dis-empowering local communities and impeding indigenous natural resource management systems has sown the seeds of "unsustainable livelihoods" and undermined conservation. Ethiopia and the Senegal River Basin are cases in point, and several articles also take Uganda as a field of example, including a reflection on the power of conventional narratives, which obscure and limit the scope of policy itself. The interplay between political and military aims and environmental destruction is clearly argued in an article on the Levant. We made efforts, however, not to limit the discussion to criticism, and sought to offer an array of positive policy suggestions. Those begin with a series of guiding principles and recommendations for action whose time has finally come. The Dana Declaration and the following article on an Action Plan to Support Pastoral Mobility offer a compelling argument to rethink mobility as a powerful strategy for conservation and sustainable livelihoods. But much needs to be re-thought and improved in other fields as well—from mining to training, from the commercialisation of biodiversity to the participation of social experts in the implementation of the Biodiversity Convention. CEESP members offer concrete suggestions for all these areas. And some even argue for an entirely revised perspective on conservation, rooted not in biological sciences or economic imperatives but in the rights and practice of environmental justice.

Section two of *Policy Matters 10* is imbued with hope. Seven articles span cases from India to Congo Brazzaville, from Ecuador to Mongolia to South Africa—all telling us about local communities that organized to manage their local environments. Alone or in partnership with the government and other actors, motivated by a natural disaster or by an externally-supported project, evolved into a co-management instution or empowered as local management bodies, these communities truly lead the way and show how local values and identities can thrive in governing natural resources in a sound manner. Of course, this is all but a novelty.

This issue of *Policy Matters* is very rich, and we would encourage the readers to savour the variety of views, perspectives and, not least, languages and writing styles that CEESP members provided. We would like to venture, however, to offer our overall reading of the issues and priorities that come out of the CEESP members' experience and reflections collected in this publication. We start from the consideration that, **despite the destructive blows of communist and capitalist regimes, despite the culture-erasing power of consumerism and dis-empowering technologies, many communities still survive thanks to their own internal capacities, cohesion and solidarity**. Surely they wish to connect with the rest of the world and engage with a variety of partners, but it is on their own internal strengths that sustainable livelihoods can ultimately thrive. Someone has said that national states may be too large to solve small-scale problems and too small to solve large-scale ones. If this is true, **the hope for the world is to stop banking on the selfishness of individuals and the nastiness of market forces and national powers. The hope for the world is in nourishing institutions at the human scale— where self-defined communities can express their natural potential for solidarity, creativity, and the creation of communal wealth and well being, and at the global scale— where the best of collective wisdom can promote social justice, pluralism, and a rights-based use of collective resources**. Only if these two poles of human experience are alive and well, does conservation have a chance. The rest— the fences, the barriers, the guns, the privatisation schemes— is, at best, buying time.

Elders plan a community initiative. Sustainable use and effective conservation initiatives depend on the existence of human institutions capable of responding in a flexible way to changing social and environmental conditions, capable of assuring a delicate and intelligent balance among a variety of valuable concerns. *(Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Communities can be the most passionate and intelligent defenders of their environments… if only the state and the powerful economic actors allow them! In fact, they have in their hands the answers to most questions, including technical questions such as pest management. The conversation on community integrated pest management included in section 2 makes abundantly clear that it is from community knowledge and institutions that improved agricultural production can and must start. The high-tech alternatives more likely end up filling the coffers of trans-national pesticide companies than the granaries of southern peasants…

Our third section is dedicated to co-management cases. Those, again, extend over a variety of environments and types of natural resources, from a Sahelian forest to an entire Mediterranean island, from a gorilla sanctuary to a desert environment, from a wildlife management zone to a forest environment still subject to swidden (shifting) agriculture, from an extensive grassland ecosystem to a marine park… The specifics of co-management processes, institutions and agreements are discussed in detail and offer much food for thought for professionals engaged in similar initiatives anywhere. A rather frequent theme is eco-tourism, as the articles explore ways in which co-management settings can make sure that tourism revenues are distributed equitably and promote effective forms of conservation. Here, in fact, we come full circle to some of the papers in our first section, as policies promoting conservation with equity favour community organizing and action, and their engagement in collaborative management agreements and institutions.

Section four describes a variety of initiatives where learning is being sought or has been achieved on matters relating conservation and sustainable livelihoods. Several of these articles deal with marine and coastal environments, one of the ecosystems where co-management approaches have flourished the most in the last decades. Many specific questions and indicators are discussed, as well as recommendations for action. In the same section, mountain peoples recommend an equally participatory approach. Pluralist institutions are advocated in trans-national environments in Western Europe as well as at a regional level in Madagascar, for protected areas in Central Europe as well as for tropical forests in Central America. The articles offer specific descriptions of initiatives, from participatory evaluation to joint learning by doing.

The last section of *Policy Matters 10* is dedicated to short presentations and reviews of recent books, magazines and interactive CDs. In recent months alone the members of CEESP have produced an impressive array of works, which indeed improve our understanding of the current natural resource management situation, limitations and unique opportunities. In some ways these publications resemble this issue of *Policy Matters*— they include in depth case analyses, argue for the full appreciation of traditional knowledge and skills, discuss policy needs and opportunities and reflect upon the vagaries of institutions that may change jargon rather than substance. The section ends with an information page on the CEESP Steering Committee, a statement for WSSD prepared by the RING and a list of WSSD events where CEESP is closely involved. Announcements of current and forthcoming CEESP initiatives are illustrated in the cover pages, including *Careless Technology Revisited* , a IIIS project on sustainable livelihoods and the *Red List of Endangered Cultures*..

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend and M. Taghi Farvar

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[1] **IUCN** is the World Conservation Union.

CEESP is the Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, one of 6 independent commissions of IUCN (see *http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/*).

CMWG is the CEESP Working Group on Collaborative Management of Natural Resources, chaired by Dr Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (*gbf@cenesta.org*).

WGSL is the CEESP Working Group on Sustainable Livelihoods, chaired by Dr M Taghi Farvar (*taghi@cenesta.org*).

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend took the main coordinating responsibility for putting together this special joint issue of *Policy Matters* and *CM News*—on the occasion of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg.

Jeyran Farvar of CENESTA (*jeyran@cenesta.org*) had the responsibility for graphic design and layout.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)— New prospects for sustainable development, or old wine in a new bottle?

James Murombedzi

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has, since its unveiling, been hailed mostly by the governments in the global North as a bold new initiative that will certainly set the African continent on the path of sustainable development. Despite the public rhetoric and messages of support for NEPAD, the G8 failed to pledge any significant material support for the programme at their meeting in Kananaskis, Canada, at the end of June. On the African continent itself, NEPAD has received a more mixed reaction – almost universal scepticism by the "progressive" civil society, lukewarm acceptance by the African governments, and highly mixed signals at the launch of the Africa Union in Durban, where NEPAD was nonetheless accepted as defining the economic development strategy of the African Union.

Africa is crippled by a debt of more than $250 billion with no possibility of ever being able to repay, but the G8 meeting pledged only a total of $1 billion top-up package for debt relief.

It appears that the positive features of NEPAD, in Western eyes, include the perceived instrumentality of the plan, especially through the idea of peer review and mutual accountability on governance issues, and the principle of partnership as the basis for official development assistance (ODA). Despite this professed enthusiasm, however, the material reaction of the global North has been abysmal. The NEPAD plan does not have any new mechanisms for lowering Africa's foreign debt or increasing direct foreign investment, pledging instead only to stabilize the internal political and social environment in Africa and thus create conditions conducive to more stable financial flows. Despite such vagueness on critical issues, NEPAD has not received any significant material support from the governments of the developed countries. If there had been any hopes that the G8 would respond positively to the plan, these were dashed beyond any doubt at Kananaskis. African leaders had hoped for about $64bn a year in development assistance for NEPAD to work. The G8 pledged only 10% of that, and made no commitment for any significant new funding for debt reduction. Africa is crippled by a debt of more than $250 billion with no possibility of ever being able to repay, but the G8 meeting pledged only a total of $1 billion top-up package for debt relief. Commentators noted that this package is only little more than double the $400 million that Canada spent hosting the summit. President Obasanjo responded somewhat philosophically to the Kananaskis snub: "Nothing that is human can be regarded as perfect".

The attraction of NEPAD for Africans is partly in the renewal of the idea that development in Africa should be an African process, conceived and led by Africans. And yet, NEPAD has also been criticised by the African civil society. Some, it is true, have offered uncritical acceptance of the plan as an instrument that will deliver the continent out of its current crises and others have pledged a nuanced critical engagement. The predominant reaction of civil society, however, has been an outright rejection. The key reasons for this are the perceived marginalisation of civil society in the actual conceptualisation of NEPAD, and the absence of a clear plan for its implementation. Although NEPAD is

A woman working in her field, West Cameroon. (*Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend*)

presented as the result of interaction between different African leaders, the reality is that the plan is the result of consultations between mostly President Mbeki of South Africa and the G8, the Bretton Woods Institutions, international capital, and president Clinton and Prime Minister Blair. To the extent that it is seen to be empowering these forces and marginalizing African civil society, the plan is viewed as a negation of the premise that African development should be an African led process. Secondly, NEPAD is seen as reinforcing existing global structural relationships, rather than creating the bases for changing them. It is these same relationships that are responsible for the current general crisis of development under capitalism, well exemplified by the poverty crisis in Africa. NEPAD is thus seen as distracting Africans from focussing on the real issues responsible for the absence of sustainable development on the continent: global trade, capital outflows, speculation, and the like.

NEPAD is seen as reinforcing existing global structural relationships, rather than creating the bases for changing them. It is these same relationships that are responsible for the current general crisis of development under capitalism, well exemplified by the poverty crisis in Africa.

This civil society scepticism is based on the failure of past similar initiatives. NEPAD is seen as yet another neo-liberal brand of developmentalism, centred on the state and with little or no understanding of the role that civil society can play in the development process. In this view, NEPAD gives an inordinate amount of control over the development process to trans-national corporations, donor agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions, and the trade bureaucrats of WTO. Also, because of its emphasis on the market as the key mechanism for sustainable development, NEPAD is seen as the extension of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) from the national to the continental scale. The neo-liberal SAPs have had mostly disastrous consequences in Africa and are generally discredited. Yet the NEPAD premise is to support the initiatives and to predicate the participation of African countries in the implementation of the plan on an acceptance of the neo-liberal conditionalities—such as privatisation, the Comprehensive Development Framework, the Poverty Reduction Strategy, etc.—of SAPs. NEPAD is also viewed as having paid inadequate attention to the external environment, especially the increasing unilateralism that is so characteristic of the progress of corporate-led globalisation, and the impacts of these externalities on Africa's development.

Muammar Gaddafi, one of the architects of the African Union, maintains that NEPAD does not break from the old oppressive relations of colonialism and racism. "We do not want the old partnership of a rider and a horse", Gaddafi

At its recent meeting in Lagos, the Pan African programme on Land and Resource Rights (PAPLRR) criticised NEPAD for being informed by neo-liberal imperatives and thus paying inadequate attention to rights issues. "Neo-liberal development policies and programmes promoted by northern donor countries, agencies, and multilateral institutions—which underpin NEPAD— do not give adequate recognition to the land and natural resource rights of the rural poor. They are premised on opening up African economies to external investment by multi-national corporations, and on securing the property rights of foreign capital. The central issue of land and resource rights has been grossly neglected in fora such as WSSD and initiatives such as NEPAD. However, sustainable development in Africa will never be achieved without the securing of these rights in law, and their realisation in practice through concerted efforts at all levels in society".

NEPAD also had a stormy reception at the launch of the Africa Union on 9 July in Durban, with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, one of the architects of the Union, maintaining that NEPAD does not break from the old oppressive relations of colonialism and racism. "We do not want the old partnership of a rider and a horse", Gaddafi insisted. Although NEPAD was accepted at that meeting as defining the economic development strategy of the Union, it was also made clear that it is still open to negotiation and further refinement. Significantly, President Mbeki conceded that the reservations of civil society to NEPAD were valid and should thus be taken into account. This has raised hopes in civil society that perhaps the plan, especially the implementation details that are rather

lacking in the present document, could still be salvaged and developed into a more progressive programme of action. Although such retrofitting would experience obvious limitations, there is optimism that NEPAD could still be an effective strategy for sustainable development in Africa. In order to do this, NEPAD needs to develop a clear strategic framework on how to deal with the real issues affecting development in Africa. These begin with the North–South trade relations, including market access, capital flight, and the mobilization of domestic savings. NEPAD will also need to re-conceptualise the role of civil society in the development project of the continent. Indeed, in its current form, NEPAD tastes only like the same old wine repackaged in new bottles.

NEPAD will feature prominently in the World Summit on Sustainable Development scheduled for August/ September in Johannesburg. Chapter 8 of the draft chairman's text focuses on Africa, and is based on NEPAD. However, there is no agreement among the G8 and G77 on the text in Chapter 8, and as a result the bulk of that text is still bracketed. As the African Civil Society Organizations noted after their meeting on the WSSD in Abidjan in July: "Even though the introduction of Chapter 8 suggests the intention of the international community to support Africa's efforts towards development, concerns have been expressed that the brackets could be signals of possible unwillingness on the part of those developed partners to support efforts to address the development challenges facing Africa." After the G8 summit in Kananaskis, the African civil society should not be holding its breath.

A 'poor man's G8' staged in Mali

They came from all walks of life - farmers, students, religious leaders and citizens who fear that policies discussed in Canada will increase poverty and suffering in Africa. Aminata Toure heads the debt relief and anti-globalisation movement Jubilee 2000, which organised a meeting in Siby, Mali in June 2002, parallel with the G-8 Summit in Canada. Speaking of the Canadian summit, she said: "Isolated from the rest of the world, the leaders of the eight richest countries will decide the destinies of millions of people on all continents, to serve the interests of multinationals, industrial countries and corrupt governments in the south." She was not impressed by the new development initiative for Africa—or NEPAD—which was being discussed at the G8 summit in Canada. Ms Toure said that NEPAD was poorly conceived and that it does not represent the needs or the wishes of most Africans. She says it was developed by only four African presidents—Nigerian, Senegalese, Algerian and South African—who did not even consult their people. Organisers say their choice of Siby for the counter summit is symbolic. Nearly 800 years ago in this same village, Emperor Soundjata Keita held an historic summit and drew up the very first constitution for the tremendously wealthy Mali Empire that covered much of West Africa. That was at a time when several of those now wealthy G8 countries were still in the Dark Ages.
(adapted from Joan Baxter, BBC World News, 26 June 2002)

The making of unsustainable livelihoods— An on-going tragedy in the Ethiopian drylands

Marco Bassi

The dryland areas surrounding the central and northern plateaux of Ethiopia are inhabited by pastoral and agro-pastoral communities of different linguistic groups, including the Afar to the east, the Somali to the southeast, the Oromo-Borana to the south and several smaller groups to the southwest and west. Droughts are recurrent events in the region, and have cyclically affected it throughout history. Natural events, however, are *not* the cause of the recurrent famines currently plaguing these people. Far from being the consequence of climatic vagaries, their famines are the symptoms and effects of a crisis in the relationship between human communities and their living environment— a crisis of livelihood.

In the last century, despite (or perhaps because of) the availability of modern technologies, the modernising efforts by several governments, the liberalisation of much of the Ethiopian economy and its integration to the international market, the country's capacity to cope with environmental extremes has been steadily decreasing. From the 1960s onwards this has taken the shape of a permanent "livelihood crisis"[1]. As a matter of fact, since the infamous famine of 1973-74 the Ethiopian drylands have been assisted by food-relief programs on a permanent basis. In 1984-85, three million peoples were affected by hunger throughout the country. The number increased to 10 million during the 1998-2001 drought, although causalities greatly decreased due to the improved emergency capacity of national and international agencies. In the year 2000, the international community donated 1,300,000 metric tons of food, at a cost of 287 million dollars. Early monitoring data analysed by the World Food Program (WFP) in June 2000 show that more than 76% of the Ethiopian population— including urban residents, in principle less affected by drought— was in need of food assistance. These people spanned the Borana Zone, the eastern part of Bale Zone and the Western Hararge Zone in the Oromo Region, most of the vast Somali Region, some parts of South Omo Zone (Southern Nation, Nationalities and People's Region) and several other scattered areas. This scenario is little short of a rural production collapse. The socio-economic impact of droughts becomes progressively more dramatic, affecting a growing portion of rural population. Famines become peak events in a situation of chronic food shortage, a continuous threat to the survival of large numbers of peoples.

Figure 1. Community planning session. A Dassanetch elder showing how the excavation of a small diversion canal from the Omo river could open new land to flood-irrigated cultivation. (*Courtesy Marco Bassi*)

Traditional natural resource management systems

The livelihood crisis so seriously affecting the Ethiopian drylands is the result of a process of cultural, social, economic and political marginalisation of its peoples. The autochthonous residents possess their own systems of natural resource management, based on pastoralism and minimal traditional farming, stupendously adapted to low and unreliable rainfall conditions. Such systems are capable of exploiting large extensions of lands of limited fertility, unsuited to agriculture. Stock and people mobility provide an immediately flexible response to the irregular distribution of rains in time and space. In all, such systems are well-recognised, today, as effective and ecologically sound[2]. And yet, not much attention is being paid to the crucial conditions that allow them to exist. These include the perpetuation of accompanying norms, values, and enforcing mechanisms— the constituents of any cultural/ethnical whole— and the existence and dynamic management of a number of critically complementary natural resources.

In the Ethiopian drylands each ethnic group or clan is associated with a territory or some specific resources. Such land or resources are an integral part of the

identity of the group, and being a member of the group implies having access rights to those resources. Such rights are highly regulated through a flexible balance of individual and "common property" entitlements. An example is provided by the deep *tuula* wells in Borana (see Figure 2 and 3). Access to a well, and thus to water— the critical resource—determines the possibility of using the surrounding grassland during the dry season. The excavation and maintenance of wells is highly labour-intensive, and labour is provided on a clanship basis. Clanship is also a title of access, but, in case of competition, those who have directly invested their labour have a priority. Careful evaluation of the potential of a grazing area determines the decision on the excavation of a new well and/or the repair or abandonment of an old one, contributing to rotational grazing and a long-term equilibrium between livestock and pasture. The Dassanetch fields along the lower Omo valley provide a second example. The flooded surface is subject to high yearly variations, forcing the ones in power to re-allocate the cultivable plots on a yearly basis.

The autochthonous residents possess their own systems of natural resource management (NRM), based on pastoralism and minimal traditional farming, stupendously adapted to low and unreliable rainfall conditions.

Regarding the "critically complementary natural resources" an excellent example are the wetter land pockets with high bio-mass productivity found at different slope elevation and exposition. In the semi-arid Borana Zone many of these are encountered around the towns of Nagelle, Arero, Mega and Arero. In the past, most of these areas were kept under forest cover or used as fall-back grazing areas by restricting its access in normal times (*kaalo*). In time of environmental crisis these pockets provided the only available safe pasture, allowing the survival of at least part of the livestock and of most of the human population. The animals that had a chance of grazing there would survive and reproduce after the drought. Imbalances among families, such as total number of animals lost by any one family, could be borne out through mechanisms of mutual assistance, from immediate distribution of food to redistribution of female livestock after the drought, or through temporary client-patron relationships. Inter-group solidarity networks would also be activated (especially among the smaller ethnic unities of south-western Ethiopia) with exchanges of goods and people.

In the arid environment of the Dassanetch the cultivation of sorghum in the flooded fields is a necessary diet complement for human beings. And the river resources are also necessary for the herds, as access to the grasses of the Omo embankments, to the fodder in the flooded areas and to the by-products of agriculture has always been important for the pastoral economy, even in years of normal rainfalls. Other key livelihood resources are salt and minerals, needed to complement the livestock diet. These are traded across the ethnic boundaries.

The roots of the crisis

Two momentous processes set in motions during the last century— demographic growth and agricultural encroachment into pastoral land— are at the roots of the current livelihood crisis. The Ethiopian drylands have seen the increment of their autochthonous residents but also powerful in-migration from the Ethiopian highlands, a process started at the end of 19th century under the Ethiopian Empire. The armed soldiers from the Abyssinian highlands settled in the most favourable places for agriculture, like Nagelle, Arero and Yavello, in the Borana Zone. They brought farmers from various parts of Ethiopia as servants, to cultivate their fields in the peri-urban zones. These early settlements later

Figure 2. Borana tulaa well. Cows at the drinking trough, located 15 meters underground to reduce the distance to lift the water. In one day up to 2000 heads of cattle can be watered at a single well on a three days rotation basis. Animals are sent down the well ramp in small groups. (*Courtesy Marco Bassi*)

Figure 3. Borana *tulaa* well. Between the trough and the well shaft there are intermediary reservoirs. Water is lifted rapidly by flinging small buckets (traditionally made of giraffe-hide) from hand to hand. Outside the narrow shaft the speed of water extraction may reach 340 litres per minute. (*Courtesy Marco Bassi*)

developed into towns, attracting more farmers, merchants and operators of the growing public sector. The latter (administrators, teachers, policemen, civil servants) came prevalently from areas where access to education was easier and the Ethiopian official language, Amharic, was prevalent. The new migrants and new towns took over exactly the fall-back resources crucial for the viability of the pastoral system. On their side, the rural population remained marginal to the process of urbanisation. In particular, they were excluded from education, both because it was based in the towns and because it exclusively used the Amharic language (the local languages were introduced in the Ethiopian educational system only after the fall of the socialist regime, in 1991).

The crucial conditions that allow NRM systems to exist include the perpetuation of accompanying norms, values, and enforcing mechanisms and the existence and dynamic management of a number of critically complementary natural resources.

Some of the late innovations—such as veterinary services, development of infrastructures and monetary exchange of livestock for grain and sugar—brought some benefits to the rural population, but on the whole the amount of livestock available per each family drastically dropped below the survival threshold. Trade was and remained controlled by the urban elite, with terms of the exchange highly disadvantageous to the pastoralists. As a result, more and more families saw themselves basically forced to take up crop production in the semi-arid lands, just to try feeding themselves. The overall effects was a further reduction of the pasture available for pastoral production, while agriculture progressively encroached into a non-suitable environment, highly exposed to crop failure because of low and irregular rainfall.

The new migrants and new towns took over exactly the fall-back resources crucial for the viability of the pastoral

Big time for "development"

The socialist government (1974-1991) attempted a state-controlled modernisation of the country. Veterinary services were improved and infrastructure development project established in the pastoral lands. The government agencies acquired, built and managed new livestock transport facilities, fattening ranches and meat-processing factories. Private trade was complemented by the *quota* system, forcing each pastoral association to deliver a fixed amount of livestock to the relevant public agency. The government was buying livestock from the pastoralists in local currency at a government fixed price and was exporting it in dollars, mainly towards the Arab countries. The high difference between the official exchange rate and the black market price was a net profit for the government, which persecuted direct inter-board trade by the pastoralists as 'smuggling'. From the national point of view the attempt was successful. The traditional pastoral system kept producing high quality livestock and derived goods, the main national export along with coffee. But the system was steadying loosing its capacity to cope with environmental crises.

Migration toward the drylands was further promoted through large-scale resettlement programmes. People were often forced to move from the northern highlands to the new locations. Most available development funds, including international development aid, were used to implement resettlement programmes and to provide agricultural technologies to the resettled people. In the drylands, large-scale irrigation schemes were set up along the rivers. In many cases the newly 'developed' areas dramatically reduced the resources

available for the local mobile people, including access to key river embankments and water available for the pockets of previously flood-irrigated agriculture. Among the most affected people were the Karayu and the Afar on the Awash river (eastern Ethiopia), the Tsamai and the Arbore on the Weito river (southern Ethiopia), the Dassanetch on the Omo river (south-western Ethiopia).

People were often forced to move from the northern highlands to the new locations [where they] dramatically reduced the resources available for the local mobile people, including access to key river embankments and water available for the pockets of previously flood-irrigated agriculture.

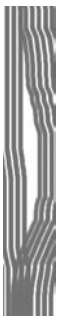
Figure 4. Strengthening a family's solidarity in Boranaland. The family's members gathers from different residential places at the founder father's grave and perform some simple rites. One of them is the *buna qalaa* ('slaughtering' the coffee), a common domestic ritual during which coffee beans are broken, fried in butter and served with milk and salt on a wooden bowl, just after a collective prayer. (*Courtesy Marco Bassi*)

More land was also alienated from the pastoral resource management system as a result of the repatriation policies promoted and assisted by UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees). Especially after the fall of the socialist government, many refugees were repatriated to southern Ethiopia from neighbouring countries, and settled in new villages. The package of assistance included low-technology inputs for agriculture. Repatriation was done without consideration of the livelihood system of resident communities and with no understanding of the ethnic dynamics, a fact that in itself caused serious inter-ethnic clashes and environmental degradation[3].

After the socialist period, the Ethiopian government promoted a policy of structural adjustment and liberalisation of the economy. From 1993 to 1998 the country enjoyed a strong international support and financial assistance was provided in form of grants and low-rate loans by the World Bank, the IMF, the USA, the European Union and several European governments. The total influx is estimated at above 2 billion dollars. The fresh financial flow was partly channelled through a renewed banking system and made available to private investors. Rural land was not privatised, but long-term leasing agreements opened the possibility to invest in the rural sector. The rural population was entirely cut out from this opportunity. On the one hand, local people were mostly incapable of dealing with the required credit procedures. On the other, as the land and resources were still state-owned, they did not possess the necessary collateral. Large-scale investors, on the other hand, got quite interested in the irrigated state farms, state ranches and facilities for livestock marketing in the drylands, a process not at all conflict-free. In the Borana Zone, some local communities were forced to compete on a public bid against well-organised private investors to gain back the communal control of Dambalaa Waaccuu Ranch. The same ranch was established within communal land during the socialist period, without any compensation[4]. The pastoralists found themselves forced to buy back the land that, in customary law, had always been their own!

In addition, the urban population who owned a house could obtain small credits to engage in rural investment, e.g. to cultivate small plots assigned and registered by the town administrators. In the year 2000, I visited the Borana Zone after an absence of a few years. The cultivated area around Yavello and other towns had multiplied by several times! Tree cover had all but disappeared (people burned the trunks to kill the trees). Some had invested in agricultural implements (tractors, fertiliser, improved seeds, etc.) and grain marketing facilities. Most of these small and medium investors were town dwellers and, like most administrators, did not

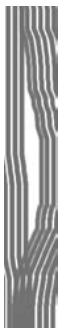
belong to the autochthonous ethnic group, the Borana. My visit took place at the height of a two-year drought, which had stopped all agricultural activities. The farmers were unable to pay back their credits. Meanwhile, the herds of the pastoralists had exhausted the little pasture available to them, and had died. Only a few heads survived through long-range transfers to remote areas. The food emergency was worsened by the marketing conditions. Before the drought, the Oromo farmers of the Bale highlands were selling their maize to urban traders for 30 birr per quintal, while the Oromo pastoralists in the Borana Zone, less than 200 hundred kilometres away, had to pay the same maize about 100 birr per quintal. During the drought the price of maize increased to 200 birr in the Borana Zone, all the while the price of cattle dropped from 400-600 birr to 200 birr for a three-year old steer.



Human rights organisations can provide long lists of disappeared people and details of extra-judicial killings, mass arrest of rural people and sexual abuse of rural women. They also accuse the Ethiopian army of having provoked the fires that, at the beginning of 2000, destroyed 70,000 hectares of forest in southern Ethiopia. The disaster was likely unleashed in the hope of controlling guerrilla activities.

Big time for authoritarianism and violence

An unfortunate characteristic of the Ethiopian modern State— imperial until 1974 and socialist dictatorship until 1991— has been the authoritarian approach, cause and effect of virtually permanent internal armed conflicts. During the 1960s and 70s, the opposition to the government in the eastern and south-eastern drylands was framed within the Somali irredentism, involving in guerrilla activities both Somali speaking and Muslim Oromo-speaking groups. Later, the political opposition was organised along ethnic lines, until the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) liberated the country, in 1991, and formed the bulk of the Ethiopian Transitional Government. Their government introduced the principle of federalism along ethnic lines, formalised in the new Ethiopian Constitution in 1995. This was a great opportunity, which could have promoted grassroots participation in the Ethiopian political processes and reversed the Ethiopian authoritarian tradition. Unfortunately, all this is still an aspiration. The EPLF managed to organise an official referendum in Eritrea and gained full independence. The Oromo are the largest cultural and linguistic group in the country, living in the eastern, central and western highlands and extending into the southern lowlands and across the Kenyan border. In 1992, the OLF enjoyed a large popular support but decided to withdraw from the first national election, claiming gross violations of political rights by the TPLF army. Since then, OLF members have been persecuted, which prompted them to start underground political activities. Soon, they were followed by the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF) in the Somali Region, and by several other organisations in Southern and South-western Ethiopia.



Rebuilding sustainable livelihoods must start from the full recognition of traditional, ethnic-based knowledge, skills, norms and institutions, and from the respect of the customary rights of the autochthonous people. On those premises, a patient, non-violent process of negotiation of further economic and environmental rights and responsibilities among a variety of parties can indeed begin.

Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, other human rights organisations and the relevant international media regularly report of human right abuses, including massive arrests and illegal detentions of students all over Ethiopia, repeated shooting and killing of demonstrators, the common practise of torture of detainees, massacres of civil population even outside the national territory, violations of the freedom of the press, arrests of intellectuals and human right activists, and the like[5]. Human rights organisations connected to the opposition parties, such as the Oromia Support Group, can provide long lists of disappeared people and details of extra-judicial killings, mass arrest of rural people and sexual abuse of rural women. They also accuse the Ethiopian army of having provoked the fires that, at the beginning of 2000, destroyed 70,000 hectares of forest in southern Ethiopia. The disaster was likely unleashed in the hope of controlling guerrilla activities. Currently, the country is caught in a situation of diffused, low-intensity civil war, with devastating impacts on its food production capacity. The connection between political instability and famine is so strict that

there is a nearly perfect overlapping between guerrilla areas and zones were more than 76% population is in need of food assistance.

Rebuilding ethnic livelihoods

For the autochthonous peoples of the Ethiopian drylands, a judicious and sustainable use of natural resources is the heart of normal life. Most unfortunately, throughout the last century their ethnic-based livelihoods were marginalized, exploited and ultimately rendered impossible by unequal and oppressive relationships with successive national governments—imperial powers, socialist dictators, greedy developers and violent liberators alike. Their exclusion from decisional processes over their natural resources led to the erosion of their natural resource management systems as well as attacks on their identity, culture and customary rights. Their well-adapted productive systems have disastrously lost their effectiveness and capacity to cope with environmental crises. And yet, no viable alternative has emerged. At least for the Oromo-Borana, there is an acute need to recognise the value and wisdom of their complex, traditional, ethnic-based resource management systems. Some international voices are starting to claim this more and more forcefully[6]. In this, it is important to remember that sustainable livelihood systems are not confined to their environmental dimensions. Economic diversification is a necessary component— the only one capable of coping with demographic growth. National and international trade of the products of the Ethiopian drylands has been monopolised by outsiders, limiting the capacity of the autochthonous communities to engage in alternative economic activities. Their exclusion from basic services, especially education, also impeded their access to job opportunities, and the recent economic liberalisation processes only exacerbated the existing unbalance in entitlements. Political openness, the cessation of human rights abuses and a journey towards more equitable systems are also critical dimensions of sustainable livelihoods. As well expressed by Farvar (2002): "*Neither the survival of human communities nor that of natural systems will be assured while huge disparity in wealth, power and privilege exist*".

Clearly, rebuilding sustainable livelihoods requires long-term efforts by all concerned institutions and individuals. In a particularly difficult and vulnerable natural environment, such as the Ethiopian drylands, this must start from the full recognition of traditional, ethnic-based knowledge, skills, norms and institutions, and from the respect of the customary rights of the autochthonous people. On those premises, a patient, non-violent process of negotiation of further economic and environmental rights and responsibilities among a variety of parties can indeed begin.

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Notes

[1] Fassil Kiros, 1993: 1; 65)

[2] See, for instance, Mutombo 1980: 110; Tolba 1987: 103-4, 207; Thébaud, Grell and Miehe 1995; Lusigi 2001: 13; Darkoh 2001: 38; Baxter 2001.

[3] Bassi, 1997.

[4] Boku Tache, 2000: 85-8.

[5] See, for example, IRIN 23 April 2001; IRIN 4 July 2001; IRIN 11 September 2001; IRIN 6 Nov. 2001; IRIN 24 May 2002; reports for BBC News by Nita Bhalla in April and May 2001; BBC News 24 May 2002; Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2000: 78. See also the *European Parliament Resolution on Human Rights Violations in Ethiopia* of 17 May 2001.

[6] See the "*Dana Declaration on Mobile People and Conservation*", reproduced in this same section of *Policy Matters*.

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Better than nature? Senegal River management reconsidered

Sandra Kloff

Since the Andalusian historian al-Bakri first described their production system, the floodplains of the river Senegal managed to maintain a flourishing economy for over a millennium. In years of normal rainfall, a huge flow from the Senegal's tributaries flooded the riverbanks, recharging aquifers and enriching the plains with nutrient-rich silt. Farmers grew pearl millet and sorghum in the flood-watered soil. After the harvest, herders moved their cattle into the plains to browse the stubble, and the animals fertilized the land. Small fish moved from the main channel of the river into the flood plains to escape larger river-bound predators. An extraordinary series of harvests were reaped throughout centuries in this low-rainfall Sahelian region: millet, sorghum and other cultigens; milk and meat; and fish. Furthermore, the sequential use of the same lands allowed ethnically distinct peoples to contribute to the well being of one another, promoting social cohesion and harmony[1].

The existing local activities and subsistence-oriented livelihoods were never properly taken into account despite research results showing that the true returns from the traditional system vastly exceed even the best forecasts of irrigated

First came the famous droughts, then the dams…

In response to the historic droughts of the early 1970s, Senegal, Mauritania and Mali searched for ways to improve the management of water resources in the region. The three governments thus created the Senegal Valley Development Authority (*Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal*, OMVS) and made extensive investments in water management, in particular through the construction of the Manantali Dam on the Bafing, in Mali, and the Diama salt-intrusion barrage near the mouth of the Senegal River.[2] The dams were built in the late 1980s to expand irrigated farms, especially in the delta, generate electricity for urban and industrial development and make the river more navigable.

Flood-recession agriculture in the middle valley was not too regarded by the river developers, and actually perceived as an old fashioned production system. It was expected that, in time, the traditional farmers would convert into irrigation agriculturists.[3] Designs of new water management scenarios were based on simple cost-benefit analyses, well-fitting formal economies, financial accounting and expectations of wage employment and foreign exchange capital. The existing local activities and subsistence-oriented livelihoods were never properly taken into account and with them the need for fresh water of the vast majority of riparian peoples of the Senegal Middle and Upper Valley. This was true despite research results showing that the true returns from the traditional system— when all the factors of production such as land, labour and capital are taken into account— vastly exceed even the best forecasts of what was anticipated from irrigated agriculture.[4]

An artificial flood was initially to be maintained by the OMVS to sustain the "old fashioned" farmers before they would be reformed into "modern" irrigation farming. In the long run, however, this flood was expected to disappear.[5] The remaining traditional livelihood systems were to become the victims of hydropower development, as the conventional management of the Manantali dam had terminated annual flooding by retaining waters in the upstream reservoir and releasing it only as needed by the turbines.

All ideas for alternative water management are based on a simple philosophy: stay as close as possible to pre-dams conditions and thereby safeguard the ecological balance and livelihoods that evolved with it.

…and after the dams came the aquatic weeds and the diseases…

Even before the water managers of the Senegal River entirely changed the natural course of the river, they faced a number of serious problems— on top of the

Figure1: The emergent *Typha* plants together with floating *Salvinia*. At this stage *Salvinia* was almost eaten away by the weevils. (*Courtesy Seppo Hellsten*)

repayment of the costly loans undertaken to build the infrastructure. Among those problems were disappointing yields of irrigated agriculture, soil degradation and adverse effects on the environment. The most eye-catching among the latter was the prolific growth of water plants in the Lower Valley, a true invasion of waterweeds. From September 1999 on, *Salvinia molesta,* a free-floating South American water fern, invaded all open spaces in the Senegal Lower Valley, forming thick mats.[6] Fortunately, a means of biological control was found against *S. molesta* in the neo-tropical weevil *Cyrtobagus salviniae,* which only specifically feeds on *Salvinia*. This was applied in April 2000 and proved to be a long-lasting solution. Controlling the prolific growth of native water plants, like the emergent species *Typha australis*, is much more of a Herculean task. These native plants cannot be controlled mechanically or chemically, and no bio-control agent is available. In less than 10 years, *Typha* has built an almost impassable wall between the river dykes and the open water, and clogged shallow waters in the freshwater reservoir just above the Diama Dam, in the Lac de Guiers– the source of potable water for the city of Dakar– and in the irrigation channels. *Typha* has negative impacts on traditional livelihoods as well, especially on the health of the inhabitants of the Lower Valley and their cattle. The new environmental conditions of fresh water harbouring luxurious vegetation are a perfect habitat for the molluscs that pass on the parasites of schistosomiasis to people. The Lower Valley now holds the sad world record for this disease.[7]

Mosquito larvae also flourish in this man-made environment and malaria outbreaks have become a constant problem, as are liver flukes (parasitic diseases for the livestock).

The biological control agents against* Salvinia *were urgently imported from South Africa. The park wardens successfully bred starter colonies of the weevils and, together with local fishermen, released the insects along the infested area. Within two years the problem was

. . .and in the end, some common sense

Since the Diama dam came into commission, two protected areas in the Lower Valley— the Djoudj Park in Senegal and the Diawling Park in Mauritania— are attempting to reconstruct natural history by simulating pre-dam conditions, with impressive benefits for natural resources and traditional livelihoods alike. Both parks have developed a considerable experience in combating the weed problem too. It was on their initiative that the biological control agents against *Salvinia* were urgently imported from South Africa.[8] The park wardens successfully bred starter colonies of the weevils and, together with local fishermen, released the insects along the infested area. Within two years the problem was solved. The proliferation of *Typha* is also under control within the limits of the parks, thanks to simulating the pre-dam water cycles in that area.

Making the right decisions for the future

The OMVS is about to start a study on how to solve the aquatic weed problem. Mechanical and/or chemical control would not be sustainable options and terminating the artificial flooding will surely aggravate the problem. Cutting *Typha* with high-tech machines is slow and very costly and in any case the plants

soon grow back. Long-term alleviation of waterweeds can only be achieved by radically changing present water management. In other words, annual disturbance created by the artificial flood is to be maintained or enhanced. Periodically reducing the water level in the Diama dam reservoir would also significantly hamper waterweed development. *Typha* is highly sensitive to water level fluctuations, as demonstrated in both Djoudj and Diawling Parks over the past years.[9]

Allowing some seawater to enter the Diama reservoir could further stop the weed spread and probably impair the vectors of diseases like schistosomiasis, malaria and liver flukes

All ideas for alternative water management are based on a simple philosophy: stay as close as possible to pre-dam conditions and thereby safeguard the ecological balance and livelihoods that evolved with it. As a matter of fact, the scenario to combat waterweeds and to restore the ecology in the Lower Valley by fluctuating water levels and simulating pre-dam conditions goes hand in hand with the need for flooding expressed by the traditional farmers of the Middle and Upper Valley.

Advanced river managers all over the world need to follow a holistic approach. Economic activities must be firmly understood within their ecological and social context and not solely assessed through simplistic (and partial, and biased) cost-benefit analysis. Rather than asking ecology and society to adapt to new land and water-uses, it makes better sense to adapt new water and land use patterns to the existing ecology and society. This does not mean that there is no room for major development plans for irrigated agriculture, generation of hydropower or municipal water supplies. It only means that policy makers must pay better attention to, and be more respectful of, the complexity of river ecology and the diversified production systems that evolve with it. This can best become possible if the local communities that possess much traditional wisdom about natural resource management nvolved in planning and decision making.

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Notes and References

[1] USAID, *The future of the Senegal River Basin: making the right decisions now*, information pamphlet, 1995.

[2] By blocking seawater intrusion, the Diama dam is also blocking fish migration from the ocean. Six years after its construction, the mullet fishery sector in Mauritania collapsed. If the area downstream of the Diama dam would receive fresh water during the dry season, the mullet fishery industry could possibly revive. In that case a smaller part of the former estuary would be restored, where juvenile mullets could grow up again into healthy adults, replenishing the ocean's stock.

[3] PNUD-OMVS, *Programme intégré de développement du bassin du Sénégal*, 12 volumes, Norbert Beyrard, Paris, 1974.

[4] Horowitz, M., M. Salem-Murdock et al, *Suivi des activités du bassin du Fleuve Sénégal* (SRBMA): Rapport final intégré. Institute for Development Anthropology, Binghamton, NY. 1990; re-published as *Les barrages de la controverse: le cas de la Vallée du Fleuve Sénégal, Paris,* 1994. All details on flood-recession agriculture were obtained from personal communication with Michael Horowitz and his writings.

[5] Adams, A., *Quel avenir pour la Vallée?* L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000.

[6] Salvinia and water hyacinths are sold as ornamentals on the markets of Dakar and Saint Louis. A more catastrophic invasion would emerge if water hyacinth would be transferred into the river.

[7] Hamerlynck O., M.L. ould Baba, & Duvail, S., "The Diawling National Park: joint management for the rehabilitation of a degraded coastal wetland," *Vida Sylvestre Neotropical*, (7)1: 59-69, 1999.

[8] The first batch of bio-control agents was provided for free by Carina Cilliers from the Plant Protection Research Institute in Pretoria. Transport costs were covered on private budgets of the Minister of Rural Development in Mauritania, the Senator of Rosso, fishermen of the Diawling Park, Ankie Frantzen of UNEP, Frank Hilbrands of the Lutheran World Federation, Stephan Graf of GTZ and the author of this paper.

[9] All details on aquatic weed management were obtained from two distinct EU projects, both coordinated by Arnold Pieterse from the Royal Tropical Institute in the Netherlands with which the author collaborated and from IUCN Mauritania, for whom the author worked for two years.

Dana Declaration on Mobile Peoples and Conservation

The world faces unprecedented threats to the conservation and sustainable use of its biodiversity. At the same time, its cultural and linguistic diversity, which includes an immeasurable and irreplaceable range of knowledge and skills, is being lost at an alarming rate.

The linked pressures of human population dynamics, unsustainable consumption patterns, climate change and global and national economic forces threaten both the conservation of biological resources and the livelihoods of many indigenous and traditional peoples. In particular, mobile peoples now find themselves constrained by forces beyond their control, which put them at a special disadvantage.

Mobile peoples are discriminated against. Their rights, including rights of access to natural resources, are often denied and conventional conservation practices insufficiently address their concerns. These factors, together with the pace of global change, undermine their lifestyles, reduce their ability to live in balance with nature and threaten their very existence as distinct peoples.

Nonetheless, through their traditional resource use practices and culture-based respect for nature, many mobile peoples are still making a significant contribution to the maintenance of the earth's ecosystems, species and genetic diversity – even though this often goes unrecognised. Thus the interests of mobile peoples and conservation converge, especially as they face a number of common challenges. There is therefore an urgent need to create a mutually reinforcing partnership between mobile peoples and those involved with conservation.

In the light of this understanding, we commit ourselves to promoting conservation practices based on the following principles:

Principle 1. Rights and Empowerment

Conservation approaches with potential impact on mobile peoples and their natural resources must recognise mobile peoples' rights, management responsibilities and capacities, and should lead to effective empowerment. These rights include:

1.1 Human rights: civil, political, social, economic and cultural;

1.2 Land and resource rights, including those under customary law;

1.3 Cultural and intellectual property rights;

1.4 The right to full participation in decision-making and relevant negotiation processes at different levels;

In April 2002, some 30 experts from around the world, with various professional backgrounds, attended a five-day conference in the Dana Nature Reserve, Jordan. They came together to address a difficult and sensitive issue— the relationship between mobile peoples[1] and conservation.

The undertaking grew out of an earlier conference held in 1999 at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, which identified a need to bridge disciplinary divides between social and natural scientists. Settled communities have been the focus of most debate concerning conservation and sustainable development and the special case of mobile communities had not been widely explored. With the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) and the World Parks Congress (2003) on the horizon, the 1999 conference stressed the concerns about mobile communities and conservation.

IUCN was pleased to be associated with the Dana event. WCPA played a part in its planning and co-sponsored it. CEESP was represented by its Chair and by the Chair and several members of the Collaborative Management Working Group. The IUCN Chief Scientist was a keynote speaker. After intensive debate in which contrasting perspectives were offered, the Dana Conference successfully developed a common ground around an agreed statement— the Dana Declaration on Mobile Peoples and Conservation.

For further information, translations of the Declaration and opportunities to endorse it, please consult *www.danadeclaration.org* or contact Dawn Chatty at *dawn.chatty@queen-elizabeth-house.oxford.ac.uk* or Adrian Phillips at *adrianp@wcpa.demon.co.uk* . Dawn is Deputy Director of the Oxford Refugee Study Center and a member of CEESP/ WGSL. Adrian is the former Chair of WCPA and a member of CEESP/ CMWG.

[1] By "mobile peoples," we mean a subset of indigenous and traditional peoples whose livelihoods depend on extensive common property use of natural resources over an area, who use mobility as a management strategy for dealing with sustainable use and conservation, and who possess a

Figure1. The participants in the Dana meeting. Gathering with one of the local Bedouin communities.

1.5 The right to derive equitable benefits from any consumptive or non-consumptive use of local natural resources.

To this end, appropriate legislative reforms should be promoted as needed, at national and international levels. In addition, because mobile peoples often move through different territories, transboundary co-operation between national authorities may be required.

Recognition of mobile peoples' rights should lead to effective empowerment, and include consideration of gender and age.

Principle 2. Trust and Respect

Beneficial partnerships between conservation interests and mobile peoples should be based upon mutual trust and respect and address the issue of discrimination against mobile peoples. To this end partnerships should:

2.1 Be equitable;

2.2 Fully respect and acknowledge mobile peoples' institutions;

2.3 Balance the exercise of rights by all parties with the fulfilment of responsibilities;

2.4 Recognise and incorporate relevant customary law;

2.5 Promote the accountability of all parties in relation to the fulfilment of conservation objectives and the needs of mobile peoples.

Principle 3. Different Knowledge Systems

In planning and implementing conservation of biodiversity with mobile peoples, there is a need to respect and incorporate their traditional knowledge and management practices. Given that no knowledge system is infallible, the complementary use of traditional and mainstream sciences is a valuable means of meeting the changing needs of mobile peoples and answering conservation dilemmas. In particular:

1.1 Traditional and mainstream sciences and management practices should enter into dialogue on a basis of equal footing and involve two-way learning;

1.2 Traditional and mainstream sciences should be appropriately valued and their dynamic nature acknowledged.

Principle 4. Adaptive Management

Conservation of biodiversity and natural resources within areas inhabited or used by mobile peoples requires the application of adaptive management approaches. Such approaches should build on traditional / existing cultural models and incorporate mobile peoples' worldviews, aspirations and customary law. They should work towards the physical and cultural survival of mobile peoples and the long-term conservation of biodiversity.

More particularly, such adaptive management approaches should:

1.1 Build on areas of common interest between the chosen lifestyles of mobile peoples and the conservation objective of sustainable resource management;

1.2 Allow for diversification of livelihoods, and ensure provision of a variety of benefits at all levels, including mobile services;

1.3 Recognise the diversity of systems of tenure and access to resources, including the customary sharing of resources;

1.4 Recognize and support the contributions made by mobile peoples to conserving and enhancing the genetic diversity of domesticated animals and plants;

1.5 Learn from the flexible management practices of mobile peoples to enrich conservation;

1.6 Develop conservation planning at a larger landscape scale, using the notion of mobility as a central concept, and incorporating both ecological and cultural perspectives.

Principle 5: Collaborative Management

Adequate institutional structures for adaptive management should be based on the concept of equitable sharing of decision-making and management responsibilities between mobile peoples and conservation agencies. This is only possible if the existing decision-making mechanisms for biodiversity conservation become more democratic and transparent, so as to allow for the full and open participation of civil society and mobile peoples in particular, and for the establishment of co-management and self-management systems. This requires that the relevant parties:

Figure 2. Start of Migration. High Atlas Mountains, Morocco (*courtesy A. Bourbouze*)

1.1 Develop processes and means that foster cross-cultural dialogue directed towards consensual decision-making;

1.2 Incorporate culturally appropriate conflict-management mechanisms and institutions;

1.3 Recognize the time-scale appropriate to cultural processes and the time required to build intercultural partnerships for adaptive management;

1.4 Foster locally agreed solutions to conservation problems;

WE NEED AN ACTION PLAN TO SUPPORT PASTORAL MOBILITY

Maryam Niamir-Fuller

Drylands are *"non-equilibrium ecosystems,"* meaning that they regularly and normally change between different ecological levels, making it difficult if not impossible to define a stable equilibrium. There are, however, patterns and cycles in such change. The degree of predictability is low, but traditional users have learnt to detect and sustainably utilize these cycles and changes. Dryland ecosystems are also ecologically resilient, in fact much more so than usually believed. The scale and magnitude of persistent ecological damage has been over-estimated, with "overgrazing" used as a convenient scapegoat for many other causes. Serious land degradation and desertification are evident around permanent settlements and water points, where livestock mobility is reduced, but much less so in open rangelands under extensive production systems. If anything, over-cultivation is the single most serious threat to drylands and rangelands. Root causes are policies that favour cultivation over livestock production, sedenterization programmes and inappropriate infrastructure investments.

The scale and magnitude of persistent ecological damage has been over-estimated, with "overgrazing" used as a convenient scapegoat for many other causes.

Local pastoral systems are highly heterogeneous. Men and women control different functions. Elite and peasants have different powers and expectations. Despite the emergence of individualistic behaviours, most pastoral groups continue to share a sense of community. Their social capital—indigenous knowledge, customary leadership patterns, reciprocity and interdependence rules, political alliances, social "symbiotic" relationships and conflict resolution mechanisms— is very high. Such social capital contributes to powerful adaptive rangeland management strategies, which still have to be fully recognised in their role for conservation. An action plan to build upon the strengths and potential of pastoral rangeland management systems is urgently needed and would at least include the following components:

1. Property Rights and Legal Reform

The drier the ecosystem, the more incentives it offers is to managing the natural resources communally. Here the policy makers shoudl pay much more attention to nested property systems, inclusive rights, fluid boundaries and co-management arrangements.

2. Policy Incentives

Pastoral Codes, land use planning schemes, economic incentives for extensive livestock production, more favourable input/output pricing, more appropriate taxation and the promotion of associations and corporations are useful options for action.

3. Strengthening Management Systems

This can profit from providing support and respect to the herder profession, encouraging key-site management, considering the values of both informal and formal institutions, planning for the use of common-land , re-inforcing customary/local leadership and common law.

4. Communication and conflict resolution

In this area benefits would be drawn by enhancing the participation of pastoral communities in decision-making, supporting transience and flexibility, supporting indigenous expertise and innovations, cultivating social and gender sensitivity, taking to full use modern communication technologies and promoting negotiation processes with third party intermediaries.

5. Decentralization

Empowering pastoral communities would involve devolving effective authority to lowest level feasible, defining constituency through social units rather than geographical units, providing mobile election services and— most of all— maintaining pastoral mobility.

6. Mobile Services and Markets

Services such as health, education, veterinary care, seasonal marketing and insurance schemes must be adapted in both content and structure to mobile populations.

Mobile pastoralism is ecologically, economically and socially crucial for sustainable development in dryland ecosystems. The recent spontaneous revival of transhumance in Southern Europe and in the Commonwealth of Independent States is offering an important stimulus to recognise the viability of mobile pastoral systems throughout Africa and Asia. An Action Plan to Support Pastoral Mobility would *not* advocate turning the clock back, nor freezing pastoralists in their current state. It would rather offer appropriate policies, legal mechanisms, and other needed support for pastoralists to evolve their own sustainable livelihood systems.

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El Plan Puebla Panama—— Crónica de una insostenibilidad anunciada

Ileana Valenzuela

El Plan Puebla Panamá (PPP)— que incluye a los estados del Sudeste de México (Puebla, Veracruz, Tabasco, Yucatán, Quintana Roo, Chiapas, Oaxaca y Guerrero) y a los 7 países de Centro América (Guatemala, Belice, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica y Panamá)— es un proyecto geopolítico de los Estados Unidos, promovido por el presidente mexicano Vicente Fox, que entra en el marco del Acuerdo de Libre Comercio para las Américas (ALCA). En esto marco también se encuentran el Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (NAFTA), el Plan Colombia, la Iniciativa Regional Andina, y otros con los que se busca intensificar la colonización de la región latinoamericana por medio de la expansión del comercio, la construcción de toda una serie de infraestructuras y una fuerte reorganización económico-social. El PPP es parte del movimiento de globalización mundial que entiende controlar todas las actividades económicas poniéndolas al servicio de las transnacionales y subordinándolas más que nunca al gran capital internacional y a la dominación de los Estados Unidos.

Se busca intensificar la colonización de la región latinoamericana por medio de la expansión del comercio, la construcción de toda una serie de infraestructuras y una fuerte reorganización económico-social.

El Plan Puebla Panamá (PPP), califica al sur de México y a Centro América de demasiado rurales, pobres y poco rentables, debido a su falta de infraestructuras adecuadas y a la sub-utilización de sus recursos, pretendiendo sacarlos de su pobreza y subdesarrollo mediante megaproyectos que, al hacer más rentable la región, atraigan a la inversión extranjera, permitan una mayor apertura del mercado y una mayor competitividad. Con un discurso basado en el "desarrollo sostenible" y la "lucha contra la pobreza" el PPP presenta el mismo modelo capitalista de desarrollo destructivo y desigual que, desde hace 50 años, se ha presentado como el remedio para todos los males de la región. Con la implantación de megaproyectos se pretenden provocar directamente el "desarrollo" y el "crecimiento económico"... Poco importa que dichos megaproyectos, dicho crecimiento y dicho desarrollo desde siempre hayan demostrado, a través del mundo, que degradan y destruyen la naturaleza, desintegran a las poblaciones desposeyéndolas de sus recursos y empobreciéndolas y someten a los países a los intereses de las transnacionales, favoreciendo al mismo tiempo una gran corrupción en las agencias financieras, en los gobiernos y en las compañías constructoras.

Geopolítica

Desde Puebla, atravesando toda Centro América, hasta Panamá se encuentra el pasaje más corto entre el Océano Pacifico y el Océano Atlántico, por lo que la solución más rentable que se presenta al comercio entre el Occidente y Asia, que cada vez más toma más importancia a nivel mundial, es el transporte de mercancías a través de corredores secos y de vías acuáticas que vayan del uno al otro de los dos océanos a través de toda la región mesoamericana. Es por ello que Meso América adquiere una importancia esencial para la expansión del sistema capitalista a nivel mundial tanto de punto de vista político y económico como militar. Esta importancia es aún mayor si se consideran las otras ventajas comparativas de la región: mano de obra barata, recursos naturales abundantes y baratos (bosques, petróleo, energía hidroeléctrica, agua, biodiversidad, etc.) que se pueden privatizar. Así como la posibilidad de construir corredores de maquiladoras, en los que se terminen de montar, a un costo menor que en los países asiáticos, los diferentes productos transportados (textiles, electrónicos, farmacéuticos, etc.).

Iniciativas del PPP

Dentro de las iniciativas del PPP se planifica construir varios corredores secos uniendo con carreteras y ferrocarriles las costas de los dos océanos, una carretera bordeando el océano Pacifico, un oleoducto, unas 70 hidroeléctricas, una red de fibra óptica, etc. Los megaproyectos estarán acompañados por varias obras de dragado, construcción de muelles, rompe-olas y terminales, construcción, modernización y ampliación de puertos, aeropuertos y diversas obras para el impulso del transporte multi-modal y del turismo (que no

necesariamente entran, oficialmente, dentro del marco del plan). Todas estas infraestructuras serán financiadas por el Banco Mundial (BM) y otras agencias internacionales como el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID), quienes prestarán el dinero a los gobiernos para que estos a su vez lo den a la iniciativa privada, aumentando la deuda externa de los diferentes países y beneficiando directamente a las compañías constructoras, a las que venden los materiales, combustible y equipos, a las consultoras que preparan los estudios y a las elites y gobiernos que siempre obtienen una tajada en esos fructuosos negocios.

Existen otras iniciativas que no están claras [como] la implementación de dispositivos policiaco-militares para controlar la población, el confinamiento de deshechos tóxicos, la eliminación de la agricultura de subsistencia por medio de la expulsión de los campesinos e indígenas de sus tierras (para convertirlos en obreros concentrados en corredores urbanos) y la implantación cada vez más grande de una agricultura y de una forestaría de monocultivo manejadas por las transnacionales.

Además de los megaproyectos mencionados, existen otras iniciativas que no están claras, debido a la falta de transparencia y a la poca información que llega a las bases y que hay que esclarecer. Una de ellas es la implementación de dispositivos policiaco-militares para controlar la población, tal como el Programa Nuevos Horizontes entre México y Guatemala, con el que se pretende reprimir los movimientos socio-políticos en Chiapas y en el resto de la región. Así como el confinamiento de deshechos tóxicos al que dichos planes parecen estar ligados. Otra iniciativa, no claramente definida en los documentos a los que hemos tenido acceso, pero que ya está en marcha, es la eliminación de la agricultura de subsistencia por medio de la expulsión de los campesinos e indígenas de sus tierras (para convertirlos en obreros concentrados en corredores urbanos) y la implantación cada vez más grande de una agricultura y de una forestaría de monocultivo manejadas por las transnacionales, en las que se siga dependiendo de insumos importados y contaminantes, se haga utilización de materiales trans-génicos y se patente la biodiversidad.

Contrapropuestas

A pesar de la falta de información y transparencia con las que el PPP se presenta, varios grupos de la sociedad civil y comunidades han comenzado a recolectar la información, a analizarla y a mostrar su rechazo al PPP, promoviéndose el intercambio de experiencias en diferentes foros a nivel nacional, regional e internacional, la concientización de las comunidades y la definición de contrapropuestas al PPP que reflejen las verdaderas necesidades y expectativas de la población.

El Grupo Solidario de Acción y Propuesta de Petén (GSAPP) en Guatemala, por ejemplo, se ha conformado con un grupo de organizaciones de base y personas que no quieren ese futuro. A parte de facilitar la análisis y la divulgación de la información y el intercambio de experiencias locales, nacionales y regionales, el Grupo se propone a formar a los promotores de las diferentes organizaciones para que informen y hagan concientes a las comunidades sobre el modelo de desarrollo que quiere imponer el PPP y sus impactos. Además, el GSAPP, que no solamente busca oponerse y resistir al plan, ha conformado a su interior un pequeño grupo de investigadores quienes se proponen comenzar, con la estrecha participación de la población, a diseñar contrapropuestas concretas al PPP, basadas en las experiencias, necesidades y expectativas de las comunidades peteneras. Todas estas actividades, que están empezando a consolidarse, estarán orientadas a reforzar las iniciativas que en todas partes del mundo y a todos los niveles se oponen a formas de desarrollo destructivas y desiguales, como el PPP, y comienzan a construir las bases necesarias para que nazca una nueva sociedad.

Diseñando contrapropuestas concretas al PPP. Discutiendo experiencias, necesidades y expectativas de las comunidades peteneras. (*Cortesía Carlos Kurzel*)

Citizen visions of sustainable development— Lessons from deliberative democracy in South India

Michel Pimbert, Tom Wakeford and P.V. Satheesh

Visions of what constitutes sustainable development— and for whom— are at the heart of the debate in the wake of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD). In a recent experience of deliberative and inclusive democracy, different food and farming futures were assessed by the poorest of the poor in South India.

The State of Andhra Pradesh (AP) in South India is currently re-thinking its approach to farming, land use and marketing. The AP government's so called Vision 2020 seeks to transform *all* areas of social, environmental and economic life in AP, not just food and farming. The government's strategy for sustainable development and poverty-reduction is intimately linked with the delivery of this comprehensive vision. External development agencies support the Government of AP in this endeavour, with The World Bank and the UK Department for International Development (DFID) being the main donors.

About 70 per cent of the state's population of 80 million are engaged in agriculture. Over 80 per cent of those involved in agriculture are small and marginal farmers and landless labourers. Fundamental and profound transformations of the food system are proposed in Vision 2020, yet there has been little or no involvement of small farmers and rural people in shaping this policy scenario. In this context, five organisations1 designed and facilitated a participatory process to encourage more public debate in policy choices on food futures for the State of Andhra Pradesh. *Prajateerpu* ("people's verdict") has been devised as a means of allowing those people most affected by the "Vision 2020" for food and farming in Andhra Pradesh (AP, India) to shape a vision of their own[2].

Figure 1: Anandamma at the *Prajateerpu* process (*courtesy Bansuri Taneja*)

The citizens jury/scenario workshop did not seek to achieve representation from all social groups, instead it purposefully and positively discriminated in favour of the poor and marginalised farmers, indigenous peoples and the

Prajateerpu: a citizen jury/ scenario workshop on food and farming systems, livelihoods and environment in Andhra Pradesh

The citizens jury/ scenario workshop did not seek to achieve representation from all social groups, instead it purposefully and positively discriminated in favour of the poor and marginalised farmers, indigenous peoples and the landless. The process used for the participatory assessments of alternative policy futures for food systems, livelihoods and environment in Andhra Pradesh is described in the box.

The facilitators used a range of methods to give jurors the opportunity to validate their knowledge, and challenge the misunderstandings of decision-makers. The jurors' comments were in many ways more diverse than those of specialists because they had looser commitments to subject boundaries and, to a certain extent, a more insightful and open-minded approach to the tensions these boundaries can mask. There was a significant diversity of opinion among the jurors. However there was a widespread agreement on the statements in their verdict, which included the following:

The Prajateerpu process

The citizen jury. A citizen jury made up of representatives of small and marginal farmers, small traders and food processors and consumers. To reflect the reality of rural Andhra Pradesh, most of the members were small and marginal farmers and included indigenous people (known in India as *divas*). Over two thirds of the jury members were women.

Visions of the future. Jury members were presented with three different scenarios. Each one was advocated by some key opinion leaders who attempted to show the logic behind the scenario

> ***Vision 1:*** *Vision 2020.* This scenario has been put forward by Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister and has been backed by a loan from the World Bank. It proposes to consolidate small farms and rapidly increase mechanisation and modernisation. Production enhancing technologies such as genetic modification will be introduced in farming and food processing, reducing the number of people on the land from 70% to 40% by 2020.
>
> ***Vision 2:*** *An export-based cash crop model of organic production.* This vision of the future is based on proposals within IFOAM and the International Trade Centre (UNCTAD/WTO) for environmentally friendly farming linked to national and international markets. This vision is also increasingly driven by the demand of supermarkets in the North to have a cheap supply of organic produce and comply with new eco-labelling standards.
>
> ***Vision 3:*** *Localised food systems.* A future scenario based on increased self-reliance for rural communities, low external input agriculture, the re-localisation of food production, markets and local economies, with long-distance trade in goods that are surplus to production or not produced locally. Support for this vision in India can be drawn from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, indigenous peoples' organisations and some farmers unions in India and elsewhere.

Each vision was presented through videos.

Expert witnesses. Following the video presentations, expert witnesses presented the case for a particular vision of the future. Members of the AP Government, the corporate sector and civil society organisations were given equal amounts of time to present their case to the jury. Jury members were allowed to cross question expert witnesses after their presentation.

Jury deliberations. Jury members considered all three visions, assessing pros and cons on the basis of their own knowledge, priorities and aspirations. The different contributions of invited expert witnesses were important for the jury's deliberations. The jury members were not asked to simply choose between vision 1, 2 or 3. Instead, outsider facilitation encouraged them to critically assess the viability and relevance of each scenario for the future. They could choose a particular pre-formed vision OR combine elements of all three futures and derive their own unique vision(s).

An oversight panel. The jury/scenario workshop process was overseen by an oversight panel a group of external observers. Their role was to ensure that the process was fair, unprejudiced, trustworthy and not captured by any interest group.

Video archives. The entire citizen jury/scenario workshop process along with interviews of various actors was documented on digital video to:

- provide a clear and accurate record of the event, including the location, the jury setting, the participants, the nature and quality of the debates, the process and its outcomes; and
- Allow any party or external agency to learn from this experience or check for shortfalls in balance, fairness or failings in the deliberative process.

Media. News and media professionals were invited to the *Prajateerpu* event to relay information about the jury deliberations and outcomes to a wider audience, both nationally and internationally.

"We oppose:

- the proposed reduction of those making their livelihood from the land from 70%-40% in Andhra Pradesh
- land consolidation and displacement of rural people
- contract farming
- labour-displacing mechanisation
- GM Crops— including Vitamin-A rice & BT-cotton
- loss of control over medicinal plants including their export

"We desire:

- food and farming for self reliance and community control over resources
- To maintain healthy soils, diverse crops, trees and livestock, and to build on our indigenous knowledge, practical skills and local institutions."

The* Prajateerpu *vision of the future was all about regenerating more localised and diverse food systems and economies throughout Andhra Pradesh.

The* Prajateerpu *process stressed the primacy of politics over economics, re-affirming the importance of democratic debate and citizens' direct choice of the ways and means of satisfying fundamental human needs.

Figure 2: Phillip at the *Prajateerpu* process
(*Courtesy Bansuri Taneja*)

The wider significance of *Prajateerpu*

Both the process and outcomes of *Prajateerpu* have broad relevance for the WSSD and beyond. The following highlights are particularly noteworthy:

Prajateerpu confirmed some of the damaging effects of Green Revolution agriculture and allowed people who had experienced them to recognise the same logic of social and ecological exclusion embedded in Vision 2020's plans for food and farming in AP. The citizen jury decisively rejected a development model that seeks to separate and exclude people from their main source of livelihoods (land, water, forests, livestock...), further undermining biodiversity and local control in the name of 'modernisation'.

The *Prajateerpu* vision of the future was all about regenerating more localised and diverse food systems and economies throughout Andhra Pradesh. The jury emphasised the need for social and ecological *inclusion* through appropriate combinations of local knowledge and institutions, adaptive natural resource management, the extensive use of biodiversity and other internal resources, supportive markets and decentralised governance in a variety of settings across AP.

It is striking that in their vision of food and farming futures in AP, the jurors call for more justice, fairness, humane treatment and democracy as organising principles for the conduct of social and economic life. The categories of economic efficiency and the market are largely absent, or subsumed in society and subordinated to the needs and rights of citizens. In this, the jury echoes many voices of the poor and excluded all over the world.

The *Prajateerpu* process stressed the primacy of politics over economics, re-affirming the importance of democratic debate and citizen direct choice of the ways and means of satisfying fundamental human needs. Deliberative and inclusive processes that empower citizens to imagine and invent *their* versions of the 'good life' and relationships with

nature, and the corresponding policies, are potentially of enormous theoretical and practical relevance for all aspects of the WWSD agenda.

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Notes and References

[1] The All-India National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP). Andhra Pradesh Coalition in Defence of Diversity (APCDD), The University of Hyderabad, AP, and UK-based International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). *Prajateerpu* took place at the Government of India's Farmer Liaison Centre (Krishi Vigyan Kendra – KVK) in Algole Village, Zaheerabad Taluk, Medak District, Andhra Pradesh, on June 25 to July 1, 2001.

[2] See Pimbert, M.P and T. Wakeford. *Prajateerpu— A Citizens Jury/ Scenario Workshop on Food and Farming Futures in Andhra Pradesh, India*, International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2002. See also: www.iied.org/pdf/ Prajateerpu.pdf.

This report is upsetting power!

As we were going to press we heard news of a heated controversy developing around the *Prajateerpu* report. The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex at Brighton decided to withdraw the report from its website and bookshop and the Directors of IDS and IIED—the institutions that employ Tom Wakeford and Michel Pimbert—were under great pressure to "disown" their work. All this is the result of political pressure from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID)—the development assistance agency that provides substantial support to the government of Andhra Pradesh, and over 70% of the funding for IDS and IIED. In recent months, the head of DFID India, Robert Graham-Harrison, accused Michel and Tom of "gross misrepresentation of our programme in the document" which he called "unfounded criticism" that was "deeply unhelpful" and wrote to the IIED executive director asking to remove the *Prajateerpu* report from their Internet site. The report remains on the IIED site (and for this we commend IIED), but it was since removed from the IDS site, and the directors of both institutions are making efforts to distance themselves from the publication. Michel and Tom replied on 12 July with a nine-page defence of their report as something that gave "a bigger voice to poor and marginalised communities." They told Mr Graham-Harrison that he had sparked off debate "about independent research and academic freedom in the face of attempts from a few individuals within a major donor agency to silence critical reflections."

"What are we to think of government agencies that attempt to silence criticism from the very poor they are supposed to serve?"

As independent observers with long-standing respect for the two UK institutions involved in the *Prajateerpu* controversy, we have been watching with disbelief their bending under pressures from a government agency. The two institutions should be very glad, in fact, that some information about these pressures has reached the public, and especially the Indian partners—providing the saving grace for them by not letting them fall prey to official censorship behind the scene.

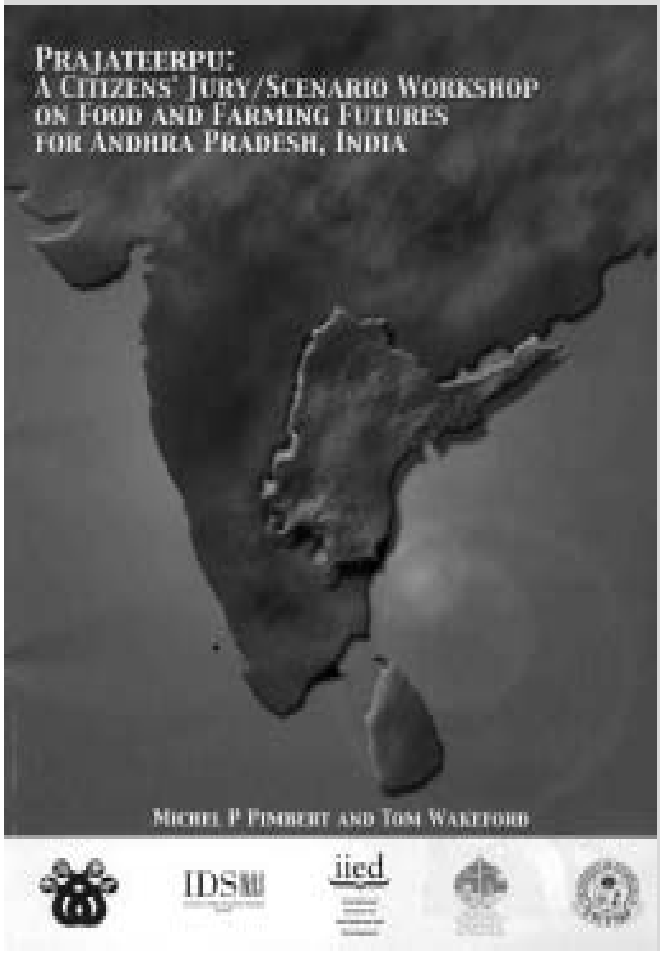
The low point was reached, in our opinion, when the institutions began talking about "addressing concerns related to different approaches to action-research, the adequacy and inclusiveness of research evaluations..."—

and put on their websites a rather uncouth disclaimer for the publication. The disclaimer casts doubts over the validity of the report methodology, which is tantamount to subtracting political weight from the verdict of the poor. Besides being amused at this rather futile and counterproductive attempt, we have a major problem with the fact that the "burden of proof" keeps being put on the shoulders of the ones who are working for participatory, empowering processes. Indeed, "the burden of proof" should be more justly born by those research or development agencies that back social engineering with huge financial resources or by conventional academia and their "mainstream" methods, which threaten dispossessed people with their eternal rehash of data games, combining utmost precision with abysmal relevance and meaning. In fact, we would maintain that today's most respectable research institutions have much better things to do than splitting hair on methodologies. These institutions should rather address some of the most relevant and ominous questions of today, questions that go to the heart of what "public opinion" and even democracy ultimately are in a system of skewed power relationships that includes control over most means of information.

The head of DFID [UK development assistance agency] India... wrote to the IIED executive director asking to remove the* Prajateerpu *report from their Internet site.

How can we make sure that the powerful do not always come up on top by using their phenomenal capacity to "create" public opinion through all sorts of direct and subliminal means? How can we make sure that public opinion is informed and intelligent—coming from a full comprehension of choices, alternatives and consequences? What have we learned from the historical experience of populist movements all over the globe? What are we learning from the current struggle for the domination of the media by political forces? If indeed the less privileged in society have the least capacity to receive information and make their voices heard, how can a movement of solidarity help them? And, last but not least, what are we to think of government agencies that attempt to silence criticism from the very poor they are supposed to serve? We hope that some of these questions will begin to be addressed by the electronic forum that IIED and IDS have now started on the stimulus of the controversy (www.iied.org/agri/e_forum). We also hope that development assistance agencies will soon learn that the public nature of the funds they control binds them to not only respect any criticism leveled to them, but to encourage the expression of the views of the dispossessed, which is exactly what the *Prajateerpu* process has done.

A collector's item?



It is the nature of people with intelligence and integrity to be upsetting power, in all days and ages and circumstances. Michel and Tom and their Indian colleagues may well not be new to this and we applaud them all the more. To them, and to all who participated in the *Prajateerpu* process, we offer our strong support, solidarity and deepest respect.

—The Editors

Water, power, and the crisis in the Levant

Eric Garrett

Figure 1. A very old fig tree. Fruit trees have been targeted for destruction by the Israeli government and Jewish settlers *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Facts. Statistics. Elemental truths about water, population growth, power and conflict. If one tries to collect even a measure of what has been said about these themes and their relationships to current crises and the future, the information accumulates steadily in the mind towards a screaming crescendo. As this cannot be easily sustained, it is temporarily let to fall quiet. As Sisyphus after a heavy step, we barely breathe and return to take up the burden, once again.

Water has been always central to the life in the Levant[1]. For its peoples, the elemental truth about water—its scarcity, and its life-giving essence—have been the shaping force for all societies that have taken root there. Bedouin herdsmen in the region had the habit of releasing their precious camel stocks to forage unattended for months, knowing that at the right time they could simply wait by a single waterhole to casually collect them again. What could be more indicative?

The founders of the modern state of Israel knew to calculate for the imperative of water, illustrated in the efforts of David Ben-Gurion to convince British colonial authorities to include areas of southern Lebanon and the Litani River into a Jewish homeland as early as the1920s. The area is surely also of interest now –as demonstrated by Israel's recent, failed attempt to seize it (1982-2000). The same was true of the Golan Heights in 1964, at which time Israel inaugurated its National Water Carrier for diversion from Lake Tiberius (Sea of Galilee) in order to provide for the needs of a growing state, its industrial development, and to make "the desert bloom" as far as the parched Negev. This was energetically contested at the time, as it diverted the water from the river basin, contrary to the accepted principle that such diversion must depend on that resource being used to satisfy the needs of the population living in the basin first– which it had not, as it does not now. To secure that privilege, Israel commenced attacks upon Syrian efforts to divert the lake's tributaries in the Golan, and this conflict eventually spiraled into the June 1967 war and the capture of the Golan Heights by Israel, which Israel presumed to annex unilaterally in 1981. Looking beyond the rhetoric, water resources in the region appear as the template for Israeli expansionist designs.

Looking beyond the rhetoric, water resources in the region appear as the template for Israeli expansionist designs.

The Six Day War created other facts on the ground, the most prominent being the further occupation of Palestinian lands. In the West Bank and Gaza, these facts include the presence now of over 3 million people who insist on remaining where they have their historical, cultural and ecological home. Another fact—and one

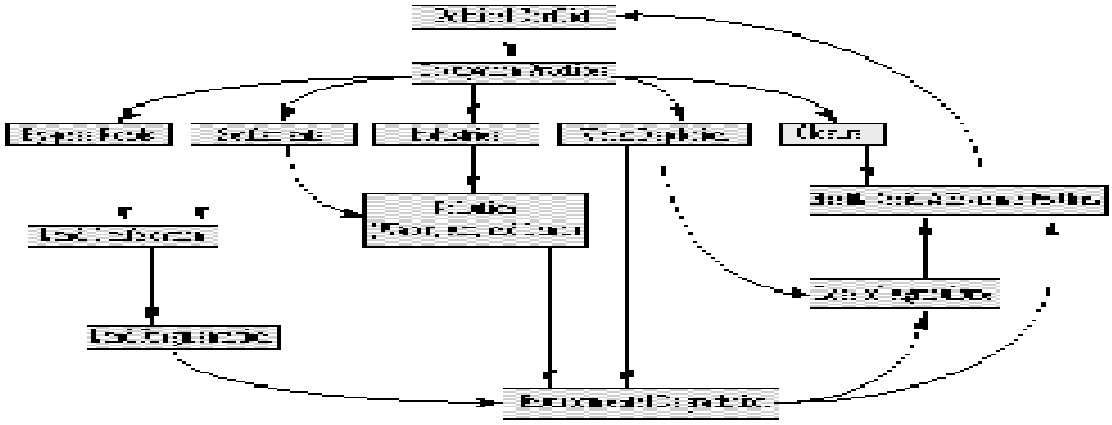


Figure 2. The effects of Israeli occupation practices on the Palestinian environment

that steadily becomes more acute—is that the occupation of Palestinian lands by Israeli Defense Forces and Jewish colonists is ugly. I daresay one could not find a single voice, Jewish or Palestinian, to dispute this. What is highly in dispute, however, is the interpretation of why it persists and what should be done to liberate these people and rid the world of this cancerous sore.

With Israel now as the fourth largest military force in the world, threats of aggression have been displaced by other security concerns. Mountain aquifers of the West Bank and control of the lower reaches of the Jordan River remains the other great prize that war has brought to Israeli "security". Israel continues to show its appreciation of this by its management of these resources. In the West Bank and Gaza, the disproportionate allocation of water is one of the most aggravating and incendiary aspects of Israeli occupation. General estimates agree that 80% of the water drawn from aquifers in the West Bank is illegally reserved for use by Israelis, whose usage is roughly 6 times that of Palestinians on a per/capita basis (data of B'TSELEM—the Israeli Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories).

Other features of the occupation include denying the development of basic water infrastructure for Palestinians and its periodic destruction: it is estimated that as much as 50% of the water that is available to Palestinians is lost through leakage or other aspects of the inadequate means for containment and distribution. Similarly, sewage and waste treatment facilities are underdeveloped, allowing leakage or direct runoff or accumulation to contaminate water sources and agricultural lands—as well as causing serious health problems in highly populated areas, particularly in the Gaza strip. Jewish settlers also have been reported to dispose of sewage recklessly into the regions of Palestinian populations, exacerbating the effect.

Some 500,000 trees had been uprooted by the Israeli Government and Jewish settlers in one 15 month period alone (World Bank Data 9/2000-12/2001), along with the destruction of greenhouses and cropland, seriously undermining Palestinian economic and social sustainability on these landscapes for years

Other calculated features of occupation compound the environmental problems. Palestinian herders are denied access to 60% of traditional grazing lands on the eastern slopes of the West Bank, resulting in intense overgrazing of what land is left and consequent land degradation. Fruit trees—particularly citrus and olive trees—have been targeted for destruction by the Israeli government and Jewish settlers. Approximately 500,000 such trees had been uprooted in one 15-month period alone (World Bank Data 9/2000-12/2001), along with the destruction of greenhouses and cropland, seriously undermining Palestinian economic and social sustainability on these landscapes for years to come. One could go on.

As coastal aquifers in Israel proper have become depleted and/or polluted, Israel has become increasingly dependent on mountain aquifers in the West Bank and the Upper Jordan River Basin that it controls as a consequence of the 1967 war. Together, these sources now account for approximately 60% of all Israel's water use, which, per capita, is quite high by regional standards—due in large part to intensive and inappropriate agricultural use, industrial development, and because of extravagant levels of personal consumption not suitable for the area.

Israel shows little indication of abandoning control over the water resources in the region or sharing them equitably. For decades, Palestinians have endured brutal limits imposed upon their own welfare and development, and have at the same time been forced to witness the spectacle of environmental degradation in their homeland and to experience its harshest effects—while their resources are made to serve their oppressors. Tragically, much of this is well known by international agencies and "interested" governments.

A further elaboration of the facts would be redundant. There is no shortage of such analysis by highly credible bodies of experts. The general literature, case studies, resolutions, working group and forum outputs, and journalistic reports, etc., that address the question of the water crisis in the entire region—with the Jordan River Basin being described as "ground zero"—is itself a depressing reality, in that this knowledge has not been allowed to mitigate the situation. UNEP, World Bank, USAID–all have a clear portrait of the human costs and the environmental destruction of the West Bank and Gaza. What, then, could possibly be the point of continuing this narrative unless one can look beyond the traditions that allow such abuse to continue?

As the WSSD unfolds, recent UNEP declarations on the state of our global environment will parallel many other voices to decry the inefficacy of our institutions to cope with a set of alarming crises, some political, some social, some economic, and all—in the end—environmental. We all grope for an understanding and the tools to carry on. Simply to go forward at all, we must now feel the need to leap—and that implies the radicalization of some of our thinking and action.

It is no secret to the world that the human rights abuses and environmental destruction by the Israeli government in Palestinian lands is conducted under the auspices of the United States government. I am a US citizen and I spend a lot of time in the United States, where I find that the least is known about the nature of the occupation—Israeli conduct and Palestinian suffering. Israeli journalists are far more frank (read *Ha'aretz*). On the whole, if you have been in the bigger world and paid any attention, standing on Main Street USA gives you the experience of a raging dissonance: the masses here are clueless, conditioned, distracted.

The vast majority of US citizens will never ask what it means if they hear that we are accused of being unilateral. Terrorist acts by Palestinians are just a matter of fanaticism in the minds of most of our citizens, and perhaps of many lawmakers as well. "Terrorism," however, is disassociated from life and circumstance. Critical opinion is voluntarily censored by corporate media, which is what most US citizens refer to for their perceptions of the world. This is bitterly true in the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition, I am afraid that Americans, and people in general, *prefer* a certain kind of ignorance. This preference benefits from the fact that propaganda is deeply ingrained in the USA and heavily financed. In all, the US appears clearly dysfunctional in terms of effective self-assessment, and especially so in a global context.

I will say what everyone else might suspect or know: the United States is the single biggest obstacle to dealing with either the crisis in the Middle East, the conflict in Columbia, the ongoing subversion of African peoples—or the whole notion of rationally and cooperatively attempting to reconsider and realign the world's sustainable development priorities and

Figure 3. Palestinian women lament the destruction of their orchards *(courtesy Suhaib Salem)*

Figure 4. A young Palestinian in the shadow of Israeli troops *(courtesy Jerome Delay)*

agendas. In a brief time there is no way to "prove" this thesis, but I can signify it with a few examples:

1) On March 29, 2001 Jeffrey J. Schott, Senior Fellow at the Institute for International Economics testified before the US Congress that the greatest threat to *US dominance* of the world trading system is Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) being negotiated between various countries *that do not include the United States*, and that the most effective means to combat this *threat* is to push for multilateral trade pacts such as the WTO and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). This suggests that the US is shoving the WTO agenda down everyone's throat to displace or derail more rational and regionally constructive associations between nations in order to maintain its hegemony. This clearly subverts localized social and cultural alternatives that approach environmental and developmental goals.

2) Glaring inconsistencies in "free trade" theology are nowhere more evident than in the huge package of agricultural subsidies ($190 billion; 70% increase) in the current US budget, which will have the continuing and predictable effect of undermining agricultural exports and internal markets in many poorer nations suffering the strictures of "structural readjustments" imposed by the US and the IMF/World Bank, betraying all promises to the contrary. This is not only a unilateral act— it is vicious cynicism in the face of world opinion and understanding.

3) It *is* becoming a mainstream issue in some sectors of the US media that corporate influence and money in US politics have overthrown any semblance of democracy here. The recent installing of George W. Bush as president—despite his losing the popular vote and the corruption of the Florida electoral process—is only one type of evidence. In essence, a political coup occurred in the US in the last election by the powers behind the administration, making Bush a spokesman for an illegitimate government, one which is hastily and aggressively pushing its agenda.

What if the subsidies to the Israeli state's campaign of oppression and expansion were removed? It could be like removing the hypocritical insistence on "free market" solutions to all social and economic problems— other formulas might then breathe free and flex their means, their logic, and their empathetic and tolerant aspirations to solve problems, taking advantage of all the perspectives and wisdom that are now marginalized by the last,

These are only some instances and effects of the near complete ascendance of corporatism and capital over civil society and political life in the US. Consistently, the Bush regime and the aftereffects of September 11 are only an escalation, however sharp, of a trend laid down since 1945, at least. Certainly, there are other alarming trends that need to be addressed, such as the retrogressive embrace of fundamentalist religious interpretation or racist doctrines by various peoples (including in the US and Israel), who are either oppressed or compressed, or, perhaps, recoiling from the alienations of abstract life. There is, of course, the basic problem of population growth. But, how can these be dealt with in the current climate?

When we assess the consequences of American patronage of Israel, certain bold speculations can be made. One is that Israel and the Zionist idea have been further distorted and skewed *to their own disadvantage* by US influence. Zionism's advocates have always included a percentage of people of great

renown, depth and sensitivity, such as the physicist Albert Einstein who rejected the offer to become Israel's first president because he understood the consequences of even attempting to enforce a separatist and theocratic state in multi-cultural lands. Such liberal-minded people, in Israel now, are and have been marginalized by the enormous subsidies and other supports given to their opposition by the United States in the last decades.

What if the subsidies to the Israeli state's campaign of oppression and expansion were removed? It could be like removing the hypocritical insistence on "free market" solutions to all social and economic problems—other formulas might then breathe free and flex their means, their logic, and their empathetic and tolerant aspirations to solve problems, taking advantage of all the perspectives and wisdom that are now marginalized by the last great Power. This is no dream. This is just a question mark about the final obstacle to the next big wave of challenges. Israel, for instance, is certainly its own power, bristling with nuclear weapons and, itself, intransigent before world opinion. It is allowed to be.

As John Scanlon observed in the last issue of Policy Matters (No. 9), water can be either a basis for conflict or cooperation. The Middle East Multilateral Working Group on Water Issues, initiated in 1992 following the Madrid Conference, had laboured for a decade to build collaborative rapport across the popular and political divide. They seem eerily silent now. By their own admissions, they worked in the background, quietly, so as not to politicize their collaborations in the fear that participants would be intimidated. Not long before the Al-Akqsa *intifada*, at the Second World Water Forum, the Working Group released statements that it was time to go public and petitioned for collaboration to build other regional structures for resource management. They were apparently too late.

Power controls the wealth, the machines, and the distribution of managed information. In the US, people stagger under their own confusion and are allowed to be indifferent. In Israel, the formulas for confrontation and bigotry are subsidized— an enabling feature of that State's appropriation of other people's rights. The IUCN and other international NGOs have their great strengths in their expertise and in their orientations to popular support and participatory designs, and the issue before us now might well be how to politicize and exercise these strengths in a confrontation with Power. It is appropriate that something as fundamental as water will be determinate in the pitch and moment of our most pronounced and enduring geopolitical crisis.

Figure 5. Daily encounters (*courtesy Huwaida CMWG.*

*Eric Garrett (*garrette400@yahoo.com*) has served in the US Army and the Peace Corps, worked as a labourer and zookeeper, managed an ICDP in the Philippines, and is now helping to raise two orphaned Asian elephant calves in Thailand. Eric is a member of CEESP/*

Mineral operations and communities—— addressing sustainable livelihoods through co-management arrangements

Kwabena Mate

The adverse socio-economic impact of mineral operations on contiguous communities has come under scrutiny in recent years particularly because of a number of high-profile conflicts such as those involving the Ogoni people and Shell in Nigeria's Niger Delta, and Bougainville Copper's Panguna mine. *Breaking New Ground*: *Mining, Minerals, and Sustainable Development*, the final report of the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development (MMSD) Project[1], which reviewed the operations of the mining industry, devotes considerable attention to matters that relate to mining's impact on communities.

Mineral operations make an important contribution to the foreign and fiscal revenues of many countries of the South as well as those of some OECD countries. Many mineral-endowed countries of the South have, with the encouragement of the multilateral international financial institutions, promoted increased mineral production as an important route to economic recovery and development. If mineral-based development is to be sustainable, however, it must not only generate financial returns and address environmental concerns but also address issues relating to the socio-economic impact on communities, the need for community development, as well as relations between the state, mining companies and 'outsiders' on the one hand, and communities on the other. As mineral companies and governments have found to their cost, community antagonism to operations can lead to acts which disrupt or halt them. They can also have an adverse effect on investor confidence.

If mineral-based development is to be sustainable, it must not only generate financial returns and address environmental concerns but also address issues relating to the socio-economic impact on communities, the need for community development, as well as relations between the state, mining companies and 'outsiders' on the one hand, and communities on the other.

Much of the adverse socio-economic impact has been linked to the use of land and other natural resources and the resultant impact on livelihoods, particularly of communities that are dependent on such resources. This applies to many rural and indigenous communities of the South as well as to the indigenous peoples of northern Europe and North America, all of whom have historically been marginalized politically and economically. Among the key issues which have arisen in discussions of the socio-economic impact of mineral operations are the following:

- **community empowerment**– how to ensure the full and effective involvement of communities in decisions regarding biological and physical resources on which their economic, social and cultural rights and very lives may depend;
- **access to land and natural resources–** how to ensure proper provision for the community (e.g. continuity of access to natural resources, provision for existing artisanal miners, relocation and compensation schemes, etc.) in the face of competing claims;
- **biodiversity protection and conservation–** how to ensure that community interests in the conservation and sustainable use of bio-resources are respected;
- **benefits from mineral operations and community development –** how to ensure that communities receive fair benefits from mineral operations and that these include sustainable production and other development activities. The increasingly capital-intensive nature of mineral operations has reduced the need for settlements and social infrastructure for personnel, which communities sometimes had access to and came to see as benefits. At the same time, many communities have not benefited from mineral revenues which have been paid directly to the state, and are now demanding a direct benefit from mineral revenues. Some of the more forward-looking mineral companies have developed tri-sector partnerships with local government and communities/NGOs for the development of community projects.[2] Some governments have also moved towards a direct allocation of a portion of mineral revenues to communities for development purposes[3];
- **effective monitoring of the impact of projects—** how to decentralise monitoring of the physical, biological and socio-economic impacts of mining; how to provide a proper response to the

Small-scale mining. Las Cristinas, Southern Venezuela *(courtesy J. Davidson)*

large influx of 'outsiders' accompanying mineral operations;

- **relations between the state, mineral operators and communities—** how to improve these relations; how to ensure that states and companies do not engage in acts which violate the human rights of communities, particularly in response to their protests against mineral operations[4];
- **post closure issues—** how to prevent the economic and social decline of communities after the closure of mining operations; how to prevent their transformation into ghost towns.

Collaborative management arrangements provide a framework for coherent responses to the above issues and questions. Such arrangements, now in operation for forest reserves, game parks and protected areas, have not yet been used to manage areas affected by mineral operations. Beyond facilitating a coherent response to the issues discussed, collaborative management arrangements could assist in the devolution of authority from state to local institutions. They could lead to improved governance and enhanced democratic processes.

Co-management arrangements should be developed in a rudimentary form from the earliest stage – when the grant of an exploration permit is being considered. This is particularly important when exploration is likely to impact upon the biological and physical resources on which the community depends, and/or promote a disruptive influx of migrants. Initially, the arrangements could simply involve setting up an effective framework for information and consultation. The local interests and concerns as well as the range of issues to be addressed would obviously increase with the scope and potential impact of the mineral operation.

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Notes and references

[1] MMSD (2002), *Breaking New Ground*: *Mining, Minerals, and Sustainable Development*, Earthscan; also available in electronic form at www.iied.org/mmsd/finalreport/index.html

[2] See www.bpd-naturalresources.org

[3] Peru and Ghana are examples of this. Alaska's government has a different route – the distribution of a portion of oil revenues to every resident!

La CEFDHAC en faveur de la gestion participative et de l'appui aux modes de vie durable

Jean Claude Nguinguiri

La 4ème Conférence sur les Ecosystèmes de Forêts Denses et Humides d'Afrique Centrale (CEFDHAC) a eu lieu à Kinshasa du 10 au 13 juin 2002. La Conférence a connu la participation active des dix Etats concernés représentés par les Ministres chargés des écosystèmes forestiers ou leurs représentants, des parlementaires, des représentants du secteur public et privé, des ONGs, des populations locales et des populations autochtones. Les organisations sous-régionales et internationales et les organisations de coopération bilatérale intéressées par la gestion des écosystèmes forestiers ont aussi pris part aux

travaux. Dans son communiqué final la Conférence a fait— entre autres— les recommandations suivantes :

- Initier un programme de sécurisation des moyens d'existence des populations autochtones des pays d'Afrique centrale avec l'appui des partenaires au développement.
- Promouvoir la gestion participative dans les pays de la CEFDHAC, y compris l'élaboration par les Etats d'un cadre juridique approprié, en tant qu'approche permettant de répondre à la fois aux besoins de gestion durable des ressources naturelles et aux préoccupations de la lutte contre la pauvreté.
- Faciliter la capitalisation des résultats de la recherche-développement et des leçons apprises des expériences de terrain dans les politiques et les pratiques de gestion durable des écosystèmes forestiers.
- Faciliter l'élaboration d'un cadre juridique en vue d'institutionnaliser dans les pays membres de la CEFDHAC, le partenariat entre le secteur privé et les communautés autochtones et locales dans la gestion, l'exploitation et la valorisation des produits forestiers ligneux et non ligneux.
- Initier et faciliter les fora aux niveaux local et national au bénéfice des différentes parties prenantes impliquées dans la CEFDHAC.
- Promouvoir la mise en œuvre des initiatives d'aménagement intégrant les approches novatrices (exploitation à faible impact, certification, Code de Déontologie) et contribuant à garantir les moyens d'existence durable des populations (domestication des espèces animales et végétales).

CEESP members contributing to the Biodiversity Convention— Issues and suggestions arising from the Sixth Conference of Parties, April 2002

Rob Monro

It is not far-fetched to say that IUCN's current_Strategic Plan is a 'carbon copy' of the principal articles, decisions, work programmes and thematic areas of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). In other words, the CBD process is a cross-cutting theme throughout the Union. Biodiversity conservation, sustainable use and equitable benefit sharing (the three objectives of the CBD) are also a logical and crucial concern for CEESP. What issues, however, should be taken as a matter of priority and harness the attention and concerns of our Commission members? From the discussions and decisions of the 6th Conference of the Parties (COP6) to the CBD, held in April 2002, I would like to propose the following:

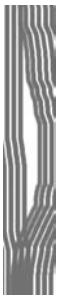
- The Ecosystem Approach
- Sustainable Use of Natural Resources
- Incentive Measures for Conservation and Sustainable Use
- Indicators of Biodiversity
- Indigenous and Local Communities (Article 8j)

The Ecosystem Approach

This approach (as opposed, for example, to a species-based approach) is the framework adopted by the

Parties to the CBD in addressing the objectives of the Convention. Following considerable work, notably in the CBD's Subsidiary Body on Scientific, Technical and Technological Advice (SBSTTA), COP5 in May 2000 recommended to Parties the following set of complementary and interlinked principles to guide the ecosystem approach:

- Respecting the objectives of managing land, water and living resources identified by the relevant society.
- Decentralising management to the lowest appropriate level (subsidiarity).
- Paying careful consideration to the consequences of ecosystem management activities on adjacent and other ecosystems.
- Recognising the need to understand and manage the ecosystem in an economic context. In this sense:
    1. market distortions that adversely affect biological diversity should be reduced;
    2. incentives towards biodiversity conservation and sustainable use should be provided;
    3. costs and benefits should be internalised in the given ecosystem to the extent feasible.
- Giving priority to conserving the ecosystem structure and functioning, and maintaining its services.
- Managing ecosystems within the limits of their functioning.
- Undertaking the approach at the appropriate spatial and temporal scales.
- Setting the objectives of ecosystem management for the long term, recognising the temporal scales and lag effects that characterise ecosystem processes.
- Recognising that ecosystem change is inevitable.
- Seeking the appropriate balance between, and integration of, conservation and use of biological diversity.
- Considering a multiplicity of for sources and forms of relevant information, including scientific and indigenous and local knowledge, innovations and practices.
- Involving all relevant sectors of society and scientific disciplines.



We should work to ensure that the recommended set of principles guiding the ecosystem approach are not diluted or weakened in terms of their socio-economic and cultural considerations. Indeed, CEESP should use all opportunities (workshops, expert meeting etc.) to strengthen and refine these

This set of principles is notable for its recognition of the centrality of social, cultural, economic and institutional factors in promoting conservation and sustainable use.

COP 6 urged further elaboration of the ecosystem approach, including submission of further case studies and workshops to refine the principles and guidelines, and the convening of an expert meeting, where the results of this work would be reviewed by SBSTTA and developed for submission to COP7.

CEESP's members and working groups are thus invited to submit case studies on the ecosystem approach to the CBD Secretariat. We should also work, however, to ensure that the recommended set of principles guiding the ecosystem approach are not diluted or weakened in terms of their socio-economic and cultural considerations. Indeed, CEESP should use all opportunities (workshops, expert meeting etc.) to strengthen and refine these principles. In conjunction with the IUCN Secretariat, CEESP members should contribute to the IUCN position papers for the forthcoming meetings of SBSTTA and COP7, attend these meetings and make constructive inputs.

Sustainable Use of Natural Resources

The need to elaborate on and provide principles and guidelines for sustainable use has long been recognised by the Parties and work on this subject has been ongoing for years both in SBSTTA and at COPs. The IUCN Secretariat, through its Sustainable Use Team and its Sustainable Use Specialist Group, has been closely engaged with this work from its very outset. In 1997/98 the Specialist Group carried out extensive consultations with its 14 regional Specialist Groups and produced a set of principles and guidelines for sustainable use, then submitted these to the CBD Secretariat. More recently, three regional workshops were held under the auspices of the CBD to develop principles and guidelines for sustainable use. The workshops, each focusing on a particular thematic area, were held in Maputo, Mozambique (September 2000, on dryland resources and

game utilisation), Hanoi, Viet Nam (January 2002, on forest biodiversity) and Salinas, Ecuador (February 2002, on marine and freshwater).

COP6 received a report on the three workshops and the institutional collaboration (including IUCN) that contributed to their organisation, and called for a fourth open-ended workshop "*to synthesise the outcomes of the three workshops, integrate different views and regional differences and finalize the set of practical principles and operational guidelines for the sustainable use of biological diversity, to be submitted to SBSTTA for its consideration prior to the seventh meeting of the Conference of the Parties".* The COP also repeated its call for Parties to submit case studies to the Secretariat.

CEESP should prepare and make a substantive contribution to the 'synthesis' workshop, which is expected to take place in March 2003. The workshop outcome is likely to be the most significant contribution to the finalisation of sustainable use principles and guidelines under the CBD.

Incentive Measures for conservation and sustainable use

Article 11 of the CBD (Incentive Measures) calls for Parties to *"adopt economically and socially sound measures that act as incentives"* for conservation and sustainable use. Further to this, COP5 established a programme of work to develop and implement social, economic and legal incentive measures and called for the collaboration of relevant organisations, including IUCN, in this programme of work. This resulted in a proposal for the design and implementation of incentive measures and a recommendation for further cooperation, including further work on both positive and perverse incentives and the submission of further case studies and other information.

The proposal and recommendations are highly germane to CEESP's mandate and the primacy that CEESP accords to the human dimensions of conservation, sustainable use and equitable benefit sharing. Not surprisingly therefore, CEESP members, as well as CEESP's Working Groups on Collaborative Management and Sustainable Livelihoods, may find them both insightful and useful. Accordingly, CEESP should take an active interest in the work on incentives in the CBD process, and encourage interested members and relevant working groups to identify and submit to the Secretariat case studies and lessons learnt concerning positive and perverse incentives.

Biodiversity is beautiful. A specimen from Conkouati-Douali Nature Reserve, Congo Brazzaville. *(Courtesy Christian Chatelain)*

Indicators of biological diversity

The process of developing indicators of biological diversity (and associated identification, monitoring and assessments), has been ongoing almost since the first COP in late 1994. One major reason has been dispute concerning the purpose of indicators. Developing country Parties generally regarded indicators as a management tool for national and local biodiversity within an adaptive management process and side by side with other social, cultural, and economic indicators. Some developed countries Parties, on the other hand, tended to perceive indicators as 'scientific' tools, useful for international comparisons and as a measure of a Party's performance in implementing the convention. There was thus some disagreement over the level at which indicators should be pitched – local, national or global. Recently, however, the Parties have tended to accept that the focus of indicator development and use should be at the national and local levels.

The significance to CEESP of indicator development in the CBD rests on the need to promote the consideration of local-level indicators used or identified by local and indigenous communities. Such indicators may not be particularly rigorous, strictly quantitative or 'scientific' in a western sense, but they may nevertheless be extremely relevant for local conservation practices. CEESP members and working groups (notably the Collaborative Management and Sustainable Livelihoods Working Groups) should identify and submit to the CBD Secretariat examples of local-level indicators in use by local and traditional communities.

Indigenous and Local Communities (Article 8j)

The issue of indigenous and local communities is currently being comprehensively monitored and addressed by IUCN's Inter-commission Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA). The TILCEPA, a joint group between IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) and CEESP, is the successor to the Task Force on Local Communities and Protected Areas established in 1999. The significant convergence between TILCEPA and the CBD, including TILCEPA activities and related outputs to be fed into the CBD process, is detailed in a paper by A. Kothari entitled "IUCN Theme on Indigenous/Local Communities, Equity, and Protected Areas – Its Contribution to the CBD's Implementation".

The issue of Prior Informed Consent (PIC) and conditions of access and benefit sharing remain contentious for many Parties and were debated at COP6 – including interventions by representatives of indigenous and local communities calling for recognition of universal indigenous rights (including land rights), PIC and protection of intellectual property rights according to indigenous laws.

Article 8(j) of the CBD calls on each Party *(unfortunately, "subject to its national legislation"!)* to *"respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilisation of such knowledge, innovations and practices".* The Parties to the CBD have established an Ad Hoc Open-ended Inter-sessional Working Group to address the implementation of Article 8(j) and related provisions. The Working Group, including representatives of indigenous and local communities as well as Parties, was tasked to provide advice to the Parties on Article 8(j), develop a programme of work and recommend priorities to the COP.

At its second meeting in February 2002 the Working Group considered a progress report produced by the Secretariat. In turn, the Working Group provided the report of its meeting to COP6, including recommendations on the further implementation of the programme of work and related provisions. The issue of Prior Informed Consent (PIC) and conditions of access and benefit sharing remain contentious for many Parties and were debated at COP6 – including interventions by representatives of indigenous and local communities calling for recognition of universal indigenous rights (including land rights), PIC and protection of intellectual property rights according to indigenous laws. The COP Decisions called for further reporting and review of the implementation of 8(j) and the integration of 8(j) into the CBD's thematic programmes. The Working Group was also asked to advance on the production of guidelines for cultural, environmental and social impact assessments and on *sui generis* systems for the protection of traditional knowledge including equitable sharing of the benefits arising from its use.

Conclusion & Recommendations

On the issues discussed above, CEESP and the IUCN Secretariat, notably the Policy Division, should collaborate in the preparation of the IUCN's position statements routinely produced and made available to delegates and observers at meetings of SBSTTA and the COP. In addition, recognising that position statements are unlikely to be read by many delegates, let alone influence their positions, CEESP should exploit other opportunities and forums to contribute to the deliberations and decision-making in the CBD process. These include, subject to resource constraints:

- Submitting case studies and other information on lessons learnt to the CBD Secretariat (including for the Clearing House Mechanism);
- Actively attending the meetings of the SBSTTA and the COP, including oral interventions, written submissions, participation in drafting groups and other groups established by the Working Group Chairs, collaboration with like-minded Parties and Observers on strategic inputs, holding and attending side-events, etc.;
- Attending inter-sessional meetings such as the Open-ended Ad-hoc Working Group on Article 8(j) and the forthcoming 'synthesis' workshop on sustainable use expected to be held alongside SBSTTA8 in March 2003;
- Contributing to the implementation of CBD by IUCN members and partners, particularly with regard to the development and implementation of National

A CARE-WWF partnership for social and environmental justice

Phil Franks

Over the last 10 years CARE and WWF have worked together at field level in as many as ten different locations, in most cases within the framework of an integrated conservation and development (ICD) programme.

Defining our shared vision we have the principle of social and environmental justice – fulfilment of the rights of all people to a secure livelihood and a safe and healthy environment

Working in areas of high biodiversity these ICD programmes are characterised by the existence of substantial and powerful interests from outside the local community. These interests may cover tourism, hunting concessions, genetic resources and environmental services such as water supply and carbon sequestration. There are notable success stories but in general the results from ICD projects have been disappointing. In many areas we are seeing little impact on poverty, and continued environmental degradation and loss of biodiversity despite major investment by governments and external donors. Reflecting on CARE's experience we conclude that a key weakness has been that our analysis of poverty and environmental degradation and their inter-relationship has been limited in scale to household and community levels.

Working with policy researchers in WWF we are recognising the need to place much greater emphasis on the analysis of poverty and its relationship with environmental degradation at national and international levels. Fundamental to this analysis are issues of governance and equity, notably relating to policy on devolution of government authority (and its effective implementation), and trade and investment, including payments for environmental services. Looking at the "drivers" of poverty and environmental degradation it has become obvious that CARE and WWF have a substantial area of common interest. Clearly there is a real opportunity for a partnership that is more substantive than our traditional relationship based on complementarity of skills at a project level. Defining our shared vision we have the principle of social and environmental justice– fulfilment of the rights of all people to a secure livelihood and a safe and healthy environment.

We see global economic integration [as] reinforcing poverty and environmental degradation

We believe partnerships such as this that promote convergence of the environment and development agendas have a crucial role to play in promoting sustainable development. As we see the negative effects of global economic integration reinforcing poverty and environmental degradation the need for such partnerships has never been greater. An important forum for this initiative is the forthcoming World Summit for Sustainable Development. For the Summit CARE and WWF have developed a joint "call to action" that specifically addresses issues of governance and equity relating to rural poverty and the conservation of natural resources. Central to this call to action are two key principles:

- Increase control by the rural poor over natural resources and enhance their capacity to manage those resources sustainably.
- Ensure the rural poor are fairly rewarded for their role as stewards of rural environmental functions and services that benefit their own country and the world at large.

The first principle alone may be a sufficient condition where interests outside the local community are minimal, giving local communities a high level of control and access to benefits. However, in the classic ICD situation with major external interests in environmental services, the second principle is crucial. In other words we are talking about equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of conservation, and not limited (as in the convention on biological diversity) to the context of genetic resources. The article by Tom Blomley to be found in this same issue and section of *Policy Matters* gives a powerful illustration of these issues from an ICD programme in Southwest Uganda, where there has been long-standing collaboration between CARE and WWF.

(*Courtesy CARE & WWF*)

(*Courtesy CARE & WWF*)

MISANTHROPY AND HUMAN RIGHTS...

an exchange

Simon:
Dear Elery, You advanced an argument, which I find compelling, that the US Parks Service adopted a Cartesian philosophical reference which, amongst other things, led to the separation of humankind from nature and the generation of the belief that humans were intruders in natural systems. There is another argument, advanced by historian Tom Griffiths. A consequence of the dominance of ecological criteria in landscape evaluation from the 1970s on may well be the belief that, because humans are frequently the source of disturbance in natural ecosystems thereby disrupting the 'balance of nature", they are not part of natural systems. They are, in other words, intruders in nature. In seems to me that with the focus on preserving "wilderness" in Australia and the United States in the 1970s and 1980s we have the convergence of these two streams of thought coming from different, often opposing, philosophical backgrounds— one a product of the Enlightenment and the other developed in opposition to Enlightenment thinking. Yet they converge in conceiving of humans as destroyers and wreckers of natural systems and, in combining, create a volatile misanthropism.

Elery:
Yes, Simon, I think you put it extremely well. I have seen both of these and agree upon their convergence and mutual reinforcement, but I like your words in expressing the idea. This remains a continuing issue within international conservation circles. The misanthropic view is partly responsible for the dispossession of thousands of indigenous, nomadic and tribal people. It is one of the worst side-effects of international efforts in conservation. Today, a good number of us are fighting for the rights of people in protected areas, and exploring models of collaborative management. But we have to battle with both the green, furry and feathered brigade (otherwise known as "the biodiversity lobby") as well as governments which oppress or even deny the existence of indigenous minorities.

Elery Hamilton-Smith (elery@alexia.net.au) is Chair of the WCPA Task Force on Caves and Karst Protection and a member of CEESP/ CMWG. Simon (simon@ridinghigh.com.au) is a long experienced land manager currently completing a Ph.D.

Environmental narratives in protected area planning— The case of Queen Elizabeth National Park, Uganda

Lee Alexander Risby, Tom Blomley, Catherine Kendall, Innocent Kahwa & Marcelo Onen

Since the late 1980s much donor attention has been focused in Uganda and other African countries (e.g. Kenya and Tanzania) on instituting planning for national systems of Protected Areas (PAs). Early attempts tended to be top-down and 'expert driven' with an internal focus on preservation and tourism development to the detriment of the socio-political and economic realities in which PAs are embedded. As this often resulted in unimplemented plans, states and donors started recognizing the failure of top-down approaches and attempted to develop 'participatory' planning methods that encourage wider ownership of decision-making. In a case study of a participatory planning process for Queen Elizabeth National Park (QENP) we show that, despite the government attempts to institute participatory PA planning[1], local communities and district governments remained marginalized. It appears that management perceptions and actions were guided by narratives and assumptions concerning Malthusian pressures, which labelled local stakeholders as threats and prejudiced participation. We wish here[2] to (1) describe the threat narratives constructed since 1952 by the QENP management and their influence on the planning process; (2) critically deconstruct such narratives exposing their arbitrary character and presenting an alternative view drawing on historical and remote sensing data; (3) sketch out the implications for conservation management and PA planning and suggest changes in practice.

Despite the government attempts to institute participatory PA planning, local communities and district governments remained

Queen Elizabeth National Park: perceived threats and park management strategies

QENP is located in south-west Uganda and is an area of high biodiversity, with 66 mammal, 589 bird, and 966 plant species. The biodiversity of QENP is due to the variety of habitats ranging from savannah grassland and wetlands to semi-deciduous tropical rainforest. QENP contains the Lake George wetlands, designated as a Ramsar site in 1988 and providing unique habitats for bird species, including two listed as globally threatened (see Figure 1).

QENP is unusual in that it contains resident human populations in eleven fishing villages, of which all but two predate the creation of the park in 1952. Five villages are located on the shores of Lake Edward and six along the Kazinga Channel and Lake George (see Figure 2). Commercial fishing has been carried out on Lake Edward since 1935 and on Lake George since1948. In 2000 the population of the fishing villages was estimated to be 19,880.

QENP was gazetted out of Lake Edward and George Game Reserves in 1952. The creation of National Parks in Uganda was largely initiated by Major Bruce Kinloch, the Chief Game Warden with the political support of Sir Andrew Cohen the Governor. The Protectorate Government negotiated with the local African administrations and permitted people to continue fishing inside the national park and *'carry out their normal activities'*, despite the perception held by the PA managers, who viewed the fishing communities as problematic to the conservation of the parks flora and fauna. The fishing livelihoods created a need for wood fuel both for domestic use and for fish smoking, and also a need for building poles, thatch grass and papyrus for house construction. For the most part these resources were collected from inside QENP and from the managers perspective this was incongruent with the aesthetic and scientific principles of "nature preservation". The problem became officially known as the *"fishing village problem"*[3]. The PA management strategies that attempted to mitigate the perceived impact of this problem can be split chronologically into two periods. From 1952 to 1969 the management adopted a pragmatic strategy of *"compromise and negotiation",* based on permit-based resource access and use by

Table 1: Perceived threats and consequent management strategies for QENP

Perceived threat	Management strategy
Fishing village communities pressure park resources for woodfuel both for domestic and commercial use (fish smoking) and are a source of game poaching. These activities threaten the park ecological integrity.	-demarcating the boundaries of the fishing villages to stop their expansion; -stationing of rangers inside the fishing villages to stop illegal activities and enforce park laws; -banning the collection of resources (e.g. dead wood, papyrus, thatch grass; -sensitising communities to laws and promoting conservation education;
Fishing villages are unplanned, chaotic and spread in size, posing aesthetic threats to the tourist value of the park.	-isolating villages through the demarcation of their boundaries and their gazettement as 'Wildlife Sanctuaries' to prevent further development; -excluding the fishing communities formal and informal institutions from park management and planning; -according low priority to the integration of fishing villages into the tourist experience of the park;
Domestic stock in the fishing villages is causing over-grazing, competes with game, and is incongruent with tourism.	-removing the fishing communities privileges to keep domestic stock; -confiscating stock found grazing inside QENP and fining of owners.

identified user groups, limited grazing rights (within 500m of village boundaries), revenue sharing and dialogue with local and district political institutions. From 1969 to the present this was replaced by a "*fences and fines*" strategy, which forbids all resource use and effectively isolating the fishing villages within QENP. The change in strategy came about as fishing villages were increasingly perceived as threatening the ecological integrity of QENP through an *"abuse of their privileges"*. A number of cause and effect threats[4] were identified by the park managers between 1952 and 1969. These (summarised in Table 1 below) have been progressively stressed, informing QENP management strategies to the present day.

The change in strategy from compromise to strict control caused a great deal of conflict and distrust between the fishing communities and the park management. And yet the effectiveness of the control strategies has been very questionable. From the 1970s to the 1990s the park management had few resources to control illegal activities because of the breakdown in civil and fiscal order in Uganda. During the 1970s and early 1980s the large game populations in QENP were reduced by "institutional" poaching by the Ugandan Army, corrupt government officials, park rangers, and the Tanzanian Army. Elephant numbers were reduced from 2,500 in 1973 to 150 in 1980. Since then, they recovered to approximately 1,500, along with other species. The QENP management has generally misrecognised the role of government agencies in the poaching spree of the 1970s and 1980s and cast the park's fishing communities and peripheral residents as the main sources of problems. These perceptions were offered legitimacy by the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA)[5] and donors, as illustrated by the following statements:

A CARE document prepared in 1990 after consultations with park managers stated:
" The combination of an increased population requiring fuel wood and a declining tree biomass is leading to progressive environmental degradation of the park."

In the same year, a USAID document prepared after a two-day visit and consultations with park managers only asserted:
" Fishing, and the preparation and smoking of fish, has exerted pressure on the forest resources of Queen Elizabeth National Park. Wood is needed for smoking and cooking of fish in order to preserve it prior to selling. The cutting of trees has led to serious soil erosion in some parts of the park."

In 1993, the National Parks Executive Director asserted:
"Fishing village enclaves and human settlement in National Parks are unsightly, unhygienic, larger than necessary, and exert a negative impact on the prime purpose of the parks. They are a mockery to the conservation of natural resources. The villages are a problem and impede the ability to attract tourists.

Attention is being given to their removal and, or, the control of the villages."

In 1998, the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) claimed:

"The existence of fishing village as enclaves in the QENP is posing a great challenge to the interaction between park authorities and the fisherfolk communities. The human population in these areas is estimated at 15,000 and is continuing to increase. There is evidence of encroachment on park resources, particularly for fuelwood, hence depletion of vegetation cover (especially Acacia sieberiana*) and loss of habitat (and food) for animals. As the population and activities (especially fishing) continues to increase, more pressure will continue to be exerted on the surrounding park area."*

"In response to poaching, the park officials are strengthening the anti-poaching unit and ensuring that adequate patrols are mounted. There are also heavy fines imposed on poachers once they are caught… the communities adjacent to the protected areas are the major poachers."

In 1999, the Chief Warden of QENP stated:

"These villages are the biggest problem to me. We have to keep some of these wild places where nature is taking its own path without human interference. But people do not see it that way, and it is our job to protect this park until they do…We cannot allow people to go in and collect resources …"
and in the same year USAID affirmed with general reference to biodiversity conservation in Uganda:

"Inadequate management…together with external pressures brought out by poverty and population growth, place Uganda's unique biodiversity at immediate risk."

The above conceptions legitimized the selection of QENP for the production of a new management plan which would address the "*increasing human threats to*

Figure 1. Queen Elizabeth National Park

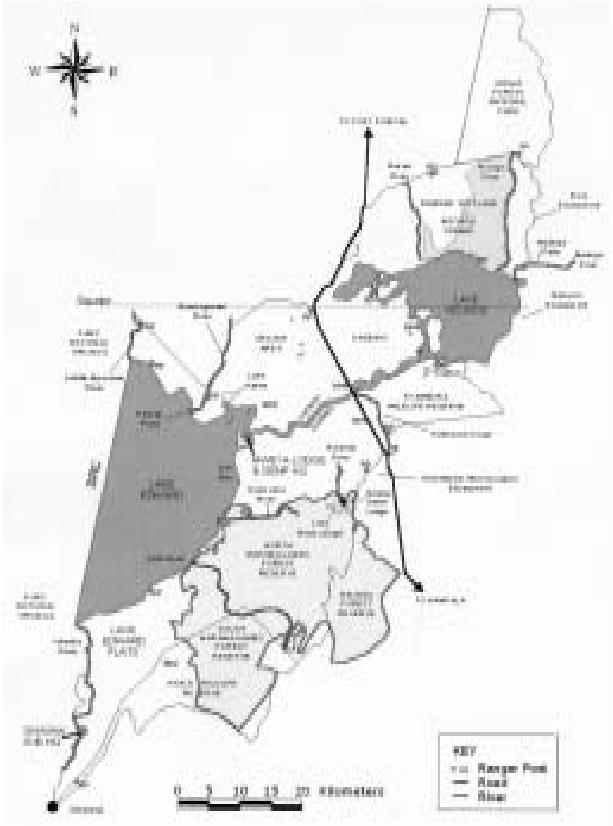


Figure 2. Location of Fishing Villages

biodiversity" and "*develop tourism to aid economic growth*" using a new participatory and interdisciplinary PA planning process[6].

The QENP Planning Process

The QENP planning process commenced in June 1998 with the World Bank, GEF, USAID and CARE agreeing to provide $235,000 in financing and technical assistance over a 15-month period. A Technical Adviser (TA) was appointed by USAID to build the internal capacity of the UWA Planning Unit to undertake PA plans. The TA formed a nineteen person interdisciplinary planning team that consisted of UWA, Uganda Tourist Board (UTB) and CARE staff. Other stakeholders such as local communities, districts, Department of Fisheries and tour operators were identified and targeted for participation with the planning team at facilitated workshops.

As part of the planning process CARE was requested to fund and provide technical support for a series of participatory workshops with local communities and district government representatives with a view to identifying key stakeholder interests, "problems and issues", as well as possible remedial actions. These findings were fed into three planning workshops with the interdisciplinary planning team, held between January and April 1999. The main community and district interests were: resource access and use; clear park boundaries; revenue sharing; reducing crop-raiding; community tourism development; employment; and improved communication channels with park managers using the local government institutions. In contrast, UWA and UTB interests were primarily focused on reducing human threats to biodiversity and improving tourism development to increase the financial sustainability of UWA in line with USAID and World Bank and national economic objectives. During the confidential planning team workshops it became clear that UWA and UTB had little intention of seriously considering local community or district interests, apart from mutual interest in re-marking boundaries. In exercises to rank and prioritize issues to determine land-use zones, community issues were often relegated to the periphery or demonized as increasing threats, such as deforestation and game poaching drawing on established narratives. Moreover, community interests were at odds with the development of high-end tourism based on aesthetic representations of 'wilderness'. The UWA and UTB members of the planning team summed up the overall sentiment when they asserted:

"We need to control the fishing villages and stop their growth and that is the main problem. The boundaries will, once demarcated, put a stop to perpetual growth in these villages and limit their development."

"We should stop pandering to these communities and enforce the rules and regulations that are required to keep them under control. We cannot allow communities to get resources from the park…"

"Poaching is an issue close by these villages and so is grazing and firewood also…so off-road driving for tourists will reduce these activities by getting surveillance into the area…existing conditions are now that this area is in chaos with poaching by the communities."

"I don't understand why we don't just move people away from the park … I am really surprised we are discussing consumptive use in a National Park."

Indeed, one of the main management objectives of the plan is stated[7] as to:

"stop further expansion of sanctioned fishing villages within QENP and achieve an appropriate and sustainable balance between human populations and resource utilisation to ensure the perpetuation of the QENP"

Within the new QENP plan, fishing villages located within the park boundaries are now legally described as "Wildlife Sanctuaries." This classification is somewhat ambiguously defined by the Uganda Wildlife Statute as ecologically sensitive areas *"in which activities, which are not going to be destructive to the species or its habitats, may be permitted"*. The regulations re-affirmed park bye-laws banning the collection of firewood from the park, the rearing of livestock and the production of agricultural crops. One proposal, shelved due to intense protest from local governments, was that one fishing village known to have pre-dated the park by over 100 years (Kazinga) was to be relocated outside the park. Despite official claims that the plan was the result of an interdisciplinary and participatory effort on behalf of

all stakeholder, the process was heavily skewed in favour of UWA, UTB and tourist interests. This was justified by threat narratives that perceived participation as opening the door to further resource degradation. A senior UWA official asserted:

"To give too much participation to these districts and communities is a dangerous approach, because ultimately we will lose control of these protected areas and they will be destroyed by the very people who we asked to participate in their management. So we have to control participation and we have to be very careful in why, how, when and who we introduce it to."

Critically, the planning team carried out minimal research[8] to prove or disprove the validity of human threats to QENP; no detailed social assessment to investigate the impact of the park on key stakeholders such as local communities and districts (or the conflicts with them); limited review of scientific data on vegetation change, which was readily available and could have informed them that QENP was *not* being progressively deforested. What was examined was only a preliminary appreciation of the economic costs of their proposals and private sector feasibility, without much consideration of the social and political conditions (e.g. Eastern Congo war impacting on tourism arrivals). However, the plan was presented to stakeholders as objective and based on scientific judgement. In summary, the UWA unquestioning belief in the cogency of increasing threats posed by the resident fishing communities led to the isolation of the latter from the plan, despite them being the key stakeholders to ultimately shoulder the costs of biodiversity conservation. A process that promised participation was devalued to an attempt to solemnize stakeholder interests to support a plan that proposed new methods of control without addressing key issues such as sustainable use and benefit sharing in the detail desired by communities. Instead of encouraging partnership with local communities, the plan merely confirmed that their interests were not valued. But in fact, are the threat narratives that underpin management practice in QENP and the formulation of the recent PA plan cogent? Are they factually-based, coherent and convincing?

The plan produced proposals that are not relevant for QENP and did little to address ongoing resource and land-use conflicts, i.e. the issues with potential most powerful impact on biodiversity conservation.

"Population Explosion"?

The QENP management claimed since 1952 that the fishing villages are increasing in size, both in terms of actual fixed structures and human population. Table 2 illustrates that, from baseline data provided by the park management in 1965 compared against official census statistics, the overall trend has been for an 8.49% average annual increase in population across the Lake George fishing villages. Clearly, the population of these villages has grown, confirming the UWA perceptions. The increase, however, has to be placed in historical context, something that UWA's a-historical narrative fails to accommodate.

The majority of the local population increase took place between 1965 and 1980, during the period of civil unrest in Uganda, when the Department of Fisheries control over Lakes Edward and George was weak. This period coincided with intensive illegal fishing on both lakes by people that migrated from many parts of Uganda, a fact reflected in the present ethnic diversity of the villages. Illegal fishing lead to a collapse in the fish stocks by the late-1980s and early 1990s, a fact that slowed down markedly the population increase in all the Lake George fishing villages (we would expect similar trends for the Lake Edward fishing villages). Interviews with local communities confirm that income generation opportunities reduced more or less drastically by the late 1980s, causing people to seek alternative livelihoods elsewhere. One Local Chairperson stated the link between fish stocks/ livelihoods and population changes:

"Katwe was once a busy place … one of the richest towns in the Kingdom of Toro. Now look at Katwe today and you see what? You see houses broken and people having very little. What has happened to all the income from fishing? It has gone out, to Masaka, Fort Portal, Kasese, it has not stayed here in Katwe and with it people have gone too…when fishing collapsed. Very few people want to invest here in Katwe."

Several villages such as Kasenyi, Katunguru-B and Katunguru-K posted negative or marginal population

growth rates for the period, as fish factories at Kasenyi and Katunguru-K closed, and decreasing opportunities for

Table 2. Population Growth Rates from 1965 to 2000 within the Lake George Fishing

Village	1965-1980 Pop Growth Rate	1980-1991 Pop Growth Rate	1991-2000 Pop Growth Rate	Uganda Average Pop Growth Rate 1991-2000	District Average Pop Growth Rate 1991-2000	Total Population 2000 (estimates). 1965 estimates in brackets
Hamukungu	10.51%	8.2%	1.5%	2.5%	2.1% (Kasese)	1960 (350)
Kahendero	16.2%	5.55%	1.5%	2.5%	2.1% (Kasese)	2570 (400)
Kasenyi	4.9%	0.39%	1.7%	2.5%	2.1% (Kasese)	1130 (543)
Kashaka	4.9%	2.34%	0.1%	2.5%	3.2% (Bushenyi)	907 (432)
Katunguru (B)	2.3%	-10.13%	2.8%	2.5%	3.2% (Bushenyi)	590 (732)
Katunguru (K)	16.0%	-0.95%	1.7%	2.5%	2.1% (Kasese)	1751 (550)
TOTAL/ Ave	9.16%	0.9%	1.55%	2.5%	2.46%	8908 (3007)

employment caused people to immigrate. Since the 1980s the average annual population growth rates with the Lake George villages has been below national and district averages. However, UWA asserted continuously that fishing villages are expanding, and the planning team even made references to them *"turning into cities".* In fact, both official statistics and social assessments challenge these a-historical assumptions of UWA, and point to more complex and subtle changes in population.

Deforestation of QENP?

The extent of reliable information on the vegetation cover in the Queen Elizabeth National Park is well documented since its establishment[9]. Recent assessments[10] used remote sensing imagery to update these studies and estimate overall vegetation change between 1972 and 2000 covering the 1972 pre-poaching (high elephant population) and 1990 – 2000 post-poaching periods (recovering game population). These assessments (see Table 3, which illustrates changes in vegetation cover between 1972 and the present in the areas immediately around the 10 fishing villages) indicate that the official UWA threat assumptions are wildly inaccurate.

As stated by Kendall[12] *"The overall trend in the vegetation changes in the park over the last century is that the woodland/ forest communities have overtaken the grassland/ savanna communities … There has been little change in the vegetation close to the fishing village boundaries in the last thirty years, with the exception of Kisenyi which is now forested compared to the grasslands that surrounded the village in 1972".* Vegetation maps from 1908, 1960 and Landsat data from 1972 to 2000 show in striking terms the degree of vegetation change and transition between 1908 and 2000 in QENP. Without any doubt many areas of QENP have been experiencing progressive ecological change from grassland / savanna to woodland and forest ecosystem types. These results can be exemplified by the changes apparent between Figures 3 a) and b). Kendall (2001) asserts that change over the last 30 years has been accelerated by the decline in elephant population which allowed for a substantial increase in acacia woodland. Kendall's quantitative vegetation analysis improves on and supplements qualitative analyses by others as well informal comments of woodland regeneration made by village elders and former Wardens and Scientific Advisers[13]. One of them states:

Table 3. Vegetation Classifications Near Ten Fishing Villages inside QENP.[11]

Village	Vegetation close to Village boundary			Vegetation 100-200m from Village boundary		
	1972	1992	2001	1972	1992	2001
Hamukungu	Cloud covered landsat image	N/A	Savanna	Cloud covered landsat image	Savanna/ bushland	Savanna/ bushland
Kahendero	Cloud covered landsat image	N/A	Savanna/ woodland	Cloud covered landsat image	Savanna/ woodland	Savanna/ woodland
Kazinga	Savanna	N/A	Grassland	Savanna	Bushland	Grassland
Katwe	Grassland	N/A	Grassland/ bushland	Grassland/ savanna	Savanna/ bushland	Savanna/ bushland
Kasenyi	Cloud covered landsat image	N/A	Savanna	Cloud covered landsat image	Grassland/ savanna	Grassland
Kisenyi	Grassland	N/A	Forest	Woodland	Woodland/ forest	Forest
Katunguru (K)	Savanna	N/A	Savanna	Savanna	Savanna	Savanna/ woodland
Katunguru (B)	Savanna	N/A	Savanna	Savanna	Savanna	Savanna/ bushland
Kayanja	Grassland	N/A	Grassland	Grassland/ savanna	Woodland	Woodland
Rwenshama	Grassland	N/A	Grassland	Savanna/ woodland	Woodland	Woodland

Figure 3a. A view of Crater Track in 1962.
(*Courtesy Richard Laws*)

Figure 3b. A view of Crater Track in 2001[14]**.**
(*Courtesy Lee Risby*)

"The situation now is completely transformed. I left in 1964 and then after the Idi Amin regime destroyed the parks and reduced the elephant population to a few hundred from a number of about 2500. By the time I went back again in May of 1981 the vegetation had altered. The park had more bush and acacia in view of the fact that the elephant were reduced. In areas that used to be open and flat, short grass was completely transformed into thick acacia bush, with grass three four feet high. For example, in 1964 acacia in Lion Bay was knocked back to the point where you just did not notice it, the area used to be open short grass. In 1981 it was completely covered by acacia."

No one denies that livelihood-related resource use by local communities is an issue of concern, but this threat requires more qualification. As demonstrated by the case study of QENP, while the population of the fishing villages inside the park was increasing, local vegetation remained as it was, or actually

Obviously, human agency has altered QENP, the poaching events of the 1970s and 80s carried out by the government agencies reduced the elephant numbers and triggered a great deal of acacia and bushland increase. In this and other areas, however, the resource impacts of fishing villages on vegetation appear to be largely benevolent, and this despite an increase in the human population within QENP over the same period. In other words, results indicate that elephants are the primary moderators of the QENP ecosystem (even in areas immediately adjacent to fishing villages) as they are in other East African PAs and not human induced wood fuel consumption, as NEMA and UWA reports have stated. Moreover, a survey of QENP archives shows that less than 15% of poaching activity is associated with fishing villages[15] and a CARE report submitted after the land-use zoning was completed indicates that local communities are not the main protagonists involved in 'illegal activities'. The UWA rangers, Army, Police, and individuals holding political offices are still the main culprits carrying out wood fuel / timber and game poaching inside QENP[16]. Despite all of the above, the new donor funded management plan includes provisions for tighter controls on human activities based on the premise that the local communities are the main threat to the vegetation and game populations of the Park.

The power of convenient narratives

The narratives concerning the impact of fishing villages and their inhabitants on the natural resources and biodiversity values of the Queen Elizabeth National Park appear to be strong and enduring, finding their way into everyday management practice, PA plans, donor statements and project proposals[17]. They have continued for years, despite research results showing their questionable validity as a basis for action. The result of these narratives has been that PA managers and planners view fishing villages and other local communities as entities that must be controlled and monitored in order to reduce negative ecological impacts on the park. The question then arises – why? Risby (2002) argues that narratives have remained strong because:

(1) They are congruent with the embedded cultural systems of conservation, which emphasize militaristic and preservationist discourses predominantly expressed in law enforcement. These discourses thrive on defining an 'other' or 'external threat' in order justify action (in this case, exclusion of communities from PA planning). This is a political argument for traditional law enforcement18 despite the emergence of people-orientated conservation. Notably, [18] 'poachers' were killed during 1999–2000 inside QENP, and people are routinely beaten if found collecting dead wood.

(2) They offer linear cause and effect, a-historical 'explanations', which seem generally plausible and transferable, and are easy to understand. Because of these very qualities they can be directly factored into management practice and policy[19]. In contrast, challenges to the narrative presented above present far more complex storylines that imply correspondingly complex, nuanced and context-fitting policies, practices and forms of interaction, such as sustainable use, benefit sharing and effective participatory planning with local communities. These indeed do not easily fit the linear and predictable set of social relations underpinning law enforcement.

The strength and resistance of the cultural mainstream to accept local challenges to dominant threat narratives

was exposed in a presentation to UWA staff and PA planners in April 2000[20]. Aerial photography evidence for woodland regeneration within QENP (particularly around the fishing villages) was met by silence and disbelief from the QENP management, demonstrating the power of established narratives and institutional inertia.

Conflicts can be prevented by allowing all key stakeholders to take a role in decision-making and negotiate until a consensus is achieved. This was not done in the QENP planning process because UWA defined participation only in a consultative sense, following its preconceived narratives on

Recommendations

In this paper we have briefly illustrated how threat narratives and arbitrary assumptions in PA management are powerful and enduring, and how they can prevent the full realization of participatory PA planning initiatives. For QENP, the outcome of an expensive donor-funded planning process was to reaffirm narratives and impose greater control on threats that are either of minimal importance or false. In other words, the plan produced proposals that are not relevant for QENP and did little to address ongoing resource and land-use conflicts, i.e. the issues with potential most powerful impact on biodiversity conservation. The QENP plan satisfied the interests of only four stakeholders, namely the UWA, UTB, the tour operators and the tourists. As such, how can it be sustainable? Local communities and local districts, who bear the day-to-day costs of biodiversity through crop raiding and activity restraints, were largely excluded. In the long run this cannot be beneficial either for them or for biodiversity conservation. We asked ourselves: "can anything be attempted to break down the prevalent threat narratives and foster a more balanced and reality-informed perspective, allowing effective stakeholder participation in PA management?". We have three replies:

1) UWA should accelerate its pace of institutional change to embrace people-oriented, participatory conservation. Participation is at the centre of sustainable use and benefit sharing. For win-win situations to be achieved, UWA should improve the training it provides to its management on community conservation issues and potential. At present, most managers have a background in the physical sciences and some para-military training[21], as it has been the case all over East Africa since the 1950s. Such an overall culture of command and control is not conducive to participatory PA planning. UWA needs to recruit more managers with skills in social sciences and conflict management, managers capable of facing the challenge of participation. Only then will they come to look on local communities and districts as true partners and not as threats in both everyday management and PA planning. Donors such as the World Bank, GEF and bi-laterals could play key roles in supporting such changes in conservation institutions and the development of a lasting capacity to address the social and political issues at the heart of conservation.

2) UWA should improve the knowledge basis on which it formulates policy and management prescriptions. Merely to continue with long-held narratives based on arbitrary observation perpetuates the perceptions of threats that are weak or false and can impede participation. UWA should clarify the linkages between local livelihoods, natural resource use and their real impacts on biodiversity and environmental integrity. This requires a re-orientation of UWA research, to concentrate on investigating the very assumptions that underpin its management practice. It might be a difficult process, but it is necessary both in a general sense and at the level of individual PAs for the institution to gain a more enlightened perspective on the practice of conservation.

3) Donors should be more aware of the power of generalised statements about environmental threat. No one denies that livelihood-related resource use by local communities is an issue of concern, but this threat requires more qualification. As demonstrated by the case study of QENP, while the population of the fishing villages inside the park was increasing, local vegetation remained as it was, or actually improved.

Even more specifically, we believe that PA planning should be geared mostly towards resolving land-use

conflicts within and around PAs. One of the major weaknesses of the QENP planning process is that it made no effort to address conflicts among stakeholders and develop agreements that could actually guide managers for the future. In other areas (e.g. town planning) the primary role of planning is resolving possible conflicts. In PA planning some zoning proposals put forth unilaterally seem to be designed to create conflict rather than preventing it. And yet, conflicts can be prevented by allowing all key stakeholders to take a role in decision-making and negotiate until a consensus is achieved[22]. This was not done in the QENP planning process because UWA defined participation only in a consultative sense, following its preconceived narratives on the human threats. If local communities and districts had been truly involved, the resulting plan would surely have been more balanced, sustainable and effective.

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Notes

[1] Uganda Wildlife Authority, 1997.

[2] This work is based on Risby, 2002 and Kendall 2001. There one can find a much more detailed treatment of all the subjects of in this article, all the original pictures, information sources and detailed references.

[3] See Bere, 1972: 164.

[4] As it will be shown, the listed threats were deduced through arbitrary observation and are not corroborated by social or scientific research. Interestingly, QENP has been a centre for scientific research but interdisciplinary research on the impacts of the fishing villages has been largely ignored. For a detailed historical analysis of the construction of the management's narratives see Risby (2002).

[5] Created in 1996 after the merger of Uganda National Parks and the Game Department.

[6] UWA, 1997.

[7] UWA, 2000: 29.

[8] CARE carried out an assessment but, given the time restrictions imposed on the planning process. was not able to obtain the detailed data on which to base subsequent decisions.

[9] For references please see Risby, 2002 and Kendall 2001.

[10] See Kendall, 2001. The following quote is from pages 107-108.

[11] Kendall, 2001: 108.

[12] Kendall, 2001: 107-108.

[13] All references in Risby 2002.

[14] Picture a) May 1962, reproduced courtesy of Dr. Richard Laws. Picture b) May 2001, reproduced courtesy of L.A. Risby and C Kendall.

[15] Risby unpublished data analysis.

[16] CARE, 1999.

[17] See Blomley, 2000,

[18] For an analysis of institutional inertia in UWA see also Barrow et al, 2000; Adams & Infield, 2001; Hulme & Infield, 2001.

[19] See Roe, 1991.

[20] See Risby & Blomley, 2000.

[21] See Barrow et al., 2000.

[22] See Warner, 1997 and Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000.

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The values of conservation—
Whose values? Whose sense of beauty, integrity and equity?

Mark Infield

Enyemebwa. Bahima ethnic identity and individual status is rooted in the sacrifices needed to breed

Lake Mburo National Park in Uganda conserves an area of rolling hills, open valleys and forest-fringed lakes and swamps. With its jewel-like beauty and its nationally and internationally important biological diversity, the park draws tourists and local leisure seekers alike. Its location close to two large towns and only three hours drive from the capital, Kampala, also makes the park perfect for education and research.

The local Bahima pastoralists know the park area as *Nshaara*. This is where their former king, the *Omugabe*, used to graze his specially selected herds of cattle, famed for their beauty and separated into 'battalions' of uniform colour. The *Nshaara* territory was reserved for the grazing of these herds, one of the precious assets of the kingdom. The valleys and hills were famous for the abundant forage while the lakes and swamps provided year round water and protection against cattle raiding parties.

Though most Bahima have never grazed their herds there, as they have been excluded from *Nshaara* for decades, these characteristics are still remembered. The park area is associated with the halcyon days of the Bahima when their king was famous for his wisdom and handsomeness, when his court was a by-word for refinement and culture, and when his herds were the most beautiful in the world. In this vision of past glory, the beauty of the landscape and the beauty of the cows are fused. One cannot be separated from the other.

The increasingly strict exclusion of cows from *Nshaara*, culminating in the creation of Lake Mburo National Park in 1983, sparked a conflict that continues to this day. The conflict is not a new one. Tensions between the Bahima and the authorities grew from British colonial attempts to sever the relationship between the landscape, the Bahima and their cows. Expressed by both sides of the conflict in terms of competition over natural resources, it is much more than this. Bahima ethnic identity and individual status is rooted on the sacrifices needed to breed *enyemebwa,* meaning literally "beautiful cows". *Enyemebwa* must be big, long legged animals with a very specific deep red brown colour (*bihogo),* and long, graceful white horns. Animals are selected for their appearance, not their productivity. The retention of the long horned breed over more productive *zebu* breeds demonstrates the core value of "being Bahima", the pursuit of beauty. The Bahima have been breeding these splendid animals for centuries in memory of the mythical *Bachwezi* ancestors who first gave them the cows. Traditionally, and even to this day, Bahima adhered to a strict and exclusive pastoralist ethic. By shunning farmers and cultivated foods, they maintained an exclusive pastoral landscape free of fences or fields. Removing their cows from the landscape destroys its meaning and significance. The landscape, so vividly described in songs and poems, is experienced through the long horned cows as they pass through the woods and valleys to the lakes for water.

Removing the cows from the landscape destroys its meaning and significance. The landscape, so vividly described in songs and poems, is experienced through the long horned cows as they pass through the woods and valleys to the lakes for water.

"The grass of Rwanyakizhu is burnt,
Bawatimba is bare,
The fire has gone to the shores of Lake Kakyera,
and burnt Ruragara.
And the cows stand still at Rukukuru,

as the ripened fruit of Enyonza"

The authorities threaten this Bahima landscape. At the beginning of the 20th century the British began creating a landscape of agricultural production in Uganda. They challenged the exclusive pastoral landscape by encouraging farming. Villages, fields and fences have proliferated since that time. Indeed, the national park is the only remaining part of the Bahima's pastoral lands that remains unenclosed. When conservation initiatives worked to prevent farmers settling in *Nshaara* by banning hunting and farming, the Bahima largely supported them. When they began to exclude the cattle, they were resisted.

Since the early 1990s, the managers of Lake Mburo National Park have attempted to reach out to the Bahima and find ways to interest them in the park. Education programmes have been designed and carried out. Initiatives to share park revenues have been put in place. Dams have been constructed outside the park, and access to water and grazing has been allowed during periods of drought. Despite these efforts, the Bahima have remained negative towards the park and continue to find ways to push their herds inside the gazetted area. And, despite the official desire to build bridges to local communities, campaigns to exclude the cows have remained as vigorous as ever.

Understanding the park as a cultural entity, rather than only a scientific or economic entity, would allow it to be managed so as to reflect a wider range of values.

The motivation for the Bahima to drive their cows into the park seems clear. It stems from a powerful set of values embodied by the cows and their place in the landscape, and the impossibility of accepting the absence of cows in *Nshaara*. The motivation of conservation officials for keeping them out is less clear. Justifications for a 'cow free' park are expressed in scientific or economic terms. The cows, it is argued, will degrade the park by reducing its biological diversity and damaging the environment. Tourists will stop coming to the park if there are cows there. An examination of these arguments shows them to be largely unfounded. Scratch beneath their surface and you find that the interest in a 'cow free' park is easily linked to cultural values. The concept of wilderness, an apparently 'pristine' environment untouched by human agency, responds to a particular perception of western culture. The contemporary fascination with biological diversity extends an historical interest in nature, plants and animals that represents similar sets of values. Though expressed as absolute imperatives, the desire to conserve species and wilderness are cultural imperatives.

As pressure on protected areas grows around the globe, the governments of developing nations need to find ways to explain conservation to a broadly unsympathetic public. For the past decade or so, economic arguments for the retention of protected areas have dominated. And yet economic justifications are often weak, sometimes unwarranted, and may be a double-edged sword. If a protected area turns out *not* to make economic sense, should it be abandoned and a most productive land use adopted? Certainly Lake Mburo National Park would be more productive as a ranch than managed for conservation. The attraction of explaining conservation in economic terms in poor countries is obvious, but conservationists and governments ignore economic realities at their peril. Fortunately, to suggest that economic values are the only important values— even in very poor communities!— is both demeaning and false. Other values— such as beauty, respect for the local tradition and sense of identity, equity— can be powerful allies to support conservation. But they must first be understood, recognised and respected.

In particular, issues of equity apply not only to economics and access to resources. The conflicts between authorities and communities over protected areas should not only be examined in relation to a balance of financial costs and benefits. The right to determine the symbolic meaning of a landscape is also an issue of equity. If the managers of a protected area share the determination of the meaning of a landscape as well as its resources, they create the potential for an entirely new set of values and thus new interests and a new constituency.

At Lake Mburo National Park the idea of seeking cultural bridges between the park and the Bahima led to the proposal that the park be made responsible for the conservation of the Long Horned Ankole Cow, itself a threatened breed. This creates the potential for the park to contribute towards conserving elements of traditional knowledge and practice fast disappearing amongst the Bahima, as well as a unique cattle breed. Understanding the park as a cultural entity, rather than only a scientific or economic entity, would allow it to be managed so as to reflect a wider range of values. In fact, understanding protected areas in cultural terms and managing them as cultural landscapes may resolve a great many of the conflicts that protected areas face around the world. Understanding and respecting different values may usher a whole new realm of supporters for conservation.

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The costs of conservation— Who pays? Who should pay?

Tom Blomley

Basktet hand weaving. Basketry is a highly useful skill in the surrounding of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest. *(Courtesy Tom Blomley)*

"A long time ago this forest belonged to us, and we used it to get the things we needed. But since it became a national park, we have been forbidden from going into the forest at all, and we are now expected to protect the wild animals even when they come and destroy the crops on our farms." Mariiro Sadayo, over 60 years old, has lived all his life on a small farm on the edge of the renowned Bwindi Impenetrable Forest, in south-western Uganda. Increased conservation efforts by the government over the past two decades have progressively reduced his access to critical livelihood needs of firewood, medicines, timber and meat. Rising numbers of game animals - monkeys, elephants and bushpigs - mean that damage to his fields and crops has steadily increased. In the critical few weeks before harvest, when the millet and potato crops are at their most attractive to wild animals, his grandchildren stand guard for up to sixteen hours a day, armed only with catapults, to ward off the marauders. Not only is this tiring and dangerous work, but it is time taken away from schooling and other productive activities.

Tourists pay more than a Ugandan's average annual income ($226) to spend just one hour with a family of habituated gorillas deep in the rainforest. [...] Cases of tourists being lead to watch gorillas eating their way through a farmer's annual production of bananas are becoming all too common.

In conservation terms, Bwindi Impenetrable Forest is one of the richest areas on the African continent. Somehow ironically, it is surrounded by some of the poorest communities on earth. People come from all round the world to see the famous mountain gorillas, now less than 700 in number, found only in this remote corner of Africa. Tourists pay more than a Ugandan's average annual income ($226) to spend just one hour with a family of habituated gorillas deep in the rainforest. In the last few years, reports of gorillas raiding crops grown on farms around the park have been increasing. Cases of tourists being lead to watch gorillas eating their way through a farmer's annual production of bananas are becoming all too common and bring home this contrast most starkly.

Forests like Bwindi end up being of greatest value to those living furthest from them. In the west, we value rainforests and the continued existence of endangered animals such as the mountain gorilla, even if we may never have a chance to encounter one. We also value forests as carbon sinks, soaking up carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels. For those living downstream of the forest, water catchments and climatic regulation are important. Yet, we expect farmers like Mariiro Sadayo, living around the edge of these globally valued resources, to bear much of the costs associated with their conservation.

Thinking that through education these farmers will value and protect biodiversity resources is just naive. Starved for fertile land, they would prefer to open up the forest to produce staples like maize or beans, or grow valuable cash crops like tea. Given a chance, many farmers would welcome the opportunity to go into the forest to hunt the animals that continue to wreak havoc on their crops. The risks of doing either of these are high and very real. Armed and trained game rangers patrol the forest and arrest, fine and on occasions even shoot at unwanted visitors. Over time, local communities have come grudgingly to accept the existence of the park and their own alienation from what were once communal lands. Park rangers and local communities now live in a somewhat uneasy peace. But the background reality is that the conservation "costs" of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest have been transferred to those who are least able to bear them— rural Ugandans— while the conservation

benefits are being reaped by urban elites living very far from grinding poverty.

In Britain, we protect areas such as the Yorkshire Dales National Park to preserve landscapes such as the typical patchwork of dry stonewalls, and characteristic heather moorlands. Maintaining dry stone walls makes little economic sense to upland farmers, as they struggle to make ends meet from activities like sheep farming. Whereas in Uganda (and most other developing countries), valued landscapes and species are protected by "fences and fines", in Britain, farmers are motivated to manage historical landscapes by generous incentive schemes, tax breaks and government grants. At a broader level, the EU's Common Agricultural Policy is moving towards subsidising farmers to care for Europe's countryside and environmental resources. Why is it that we apply one set of standards in Europe and a totally different set in developing countries like Uganda?

It is time to radically rethink the way in which we manage national parks, forests and wildlife areas in developing countries and the ways in which conservation costs and benefits are distributed. We must move away from naive ideas of conservation education where poor, rural communities are "taught" about the importance of protecting wildlife in the misguided notion that this will lead to a reversal in attitudes. Rather, we should make sure that the costs of conservation are borne by those who benefit from it – first of all the international community. If we wish to see species such as the mountain gorilla survive in the wild, we must be willing to pay for it, by acknowledging and compensating the rural poor living in and around sites of high biodiversity for their role in environmental stewardship.

Why is it that we apply one set of standards in Europe and a totally different set in developing countries like Uganda?

We must move away from naive ideas of conservation education where poor, rural communities are "taught" about the importance of protecting wildlife

While the ideas sounds simple, the realities of making conservation payments to rural and isolated farmers living around national parks in Africa are very different to compensation schemes for farmers in North Yorkshire. The problems of difficult communication among different world views (usually subsumed as "limited education" of the rural people), poor infrastructure, complex land tenure systems, poor banking facilities and low levels of public accountability in societies undergoing profound changes (often imposed) are widely known. So how could a scheme ever stand a chance of success under these near impossible conditions?

One recent experiment from Bwindi Impenetrable Forest may help to show us a possible way forward. In recognition of the global conservation value of the forest and the cost this imposes on local residents, international donors have established a six million-dollar trust fund. This is invested in the stock market and the interest funds grassroots development projects in communities living around the park. A small secretariat, overseen by an independent board of trustees, ensures that funds are administered effectively, that projects are planned and realistic and most importantly, that the funds reach their intended beneficiaries. To date, the trust has paid out over a million dollars locally, supporting projects as diverse as medical outposts and clinics, primary schools, agricultural projects, water schemes and road maintenance. Local surveys have shown that local residents clearly link these development efforts with the presence of the national park, and as a result, attitudes towards conservation have shown marked improvements over the last five years.

Schemes such as this are, unfortunately, very few and tend to be concentrated around a few globally important sites, where the presence of "flagship species" such as mountain gorillas or Chinese pandas boost fund-raising efforts. If long-term conservation is to be achieved across the developing world, funding from global agencies needs to be radically stepped up and channelled directly to those bearing the costs of conservation— rural communities living next to wildlife and respecting/ defending the protected areas.

It is now ten years since the Rio UN Conference on Environment and Development. In the Johannesburg summit it will be time to reconsider our support to international conservation efforts by acknowledging the disproportionate costs incurred by the rural poor in the developing world. Such costs must be placed firmly on the shoulders of those who gain most from it— the international community.

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Les filières d'utilisation durable de la biodiversité—
Un chemin essentiel pour conserver les ressources naturelles et améliorer les conditions de vie des communautés de Madagascar

Claudine Ramiarison

Les pays détenteurs d'une biodiversité importante sont en train de faire face au défi de nouvelles formes de relations entre les acteurs du développement et de la conservation. Il est aujourd'hui évident que les communautés riveraines des écosystèmes riches en potentialités naturelles devraient pleinement contribuer à leur conservation. Force est de constater, cependant, que les espaces naturels continuent à se dégrader sous la pression anthropique. A Madagascar, certaines communautés continuent à pratiquer le défrichement et les cultures sur brûlis (*tavy*) dans les espaces forestiers, portant ainsi gravement atteinte aux forêts et aux espèces. Les exploitations forestières par des opérateurs privés contribuent aussi énormément aux dégâts et utilisent souvent la main-d'œuvre communautaire sans véritable considération de leurs droits. En outre, la notion d'accès libre et la faiblesse de la valeur des ressources naturelles pour les communautés locales (qui généralement en sont les collecteurs dans une filière productive) nuisent à leur pérennité et à la conservation. Les pertes d'espaces forestiers à Madagascar se chiffreraient annuellement à environ 140.000 ha.

Une meilleure valorisation des ressources biologiques implique directement les communautés locales comme parties prenantes à part entière, et requiert la structuration des filières et la concertation entre tous les acteurs depuis la collecte jusqu'à la commercialisation

Face à cette situation, des initiatives se développent et constituent un pas considérable vers la responsabilisation de tous les acteurs. Elles font parfois appel à la concertation entre communautés locales, exploitants forestiers et gestionnaires publics des forêts. L'expérience montre les limites des interdictions, puisque tant que les acteurs ne se sentent pas concernés, les ressources continuent à se dégrader. Par ailleurs, les possibilités offertes par les dispositions de la réglementation sur les droits d'accès aux ressources biologiques donne aux communautés locales des droits et une façon de profiter économiquement de leur utilisation durable. Ainsi les retombées de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles peuvent profiter aux communautés, conformément au principe de partage équitable des bénéfices de la Convention sur la Diversité Biologique.

Les membres de ces associations riveraines sont liés par une convention sociale traditionnelle (le* dina*) pour gérer d'une manière rationnelle la forêt et éviter le libre accès.

Une meilleure valorisation des ressources biologiques implique directement les communautés locales comme parties prenantes à part entière et requiert la structuration des filières et la concertation entre tous les acteurs depuis la collecte jusqu'à la commercialisation des produits. Les négociations directes entre les collecteurs et les acheteurs permettent de réduire le nombre des intermédiaires et peuvent mieux bénéficier les communautés organisées. L'un des objectifs est également de réduire la précarité des marchés des ressources naturelles, de telle sorte à ce que les communautés locales puissent en faire une activité plus lucrative complémentaire aux cultures de subsistance tels que le riz, le manioc ou encore l'élevage. Ces cultures, d'autre part, peuvent se faire au détriment de la biodiversité même. Une solution possible est en effet la diversification des produits fournis par les communautés locales organisées, avec des activités nouvelles qui peuvent générer des revenus, tel que l'apiculture, l'exploitation durable des plantes médicinales ou l'écotourisme communautaire dans les forêts qui renferment plusieurs espèces de faune et de flore endémiques.

Dans le cadre du Programme d'Action Environnemental Malgache, des formes de gestion concertée sont appliquées pour des ressources naturelles diversifiées et particulières. Elles visent des objectifs multiples qui dépassent la simple conservation, puisqu'elles tentent de mettre au point des mécanismes de partage des bénéfices. A titre d'exemple, les plantes médicinales sont fortement utilisées sur le marché local et aussi exportées sur le marché international, parfois sous la forme d'huiles essentielles. La bio-prospection est aussi une forme d'utilisation des plantes médicinales qui requièrent une organisation non seulement concernant l'exploitation proprement dite, mais aussi l'utilisation des savoirs traditionnels.

Valorisation de la biodiversité. Des alambics pour l'extraction d'huiles essentielles issues de plantes médicinales, utilisés et gérés par des communautés locales au Madagascar *(courtoisie*

Dans le Sud–Ouest de Madagascar, à Morondava, dans la forêt sèche à forte potentialité en plantes médicinales, bois d'œuvre et autres ressources naturelles, sept associations villageoises comprenant des praticiens traditionnels ont été crées en 1998, en vue d'une exploitation rationnelle de ces ressources. Les membres de ces associations riveraines de la forêt sont liés par une convention sociale traditionnelle (le *dina*) pour gérer d'une manière rationnelle la forêt et éviter le libre accès. Cette convention s'est faite sur la base d'un transfert de gestion aux communautés locales et des contrats les lient avec les gestionnaires publics des forêts sur la base d'une nouvelle loi dite de gestion locale sécurisée (GELOSE) adoptée en 1996. Les contrats obligent toutes les parties prenantes à des cahiers de charge. Les membres des associations villageoises doivent notamment contrôler la circulation des produits forestiers, en étroite collaboration avec les gestionnaires publics des forêts sur place, tout en maintenant leurs droits d'usage pour leurs besoins quotidiens. Les communautés organisent la collecte des plantes médicinales avec l'appui de techniciens. Les normes pour la fabrication de phytomédicaments interviennent dans ce cadre et prévoient une négociation directe entre les associations villageoises et les opérateurs économiques de plantes médicinales.

Actuellement, quatre espèces de plantes médicinales font l'objet de contrat entre les associations locales et les opérateurs économiques, avec l'assistance du laboratoire de recherche pharmacologique national et de techniciens. Ce choix a été fait sur la base d'enquêtes ethnobotaniques, de recherche en laboratoire touchant une douzaine de plantes sélectionnées et de prospection de marché local et international. Le rôle des communautés locales, regroupées en associations, est de veiller à une collecte rationnelle des quatre produits convenus avec les opérateurs. Un comité de gestion est appuyé techniquement en fonction des besoins.
Parmi les quatre espèces figure le *Cedrelopsis grevei* (ou *katrafay*), une plante à usages multiples qui commence à disparaître et requiert de ce fait une gestion très suivie. En dehors des usages médicinaux qui n'utilisent que les écorces, la plante est très demandée en tant que bois de construction et parfois même en tant que bois de chauffe. Ces pratiques usuelles ont des impacts fort négatifs sur la ressource et sa filière productive. Les premières analyses scientifiques ont cependant démontré que les feuilles auraient les mêmes principes actifs que les écorces. Récemment, les associations ont demandé à prendre en main une première transformation en huile essentielle qui requiert l'installation d'alambic, mais également une formation pour la production qui est dispensée par des opérateurs privés avec l'assistance technique du Programme Environnemental. Cette activité supplémentaire a l'avantage de réduire les coûts de revient de la plante qui était transporté brute vers des zones situées assez loin des marchés dont les plus importants se trouvent dans la capitale du pays et sur les Hautes Terres centrales. L'activité a aussi l'avantage d'augmenter les revenus des membres des associations. Par ailleurs, la ressource, très demandée par les opérateurs économiques et le marché, commence à se raréfier. Les communautés locales ont demandé une assistance pour la création de pépinières et pour leur plantation qui exige un suivi serré.

Les associations sont actuellement en mesure de gérer les fonds générés par l'exploitation des plantes médicinales, suite à des formations à travers le comité de gestion en place. L'utilisation de ces fonds sert à l'entretien de l'alambic, à l'achat d'intrants pour l'instant. Elles pensent plus tard à investir dans des infrastructures sociales d'intérêt public.
Ce même système est appliqué et applicable à d'autres types d'activités et d'autres types de ressources naturelles ; c'est le cas pour la structuration d'autres filières de la biodiversité, pour le développement de l'écotourisme communautaire dans les écosystèmes marins, côtiers et lacustres. Il concrétise la prise en mains par les communautés locales de leur développement.

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Contrasting livelihood discourses in forest conservation

Sally Jeanrenaud

Even a rapid analysis of conservation policy and project documents reveals a range of assumptions about livelihood-conservation linkages. These include the ones that might be called:

- Dependency-oriented
- Substitution-oriented
- Pro-nature
- Pro-poor

Dependency-oriented discourses argue that some degree of *dependence* on forests, such as extracting and marketing non-timber forest products (NTFPs) provides a sound basis for integrating livelihoods and conservation. Such narratives emphasise a physical inter-dependence of conservation and development.

History clearly suggests that approaches that see 'biodiversity serving livelihoods and alleviating poverty' do not enjoy a high level of political and economic support.

Substitution-oriented discourses claim that *substituting alternatives* to forest product use, (such as improved farming), developing alternative sources of income outside the forest (such as eco-tourism), or compensating rural peoples for loss of use, will reduce pressure on forests and lead to improved biodiversity conservation. These emphasise a physical de-linking of conservation and development.

Pro-nature discourses frame livelihood issues from eco-centric perspectives.[1] Improved livelihoods are viewed as an incentive issue, and promoted to encourage local people to have a robust and durable interest in the conservation of biological resources of interest to the larger international community. In this framing, people tend to be seen as 'a resource' for conservation.[2]

Supporting the three interlinked goals of 'sustainability'— ecological protection, economic viability, and social equity— is one way of overcoming dilemmas and progressing in the right

Pro-poor discourses examine livelihoods from anthropocentric perspectives.[3] For example, DFID's livelihoods framework has been adopted as a way of thinking about the livelihoods of the poor, as a way of assessing the effectiveness of efforts to reduce poverty.[4] Sustainable livelihoods— which include the protection of natural capital— are promoted to meet local social and economic goals. In this framing, biodiversity is seen as a resource for livelihoods and poverty reduction.[5]

Some of the conservation literature presents win-win arguments for livelihoods and forest conservation. However, such positions are usually a convenient "policy gloss" that may obscures the dilemmas at a local level. There are multiple and complex ecological, socio-economic and political institutional processes that mediate the linkages between livelihoods and forest conservation, and may deconstruct and challenge the win-win assumptions. Also, while each class of assumption mentioned above may be perfectly legitimate in itself, many projects would benefit from clarifying their own assumptions about conservation-livelihood linkages, and considering ways to test them. What should projects be testing for? Is it just ecological results, or should goals be broadened to include other dimensions of sustainability?[6] But, can projects effectively test their own assumptions, while being subject to multiple external influences outside their control?

Elements of livelihood thinking within conservation can be traced back to some colonial and post-colonial discourses that promoted 'using' natural resources for the benefit of local communities in the vicinity of national parks.[7] Sustainable use approaches became more popular in the conservation-with-development arguments from the 1980s.[8] Undoubtedly, however, while the anthropocentric view always mastered a degree of legitimacy within the conservation movement, its arguments have often been eclipsed by the more powerful preservationist approaches.[9] History clearly suggests that approaches that see 'biodiversity serving livelihoods and alleviating poverty' do not enjoy a high level of political and economic support. In my view, supporting the three interlinked goals of 'sustainability'— ecological protection, economic viability, and social equity— is one way of overcoming dilemmas and progressing in the right direction. Collaborative, multi-stakeholder approaches to natural resources management are critical to ensure that initiatives are

sustainable – environmentally, socially and economically. Ideally, a collaborative approach is also capable of recognizing the legitimacy of different values, of supporting a fair and transparent negotiation process and of promoting pluralist organizations that are both competent and accountable.

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Notes and References

[1] Eco-centric worldviews put nature at the centre of the stage and claim that all living things have intrinsic value irrespective of any value that human derive or attribute to them.

[2] See Jeanrenaud, S. *People-Oriented Approaches in Global Conservation. Is the Leopard Changing its Spots?* London and Brighton: IIED and IDS, 2002. [also reviewed in section five of this publication]

[3] Anthropocentric worldviews put people at the centre of the stage and values nature only in so far as serves human life.

[4] Livelihood thinking in development dates back to the work of Robert Chambers in the mid 1980s. This has been further developed by Chambers and Conway and others in the 1990s. Since then a number of development agencies— including DFI— have adopted livelihood concepts and have made efforts to implement them.

[5] Scoones, I., *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: a Framework for Analysis*, IDS Working Paper 72. University of Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, 1998.

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[6] Different assumptions sometimes underpin various activities within a single project. For example, many forest conservation projects are trying to improve the management of non-timber forest products within the forest, but also to support alternative land use practices, and income generating schemes outside the forest. Data from a literature review and range of interviews in 2001 suggested that, despite difficulties, most IUCN forest conservation projects are attempting to build physical inter-linkages between conservation and livelihoods.

[7] For example, see: Anderson, D. & Grove, R., *Conservation in Africa. People, Policies and Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. McCormick, J. *The Global Environmental Movement,* second edition. Chichester: Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1995. WWF, *The Launching of a New Arc. Report of the President and Trustees of the World Wildlife Fund 1961-1964*, London and Glasgow: Messrs Collins, 1965.

[8] IUCN, UNEP & WWF, *The World Conservation Strategy,* Gland: The World Conservation Union; Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme and Gland: World Wide Fund for Nature, 1981. See also IUCN, UNEP & WWF *Caring for the Earth. A Strategy for Sustainable Living,* Gland: The World Conservation Union; Nairobi: United

Sustainable livelihoods— The result of successful co-management of natural resources?

Martin Bush

There is convincing evidence from around the world that the most successful way of managing common property resources (CPR) is through mutually-agreed arrangements among stakeholders, which define their individual and collective rights, responsibilities, and benefits within the framework of a management strategy. The strategy generally aims at the sustainable use of the resource base and thus at the indefinite enjoyment of the benefits deriving from it.

For some stakeholders, the conservation of habitat and biodiversity is of primary concern and the knowledge that this is a clearly-stated and realistic objective of the management agreement is sufficient to ensure their commitment and participation. For others, however, and particularly for stakeholders from the rural areas of developing countries, the level of commitment and the degree of participation in management are strongly influenced by the extent to which they perceive and receive real and tangible benefits to both their community and themselves as individuals. In other words, the determinant factor in the success of a CPR co-management setting may very well be the extent to which it manages to improve rural livelihoods.

To investigate this hypothesis an in-depth analytical effort needs to be made to understand how rural people perceive and respond to the changing circumstances, new possibilities, and different options resulting from their participation in managing common property

resources. Failure to understand the way rural people 'see' such options, how they interpret the concept of 'sustainability', the value they place on the concept, and the importance they attach to intangible values such as avoiding risk, reducing vulnerability, feeling empowered and autonomous or increasing the security of their food supply, risks the collapse of a CM agreement. This is so despite the all likely intention, by those designing the arrangement, to offer real and tangible benefits to the rural population. Such an analysis can well be approached though a sustainable livelihood (SL) framework, such as the one published by the DFID and available on the web1.

The DFID sustainable livelihoods framework presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods and the typical relationships among them. The primary elements of the framework are: livelihood assets (e.g., human, natural, financial, social, and physical capital); transforming structures and processes; livelihood strategies; and desired livelihood outcomes (e.g., more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of NR base). An essential aspect of the framework is that livelihood strategies are conditioned by the vulnerability context of the community, and the degree to which the community has access to the assets cited above.

Access to markets, health services, education, adult training, technical assistance for agriculture and NRM, market information, and above all financial services, are enormously important in improving the livelihoods of rural people. CM interventions should always aim to improve the access of rural communities to these types of

The DFID framework:

- prioritizes an analysis centered on poor rural people, their assets, preferred outcomes, strategies and responses to these factors;
- takes fully into account the external environment of people, i.e. their vulnerability, as well as their policy and institutional context;
- illustrates how institutions and policies do or do not address the needs and opportunities of people;
- illustrates the process of negotiation required between people and institutions for a SL approach to be implemented.

Despite these important characteristics, the framework may still be inadequate to assess whether conservation objectives— and the sustainable management of protected landscapes in particular— succeed in enhancing rural livelihoods. In fact, the five types of

Community meeting in Guinea. Developing a management plan for the Bakoun classified forest (September 2000). *(Courtesy Martin Bush)*

assets at the heart of the DFID framework are indigenous assets derived from the vitality of the community and the wealth of its landscape. But there exogenous assets are also crucial. Access to markets, health services, education, adult training, technical assistance for agriculture and NRM, market information, and above all financial services, are enormously important in improving the livelihoods of rural people. CM interventions should always aim to improve the access of rural communities to these types of assets. Also, in areas where CM interventions are initiated it is also likely that landscape may be an important asset *in itself*.

In addition, neither the livelihoods framework nor the CM approach addresses upfront the question of land tenure. In this way, the fundamental issue of access by the rural populations to both indigenous and exogenous goods and services may even end up neglected. This is a shortcoming and should be overcome. Ecotourism is potentially another most important mechanism for ensuring conservation while improving rural livelihoods. SL frameworks should specifically include ecotourism as an exogenous asset.

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Notes and References

[1] See DFID's www.livelihoods.org for access to the series of working papers on the application of the Sustainable Livelihoods approach. The Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets (which can be accessed on this website) provide a comprehensive analysis. The best introduction to applying the approach to protected areas is probably Ashley C. and K. Hussein 'Developing Methodologies for Livelihood Impact Assessment : Experience of the African Wildlife

La formation en gestion participative dans les écoles forestières d'Afrique Centrale—Le processus a fait du chemin

Jean-Claude Nguinguiri

Encouragés et incités par les acquis du Projet de Cogestion pour la Conservation de la Nature dans le Bassin du Congo (1998–2001), huit écoles forestières d'Afrique Centrale ont élaboré ensemble un curriculum de formation sur la gestion participative, comprenant six modules. Les institutions de formation concernées sont : l'Ecole Nationale des Eaux et Forêts (Gabon), l'Ecole pour la Formation des Spécialistes de la Faune de Garoua (Cameroun), l'Institut Supérieur de Développement Rural (RCA), la Faculté d'Agronomie et des Sciences Agricoles de l'Université de Dschang (Cameroun), l'Ecole Régionale post-universitaire d'Aménagement Intégré des Forêts Tropicales (RDC), l'Ecole des Eaux et Forêts de Mbalmayo (Cameroun), le Centre Régional d'Enseignement Spécialisé en Agriculture Forêt-Bois (Cameroun) et l'Institut de Développement Rural (Congo).

Le processus a été initié à la suite d'un atelier de réflexion sur l'adaptation de la formation au contexte et aux nouveaux besoins et défis de la gestion durable des ressources naturelles (avril 2000). Les participants à l'atelier— tous responsables des programmes de formation dans des écoles de formation forestière dans la région— ont constaté l'écart existant entre les programmes actuels et les idées et pratiques en pleine évolution. Face à ce diagnostic, ils se sont engagés dans une démarche collective de mise à jour de leurs modules de formation.

Les responsables des programmes de formation dans des écoles de formation forestière dans la région ont constaté l'écart existant entre les programmes actuels et les idées et pratiques en pleine évolution.

La gestion participative est le premier thème qui a été retenu. Après avoir procédé à l'identification des besoins en formation au cours de l'atelier dit de « formation des formateurs sur la gestion en partenariat des ressources naturelles » organisé en novembre 2000 avec l'appui technique des membres du Groupe du Travail sur la Gestion Participative de l'UICN/ CEESP, le processus s'est poursuivi avec le choix de l'approche appropriée (réunion du 08 au 11 mai 2001) et le développement des modules (atelier du 30 juillet au 3 août 2001). Les participants ont été choisis parmi les enseignants pressentis pour animer la formation dans les différentes écoles forestières. Au terme de cet atelier, les participants ont identifié les objectifs pédagogiques et élaboré un programme de formation en 6 modules :

1. Introduction aux concepts, enjeux et démarches de la gestion participative
2. Communication sociale et facilitation d'un processus de gestion participative
3. Analyse participative de la situation de gestion des ressources naturelles
4. Initiation et appui à un processus de gestion participative
5. Gestion des conflits liés aux ressources naturelles
6. Développement des innovations techniques dans le processus de gestion participative

Le nouveau curriculum de formation et les accessoires pédagogiques qui l'accompagnent ont été réunis dans un ouvrage intitulé *Guide pour la Formation en Gestion Participative des Ressources Naturelles*, publié par l'UICN en collaboration avec FORAFRI, le MAE, la GTZ et la FAO. Convaincus de la pertinence de cette approche axée sur un processus de groupe, les responsables des écoles forestières concernées ont recommandé son application à d'autres thèmes prioritaires. Un réseau des institutions de formation forestière et environnementale d'Afrique Centrale a été mis en place le 5 octobre 2001 pour faciliter le pilotage du dispositif. Une déclaration dite « Déclaration de Libreville » a été signée par tous les responsables afin de formaliser l'engagement pris conjointement de poursuivre le processus. Un atelier de planification a été organisé en début avril 2002. Les activités planifiées sont en cours d'exécution.

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Communities *do* conserve! Learning from community conserved areas in India and elsewhere

Neema Pathak Broome

Local communities play a central role in a large number of conservation initiatives in India. Those span from the continuing traditional strict protection of sacred groves to the renewed interest and engagement of local communities in protecting their natural resource catchments and saving natural habitats from the penetration of destructive commercial and industrial forces. Some efforts are self-initiated by the communities. Others are supported or facilitated by government or non-government external agencies. The mentioned initiatives appear to conserve a large amount of biodiversity, both 'wild' and 'domesticated'. A preliminary country-wide assessment of the extent, kind, and efficacy of such efforts is currently being conducted in India. The results of the study will be important to assess the community contribution to overall conservation in the country, to identify policy and legal measures to facilitate such initiatives, and to learn lessons relevant also for official conservation efforts

Outside agencies have a role to play in supporting community conserved areas, but too often bring in inappropriate types of support, including financial, which end up undermining the sustainability of local

Community Conserved Areas (CCAs)

CCAs are here defined as areas with significant biodiversity, which are being conserved by or with the substantial involvement of communities. Some such examples in India include:

- protection of 1800 hectares of forest by Mendha (Lekha) village in Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra, by the Gond tribal community;
- regeneration and protection of 600-700 hectares of forest and revival of several hundred varieties of agricultural crops by Jardhargaon village in Uttaranchal state;
- protection of sea turtle eggs, hatchlings and nesting sites by a fisherfolk community NGO in Kolavipalam, Kerala;
- traditional conservation of Painted Stork and globally threatened Spot-billed Pelican nesting sites by residents of Kokkare Bellur village, Karnataka;
- community-based monitoring and enterprise by the Soliga tribals at the Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Sanctuary, Karnataka;
- forests directly managed by the Lapanga, Khudamundha, and Patrapali communities in Orissa (specific examples among thousands, as about 30 % of the forest area in the state in under community management)
- 600 ha. of regenerated village forest in the Loktak Lake catchment by Ronmei tribe in Tokpa Kabui village, Churachandpur district, Manipur;
- continued protection of sacred forests (*Orans*) by local communities in the desert region of Rajasthan, including Barmer district.

Understandings and issues

Some of the major understandings and issues emerging from the analysis of Indian examples such as the ones listed above include the following:

- centralised, uniform models of development and conservation adapted by successive governments are undermining the diverse, site-specific traditions and initiatives by local communities;
- there is inadequate understanding and recognition of CCA initiatives, and of their beneficial impacts to biodiversity, livelihoods, and social security;
- lack of decision-making powers in the hands of the communities, lack of legal backing to CCAs, and insecurity of tenure and control over the natural resources on which communities depend are hampering community conservation;
- outside agencies have a role to play to support CCAs, but too often bring in inappropriate types of support (including financial), which end up undermining the sustainability of local practices;
- many donor-driven or official initiatives promoting community participation in conservation have failed due to lack of transparency and accountability, inadequate

Sacred prohibitions. This complex construction around the trunk of a tree signals a set of sacred prohibitions, perfectly understood by the residents of the Bijagos archipelago (Guinea Bissau).
(Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)

transfer of capacity, lack of power devolution to communities and poor involvement of communities in the planning stage;
- there often are serious inequities within communities, including between men and women and different classes and castes, which undermine community conservation initiatives and their sustainability, and/or deny the benefits of such initiatives to disadvantaged groups;
- CCAs face serious threats from the larger context within which they exist, including party politics, centralised control over natural resources, national and global markets, privatisation of common property resources, mass tourism, insensitivity of decision makers, inappropriate education, consumerist lifestyles, population dynamics and perceived security threats.

The Environment and Action Group Kalpavriksh, and the Indian Institute of Forest Management organised a National Workshop on Community Conserved Biodiverse Areas at Bhopal (in the central state of Madhya Pradesh, India) on 21-23rd November 2001. The workshop concluded that local communities have been a strong force in the conservation of biodiversity. Enabling conditions and support, however, are now required to sustain their potential in the face of many types of change in the environment and society. The major recommendations of the workshop included the following:

- CCAs need to be better understood and documented, clearly demarcated, and highlighted at all levels, including by the mass media (but communities need the capacity to deal appropriately with masses of tourists and researchers descending upon them)**;**
- ecological, social and economic impacts of CCAs need to be assessed at local, regional and national levels; simple monitoring and assessment techniques can be developed to include community perspectives and parameters;
- existing community institutions, practices and knowledge systems, and the great diversity therein, should be recognised and built upon and, where necessary, modified on the basis of lessons learned, rather than displaced by new institutions set up by external projects;
- conservation and development initiatives should be seen as long-term, dynamic processes rather than short-term, target-oriented projects;
- such initiatives must provide special opportunities for the under-privileged sectors of society (women, the landless, tribal peoples, children, the aged, the disabled) including separate discussion and decision-making forums wherever appropriate;
- national and state laws and policies need to recognise the diversity of CCAs and take into account the local and/or customary laws and regulations that sustain them;
- the capacity of communities and facilitating institutions needs to be built to handle the complex issues facing CCAs in changing local, national and global contexts;
- official protected areas should take on CCAs as a special focus of interest and concern.

TILCEPA is working to consolidate the available information on local and indigenous communities' efforts at biodiversity conservation across the globe

Community-based conservation (CBC) initiatives including CCAs can strongly complement the official network of protected areas providing habitats for wildlife and other biodiversity conservation measures in India. Hopefully, the result of the above-mentioned study will help to make a strong and convincing case for it, and thus enhance the conservation of

biodiversity and wildlife envisaged for India under the Convention on Biological Diversity.

Learning from community conservation experiences

Though the examples and analysis presented above are from India, there are umpteen documented and undocumented similar examples in other countries. The World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) and Commission on Economic, Ecological and Social Policy (CEESP) joint Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity, and Protected Areas (TILCEPA) is working to consolidate the available information on local and indigenous communities' efforts at biodiversity conservation across the globe. This is to be done with the help of a network of individuals and organisations involved with CCAs. An effort will be made to draw lessons for more equitable policies for biodiversity conservation, including for official protected areas. The documented experiences and lessons learned would feed into a set of currently being prepared by TILCEPA. Lessons drawn from such efforts will also feed into the World Parks Congress at Durban (September 2003). CCAs are likely to get considerable attention during the Congress as several sessions and sub-sessions are expected to focus on the kind of understandings and issues mentioned above and on the results of the studies currently on-going.

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Pesticides? No, thanks!— Grounding sustainable livelihoods on *"community integrated pest management"*

Maryam Rahmanian interviews
Taghi Farvar, Hossein Heydari,
Peter Kenmore and Wahyu Sutisna

Maryam Rahmanian: *Sustainable livelihoods… community integrated pest management… what do we mean by these long series of nouns? What are they about? And how are they linked?*

Taghi Farvar: The Sustainable Livelihoods approach is about communities managing their living in ways that are sustainable in 3 major aspects: environmental/ ecological, social/cultural and economic/financial. First, the living we make must not only avoid environmental degradation— so that future generations can continue to live on our same resources; it should also *enhance* the environment, making it as resilient and productive

Figure 1. Biological pest management for pistachios. Hossein Heydari discusses with Allah Noor, a member of the Afghan Development Association, during a field trip following an IPM training workshop in Semnan, Iran *(courtesy Maryam Rahmanian)*

as it could be. Second, the ways of doing this should be socially and culturally appropriate— based on the strengths of the traditional indigenous/local management systems, not undermining them. Third, the term "economic" has a wider connotation than "financial" because it includes more that simply the local unit of production. Landscape, regional and trans-national perspectives need to be taken into account, as sound production must be allowed and supported at all these levels. Ultimately, the foundation of sustainability is effective self-reliance and sovereignty of the communities involved. Clearly, sustainable livelihoods in rural areas are rooted in sustainable agriculture and supplementary processing of agricultural products. In urban areas this is not necessarily true, but to the extent that sustainable agriculture is important, then integrated pest management (IPM) is extremely relevant. Community IPM is an approach to agricultural production that is environmentally-sound, ecosystem-based, organic (or at least not dependent on chemical inputs) and ultimately community centred and community owned. In this sense, it can enormously help rural communities to build and control their own livelihood systems.

Figure 2. Women planting rice seedlings in the Province of Guilan, Iran *(courtesy Abdollah*

Maryam Rahmanian: *This understanding took some time to develop…*

Community IPM is participatory action research that uses the agro-ecological concepts of IPM to analyse problems, design field studies and carry out experiments. Farmers are encouraged to join forces to promote and protect

Taghi Farvar: I suppose so. It became clearer and clearer in the last ten years.

Wahyu Sutisna: In Indonesia we had some of the very first field experiences with community IPM in 1980 with 16 rice farmers in one village of Tarawang District in the Province of West Java. This was the embryo of the FFS (Farmer Field School). We wanted to work with the local communities because we knew that, if they would not like the approach, then there was no way it would ever succeed.

Local indigenous communities in Central America were routinely harmed by aerial spraying – nobody warned them or cared; they were "only Indians" according to a Monsanto representative to whom I spoke at that time.

Maryam Rahmanian: *What were the early IPM projects like?*

Peter Kenmore: IPM has its origins in agricultural intensification. The goal was to harvest more crops in a given period of time, more biomass from the same land area, or a particular type of crop. But intensification stresses an agro-ecosystem— by changing the crops and varieties planted, by increasing external inputs like fertilisers, pesticides and water, and by reducing some of the resources, nutrients or natural enemies of pests normally available in a given area. One of the first symptoms of agro-ecosystem stress is increased pest populations: insects, pathogens, weeds, or other pests. There is where IPM became necessary. But the technology-centred approach proved not sufficient. Fortunately, IPM has been taken one step further by the innovators of "Community IPM". Community IPM developed in various parts of Asia as graduates of Farmer Field Schools decided to plan and manage their own IPM activities. Community IPM puts farmers at the centre of the activities, ensuring that they are not merely recipients of other people's knowledge, but that they are producers of their own knowledge. Community IPM is basically participatory action research that uses the agro-ecological concepts of IPM to analyse problems, design field studies and carry out experiments. Farmers are encouraged to join forces to promote and protect farming practices which they know are healthier and more efficient.

Taghi Farvar: Yes, as Peter mentioned, IPM started in the '60s and '70s. The tremendous over-use of

pesticides were (and are) having overall enormous ecological, human health and economic impacts. Originally, IPM was about managing pests, but then the focus became broader: it shifted to productivity in general and to community empowerment. One of the earliest IPM projects dealt with cotton production in Central America, which at the time was one of the most intensive areas of use of pesticides. FAO helped it to produce pesticide-free cotton! In their initial strategy they wanted to manage "key pests" and pesticides were used to kill them, but the useful species were also killed and "secondary pests" were then unleashed, so the amount of harmful pests on the same plants actually increased. What FAO experts did was to plant a small amount of the cotton early. All the key pests (boll weevils) congregated in one area, where they were "trapped" and destroyed. In these early projects the focus was only on pest control and economic profit, there was no focus on community. But the consequences for local communities were nevertheless extremely important. Local indigenous communities were routinely harmed by aerial spraying– nobody warned them or cared; they were "only Indians" according to a Monsanto representative to whom I spoke at that time. They were drinking water that contained pesticides. There were many diseases and fatalities. One of the pesticides used was an organophosphate, usually ethyl-parathion— invented under Hitler in WW2 as a chemical warfare agent and later marketed widely as a pesticide. Just one droplet of this on your skin can be lethal.

Maryam Rahmanian: *So, the IPM projects were successful even before the community component was introduced?*

Wahyu Sutisna: Actually not, as too many projects were not sustained. We learned from our failure. In Indonesia we started with a very top-down approach: the decisions were taken centrally, by experts. The farmers were the passive recipients. Fortunately we then decided to experiment with farmers leading the activities. In community IPM the farmers take care of their own production and management systems. The government provides support, but does not control activities. Second, farmers take care of their own environment. Third, farmers take care of their own communities. In fact, the individual farmers cannot take action alone—it has to be a community process. The communities have many components: men, women, government agents, farmers, children, disabled people etc. All these people working together make the IPM initiatives sustainable.

Figure 3. Assessing pest damage to crops in North Cameroon *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

The communities saved about $600 of pesticides costs in one year. In some places the produce is now organic and the farmers are very proud of this.

Maryam Rahmanian: *How successful has Community IPM been compared to only IPM? What factors make it successful?*

Wahyu Sutisna: Not all IPM projects are Community IPM projects. It depends on the receptivity of the government and on other factors. But Community IPM is where we professionals in the subject would like all projects to move into. The political will of the government is very important. And there must be proper guidance, direction and human resources. Technology per se is not so important – you can find it anywhere.

Maryam Rahmanian: *In the early days of Community IPM, were you thinking of promoting sustainable livelihoods?*

Wahyu Sutisna: We have always been working with the aim of sustainable livelihoods, but we do not use the term. We ask the farmers what "livelihood" means for them, and take it from there.

Maryam Rahmanian: *In Iran, have Community IPM projects contributed to the livelihoods of the communities involved?*

Hossein Heydari: At least 70% of pesticides used in all crops in Iran is unnecessary. The farmers are spending money for nothing. In Garmsar, we found that pesticide use was more than 30 times greater than the amount "needed." In one case, a group of 12 farmers from different communities gathered in a Farmer Field School course and began work on the sun-pest, a pest of wheat—strategically crucial in our country. They had to see something working before they could be convinced. Through this experience they realised that IPM and the Farmer Field School method could be used on all crops and for all kinds of problems. Farmers were also encouraged to communicate with their neighbours to solve their problems. You ask about livelihood. The first element of livelihood is health, and IPM improves the health of the farmers, as the greatest risk to farmers' health is pesticides. When pesticides are eliminated from the environment, many natural enemies can control the pests.

If there's even a memory of traditional management systems, for instance kept alive by

There is cultural harassment in the name of modernity, from alien systems of education and bad advice from experts who tell that traditional knowledge is old and unattractive...

Maryam Rahmanian: *How do you make sure that Community IPM projects are conducted in socially and culturally appropriate ways?*

Hossein Heydari: In Iran, the village is the production unit and it has a specific social structure, on which we base our initiatives. For example, in one of our projects we first visited several villages, we explained our approach, the concepts we use, the dangers of pesticides, etc. In the Damghan area, 9 out of 12 villages agreed to participate and to finance the immediate project expenses (food, equipment, etc.). Unlike in Indonesia, the government was not interested, so we had to help farmers to organise without the government. The communities chose their own representatives. The representatives attended our weekly Farmers Field Schools and related what they had learned to others. In this way, the communities saved about $600 of pesticide costs in one year. In some places the produce is now organic and the farmers are very proud of this. Government researchers and extension workers who have assessed the projects in Damghan and Garmsar were finally convinced that it is very useful.

Maryam Rahmanian: *What about traditional natural resource management systems?*

Taghi Farvar: In almost every local community there is some element of traditional natural resource management that you could build on. If you are looking for effective and ingenious management systems, you are much more likely to find them in local villages than at the Harvard School of Management or among government experts. Also, building on the traditional systems helps local folks to meet new challenges and is usually friendly to the environment. In Iran, Community IPM tries to find what traditional resource management systems exist so that sustainable livelihoods can be rooted in them

Maryam Rahmanian: *What if the local knowledge, skills and institutions have been lost?*

Taghi Farvar: If there's even a memory of traditional management systems, kept alive by community elders, you can help to rehabilitate and improve them. If there is absolutely nothing you could get a community to look at similar communities that have still kept some of their traditions, and then adapt their systems for their own use. And if this is also not possible, you could look at experiments from other regions– there might still be something useful there. Let me give you a couple of examples. In the rice-growing areas in Guilan, weeds that grow together with the rice look very similar to the rice. It is very difficult for inexperienced people to tell the difference. Only elderly women know how to, and they do the work, passing on their knowledge to the younger girls. You can take those skills and find effective ways of using them in a rice IPM project. In the case of pomegranates, the worst pest is a moth that enters the tip of the pomegranate. Traditionally in many parts of Iran mud was stuffed in the crown of the young pomegranate to prevent the moths from getting in. But this knowledge is getting lost. Often, it is a question of not having the labour to do it. Now, because of cheap labour from Afghanistan, it is still possible to do this kind of work. But if our friends and neighbours from Afghanistan leave I don't know what will happen…. I am afraid pesticides may take their place.

Hossein Heydari: Many melon farms of Garmsar are near the Desert (Kavir) National Park. There are plenty of wild jackals and foxes there, and they love melons. The farmers traditionally make small huts with a couple of holes. They get the animals used to eating melons in those huts. After the fruit has ripened they place some fruit in the huts. The animals come and eat and go and leave the fruit on the vine alone.

Maryam Rahmanian: *What are the problems with using traditional natural resource management systems? Why are those not utilised more frequently and widely?*

Taghi Farvar: There are many causes. The shortage of labour; the availability of subsidized pesticides coupled with a system that pushes pesticides onto farmers (an unholy alliance between pesticide companies and government); cultural harassment in the name of modernity (alien systems of education and bad advice from experts who tell us that traditional knowledge is old and unattractive); lack of infrastructure and useful extension services in many developing countries so that the only technical advice available to farmers is from pesticide salesmen; and vested economic interests of all sorts, especially in the countries of the South. In Iran, the government is involved in licensing, importing, selling and applying pesticides. This is a lucrative business and it offers a quick way for many to earn foreign currency. The pesticide companies are a real corrupting element who often offer bribes in hard currency for government agents who purchase, import or license the use of pesticides. But things are changing in our country and our reformed system in the Ministry of Jihad for Agriculture has finally a chance of success and strong political will backing it. One of the healthiest new influences in many developing countries, including increasingly in Iran, is the role of non-governmental organisations. Without them we would have very little happening in Iran today. These groups are helping local communities organise community based organisations that are taking matters more directly into their own hands. The other positive influence has been a few international organisations that are supporting these efforts, including the Global IPM Facility based at FAO, the IUCN-CEESP, and the Global Environment Facility.

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La fierté de la cogestion— produit d'un cheminement réussi à Conkouati (Congo Brazzaville)

Christian Chatelain, Jean Claude Nguinguiri et Marcel Taty

A Conkouati, au début, il n'y a « rien » . . .

C'est entre 1990 et 1992 que les documents de base d'un programme national pour la gestion des ressources naturelles du Congo sont rédigés, dans un climat de fortes tensions socio-politiques parsemées de troubles meurtriers. Le pays sort du communisme et du parti unique. Il a un passé associatif très restreint, une expérience de projets très réduite et des notions de gestion participative limitées à la trilogie "technicien - parti - syndicat". La protection de la nature et l'utilisation durable des écosystèmes sont à mille lieues de devenir des priorités nationales. Le Projet de Gestion et Conservation des Aires Protégées (PROGECAP) du Fond pour l'Environnement Mondial (GEF-CONGO) issu de Rio 1992 arrive enfin à Brazzaville en 1994. Il a déjà beaucoup de retard, et il se heurte à une absence de volonté politique et

Figure 1. Un lac interne. Conkouati n'a rien à envier aux grands sites touristiques de la région. *(Courtoisie Christian Chatelain)*

d'ambition créative. Les cinq aires protégées bénéficiaires du don du GEF se débattent dans d'interminables conflits d'influence et, cinquième de ces aires, la réserve de faune de Conkouati souffre d'autant plus de ces conflits qu'elle se trouve alors dans le fief de l'opposition politique au gouvernement congolais en place à l'époque.

Sur le terrain, les tensions sont presque aussi vives qu'à Brazzaville. La population est complètement abandonnée. Pas d'autorité administrative ou policière. Pas de moyen de transport public ni de communication. Pas d'école, pas de dispensaire, pas de service de l'agriculture. La réserve n'a jamais vu un agent des Eaux et Forêts affecté à moins de 100 Kilomètres de distance, il n'y a pas de conservateur et l'absence de patrouille de surveillance est totale. La raison même de la création de cette réserve de 300.000 Ha, en 1980, est pratiquement vide de toute considération environnementale. Il s'agit, à l'époque, de protéger la frontière avec le Gabon voisin. En 1989 la réserve est déjà déclassée de sa moitié, sous pression des exploitants forestiers et des prospecteurs pétroliers. Chaque modification de tracé est opérée d'autorité, sans participation des populations résidentes.

En 1994 l'UICN— institution choisie par le PROGECAP pour promouvoir la gestion durable des ressources naturelles à Conkouati— envoie sur place un Conseiller Technique Principal, qui ne peut que constater l'état critique de la situation. Pour un œil extérieur et étranger, la réserve est seulement un lieu d'anarchie et de braconnage[1]. En dehors du système administratif de l'ancien parti unique (qui avait mis en place des Comités de village « lourds » et peu efficaces, l'organisation officielle des villages situés à l'intérieur ou en proche périphérie des limites de la réserve semble insignifiante. Les clans, retrouvant peu à peu leurs marques, tentent de se réaffirmer les uns par rapport aux autres, mais certains villages sont devenus des villages fantôme, avec 90% de la population vivant dans des campements de brousse. L'organisation de la société civile semble se limiter à la famille et à quelques " tontines ".

. . .et pourtant tout est là !

Il y a la nature, riche, variée, de grande importance écologique. La réserve de Conkouati, recelant de multiples écosystèmes interdépendants, fragiles et étagés de 0 à 800 mètres d'altitude et abritant de nombreuses espèces végétales et animales rares, fait partie d'un centre d'endémisme floristique dans laquelle on a relevé de nombreux taxons nouveaux pour la flore congolaise. Elle accueille de nombreux mammifères protégés (primates, éléphants, lamantin…), plusieurs espèces de tortues marines et de très nombreux poissons de mer, d'eau douce et d'eau saumâtre.

Il y a également des habitants énergiques, inventifs, totalement dépendants des ressources naturelles locales et ayant conservé en toile de fond un mode de fonctionnement traditionnel riche de connaissances et de capacités spécifiques. Les villages situés dans la réserve de faune et sur son pourtour recèlent un extraordinaire potentiel de connaissances indispensable à la gestion des ressources naturelles locales. Les gens connaissent les lieux, la faune, la flore, les rites sociaux, les règles traditionnelles et les interdits magiques. Ils représentent une possibilité de main d'œuvre pour la construction et la maintenance des infrastructures et un vivier potentiel d'idées au service de la gestion durable. Des villages entiers se considèrent comme abandonnés et sont en

Figure 2. La pêche. Un pêcheur rentre à son campement au bord de la lagune. *(Courtoisie Christian*

attente urgente, parfois mal exprimée ou exprimée avec violence, de reconnaissance et d'aide concrète. Il y a, en effet, des hommes, des femmes et des enfants remplis d'énergie et capable de libérer cette énergie aussi bien pour construire que pour détruire.

La force de l'ensemble de ces arrangements réside dans la concertation et la responsabilisation de toutes les parties prenantes. Le dirigisme d'Etat et le laxisme des populations se retrouvent autour de la même table, condamnés à chercher ensemble des solutions en considérant l'autre non pas comme le gendarme ou le voleur mais comme celui qui va aussi aider à un maintien de l'abondance de la

Il y a aussi une administration étatique sans moyen, parfois corrompue et jalouse des organisations privées bien dotées, mais cependant ouverte et prête à revoir ses méthodes. La Direction des Eaux et Forêts (DREF), la Direction de la Faune et de la Flore (DFF), la Direction de l'Environnement, de la Pêche et d'autres domaines se disputent ardemment la tutelle de la réserve de Conkouati. Ces administrations regorgent de personnel (plus de 60 agents à la DREF-K en 1995, dans un bâtiment de 5 pièces) et beaucoup accepteraient une affectation à Conkouati si les rapports population-agents de l'Etat y étaient plus favorables et s'ils pouvaient être sûrs de ne pas être abandonnés là bas, eux aussi, comme on abandonne les villageois…

Premier pas essentiel: la création d'un environnement favorable au dialogue…

En arrivant sur place, la composante UICN du PROGECAP GEF-CONGO crée l'effet d'un coup de pied dans une fourmilière. En effet, la population résidente croit que le projet vient interdire la chasse et la pêche, déplacer les villages situés dans la réserve, construire des barrières, etc… et leurs premières réactions sont à la hauteur de leur craintes, avec barrages, menaces et même séquestration du Conseiller Technique Principal pendant deux jours! Evidement, le projet a besoin d'un cadrage « logique » de ce qu'il ira faire. Dans ce cadrage nous décidons de réserver une place importante à la communication sociale en tant que première étape vers la gestion participative—une approche utilisée tous azimuts et appliquées sans réserve dans le projet[2]. Cela nous prend le temps qu'il faut[3] mais avec une forte

Figure 3. Le cœur de la forêt. L'accès en pirogue au cœur de la forêt peut prendre plusieurs jours. *(Courtoisie Christian Chatelain)*

Figure 4. S'organiser pour gérer ensemble. Une des très nombreuses réunions à Conkouati. *(Courtoisie Christian Chatelain)*

reconnaissance de l'importance de la tradition et un peu d'aide sociale aux populations les plus démunies, la confiance petit à petit s'installe à Conkouati et un travail de réflexion de fond peut être engagé. A ce niveau, deux éléments sont décisifs. Le premier est le choix d'une personne native de la région et de grande qualité humaine en tant que communicateur clé et « visage » du projet pour les habitants de la Réserve. Le second est le choix d'analyser en détail les croyances et les perceptions locales des ressources naturelles avec l'appui d'un anthropologue, lui aussi local et très compétent.

La communication sociale accompagnée par le projet crée peu à peu une nouvelle image du travail de celui ci, une image positive. L'adversaire du début devient petit à petit un allié. A la peur de l'exclusion du départ se substitue une certaine association pour la gestion des ressources naturelles. Le projet devient aux yeux des locaux un ensemble de ressources et d'opportunités, y compris une opportunité de contrôle de l'accès à l'espace. Pendant que les différents acteurs et utilisateurs des ressources de Conkouati commencent à comprendre les vraies intentions du projet, les agents du projet commencent à comprendre que les ressources naturelles font l'objet d'une appropriation à différents niveaux et par différentes institutions.

Des projets venus après celui de l'UICN tirent encore leur subsistance d'anciennes approches de protection pure et dure— approches que l'on sait théoriques, loin de la réalité du milieu et condamnées, dans ce milieu, à être inefficaces. Ces projets sont sûrement un des dangers les plus forts pour la conservation à

Les populations projettent des normes, des codes et des perceptions sur la forêt, les plans d'eau, les poissons et la faune. Ceux-ci sont différents de ceux qui sous-tendent les actions de l'administration des Eaux et Forêts. Les normes, les codes et les perceptions représentent un ensemble d'outils stratégiques où chacun puise selon les circonstances, et les systèmes de référence sont manipulés en fonction de la position sociale des acteurs et des intérêts. En reconnaissant ces normes, en comprenant ces perceptions, en décodant les règles d'usage, en étudiant en finesse qui a droit sur quoi et par quel biais, on trouve qu'au moins trois niveaux d'appropriation se superposent pour une même ressource. Le premier est le niveau des lignages, qui définissent des règles d'appropriation claniques des territoires. Le second est le niveau du village, qui définit des règles de gestion des ressources. Le troisième est le niveau de l'Etat qui, par ses agents, se réfère aux dispositions réglementaires. Le projet de l'UICN, en débarquant sur le terrain, représente, dans l'esprit des acteurs déjà présents, un quatrième niveau, potentiellement fort, plus ou moins allié ou outil de l'Etat, qui risque de déstabiliser l'ensemble du système et d'en tirer l'essentiel du bénéfice. Que les clans, les villages et l'Etat se disputent l'accès aux ressources leur parait concevable, mais un projet extérieur ne doit pas toucher au patrimoine local et ne peut jamais en être titulaire ! C'est au patrimoine, en effet, qu'il faut s'intéresser et le projet en conclut que c'est dans la médiation patrimoniale qu'il faut s'engager.

Médiation patrimoniale et gestion participative: vers une réconciliation des hommes avec les ressources naturelles

Le travail de médiation est un travail long et complexe, dans lequel on fait quelques pas en avant un jour et quelques pas en arrière le lendemain. En s'appuyant sur cela, cinq phases se succèdent pour créer un environnement favorable à une gestion participative— et aussi efficace, durable et équitable !— des ressources naturelles à Conkouati. En premier lieu, on identifie les acteurs réellement impliqués et on effectue avec eux un diagnostic des ressources naturelles. On s'aperçoit alors que tout le monde les considère menacées et que tout le monde est favorable à la pérennité de l'abondance. A partir de là un système de

gestion est issu des propositions de chaque groupe d'acteurs, basé essentiellement sur un zonage par vocation. Une structure de gestion conjointe, le Comité de Gestion des Ressources Naturelles de Conkouati est ensuite formé. La signature d'une charte portant sur la cogestion et la validation sociale rituelle par la chefferie traditionnelle légitime la démarche. Les résultats incluent cinq arrangements institutionnels concrets :

- Un Plan de zonage définissant une zone d'éco-développement, une zone de protection temporaire et une zone de protection intégrale.
- Une Charte de cogestion tripartite signée par les représentants locaux des trois grands ensembles de tutelle de la réserve (Directeur Régional pour le Ministère de l'Economie Forestière; Chef de District pour la Préfecture et Chef de village de Nzambi pour les collectivités locales de base).
- Un Comité de Gestion des Ressources Naturelles de Conkouati (COGEREN) rassemblant l'Administration, les Comités de Villages, les ONG pour le développement durable et la protection de la nature et doté d'un Comité de Pilotage et d'un Comité d'Arbitrage.
- Un Plan d'Aménagement élaboré sur la base du plan de zonage négocié.
- Un Décret de classement en Parc National de Conkouati-Douli.

Ces résultats sont cohérents entre eux, ils fonctionnent en interrelation et la force de l'ensemble de ces arrangements réside dans deux notions fondamentales : la concertation et la responsabilisation de toutes les parties prenantes. Le dirigisme d'Etat et le laxisme des populations se retrouvent donc autour de la même table, condamnés à chercher ensemble des solutions en considérant l'autre non pas comme le gendarme ou le voleur mais comme celui qui va aussi aider à un maintien de l'abondance de la ressource. La signature au plus haut niveau de l'Etat de documents élaborés par un grand nombre d'acteurs depuis le plus bas de l'échelle est une preuve de la force de la concertation et de la responsabilisation. Sur le terrain, les accords spécifiques de protection solidement appliqués pour le lamantin, les tortues marines et le rotin en sont une preuve encore plus éclatante. Ces trois accords peuvent sembler à certains d'envergure modeste, mais nous pouvons nous souvenir du début du chemin, quand le manque de communication et d'organisation sociale rendaient le futur de la Réserve fort précaire et quand l'engagement des acteurs locaux était l'aboutissement autant espéré que loin à l'horizon de la démarche du projet de l'UICN.

Au delà de ces résultats concrets, les communautés de Conkouati ont acquis une conception nouvelle de la réserve— fidèle de leur identité et de leur mode de vie. Ils ont une vision patrimoniale de leur relation avec les ressources naturelles et ils parlent de leur cogestion avec une bien compréhensible fierté.

Il y a encore, bien entendu, de nombreuses améliorations souhaitables. L'une d'entre elle est l'adhésion au COGEREN d'acteurs encore trop spectateurs, tels que les opérateurs économiques (exploitants forestiers, pétroliers, transporteurs) ou certains services de l'Etat (pêche, tourisme, environnement). Une autre amélioration serait la meilleure compréhension de la démarche de gestion participative par des projets qui sont venus après celui de l'UICN, et qui tirent encore leur subsistance d'anciennes approches de protection pure et dure— approches que l'on sait théoriques, loin de la réalité du milieu et condamnées dans ce milieu à être inefficaces. Ces projets sont sûrement un des dangers les plus forts pour la conservation à Conkouati.

Mais la voie est ouverte et a démontré sa réussite. L'expérience de Conkouati doit maintenant être diffusée et relayée, d'une part pour qu'on lui reconnaisse sa juste valeur et qu'on l'appuie encore dans sa démarche, et d'autre part parce qu'elle représente un ensemble de leçons intéressantes pour d'autres initiatives de conservation qui se voudraient efficaces, équitables et durables, au Congo comme ailleurs dans le monde.

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Notes

[1] A cette époque la GTZ estime inutile toute tentative d'appui technique à Conkouati.

[2] A ce moment de l'histoire, la gestion participative vient de s'ouvrir une voie au sein de l'UICN, en particulier par la volonté du programme des politiques sociales.

[3] La première réunion entre tous les acteurs concernés par la gestion des ressources naturelles de Conkouati- prévoyant trois jours de réflexion sur les problèmes de la Réserve—se solde par trois heures de négociation sur le montant des "per diems" à attribuer aux participants et par le vol de tout le matériel de travail et de couchage apporté sur place par le projet.

Community organizing—A key step towards sustainable livelihoods and co-management of natural resources in Mongolia

Sabine Schmidt, Gansukh Gongor,
Kamal Kar and Keith Swenson

Figure 1. Herders of Bulagtain. Discussing pasture and water resource use in Bulgan Sum, South Gobi *(courtesy Sabine Schmidt)*

From unmemorable times, Mongolia's nomadic herders have been the managers of the natural resources at the basis of their livelihoods—the very resources upon which the country's economy still depends today. Their traditional practices were based on common property of pasture and mobility as a key management strategy. Those were altered over many decades of centrally-planned economy and during more recent socio-economic changes, resulting in unsustainable practices (increased numbers of herding households, changes in herd structure, lack of proper grassland management, indiscriminate cutting of shrubs and trees for fuel wood). These practices, as well as changes in climate, appear to be at the roots of the current processes of land degradation and desertification in the country. During recent winters there have been massive losses of livestock, which deprived many rural households of their livelihood and increased poverty among herders. Biodiversity *per se* is also affected by the illegal and unsustainable taking of wildlife and plants for (mainly cross-border) trade, which is threatening several rare species.

At the Rio Summit, the government of Mongolia committed itself to an ambitious Protected Area Program that should eventually place 30% of Mongolia's territory under formal protection.

Currently, approximately 15 % of the country's territory is formally protected. The limited government resources for conservation and the non-equilibrium grasslands ecosystem, which creates a spatially and seasonally highly variable resource base, made it an obvious choice for regional and local government agencies to seek the involvement of local communities in resource management, and to seek developing strong local institutions. Some donor-funded initiatives have assisted towards these objectives. These include the Gobi project1, with a focus on institutional and policy development on proven models of community-based natural resource management and the Altai Tavan Bogd Project2, with a focus on poverty alleviation and capacity building for tourism.

The Gobi Gurvan Saikhan National Park, named after the three mountain ranges "Three Beauties of the Gobi", is situated in the South Gobi Province bordering China. The Gobi project area is very large, including the park and important features such as the "Valley of Lakes" (a Ramsar Site) and the Ikh Bogd Mountain, which encompasses the most diverse

Figure 2. Traditional Kazakh Felt Ger *(courtesy Keith Swenson)*

ecological zones in the Gobi, from desert to high alpine. The park is important for the conservation of its unique biodiversity, ecosystems and geo-morphological phenomena, as well as for the protection of traditional resource management practices, cultural traditions and historic, prehistoric and paleontological sites. Many locations, particularly mountains, are sacred or associated with legends and described in ancient scripts. The earliest petroglyphs found in the park are believed to have been created by Indo-Iranian people during the Bronze Age. Globally significant paleontological findings include 30 new fossil species discovered in the area. Although the Gobi seems an inhospitable region, the park represents an old cultural landscape used by nomadic people as hunting and grazing grounds, as well as by sedentary populations, for thousands of years.

Community organizations respond to the need for communal action for pastoralism in an arid ecosystem and severe climate. Winter preparation, risk management, resolution of pasture disputes and grassland management are essential communal tasks.

The Altai Tavan Bogd National Park lies within the westernmost part of Mongolia, bordering China and Russia. It encompasses high, glaciated mountains, including Mt. Khuiten (4374 m)— Mongolia's highest peak, forested foothills and rolling steppes with numerous lakes and rivers. The area is inhabited mostly by ethnic Kazakh people, a minority in Mongolia, and is the ancient home of Turkic Peoples. Prehistoric and historic sites dating back some 6000 years, including petroglyphs, stone mounds and carved stone figures, are numerous in the park and its buffer zone. Rare wildlife includes the snow leopard, the Eurasian otter and the musk deer, as well as several endangered plant species. The local communities in the park and buffer zone herd livestock mainly for subsistence and have very limited income opportunities. Awareness of environmental and park regulations is low, and "poaching", illegal cutting of wood and overgrazing of park lands by domestic livestock are serious problems. Few tourist groups currently visit the park, but their number is slowly increasing.

Community organizing

The main actors in local initiatives for the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources are the herder communities and the citizens of the district centres. Herder organizations and local branches of national NGOs are emerging as innovators, co-managing grassland resources and protected areas together with the district governments, the Ministry for Nature and Environment, private enterprises and park authorities. This has been a crucial progress, as recent changes to land and livelihoods require much more than applying traditional knowledge to new situations. Today's rural communities need to increase their capacities to manage their natural resources in a sustainable way, but also need to diversify their sources of livelihood, add value to their products and assert their natural resource rights. As right holders, they can negotiate and agree with other stakeholders on rules and mechanisms for the management of natural resources and protected areas.

The external technical cooperation agencies in the projects mentioned above have been facilitating the analysis of problems and opportunities by the local communities, their self-organizing, exchanges of experience among communities, the building of linkages between communities and private and public sector organizations and civil society as a whole, and the development of decision making by consensus among stakeholders in co-management settings. Since the first groups formed, several years ago, community organizations are becoming well-recognised local institutions in the Southern Gobi. In a recent experience-sharing workshop, leaders and members of community groups discussed what helped them developing into empowered community organizations. They found that successful groups had certain values and norms in common, such as: equality, transparency, information sharing, close cooperation with local government, involving and helping the poor, and planning for self-reliance without external support. They also confirmed in their words the significance of the strategic support offered by the external agencies: "The project made a big intellectual investment in our community, - a good investment in our mind". The workshop participants also identified some important livelihoods and environmental improvement consequent to communal action and strengthened community

institutions: "Pasture land is now used properly" "Illegal taking of falcons by foreign hunters has decreased", "Communities can influence the government", "Other organizations are interested to cooperate with us", "Education of community members has improved", "The living standard of families has improved".

Community groups in the Gobi refer to themselves as Nukhurlul, which may be translated as "support group". In forming Nukhurluls as their own institution, it appears that local people have combined the benefits of tradition and modern times. While young couples (in fact, mostly young women) typically lead the community initiatives, there is support in the background from elders who share their wisdom and knowledge rooted in community history and traditional resource management practices. Importantly, unlike with previous socialist collectives, the community organizations and their initiatives are all on a voluntary basis. Moreover, the Nukhurluls have taken community organizing into a new era by forming district-wide associations of local groups and exploring legal and organizational aspects of establishing an overall apex institution. This is genuine grassroots organizing and may play a very important role in rural development and sustainable natural resource management in Mongolia.

Managing natural resources and co-managing protected areas

Local community institutions first formed in the Gobi region, but exchanges and experience sharing between the project regions have now facilitated the adaptation of models from the Gobi to the Western Mongolian Kazakh culture. Kazakh herders previously hostile to park authorities have now a voice in the management of the national park and in the use of its natural resources. They have come together with park authorities, women's NGOs and local government to form buffer zone councils and begin an active dialogue to address the needs of people while protecting the environment.

The community organizations are also emerging as key actors to diversify community livelihoods in the new market economy and as powerful institutions to access services, build linkages, participate as equal partners in co-management settings and contribute to the overall policy and rural development of the country.

The sharing of experiences among communities has also lead to the emergence of a women's NGO (Women Federation) as the primary actor in co-management settings. The NGO has taken participatory methods and people-centred approaches into other sectors such as health care and social welfare for the most vulnerable households. The resource centre of a particular prominent and active community group (Ireedui) in the Gobi, originally set up by local herder women, is developing into an innovative community learning institution. The Ireedui Nukhurlul was the first group to conclude a contract with the Park Administration and District government that transfers land and resource rights to the group for (initially) 15 years. The contracted land extends over all management zones of the park, including its core area. The herders have agreed on pasture management norms and are working on a more detailed management plan, with external support to make the process as participatory as possible. Many community groups, members and students have visited Ireedui, and the governor of the South Gobi province sent all district governors there to learn about community development and co-management.

As a matter of fact, different local models for collaborative management are emerging. Facilities such as visitor centres are co-managed. Local communities assign member families to patrol certain valleys, and "Volunteer Rangers" are authorized by the park. The vigilance of local communities who have a strong sense of stewardship over local resources helps to control poaching and illegal trade, for example of falcons. Tourism decisions and related income are shared between park authorities and local communities. Importantly, self-organizing of community groups without any external input is occurring in, and beyond, the project regions, and contracts for transferring natural resource rights to local communities are currently being discussed between governors and community organizations in several districts. Those concern medicinal plants, wildlife and community-based tourism. A working group including representatives of local governments, communities, research organizations and policy makers has also been established to develop

appropriate concepts for community-based natural resource management in the whole of Mongolia. The group is examining issues of transfer of resource rights and management responsibility to local community institutions, long-term custodianship, ecological and economic viability of resource uses, capacity building of involved organizations, and policies in support of all of the above.

In the Mongolian context, the significance, role and relevance of the emerging community organizations is manifold. Community organizations respond to the need for communal action for pastoralism in an arid ecosystem and severe climate. Winter preparation, risk management, resolution of pasture disputes and grassland management are essential communal tasks. But the organizations are also emerging as key actors to diversify community livelihoods in the new market economy. And they are revealing themselves as powerful institutions for the management of natural resources, able to access services, build linkages, participate as equal partners in co-management settings and contribute to the overall policy and rural development of the country.

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Una nueva pedagogía del poder en Paute—Ecuador

Hernán Rodas

Quienes transitamos afanosos por la cotidianeidad, tratando de acompañar los procesos de construcción de ciudadanía nos encontramos con un pesado ambiente de falta de credibilidad política, corrupción administrativa, creciente migración al exterior reduciendo la base de la política a pura emocionalidad. Encontramos que son pocos los que intentan construir el futuro gobernando la globalización. Son muchos los discursos y los enunciados sobre Desarrollo Humano Sustentable, democracia, poder local… palabras que se diluyen en una realidad de subdesarrollo, inhumano, insustentable.

Se vivió la confrontación con los viejos liderazgos que le temen a la participación ciudadana, que imponen con el argumento de la autoridad y no con la autoridad de los argumentos construidos en consenso…

El Cantón Paute despertó, sacudido por un desastre natural e hizo de la desgracia una oportunidad para enfrentar la evidencia de las desigualdades sociales y económicas, la crisis ambiental, la debilidad de los sentidos compartidos. La magnitud del desastre que subí casi lo obligo a restituir capacidades y poderes a los ciudadanos y al Poder Municipal—la única respuesta valida que había. La tarea masiva de la reconstrucción del valle fue puerta abierta para diseñar y disoñar estructuras sociales de participación, de solidaridad, de organización. Las nacientes organizaciones asumieron el autodiagnóstico, la elaboración del Plan de Desarrollo Cantonal y el seguimiento y auditoria social sobre las actividades, pensando lo local en el marco de los desafíos de la humanidad.

El Movimiento Paute Construye. El movimiento tiene 10 C como lemas: Construye Cambio, Cogestión, Confianza, Corresponsabilidad, Capacitación, Comunicación, Comunidad, Cooperación, Cordialidad, Creatividad. (*Cortesía Hernán Rodas)*

Introducir una nueva pedagogía del poder en el ritmo normal de nuestras sociedades rurales andinas exige espacios de participación en las que las personas tienen la experiencia humana de tener derechos y obligaciones, de redistribuir el poder, de modificar las relaciones sociales, más allá del discurso, comprobar desde la práctica la riqueza de la autogestión, la autonomía, el gesto solidario. Así nació el Movimiento "Paute Construye" con sus 10 C como lemas: Construye Cambio, Cogestión, Confianza, Corresponsabilidad, Capacitación, Comunicación. Comunidad, Cooperación, Cordialidad, Creatividad.

El movimiento elaboró el Primer Plan de Desarrollo, desde la periferia al centro, desde la palabra de los marginados, desde los constructores y no de los "damnificados" como eran llamados por los diferentes actores externos, que traían respuestas a preguntas que no las hacían los habitantes de esta región. Se vivió la confrontación con los viejos liderazgos que le temen a la participación ciudadana, que imponen con el argumento de la autoridad y no con la autoridad de los argumentos construidos en consenso.

La limpieza de escombros, la recuperación de los suelos, la construcción de las viviendas, de la infraestructura vial, sanitaria, de educación, las asambleas de autodiagnóstico y respuesta a los desafíos, los comités de gestión, administración, auditoria, el encuentro con Dios en la historia diaria. La activa participación de cientos de mujeres organizadas en la Red de Mujeres, la escuela de formación ciudadana, las microempresas nacidas para responder a los requerimientos de la reconstrucción y plan de desarrollo, el periódico "El Pauteño", la cooperativa de ahorro y crédito que nació con 120 socios y dos mil dólares y hoy ya tiene 18.000 socios y más de 8 millones de dólares de activos, Corpoarte productora y capacitadora en varias líneas de artesanía, los niños trabajadores, la Unión de Organizaciones para el proyecto de Uso Múltiple del Agua y Cuidado de los Recursos Naturales.

El Comité Ejecutivo del Plan de Desarrollo, presente en el Municipio, buscando un presupuesto participativo, el Comité de Seguridad Ciudadana, el Comité Anticorrupción son—entre otras—formas de construir un nuevo nivel de participación ciudadana, de estar presentes en la corriente mas cálida desde donde buscamos la globalización de la esperanza, de la vida plena.

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Community forest concessions in the Mayan biosphere reserve of Guatemala— Certification, legitimacy and the culture of participatory governance

Andréa Finger-Stich

In the multiple-use zone of the Maya biosphere reserve of Northern Guatemala, local communities have obtained forest concessions over half a million hectares. Within these territories, 17 such communities are allowed to extract timber and non-timber products under the provision of a plan for managing the forest sustainably and having the extracted timber certified. Guatemala holds, after Mexico, the world's second largest area of forests certified (accredited by the Forest Stewardship Council) and managed by local communities.

The Maya tropical forest stretches from the Mexican state of Chiapas into Northern Guatemala and Belize. It is— after the Amazons—the greatest extension of tropical forest in Latin America. Many of the Mayan civilization's vestiges are still buried under the luxurious vegetation of these forests. The three countries hosting this exceptional biological and cultural diversity have declared part of it under protection and established more than 20 wildlife reserves and national parks. The largest of these protected areas (including several types of protection status) is the nearly 2-million-hectares-wide Maya biosphere reserve (BR) of Guatemala. The Maya BR was established in 1990 and covers 19% of Guatemala's territory. Its core area spans747,800 ha. and its multiple-use zone some 864,440 ha. The core and multiple-use zones are property of the state. The remaining "buffer zones" include private property land. The BR is also classified as a World Heritage Site and a Ramsar Site.

Demonstrated by the quality of public meetings in the villages, the local enhanced capacity for participatory governance is probably the greatest new asset for sustainability, improving both the quality of the life of the people and the quality of their environment.

The Petén was about 90% forested in 1970, but since then more than half of the region has been deforested. Large fires were particularly destructive during the 1990s. Other important causes of deforestation include the advance of the agricultural frontier— mostly for large cattle ranches. Resource-poor people enter and clear the forest, and land speculators arrive to buy it from them after a couple years, as soon as the yields diminish. The speculators later sell the land to large cattle owners. Land hunger is very high in Guatemala, but the various governments in place since the 1960s have encouraged settlement in Petén rather than attempting any land reform. Access to forests is facilitated by the construction of roads that came with logging-, oil- and trade-related operations. Political instability and insecurity, illegal logging and trading and, not least, oil exploration and extraction within the reserve further exacerbate the tensions with local communities and the pressures on their environment. In all, the pressures on the forests of Petén stem mostly from outside the forest and the local communities, in particular from entrepreneurs in the agriculture, energy, commerce and transport sectors, often promoted by international donors and banks. The Plan Puebla Panama is a major vehicle to usher and convey such interests in the heart of the region (see the article by Ileana Valenzuela in section one of this publication).

As if all the above was not enough, conservation policies also have played a non-negligible part in fostering unsustainable forest uses in the Petén. When the Maya BR was established, between 1990 and 1996, major discontent arose among local communities, which were not taken into account in the conservation plan and hence were evicted from the forests, or curtailed in their access to them. It was mostly the small-scale users of the forest who were repressed, whereas the more destructive activities of illegal loggers and large farmers and oil companies continued with impunity. In the early years of the Maya BR, the conflicts between the local communities and state agencies reached such a height that the search for a more conciliatory and participatory mode of interaction became a priority. Establishing community forest concessions appeared as a possible alternative. Under the impulsion of the Peace Agreements in 1994, the National Council for Protected Areas established a regulation allowing local communities' organizations to obtain land concessions for the sustainable use of the forests within the multiple-use zone of the Maya BR. The concessions were granted for 25 years with renewable leases, although the land remains the property of the state. Part of the contract between the state and the communities is that the concessions operating in the multiple-use zone of the BR have to be certified within the 3 years following their establishment. Some 230,000 ha of community concessions are actually certified in Petén on the basis

A Maya mother.

of the FSC (Forest Stewardship Council) social, economic and ecological criteria for sustainable forest management. For the local communities, after the climate of insecurity experienced over many decades, certification provides precious outside support and added legitimacy to their uses and rights over land, forests, and related resources.
To improve local livelihoods while sustaining the natural resources, the Petén communities seek not only to export certified logs but to diversify the species extracted and to add value to the timber prior to selling it by making use of their craftsmanship.

They also extract various non-timber products for sale, such as *chicle*, *xate*, *pimienta*, and various kinds of medicinal products. The potential for community-based eco-tourism is also being assessed, on the basis of the exceptional natural and cultural wealth of the region. The experience of community forest concessions in the Maya BR spans only a few years but some successes, such as the decline in forest fires and entry of settlers, are already well visible. Other, less visible, successes include the development of a local "culture of participation" based on the current on-going learning. This is demonstrated by the quality of public meetings in the villages. Such an enhanced capacity for participatory governance is probably the greatest asset for sustainability, improving both the quality of the life of the people and the quality of their environment. The local associations express great concern about protecting the Mayan Biosphere Reserve from all kinds of threats – the greatest of whom seem to stem far from their region, and even far from their country.

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Balancing the powers in Makuleke land

Conrad Steenkamp

In 1969, the Makuleke community of the Limpopo Province was forcibly removed from a tract of land in the northeaster-most corner of South Africa. Their land was incorporated into the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the community relocated some 70 km towards the south. Close to thirty years later, ownership of the land was returned to them by way of a co-management agreement with the South African National Parks (SANP). This settlement was negotiated under the auspices of the land reform programme launched by South Africa's first post-apartheid government.

Land ownership gave the Makuleke substantial bargaining might and the settlement fundamentally changed the balance of power between the two parties. The agreement made it possible for the Makuleke to pro-actively pursue their interests in the land relative to those of the SANP and the state. It also created a secure framework for the longer-term conservation of the Makuleke Region's exceptional biodiversity. The implementation of the agreement did not take place without the irruption of conflicts, but all tensions were ultimately dealt with within the framework of the agreement.

The Makuleke agreement

In May 1998, after two years of negotiations facilitated by the South African Land Claims Commission, the Makuleke and the SANP signed what became known as the "Makuleke Agreement". It consisted of the following main elements:

- Land ownership is returned to the Makuleke Communal Property Association (CPA), a specially created structure designed to hold the land rights.
- This title deed restricts the land use to that of conservation "in perpetuity".
- The Makuleke enter a 25-year contractual national park agreement with the SANP.
- During this period the land is to be managed by a Joint Management Board (JMB) in which the Makuleke and SANP have an equal say (4 members each, with the chairmanship rotating).
- Advisors of the Makuleke's own choice can attend the JMB when required to do so by the Makuleke.
- The KNP remains responsible for the day-to-day management of the land, in which regard it is subject to the JMB.
- In return for these restrictions on their ownership the Makuleke are granted exclusive commercial and other rights to the land, including consumptive utilisation.
- These rights the Makuleke are able to exercise independently of the SANP and a "commercial" decision by the Makuleke CPA is deemed a decision of the JMB once tabled at a meeting of the JMB.
- The SANP nonetheless has the right to object to Makuleke commercial decisions (and for that matter any decisions) that do not comply with a pre-negotiated conservation management framework: the Master Plan of the Makuleke Region.
- The Master Plan divides the Makuleke Region into high and low human impact zones, each requiring different conservation management strategies. It also specifies the possible location of future Makuleke game lodges and lower impact bush camps.

The agreement creates a non-prescriptive balance between potentially conflicting interests and some form of structural equity between the Makuleke and South Africa National Parks.

The agreement:

- is based on a clear distinction between the primary interests of South Africa National Parks and the community respectively. It gives clear expression to the SANP's primary interest of ensuring that proper conservation management takes place in the Makuleke Region. It is also gives clear expression to the Makuleke's primary interest of maximising the benefits that can be generated from the land.
- creates a non-prescriptive balance between these potentially conflicting sets of vested interest. Both biodiversity conservation and Makuleke use rights are entrenched in the agreement and subject to ongoing negotiations between themselves the two parties. This feature creates conflict potential, but also provides the agreement with the flexibility needed to respond to changing circumstances.
- creates structural equity between the Makuleke and the SANP and enhances the likelihood that decisions will reflect a reasoned balance of interests, rather than the bargaining power of any particular party. Important in this regard is the Makuleke's right to use their own technical experts to counterbalance the technical expertise at the disposal of the SANP.
- forces both parties to negotiate their interests upfront, rather than employing indirect measures to achieve their objectives. The SANP has no involvement in the community development process and is not expected to become involved. Nor does it have a say over the Makuleke's commercial process. This makes the emergence of subtle patron-client relationships, power relations and the inappropriate exercise of influence over the community decision-making process more

Sam Chaute. A village elder explaining some facts about the early removal from Makulele (*courtesy Conrad Steenkamp).*

difficult to achieve than would otherwise be the case.

Implementing the agreement

The SANP and Makuleke set out to implement the agreement in good faith and spirit, and the JMB rapidly assumed control over the management of the Makuleke Region of the KNP. At the same time the Makuleke launched a commercial planning process to develop the commercial potential of the Makuleke land. It focused on three main components: 1) generally upmarket game lodges and bush camps, 2) high profile safari hunting, and 3) cultural tourism. A training programme supported all three components.

The Makuleke invited the SANP to participate in the early stages of the planning process, which was conducted with the assistance of their own consultants. The first safari hunt, coming shortly before the CITES 2000 conference, nonetheless created tensions. The SANP and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) intended to apply for a down listing of elephant at CITES. This would have enabled them sell the KNP's substantial stockpile of elephant ivory and hides, thereby obtaining much needed funding for the agency. Under pressure from animal rights groups in the run-up to CITES, the KNP tried to prevent the Makuleke hunt.

The dispute was eventually resolved in favour of the Makuleke after talks between the Makuleke, SANP and the Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism. But, the following year and thereafter, similar disputes emerged. These were settled quickly by referring the matter to the Makuleke and SANP principals as specified in the agreement as a deadlock breaking mechanism.

Balancing the powers

The agreement forces both parties to negotiate their interests upfront, rather than employing indirect measures to achieve their objectives.

Land ownership by the community fundamentally changed the power relations between them and the SANP. This was enhanced by various features of the agreement, *inter alia* the clear separation achieved between the interests and decision making powers of the Makuleke and the state. This format provides the agreement with considerable flexibility and gives it a clear process orientation. It also increases the transaction costs, as it necessitates on-going negotiation within the JMB.

The decision to restore land rights to the Makuleke reflected the emphasis on transformation so prevalent in the immediate post-apartheid era and political pressure on the government to "deliver" before the 1998 elections. This context weakened the SANP's bargaining power and enhanced that of the Makuleke, eventually leading to the establishment of a new balance of power. Events in the course of implementing the agreement emphasised that power relations are not stable, but subject to shifts. In this instance the international neo-protectionist discourse around elephant conservation impacted upon the balance of power and created the conditions for a direct challenge to the community's established rights.

In the process, structural tensions between the park and the head office became apparent. The SANP emerged not as a monolithic, homogeneous structure, but as one in which contradictory agendas appear to have been pursued by different levels of the organisation. Interventions on the part of the SANP top structure reflected its commitment to the agreement with the Makuleke. At the same time it was made evident that actual conservation practice was not an inevitable outcome of policy decisions made at high levels of the organisation, but was mediated by a range of parties within and outside the organisation.

The events put pay to any notion of a "harmonious" relationship between the park and the people— and rightly so, for a lack of conflict is often indicative of the prevalence of a patron-client relationship not desired by anyone. In this instance, the open conflict that emerged indicates that decentralised resource use rights, no matter how well entrenched in agreements or formal policy, remain vulnerable to hegemonic interventions on the part of influential state-based actors. It also indicated, however, that the agreement in point was robust enough to withstand the power fluctuations. The Makulele agreement proved to be effective and capable of setting in place a solid biodiversity conservation regime. With the resource base secured, the ultimate success of the agreement and of the "Makuleke model" will depend on the Makuleke leadership's ability to ensure the rational and equitable distribution of the benefits of conservation to all sections of their community.

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Douze communautés développent leur code local de gestion des ressources naturelles—les étapes d'un processus dans le plateau central du Burkina Faso

Yéyé Abdoulaye

L'acacia, arbre typique des forêts sahéliennes (*courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

A partir de la demande du village de Yalka, situé dans le plateau central du Burkina Faso, le Projet d'Aménagement des Terroirs et de Conservation des Ressources dans le Plateau Central (PATECORE)[1] a initié depuis 1997 une collaboration avec les riverains d'une zone agro-sylvo-pastorale à fin de la gestion durable de leurs ressources naturelles. Je présenterais ici les différentes étapes du processus[2] et quelques résultats.

L'identification de la problématique

L'intérêt de travailler sur la forêt de Goada a été identifié lors d'un diagnostic sur l'état des ressources naturelles dans le village de Yalka, situé dans la province du Bam sur l'axe Kongoussi–Djibo. La communauté a alors soulevé la question de la dégradation irréversible de leur forêt si rien n'était entrepris. Il y avait deux problèmes majeurs : l'exploitation non autorisée du bois par des débiteurs/ charretiers venant de Kongoussi; et la présence massive de pasteurs venant d'horizons divers se livrant à une coupe anarchique du fourrage aérien. Compte tenu de la complexité des ces problèmes et du fait que le village de Yalka à lui seul ne pouvait prétendre à une gestion exclusive de la brousse (ils existaient bien d'autres usagers), il est apparu clair que le processus devait inclure tous les villages et hameaux riverains de la forêt. Une demande d'appui pour mettre ce processus en marche a été formulée en direction du PATECORE, qui l'a favorablement accueillie.

L'analyse préliminaire

L'analyse préliminaire de la problématique a comporté plusieurs moments :

- une prospection technique de l'état de la forêt avec la participation de quelques personnes ressources du village de Yalka, sur la base d'un croquis élaboré par les paysans planificateurs;
- des réflexions avec le village propriétaire terrien traditionnel (Yalka), sur les formes d'usages et des différents groupes d'intérêt et sur l'identification des facteurs de dégradation de la forêt;
- des contacts au niveau de la chefferie du canton, à fin de l'intéresser au sujet pour qu'il joue éventuellement le rôle de tutelle et de «facilitateur » des négociations entre les différents acteurs.

L'identification et l'intégration des différents usagers

L'identification des villages et acteurs à impliquer n'a pas été chose aisée. On a commencé par discuter sur la base de la carte des usages et usagers établie par le village de Yalka et des informations recueillies auprès de la chefferie coutumière (chefs de canton Mossi et Peul). C'est ainsi que quinze villages et hameaux de culture ont été retenus. Ces villages ont été ensuite re-confirmés dans une rencontre sous la tutelle du chef de canton dont relève la zone de la forêt de Goada, avec la participation des chefs de villages, des chefs de terre, et des responsables administratifs villageois. Dans cette occasion, les principes d'intervention ont été précisés, y inclus le besoin d'implication réelle de tous les usagers de la forêt au processus de recherche de solutions et de prise de décisions. Le PATECORE et les autres services techniques présents ont accompagné le processus avec appui et conseil, aussi dans la phase de restitution aux villages des thèmes de la rencontre.

Les diagnostics

Le diagnostic technique a compris un inventaire systématique de la forêt, pour en connaître le potentiel disponible et en apprécier les différentes actions de dégradation. La participation des populations riveraines a été limitée à la collecte des données (des délégués

choisis dans chacun des villages ont été formés pour cela), mais cette participation leur a consenti de se familiariser davantage avec leur forêt et son état actuel. Le maillage de l'ensemble de la forêt a permis aux délégués des villages d'établir les rapports de cause et effet concernant sa dégradation. Les impressions des paysans qui ont participé à l'inventaire ont été communiquées d'une manière informelle au sein des communautés, a fait qui a contribué à diminuer le scepticisme des populations vis à vis le processus.

Le diagnostic sociologique a comporté deux passages d'une équipe du projet dans chaque village. Lors du premier passage, l'équipe du projet a accompagné les populations dans l'identification des limites de la forêt qui ont été matérialisées sur un fonds de carte visualisées sur du papier kraft. Les différents usages que les villages et les autres usagers venant d'ailleurs ont dans la forêt et les zones de conflit ont été également matérialisés. Des idées de mesures possibles à arrêter à court, moyen et long terme pour une meilleure gestion de la forêt ont été identifiées. Ainsi des cartes d'usages et d'usagers des différents endroits de la forêt ont pu être esquissées sur les zones agricoles, les zones de pâture des animaux et les zones d'exploitation du bois. La méthode a permis d'identifier le niveau d'intérêt de chaque village aux produits de la forêt. C'est ainsi que trois villages précédemment impliqués dans le diagnostic n'ont pas été retenus dans la suite du processus. Le deuxième passage de l'équipe a permis de vérifier les premières informations recueillies et d'apprécier jusqu'à quel degré les usagers étaient prêts à sacrifier certaines de leurs pratiques habituelles. La vérification des informations a été faite par triangulation (informations recueillies au niveau des hommes soumises à l'analyse des femmes et vis versa; informations recueillies au niveau village soumises à d'autres villages; etc.). On a ainsi clarifié la volonté des différents villages de changer leur mode d'exploitation de la forêt et les possibilités de compromis entre les intérêts des différents villages.

La vérification des informations a été faite par triangulation (les informations recueillies au niveau des hommes soumises à l'analyse des femmes et vis versa; les informations recueillies au niveau village soumises à d'autres villages; etc.)

L'élaboration des règles d'exploitation de la forêt

Les règles d'exploitation de la forêt ont été élaborées dans un autre atelier, qui a permis d'arrêter et de signer sous forme d'engagement des compromis partagés par tous les villages riverains par rapport à chacun des trois problèmes identifiés lors des diagnostics (coupe abusive sur le capital forestier; extension anarchique des champs; émondage en parapluie). On a aussi arrêté un système de suivi et contrôle des mesures décidées, et un calendrier de tâches à exécuter. Pour cet atelier il a été indispensable de veiller à ce que chaque village était bien représenté, qu'il y avait un équilibre entre les groupes d'intérêts et que des personnes ressources (leaders d'opinion) étaient disponible à modérer d'éventuelles tensions entre les participants. Un consensus a été ainsi dégagé par rapport à l'ensemble des trois problèmes évoqués. Le seul point de tension constaté a été la mesure sur l'arrêt de l'ouverture et l'agrandissement des champs pendant quinze ans proposée par certains villages. Cette mesure ne rencontrait pas l'assentiment des représentants d'un hameau de culture qui avait connu un retour de migrants de la Côte d'Ivoire avec leurs champs uniquement dans la forêt. Les délégués des autres villages ont fait une dérogation aux règles uniquement pour ce cas précis et l'ont signifié dans leur projet de code local.

Les résultats de l'atelier ont été restitués dans les villages et les réactions des communautés ont été recueillies. Dans un premier moment, les grandes lignes des compromis ont été illustrées par les délégués de chaque village, et après cela un compte rendu détaillé a été présenté dans une assemblée villageoise. Chaque village a du se prononcer clairement sur les mesures arrêtées. Dans l'ensemble, les villages ont été en faveur de la poursuite du processus, ce qui a permis de planifier certaines activités concernant la matérialisation des limites des champs et de la forêt.

Après les prises de position des villages, le code local a été affiné par la réflexion des délégués sur des activités et besoins spécifiques (p.ex., la carbonisation du bois et le travail de la forge), et sur des propositions de sanctions. Ensuite, le code a été soumis aux différents services de l'environnement pour amendement (même s'ils avaient été associés à tous les ateliers du processus), et un autre atelier a été organisé pour harmoniser le code avec la législation

forestière en vigueur. La Direction Générale des Eaux et Forêts a fait des remarques sur la forme du code local, proposé des amendements sur les sanctions prévues pour les infractions et proposé l'élaboration d'un protocole d'accord pour préciser les responsabilités de l'environnement et les engagements du groupement de gestion de la forêt.

La mise en place d'une structure de gestion

Une assemblée générale constitutive a été organisée avec les délégués des différents villages pour la mise en place d'un groupement de gestion, qui a été reconnu sur le plan juridique. Ont pris part à cette Assemblée Générale constitutive aussi les services étatiques et le projet PATECORE. Au cours de l'assemblée, un règlement intérieur a été adopté et un procès verbal a été émargé par les délégués des différents villages.

Les règles d'exploitation de la forêt ont été élaborées dans un atelier, qui a permis d'arrêter et de signer sous forme d'engagement des compromis partagés par tous les villages riverains par rapport à chacun des trois problèmes identifiés lors des diagnostics (coupe abusive sur le capital forestier; extension anarchique des champs; émondage en parapluie).

L'appropriation du processus

Plusieurs indices permettent de vérifier l'appropriation du processus par les communautés riveraines de la forêt, notamment :

- l'engagement des communautés à respecter les règles de gestion qu'elles ont elles même instaurées, qui on peut vérifier sur le terrain cinq ans après le démarrage du processus (en effet, les mauvaises pratiques ont diminué ou quasiment disparu);
- la capacité des communautés à trouver un compromis aux conflits internes (par exemple, des concessions exceptionnelles et limités dans l'espace et dans le temps à des familles dans des conditions particulières);
- l'engagement des communautés dans des actions d'aménagement et de restauration du couvert végétal sans mesures incitatives (par exemple, construction des digues, bandes végétales, pare-feux, pistes d'accès à la foret, production de plants et reboisement, etc.).

La reconnaissance juridique de la gestion de la forêt par les populations locales

Il a été notifié selon la législation forestière que le code local est nécessaire pour la gestion des conflits et la médiation au niveau local, mais n'est pas indispensable pour la responsabilisation effective des populations dans la gestion de la forêt. Néanmoins certains aspects du code local doivent figurer dans un plan d'aménagement de la forêt pour sécuriser les actions qui seront réalisées. C'est à dire, le code local ne peut encore avoir force de loi par ce qu'il n'est pas reconnu par la législation en vigueur dans le cadre de la gestion des ressources naturelles. Au vu de cette réalité, une démarche de concession de gestion de la forêt aux populations riveraines organisées a été élaborée selon certains textes d'application du code forestier. Elle comporte deux étapes clés, notamment le classement de la forêt par les autorités administratives et la concession de la gestion de la forêt aux populations organisées. Ces deux étapes contiennent des tâches surtout administratives qui concernent les services techniques de l'environnement et l'administration.

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Notes et références

[1] Le projet est financé par la GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit).

[2] Voir Borrini-Feyerabend, G., M. T. Farvar, J. C. Nguinguiri et V. A. Ndangang, *La Gestion Participative des Ressources Naturelles : Organisation, Négociation et Apprentissage par l'Action*, GTZ et UICN, Kasparek Verlag, Heidelberg (Allemagne), 2000; Dorlochter-Sulser, S., K.P. Kirsch-Jung and M. Sulster, *Elaboration of a Local Convention for Natural Resource Management : a Case from the Bam Region, Burkina Faso*, IIED, Issue Paper 98, London, décembre 2000; Sedogo, S. et A.C. Alessio, *Processus de Gestion Décentralisée de la Zone Agro-sylvo-pastorale de Goada – Demarche et Méthode*, Secrétariat Général du Ministère de

Island of the biosphere . . .

Juan Rita Larrucea, Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend and Hugh Synge

Figure 1. The farmed countryside. A mosaic of meadows rich in wild flowers, enlaced by stonewalls *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Minorca— one of the four Balearics islands— is a drop of gentle undulating landscape in the Mediterranean sea, harmoniously mixing natural and man-made features. Its farmed countryside is a mosaic of meadows rich in wild flowers, enlaced by stonewalls and stone-edged waterways. Fingers of grazed land stretch into the wooded hillsides where the *maquis* is dominated by wild olive, oak and pine species. In the southern side of the island, deep gorges leading towards the coast harbour endemic plants on their cliffs and are home to spectacular birds of prey. On the north side, the vegetation around the rocky coast is reduced by wind and grazing to *garrique*— low spiny shrubs with occasional herbs, mainly endemic to the Balearics. In the north, there are also wetlands and salt marshes. Wild flora, avifauna and agro-biodiversity are at the heart of the island's conservation values. Some seventy species of plants are endemic, as are various species of lizards, beetles, snails and seabirds. Several variants of fruit trees and domestic animals are also uniquely found here. The onshore seas have extensive sea grass beds, whose leaves are washed up in abundance on the beaches— an unmistakeable sign of environmental quality.

The relationship between people, landscape and biodiversity is profound. The farmers are, and have been for centuries, the managers of the land. They repair the paths, the waterways, and the stonewalls that prevent erosion, they time the grazing of cattle, prevent destructive resource uses, control wild fires and restore degraded meadows. In so doing they maintain the habitat for their cattle, which, in turn, literally create the meadows by grazing out the slower-developing trees and shrubs. On their turn, the meadows allow the wild flora to prosper, maintaining a landscape attractive to tourists and promoting the wealth of the island as a whole. This landscape has remained essentially the same for hundreds of years, though the crops grown and types of animals grazed have changed over time.

The people of Minorca (Menorquins) are hospitable and strongly attached to their local history and traditions. They are at their best during local festivities, when the whole island becomes alive with traditional music and a local race of horses (wonderful black-haired animals) is exhibited in races, parades, games and pure pleasure runs throughout the narrow streets of every town and village in the island. The local society of about 70,000 residents— concentrated in the traditional port and historic harbour of Maó (Mahón) on the east coast and in the former island capital of Ciutadella in the west— is closely knit. Tourism, however, has more than a chance to affect its character. Minorca, in fact, is highly dependent on tourism for its economy. But Minorca differs from the other Balearic Islands, as its tourism is more restrained. For instance, it has 90,000 tourist beds compared with roughly half a million in Majorca. Indeed, it hosts several modern tourist centres with hotels and apartments, but most of its coast is still in natural condition. Remarkably, too, there is no coast road around the island.

The very main policy issue facing Minorca is how far to restrain growth in the number of tourists and in the urbanization driven by tourism. Some espouse the vision of a diversified economy, dedicated to quality tourism linked to the heritage of the island, i.e. sustainable farming practices besides "beaches and sun". Others believe that tourism needs to be developed to its full potential. From this perspective, developments that enhance the island's receptivity to tourism, such as water desalinization plants and the artificial re-creation of the beaches, would be welcome despite the possible environmental impact. The Menorquins are well aware of the consequences of taking one or the other path, and activists do not shy from civil disobedience to get their concerns heard.

Also important is the question of agriculture. In the second half of the last century, the proportion of the island under extensive agriculture dropped dramatically, as it increased the extent of abandoned pastures. Intensification of farming and abandonment of farmed land lead to loss of biodiversity as well as of landscape values. This trend is potentially disastrous and needs to be counteracted.

Becoming a biosphere reserve...

Recognizing its precious natural environment, unique cultural heritage and willingness to embrace sustainable development, UNESCO designated Minorca as a biosphere reserve in 1993. Is this making a difference, for the island and its people? Is this principally a label valuable to encourage tourism, or is it an indicator or a deeper conviction about their desired future? And who actually wanted this declaration and is now involved in making it a reality? Was it the doing of a few, or the Minorca society "participated" actively and effectively? To provide an answer to these questions, we can briefly look into the process by which the biosphere reserve nomination was established and functions, the institutions it has been developing and the concrete results it is achieving.

A participatory approach is the most powerful way to bridge the gap between legality and legitimacy and to assure the sustainability of decisions and practices.

In 1989, the Institut Menorquì de Estudis (IME) invited the Spanish MAB Committee to the island and started discussing the possibility of seeking a BR nomination. The idea was born in a small intellectual milieu of local environmentalists from the university and NGOs[1], alarmed by the deteriorating quality of the environment and the potential loss of local cultural and natural values. The time, however, was ripe for environmental concerns to spread rapidly to the rest of society. A profound crisis was becoming apparent in the tourism business in the Balearics and many thought that only a better, more environmentally sound approach could succeed to improve the character, quality and sustainability of the pivotal industry on the island.

The local media took on a major role in the process, providing a forum for public discussion with articles, letters to the directors and cartoons. For about three years the media regularly vented environmental issues and concerns and the matter of the BR designation was often mentioned. Perhaps not many had a crystal clear picture of what a BR is all about (nor, for that matter, they may have it today), but the debates on environmental issues were frequent and spirited. If scepticism was high, so were hopes and expectations. In 1991 the Parlament Balear approved a protection law, using zoning as a way to solve conflicts between environmentalists and developers. About 40% of Minorca's territory was given a limited form of protection. The zoning plan was prepared by expert consultants[2] and, if it did not involve the public as much as it could have done, it was essential for the BR nomination.

Importantly, politicians got interested. It was a period of relative political instability and the Consell Insular changed hands but all political parties basically supported the BR nomination. Whether they did so because they truly embraced the value of sustainability or because they appreciated the "green label" that the BR could bring about may be a matter of speculation. The essential fact was that there was a broad and quite effective political consensus on the BR nomination, an essential aspect in obtaining the official declaration from UNESCO in 1993. This step both strengthened the environmental concerns of all the island's inhabitants and inaugurated "the environment" as a prominent political issue for the years to come.

Figure 2. Botanists in the field. Studying a secluded micro-environment in Minorca *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Figure 3. Wild flora. The meadows allow the wild flora to prosper, maintaining a landscape attractive to tourists and promoting the wealth of the island as a whole *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Obtaining the declaration may not have been too onerous, but the difficult part was to make it meaningful and effective. A BR Consortium, uniting all the stakeholder representatives interested in offering support and ideas, was created but its operations proved less successful than hoped. Its deliberations – supposed to be by consensus – were blocked by one of the farm owner associations. In 1995, however, the Parlament Balear enhanced the biosphere reserve by establishing the Albufera Nature Park, which protects a large lagoon and surrounding hillsides and farmland in the northeast.

One of the strengths of the institutional system as a whole is the mix of formal and informal avenues of decision-making, with a focus on the creation and maintenance of social consensus

Because the geographic jurisdiction of the Consell Insular and the extent of the biosphere reserve coincide, most of the conservation and management functions for the biosphere reserve are carried out by the various departments of the Consell Insular, notably its Environment Department. The Coordinator of the Biosphere Reserve— a post established in 2000— is mainly concerned with initiating conservation actions, building environmental awareness, providing scientific and technical assistance, relating with other biosphere reserves and the UNESCO-MAB, and acting as an environmental advocate. Also in 2000 the Consell Insular established a Consultative Commission (Comissió Consultiva del Territori i la Reserva de Biosfera). This effectively replaces the earlier Consortium and is a formal pluralist advisory body to

the decision-makers, expected to meet every two months.

Significantly, local society is being asked to become involved in various informal ways. Workshops on future scenarios for the island, on progress indicators for the biosphere reserve, and on policy options (e.g., on water, agriculture and the harbour) have included citizens, politicians, technical professionals and representatives of local associations and the private sector. Innumerable *ad-hoc* meetings are also called to develop specific decisions, such as for the management of Albufera des Grau Nature Park, the island's land use plan or the grand objectives of the BR. In 2002, management plans were approved for two of the zoned areas and are being prepared for the others. Citizen forums on a local Agenda 21 are to take place in all municipalities of the island in the summer of 2002. A very direct way of participating in managing the BR is for associations and individuals to propose and carry out initiatives that contribute to its objectives. The BR Coordinator is promoting this avenue by inviting the submission of such initiatives and some of those are currently being implemented, with financing from the *Consell Insular.*

Innumerable* ad-hoc *meetings are called to develop specific decisions, such as for the management of Albufera des Grau Nature Park, the island's land use plan or the grand objectives of the biosphere reserve

Figure 4. Local breed of cows. A happy owner of a Minorca breed of cows—part of the island's heritage and well set inside the Albufera del Grau Nature Park *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

In the past years, about twenty projects have been supported for a total value of more than 150,000 Euros. They include conserving local fruit tree varieties and local breeds, restoring cultural monuments, studying waste generation patterns and urban mobility, conserving microhabitats, cleaning up portions of the seabed, and rebuilding ancient stone paths.

The institutions of the biosphere...

The institutional context of the Minorca BR is relatively young, lean and still fluid, we could even say experimental. Its main bodies, such as the Oficina and the Comissió Consultiva, are less than two years old. An independent institute in charge of setting up an information system and monitoring key indicators of the BR status and achievements (the Observatori Socioambiental de Menorca) had been created earlier but became operational only in 1999. A strong element of continuity, however, is provided by the Scientific Commission for the Biosphere Reserve, created within the IME in the early days of the biosphere reserve. The Commission supervises the Observatori and is active in offering scientific advice. One of the strengths of the institutional system as a whole is the mix of formal and informal avenues of decision-making, with a focus on the creation and maintenance of social consensus.

Under the decentralized system of administration in Spain, conservation in Minorca is mainly carried out by its Consell Insular (Island Council). The government of the Balearics—one of the 16 regional governments in Spain— has responsibility for environmental issues but this may be delegated to the Consell Insular in the next few years. The main groups with distinct interests and concerns regarding the BR include:

- local associations for environmental protection;
- the agricultural sector;
- the tourist sector;
- the construction sector;
- the political parties with major followings in the island;

- the local municipalities (represented by their elected mayors);
- intellectuals and the media.

Are there bodies and pluralist platforms through which these interest groups can influence decisions in the Minorca BR? Yes, there are, and they comprise both formal and informal organizations. Some formal ones have legal decision-making powers, such as the Junta Rectora of the Park of Albufera des Grau. Others are consultative bodies, such as the Comissió Consultiva or the many ad-hoc groups called to assist in developing solutions to particular issues (e.g. water policy, tourism, the port, etc.). The deliberations of these informal and consultative platforms do not carry legal authority but are important, as it is politically very difficult to go against social legitimacy.

Currently, the Comissió Consultiva is the most important structure allowing for pluralist debate and deliberation with regard to the BR as a whole. It includes representatives of political parties, economic operators (entrepreneurs), workers' unions, the agricultural sector, the Institut Menorqui de Estudis, professional associations, neighbourhood associations, the tourist sector, local associations for the environment and the defence of historic patrimony as well as individuals of local renown and social stature. The secretary is the Coordinator of the BR, the chair sets the agenda and deliberations are generally by consensus. The President of the Consell Insular selects 5 of the 22 members and chairs the Comissió. In this sense, the political administration of the island appears to consider the Comissió rather highly, while remaining interested in a degree of control over its deliberations.

A very direct way of participating in managing the biosphere reserve is for associations and individuals to propose and carry out initiatives that contribute to its objectives.

Results of the biosphere...

So far, what has the BR achieved for Minorca? Has it promoted public awareness and care, and a desire to conserve the unique wealth of the island deeper than the pronouncement of this or the other political administration? Has it fostered new policies and sound, concrete initiatives? Has it helped farmers to remain on the land and continue their extensive production patterns and techniques? Has it helped the island to attract quality-conscious tourists? Has it made more secure the conservation of unique habitats and species? In other words has it fostered sustainable livelihoods? And, in all of the above, was the participation of society meaningful and effective? From the experience of its first nine years one is tempted to reply positively to all of the above questions. The involvement of civil society since the early discussion about the BR nomination has led to a broad consensus on what are the key economic, environmental and social issues for the island. Out of that, both broad policy decisions and specific initiatives have emerged and those indeed are shaping the present and the future of the whole island. Two examples of policy decisions are the establishment of a Marine Reserve on the north coast and the approval of the land use plan freezing new constructions on the whole island's territory. Two examples of specific initiatives are the reaching of a consensus on camping regulations and the collaboration among several institutions to develop and maintain a monitoring and information system for the BR.

In conclusion, a wide range of individuals and organisations has contributed to the development of policies and has taken action, wherever appropriate. This has not only taken forward the BR agenda and generated a variety of environmental gains, but has also benefited society as a whole. Local people are empowered to take on issues and activities much more often than in other parts of the country, and the Consell Insular is making excellent use of the capacities and skills of the whole civil society.

Learning sustainable living...

The Minorca biosphere reserve is far from a conventional protected area. It covers an entire island, including an international airport, a commercial port and tourist centres as well as towns, villages, roads and other infrastructure. In all, it has more to do with a broad experiment in sustainable living than with managing a conventional protected area carved out of a wider landscape. In fact, exploring the participatory approach for the BR becomes equivalent to exploring the extent to which the administrative setting involves participatory democracy (and not just delegated democracy[3]). In this,

has something been learned? Yes, at least the following:

- All governance issues deal with the interface between legality and legitimacy. What is legal, i.e. established in policies and laws, may or may not coincide with what is broadly accepted in society and thus considered proper and "legitimate". A participatory approach is the most powerful way to bridge the gap between legality and legitimacy and to assure the sustainability of decisions and practices.
- participatory approach commits decision-makers to address wider issues of livelihood and sustainability not just conservation of nature and heritage.
- The larger and more complex the territory to manage, the more essential a participatory form of management.
- The participatory approach can be pursued by both formal and informal means. Both are valid and both are needed for success. In Minorca the experience with the formal mechanism is limited, but the experience with informal mechanisms is particularly rich.
- A key way of participation is allowing and encouraging people to take action directly. Specific tasks can be delegated to organizations in civil society, suggestions and proposals can be encourages from civil society through technical support and funding.
- In Minorca, the decisions that affect the BR are taken by official bodies as an expression of delegated democracy, but as far as possible the options and the technical content of the decisions are developed with the direct input and advice of the relevant stakeholders.
- *Ad-hoc* meetings are a powerful way to explore the issues and give everyone a view of the overall interests and concerns at stake. Such meetings may be relatively informal but they need to be carefully prepared, facilitated and followed up, so as to make sure the time of the participants is not wasted.
- A decentralized system of governance embracing the principle of subsidiarity greatly favours a participatory approach in protected area management. This is clearly demonstrated by the case of Spain.
- Civil society can best contribute to protected area management when it is internally structured and organized. This is exemplified by the Minorca society, which is rich in associations, organized groups and vibrant personal relationships. The efforts of individuals are also essential. "Champions" in civil society and credible and approachable individuals in positions of power are both needed.
- An independent body, academic or otherwise, sitting outside the decision-making process and providing a memory and overall vision, is a valuable addition to a set of management institutions.
- The pluralist bodies that formalize the participatory approach need to be constituted by a careful balance of stakeholder representatives. Each should have a clear constituency to represent and report to. The seeking of consensus is a powerful tool to sustain decisions in the long term.
- There is no recipe for participatory management in terms of process, institutions or agreements. To be effective, a participatory approach must be tailored to the unique challenges and opportunities of a given society. But there is accumulated expertise on participatory management and those working for protected areas and biosphere reserves can benefit from exposure to it and from ongoing exchange of experience with others facing the same challenges.

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Notes

[1] Among these the well-known Grup d'Ornitologia Balear i de Defensa de la Naturalesa— GOB.

[2] The borders of the protected areas were decided by the political authority.

[3] In delegated democracy the citizens are called at fixed intervals to elect some professional politicians to represent their broadly

Collaborative grassland management in the making . . .

Andrea Knierim

A working group meeting. Co-managing the grasslands of Flusslandschaft Elbe–Brandenburg biosphere reserve *(courtesy Andrea Knierim)*

In Germany, co-management of protected areas is still the exception rather than the rule. Among the various reasons, it may be that the German administration normally functions in a hierarchical and well regulated, prescribed way. To practice collaboration with different stakeholders (different in terms of interests, structures etc.) demands the active efforts of all actors involved and a continual exploration of uncharted territories. One example of such uncommon attempts is presented here.

The biosphere reserve Flusslandschaft Elbe – Brandenburg represents one of the last riverine ecosystems in central Europe with relatively small human impacts. The protected area covers about 53.000 ha of which about 13.000 ha are arable land and 17.000 ha grasslands. It is a rather remote and sparsely populated region (about 23 inhabitants/ km^2) with tourist attractions due to its natural beauty. The area contains many valuable biotopes with rare floral and faunal species.

Co-management efforts demand time for people to adjust to a new situation but even more time for bureaucratic bottlenecks to open up.

As a consequence of latent conflicts among land users and environmentalists (especially the reserve's administration) a working group to co-manage the grassland (Arbeitskreis Extensive Grünlandnutzung) was created in 1998. The original idea came from discussions involving the regional and federal environmental agencies and the division of agricultural extension and communication science at the Humboldt-University of Berlin. The actual initiative to establish a co-management group, however, was taken by local people, mainly agricultural land users.

During the last four years this working group met about thirty times (average eight meetings per year), always with the support of a facilitator.[1] The group is composed of members of the biosphere reserve's administration (three to four), farmers (two to four), two representatives of regional landscape associations and the heads of the boards of environment and agriculture at district level. This is a small group (each meeting is normally attended by nine to eleven persons), but it includes the regional opinion leaders and those responsible for administrative decisions in the regional land use matters. The composition of the group did not change much during the years.

In the first year of existence the group established common objectives and developed a number of unwritten rules of cooperation. As a matter of fact, the established objectives had no direct impacts on the group's work— they were seldom mentioned. Some touchy subjects were treated but no major conflict of substantial consequences for the involved parties. The Brandenburg minister of agriculture was invited and a joint statement was formulated in favour of extensive, nature-protective grassland use. Obviously, the group needed time to finds its own way of working.

Then, in the first months of 1999, the farmers introduced in the discussion a serious conflict: a decree of landscape conservation was restricting the ploughing of grassland. The decree stated that a permit from the district's Board of Environment was necessary before ploughing grassland. The farmers, however, stated that in 1997, while an informal group was preparing that decree, it had been agreed that permission would be needed only case of *durable* conversion from grassland to arable land. The decree

had been enacted, however, and counted more than the informal agreement…
The conflict among the actors has several aspects:

- for the farmers, the obligation to ask a permission is felt as a kind of subordination,
- the permission is charged with a fee, and
- the situation is seen as a breach of trust.
- for the environmentalist side, there have been misunderstandings and negligence within the informal discussions but the formal, juridical situation is clear: what counts is the decree,
- nevertheless the danger of breach of trust is understood and
- a common effort to overcome this inconvenient situation is desired.
- In addition, while working on the problem, the group discovered ambiguous definitions in the federal state specifications on the decree about grasslands management under private property status.

The solution has been worked out in an iterative process (in fact it is still under development) and consists of two parts:

1. a jointly-agreed zoning scheme for the grasslands in the biosphere reserve (i.e. a map with grassland uniquely categorised as permanent, arable or controversial grassland) and
2. a set of procedures about how to determine the zoning scheme, the use rights and restrictions and the mutual commitments about it.

The scheme is still under elaboration, but important steps have been taken in the last twelve months: forty farmers were contacted, representing the majority of grassland users in the biosphere reserve. About ten of them contributed to the scheme and other ten are just about to contribute. As for the procedures, the group had several contacts with legal experts and is working towards a sound, low-cost and low-effort legal solution.

The grassland co-management group is slowly but steadily improving its work. All members have an interest in its existence— at a minimum as a forum where to exchange information (every meeting starts with a round of news, often about interesting events, initiatives and new policies). More concrete results, however, are still to come. Under current legislation, agreements on the use of grasslands are still to be made through treaties between two partners. It is still a hope that, as the zoning plan will enter into effect, there will be a common reference for everyone in the biosphere reserve. In synthesis, our case shows that co-management efforts demand time for people to adjust to a new situation but even more time for bureaucratic bottlenecks to open up. Institutional processes to reform the responsible administrative bodies have still a long way to go in Germany.

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Notes

[1] With very few exceptions, the facilitator acted as a professional and was simultaneously a researcher at Humboldt University, with no vested interest on the process content. Since the beginning of 2000 the facilitator is remunerated by the group. In rare cases, a member of the biosphere reserve's administration facilitated the meetings.

Co-managed "community protected areas" in Socotra, Yemen

Salah A. Hakim

Figure 1. A typical Socotran seaview *(courtesy Salah Akim)*

Socotra is the largest Yemeni island, covering 3,625 km^2 and providing home and livelihoods to about 45,000 inhabitants. To its west lie three smaller islands: Darsa, which is uninhabited, Samha with an area of 50 sq. km. and a population of about 150 people, and the larger Abd Al-Kori, covering 125 sq. km and inhabited by about 400 people. The primary economic activity in the islands is fishing on the coast and raising livestock in the interior. The people of Socotra have lived in harmony with their environment for thousands of years. Their indigenous knowledge and their inherited traditional management practices have admirably conserved their natural resources up to modern times.

At the time of establishing their "community protected areas", the local people are afraid to loose their land ownership to the government. This has happened before...

The Socotra islands are blessed with unique and globally significant biodiversity, which has recently attracted international attention. Socotra is, in fact, among the 10 most important islands of the world for botanical biodiversity, with endemism in more than 30% of its 850 plant species. Six species and 11 subspecies of birds are also endemic to the island and so are more than 90% of its reptiles. Rich marine biodiversity is illustrated by a unique mixture of species from the western Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the wider Indo-pacific region. Recent marine surveys revealed a hefty number of new records, making clear that species previously thought endemic to the Red Sea or Arabia indeed extend into the waters of the Socotra archipelago.

Funded by GEF and executed by UNOPS, the Socotra Biodiversity Project was launched in 1997 to study and develop mechanisms to protect the biodiversity of the island. Natural resources have been extensively studied. More than 30 Yemeni scientist and researchers and a similar number of international scientists together with the project staff took part in biodiversity surveys. An extensive environmental awareness outreach program rallied the support of the local communities. The program was supported by more than 30 environmental extension officers— Socotrans selected with the participation of their own communities and trained by the project. Stationed in their own homes, they provided a valuable link between the project and the resident communities. The wealth of scientific information collected was complemented by wide range consultation with the local people, leading to the formulation of the Socotra Conservation Zoning Plan. Based on biodiversity value and resources potential, the plan divides the islands into zones for development and

Figure 2. A gorgeous dragonblood tree *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*.

zones for the conservation of biodiversity. The objective was to promote and integrate both aims. The plan was adopted by the Yemeni Government and signed into law by the president of the republic in September 2000 (Presidential Decree no. 275).

From then on, we began the long process of establishing a network of "community protected areas" through extensive consultation with the local communities. The zoning plan has identified thirty-nine marine and terrestrial areas (sanctuaries) characterized by significant biodiversity deserving attention and protection. Out of these, eleven have been given priority and from these we have further selected 4 to become the first protected areas in the island. Two of those areas are marine: Ditwah in the west and Dihamri in the east of Socotra. The other two areas are terrestrial, namely Homhil in the eastern plateau and Skand in the central mountains. After several meetings with the Homhil community, working through all issues of concern to them, we drafted a memorandum of understanding on the establishment of the PA. The document was successively signed by the community, the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) and our project. The idea developed in the memorandum is to create a management council for the PA with people from the local community but also representation from EPA and the project. The local community is to be the central player in deciding how to manage the protected area. We hope that the Biodiversity Project will be able to keep providing technical advise, encouragement and leadership, if and as necessary. The project will nominate the manager of the protected area, who will act as secretary of the council. Hopefully all staff members in the PA will be trained members of the local community, to work as guards, visitor guides etc.. Small, traditionally-built eco-lodges, established in each protected areas, will be run by the local community to reap economic benefits from tourism. Beside lodging, the communities will also be assisted to provide other services, such as renting of boats, vehicles and camels, as well as selling of handicrafts.

In a pilot experiment, a local community in the central mountains drafted a proposal, with the help of the project, to establish a small eco-lodge. The community has previous experience receiving tourists and will run the lodge entirely on its own, sharing the economic benefits internally. Community members are expected to receive some training to run the lodge. The experience will be valuable to learn lessons before replicating this model around the islands.

The picture is not all rosy. One of thorny issues we face is the question of land tenure. Land ownership in Socotra is basically tribal. Grazing land is shared within a tribe and sometimes with other tribes, especially during periods of drought. At the time of establishing the PAs, the local people are afraid to loose their land ownership to the government. This has happened before, under the previous regime. The project is working hard to calm their fears and to explain that land ownership will not be affected. Another problem is the fact that most of the proposed PAs fall in lands owned by more than one tribe. As different tribes own different proportions of the land, the sub-division of benefits may become complex. Tribal rivalry and other unrelated disputes further complicate the picture.

Socotra adopted a community-driven model to protect biodiversity. In each PA, the management council will make all management decisions. We understand the delicate balance between the needs of the local communities and the primary goals of conservation, and the possibility of conflict between the two. We believe, however, that the benefits the communities will gain will tip the balance in favor of PA conservation. Because we realized the loopholes and difficulties ahead, we are moving slowly and cautiously. It is important, however, that local people are in the driving seat—where they belong—in managing their own natural resources and taking charge of their lives.

Figure 3: **Communities seek support**. Socotra fishermen hand out a petition to the representative of the Yemeni Island Promotion and Development Authority (to the right) asking that trawlers be impeded from pillaging their fisheries *(courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Comment et pourquoi les populations de Lossi ont créé un sanctuaire de gorilles?

Norbert Gami

Figure 1. Gorille de Lossi
(courtoisie Philippe Dejace)

Depuis 1992, une expérience destinée à l'habituation de gorilles de plaine à la présence humaine se déroule dans la forêt ancestrale des habitants de Lossi au Nord du Congo Brazzaville. L'expérience — appuyée par la population locale, le projet ECOFAC, et le Ministère des Forêts du Congo — s'est concrétisée par la création d'un sanctuaire de gorilles comprenant une bonne partie des terres de chasse, pêche et cueillette des « ayant droit » de Lossi. En 1996, les ayant droit ont eux-mêmes fait une demande de mise sous protection de cette zone, mais ils ont accompagné cette demande de la condition qu'ils soient impliqués dans la gestion du sanctuaire, qu'ils participent à la prise de décision et au partage des revenus générés par l'écotourisme (vision de gorilles). En octobre 1999 ils ont constitué une association dénommée Association des Ayant droit des Terres de Lossi (AATL), comprenant 21 membres. Celle-ci a bénéficié de l'appui d'un anthropologue, de chercheurs primatologues, d'ECOFAC et des autorités politiques et administratives.

Tout vient de l'histoire de ce peuple pendant la période coloniale, dans les années 50. Au cours de cette période, les colons français ont chassé leurs ancêtres des terres de Lossi. Selon les villageois, le motif fut le fait que cette population avait désobéi à l'administrateur colonial de l'époque, en refusant d'attraper des gorillons pour une équipe de chercheurs venus de France. En effet, même au commencement de notre expérience de projet d'appui, l'acceptation des chercheurs primatologues n'a pas été aisée, car les habitants gardaient de mauvais souvenirs des expériences précédentes. Heureusement, nous avons pu créer une nouvelle atmosphère, et les chercheurs primatologues sont aujourd'hui acceptés par les villageois. Tirant les leçons de leurs grands-parents, après trois ans de succès dans l'habituation les gorilles, vu les premiers emplois créés et vu le non respect par les chasseurs allogènes des droits coutumiers locaux, les ayant droit de Lossi ont décidé d'adresser au Ministre de l'Economie Forestière une lettre de motivation pour le classement de leur zone forestière en sanctuaire. Cela se passait en septembre 1996 et constitue en effet l'élément marquant de toute l'expérience : le fait que les populations locales ont elles-mêmes développé l'idée et entamé l'initiative !
A partir de cette période, un anthropologue (auteur de cette communication) fut engagé par ECOFAC pour 4 ans. Sa recherche a permis d'identifier les familles qui avaient des droits sur des terres et de délimiter la zone à classer en tant que sanctuaire en tenant compte des besoins de la population. Son appui a aussi permis de finaliser les statuts et règlements intérieurs de l'association des ayant droit, de l'amener jusqu'à la légitimation des accords, et de conseiller la population pour la mise en place des activités communautaires (p.ex., pour mettre en marche un dispensaire qui est maintenant fonctionnel).
Les populations ont toujours souligné leur peur de voir l'Etat s'approprier leur sanctuaire, comme cela s'est avéré dans d'autres aires protégées. Une phrase courante à Lossi est la suivante: « Le sanctuaire de gorilles de Lossi ne doit pas être un Odzala bis ! » En effet, ces préoccupations ont été prises en compte dans le décret officiel du sanctuaire, signé le10/05/2001 par le Gouvernement Congolais. Ce décret stipule clairement— et pour la première fois au Congo !—que les populations locales sont impliqués directement dans la gestion de l'aire protégée. Voila des extraits de ce décret:
Article 3: « ….le sanctuaire de gorilles de Lossi est chargé, notamment, de l'habituation des gorilles de plaine à la présence humaine… [et de] la participation et l'implication des communautés locales à la gestion du sanctuaire … »
Article 11 : « Un protocole d'accord fixe les formes d'implication de la communauté locale, le modèle de partenariat à mettre en place et la nature des bénéfices tirés par les communautés villageoises dans la gestion du sanctuaire. »

Les populations ont toujours souligné leur peur de voir l'Etat s'approprier leur sanctuaire, comme c'est avéré dans d'autres aires protégées.

Leçons apprises

Figure 2. Les membres du bureau de l'AATL et le Sous-Préfet de Mbomo lors de la constitution de leur association, en octobre 1999 *(courtoisie Norbert Gami)*

A partir de l'expérience du sanctuaire des gorilles de Lossi nous pouvons tirer quelques leçons, probablement valides pour la région du Bassin du Congo dans son complexe :

- **Une approche « syncrétique »— c'est-à-dire capable de mêler plusieurs types de langages, comportements et valeurs— a été fort utile.** Il nous a fallu disposer de temps pour rencontrer toutes les parties prenantes quel que soit leur statut social et culturel. Nous avons utilisé une approche flexible pour mener à bien les réunions auprès de certains ayant droit au départ réfractaires. Par exemple, nous *discutons d'abord avec les sages qui à leur tour sensibilisaient les autres avec des expressions en langue Mboko.*
- **On a profité de formes d'appui technique complémentaires, et de la collaboration d'un sage local.** Les chercheurs primatologues étaient très doués dans l'habituation des gorilles, mais ils n'avaient aucune maîtrise sur la gestion foncière traditionnelle des terres sur lesquelles le sanctuaire a été déclaré. Nous avons utilisé le savoir faire d'un ayant droit repéré par sa connaissance des traditions Mboko pour identifier les noms des terres, leurs limites et les familles auxquelles elles appartenaient. Ce sage nous a permis de rencontrer les différentes familles et d'user de son autorité traditionnelle pour mener à bien les causeries.
- **Les bénéfices « écologiques » ne sont pas prioritaires pour les ayant-droit de Lossi.** Bien que le gorille soit une espèce intégralement protégée au Congo, les ayant droit des terres de Lossi ne perçoivent pas l'intérêt de leur protection ou de la protection de leur habitat en tant que bénéfice en soi. Leur intérêt se fonde seulement sur l'espoir de générer des revenus par l'activité touristique.
- **Les bénéfices économiques sont le premier facteur de motivation de la participation.** Le facteur de motivation le plus fort pour les ayant droit de Lossi a été le partage, tout au début du processus, des revenus générés par les premiers touristes. Ceci a aussi été un facteur de prestige social des ayant droit de Lossi vis-à-vis des autres populations de la zone. Tout le monde a compris qu'un gorille vivant rapporte plus qu'un gorille mort.
- **L'existence d'une bonne équipe d'appui a beaucoup aidé le processus.** L'équipe d'appui composée des chercheurs primatologues, du staff ECOFAC et de l'anthropologue a institué des rencontres fréquentes pour coordonner les initiatives, développer une compréhension commune des enjeux et développer un consensus de base entre l'équipe du projet, les ayant droit et les représentants du ministère des forêts. Dans ce but, la présence d'un facilitateur a été très utile pour pallier aux conflits et aux incompréhensions entre les ayant droit et les autres parties prenantes.
- **Les recettes générées par l'activité touristique sont nécessaires pour assurer le maintien du sanctuaire par les ayant droit**. A cause de ce fait les guerres civiles du Congo sont un handicap sérieux pour le sanctuaire de Lossi, car

Lossi Identity Card

Region: Central Africa
Country: Congo Brazzaville
Location: North of the country
Area: 342 000 Km2
Forest cover: 60%
Population: 2 850 000 residents

Sanctuary of gorillas of Lossi

Area : 350 Km2
Clans having rights on land: 39
Ethnicity: Mboko Lengui
Local association involved: AATL— Association of beneficiaries of Lossi (21 members)
Partners: ECOFAC (financed by the European Union), government of Congo (Forest department), researchers
Tourist attraction: 2 gorilla groups
Duration since start of activities: 10 years
Signature of decree for the creation of the reserve: Mai 10, 2002
Vocation: gorilla tourism
Personnel: 5 trackers and 3 researchers

Ecotourism— Connecting people!

Michal Wimmer

Eco-tourism in the Negev. Aware, responsible and satisfied visitors are sensitive and respectful towards local people and nature, and willing to pay for the eco-tourism experiences and the conservation efforts that render them sustainable. *(Courtesy Michal Wimmer)*

Nature reserves in Israel are suffering from lack of financial and other forms of support. Coupled with destructive activities such as military training, mining and unsustainable modes of tourism, this causes many reserves' ecosystems to degrade. Precious habitats and species are lost. As the natural resources lose their value and attractiveness, the human communities living close to the reserves suffer from unemployment, low income, economic instability and even cultural distress.

Makhtesh[1] Ramon nature reserve, located in the Negev desert in southern Israel, is currently deteriorating mainly due to unsustainable modes of tourism. Meanwhile, the town of Mitspe Ramon, located on the edge of the northern rim of Makhtesh Ramon, is suffering from economic and cultural problems. A field research I carried out in April-June 2001 shows that the measures taken to confront the problems are not effective. The conventional visitor management approach and techniques[2] of the Israeli Nature and Parks Protection Authority (INPPA) are not capable of confronting the ecological problem of Makhtesh Ramon, while the financial support[3] of the Israeli government to Mitspe Ramon's community is incapable of solving its economic and cultural problems.

Ecotourism—"a responsible form of visiting a natural area, which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people"[4]— is the ideal solution for the area, but it requires the creation of a broad-based partnership among all relevant stakeholders. In the case of Makhtesh Ramon these include the Mitspe Ramon community, the INPPA and the tourism industry— all directly affected social actors, affecting the local environment. Other stakeholders are the national government, regional and local authorities, NGOs, education and research institutes, and private and public businesses.

A responsible form of visiting natural areas, which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people, requires the creation of a broad-based partnership among all relevant stakeholders.

The main task of their partnership should still be visitor management, as all the stakeholders are dependent on visitors' awareness and behaviour in order to achieve their goals. All stakeholders, in fact, are interested in attracting aware, responsible and satisfied visitors, both sensitive and respectful towards local people and nature and willing to pay for the ecotourism experiences and the conservation efforts that render them sustainable. For this to happen, strategic, people-based approach and techniques[5] are necessary. This is both the opinion of key experts[6] and the recommendation of Ramon area's stakeholders: a partnership for visitor management is essential to confront environmental problems.

To create such a partnership and apply the strategic approach and techniques, there is a need for a 'neutral' framework. This could be provided by specific ecotourism projects, as stakeholders will have to cooperate in concrete ways to benefit from them. A possible project could be the reviving for tourism purposes of the Nabatean Spice Route[7] from Petra in Jordan, through Mitspe Ramon in Israel to Gaza in the Palestinian Authority's territories. By this project, each of the three countries will benefit directly from tourism, but also

indirectly from the human encounters and collaboration generated by the partnership.

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Notes and References

[1] Makhtesh is a Hebrew term for a valley carved by erosion, unlike a crater that was created as a result of a volcanic activity.

[2] Techniques such as modifying site setting and regulating visitors' behavior.

[3] In the form of unemployment payments, tax reductions, etc.

[4] Lindberg, K., D.E., Hawkins, M.E., Wood, and D. Engeldrum, *Ecotourism: a guide for planners and managers*, Vol. 2, North Bennington: Ecotourism Society, 1998,

[5] Examples of techniques are education, interpretation, research and monitoring.

[6] See U.S.A National Park System Advisory Board, 2001 at www.nps.gov/policy/report and the New Zealand Department of Conservation's strategies,2001-2004 at www.doc.govt.nz .

Biodiversity, cultural heritage and ecotourism— Disruption and recovery in Haida Gwaii (Canada)

Sylvie Blangy and Jean-Louis Martin

Biodiversity conservation has become increasingly associated with eco-tourism. Indigenous communities around the world are doing pioneering work in partnerships with tour operators, scientists and local conservation NGOs, developing ways of maintaining their natural and cultural heritage by sharing their way of life with visitors.

Haida Gwaii is the largest archipelago off the Canadian west coast and a land of giant conifers, harbouring unique species and sub-species. The 5,500 inhabitants, over 2,000 of whom are Haida, live on fishing, logging and, more recently, tourism. The Haida have inhabited the islands for at least 10,000 years and are one of the wealthiest native communities in Canada. Today, however, they face major difficulties in their economy and in the conservation of their biodiversity.

Village site of SGang Gwaay. In the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site introduced deer are kept under control to allow vegetation recovery *(courtesy Jean-Louis Martin).*

Originally, Haida's wealth came from the ocean and from the Western red cedar, which provided wood for building canoes and long houses, and for carving totem poles, a symbol of this people's rich artistic tendencies. European colonisation disrupted both people and nature. Diseases reduced the Haida population from over 10,000 to less than 1,000, gathered in 2 villages on Graham Island. With the loss of people, the culture was devastated. And the environment was not spared. The fur trade extirpated the sea otter. Logging reduced the supply of mature red cedar and severely disturbed the salmon rivers. Commercial fishing depleted fish stocks. Introduced species heavily impacted the flora and fauna.

The carving site has become a place of constant interest, exchange and discussions between carvers, members of the Haida community, local residents and

Recently, a Haida renaissance has begun. For thirteen years environmentalists and the Haida community struggled together to stop logging in the southern part of the archipelago. A Memorandum of Understanding was finally signed between Canada and British Columbia, proposing a National Park Reserve and a Marine Park Reserve to be managed with equal representation by the Government of Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation. The Haida Watchmen program, which pre-existed the agreement, was strengthened with skills to conserve the old Haida village sites and to communicate with the visitors. The struggle also helped develop non-Haida local NGOs such as the Laskeek Bay Conservation Society (LBCS), which associates western scientific research and environmental education. While this was happening, the artistic life of the Haida bloomed as well, under the impulse and inspiration of artists of global recognition.

Biodiversity and cultural issues are closely linked for the Haida, as protecting the land is understood as protecting the nature that shaped their people. Tourism, however, has remained mostly in the hands of non-Haida people, the most significant involvement of the Haida being employment as Park staff. Tourism remains Park oriented and stationary around a quota of 33,000 visitor days per year, despite the higher potential of the islands for nature, cultural and leisure tourism.

The new renaissance has also been marked by the increasing interest of the scientific community in the biology of the islands. Some research projects started involving the local community. The activities of the Research Group on Introduced Species, for example, helped segments of the community develop awareness and a strategy for the management of introduced species, and brought economic returns (e.g., employment, purchases, transportation). Another outcome was the development of the Qay'llnagaay Heritage Centre, now to expand the existing Haida Gwaii Museum built in 1976. As affirmed by Chief Councillor Diane Brown in 1995 "*The Centre is a way for the Haida to preserve and celebrate their past, enabling them to share their history with their children and with visitors. (It) will reflect our inseparable relationship with the land, sea, plants and animals of Haida Gwaii".* The project is based on a process of consultation involving the main stakeholders. It will be funded by a partnership and merge traditional principles and modern technology. It will be built with long houses and Haida poles facing the water and include the extended Museum, the Interpretive Centre, the Bill Reid Teaching Centre, a Program Management Centre, etc.—it should thus be a bridge between culture, research, education, conservation and tourism. The first phase of completion saw the raising of six totem poles in 2001. Nothing comparable had taken place on the archipelago since the 19th Century! The carving site has become a place of constant interest, exchange and discussions between carvers, members of the Haida community, local residents and visitors. The project is merging sea and land, past and present, Haida and non-Haida, cultural and natural history, contemporary, modern and traditional art and craft. It has already served as a model, enabled the birth of a new pride among young people, stimulated artistic vocations and promoted the concept of Haida heritage-based tourism.

Community-based tourism is becoming one of the priorities for world and national eco-tourism associations. It meets an increasing demand from the European and North American markets. It rests on knowledge of this demand, ownership of products and enterprises, partnership with tour operators and different segments of the local communities and on co-operation among communities for their own marketing at the national level. Above all, however, such partnerships necessitate strong leadership and social structure within the local community and proper understanding and management of the natural resources.

Gestion communautaire des aires protégées— Le cas de la zone cynégétique de Djona au Bénin

Juliette Koudenoukpo Biao

La première expérience de gestion participative des aires protégées au Bénin a connu le jour avec l'avènement en 1993 du Projet de Gestion des Ressources Naturelles (PGRN) à travers son Volet Gestion de la Faune et Eco-développement sous financement de la Banque Mondiale. Ce projet a couvert les zones cynégétiques Pendjari et Djona, respectivement attenantes au Parc National de la Pendjari et au Parc du « W » du fleuve Niger. L'étude de cas objet du présent article porte sur la zone cynégétique de Djona, à l'extrême nord de la République du Bénin.

Contrairement aux espérances, l'avoir classé la Djona (mais aussi le Parc du « W ») semble avoir incité son pillage, le plus souvent avec la complicité des populations riveraines qui en revendiquaient un droit de

La Djona couvre une superficie de 188.000 hectares, entourée d'environ 18,000 habitants, pour la plupart agriculteurs et chasseurs. Les ethnies prédominantes sont les Mokolé au sud et les Dendi au nord. Sur toute la zone on rencontre aussi des éleveurs Peulh sédentarisés depuis un certain nombre d'années, souvent en relation avec les éleveurs Peulh transhumants qui régulièrement croisent la région. La pratique de la chasse est traditionnelle chez ces communautés et remplisse des fonctions socioculturelles bien précises.

En 1956, face à la nécessité de procéder au déclassement d'une portion de la Route Nord du Parc National du W, le classement de la zone giboyeuse de la Djona a été proposé pour compenser la zone déclassée. Le rôle qui lui est dès lors dévolu est celui de la chasse sportive dans la perspective de faire rentrer des devises, mais aussi de contribuer à la protection de l'intégrité du Parc National du W auquel elle est attenante. Elle devint alors fermée à tout autre usage socio-économique. Ce statut fut sanctionné en 1959.

Contrairement aux espérances, l'avoir classé la Djona (mais aussi le Parc du W) semble avoir incité son pillage, le plus souvent avec la complicité des populations riveraines qui en revendiquaient un droit de propriété. Cette affirmation est difficile a quantifier car la Djona et le Parc W n'avaient jusque là bénéficié d'aucune étude et d'aucun aménagement. Il est évident, d'autre part, que l'état ne pouvait pas espérer l'adhésion des communauté à la « protection des ressources pour les générations futures » dans un contexte où la survie était directement dépendante de l'utilisation de ces ressources. Au le même temps l'état disposait de peu de moyens pour mettre en œuvre la gestion policière.

Pour des raisons politiques, la chasse a été fermée sur toute l'étendue du territoire en 1982. La réouverture de la chasse en 1990 ne s'est pas étendue à la Djona, qui, comparativement aux autres zones cynégétiques était dans un état de dégradation plus poussé. Bien entendu, cela n'a en aucune façon y réduit les dégâts. Pendant que la chasse sportive y était fermée, le braconnage ou chasse illicite s'y exerçait régulièrement. Les agents forestiers ne pouvaient mener des activités de surveillance car ils n'existaient pas de piste carrossable et ils disposaient de très peu de moyens.

S'il est vrai que l'extension des zones de cultures et les feux de brousse tardifs détruisaient les habitats de la faune et accentuaient le stress chez les animaux, le chasse illégale restait le facteur de dégradation le plus redoutable compte tenu de son intensité. La chasse clandestine était sans doute conséquente à la valeur des espèces animales chassées, mais elle était aussi liée à des facteurs culturels et institutionnels. Sur le plan culturel tous les chasseurs des villages riverains d'un terroir participaient à des activités rituelles périodiques (chasse communautaire) après lesquelles les produits de la chasse étaient partagés. Cette chasse portait essentiellement sur le gros gibier— à l'exception de l'éléphant et du lion— et se pratiquait dans les premiers mois de la saison des pluies.

Sur le plan socio-économique la chasse avait un rôle important dans l'alimentation mais aussi un croissant valeur de marché et une forte demande en provenance des grands centres locaux et même des pays voisins (Nigéria). En conséquence, les villageois ne chassaient plus seulement pour la subsistance mais aussi pour le marché, et pas seulement dans des périodes précises mais tout le long de l'année.

Sur le plan psychologique/institutionnel les chefs des sociétés traditionnelles de chasse, s'estimaient déchargés de toute responsabilité dès lors que la surveillance des zones protégées était confiée à

Les représentants de la communauté. Des membres de l'association villageoise de chasse d'Alfakoara photographiés dans le mirador des éléphants, bâti avec les ressources du projet et la main d'oeuvre locale (*courtoisie Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend*)

l'administration locale. La chasse échappait ainsi au control local et devenait de plus en plus difficile à maîtriser. En effet, on signale à ce temps l'existence d'organisations de braconniers dans les communes rurales d'Angardébou et de Guéné. Leur influence est telle qu'à aujourd'hui il y a très peu de braconniers autochtones appréhendés dans la zone malgré les nombreux indicateurs de braconnage.

Dans ce contexte, le Projet de Gestion des Ressources Naturelles s'est proposé de promouvoir la gestion durable des aires protégées de faune et des zones tampons en testant des modèles de cogestion. Le projet a entrepris plusieurs lignes de travail dont :

- le renforcement du cadre institutionnel et des moyens de contrôle du braconnage (création du Centre National de Gestion des Réserves de Faune – CENAGREF, avec autonomie administrative et financière)
- le transfert échelonné et partiel des responsabilités de gestion des aires protégées aux populations riveraines selon un modèle participatif (y inclus une révision de la législation)
- la valorisation des ressources naturelles et fauniques par la chasse sportive ou villageoise et la commercialisation de ses produits, ainsi que la promotion de l'écotourisme et de l'artisanat.

Le projet s'est préoccupé de bâtir les capacités des acteurs en terme d'approche participative –soit chez les

populations riveraines, soit chez les agents de l'administration forestière. Mais la police de la chasse et de la protection de la nature est confiée aux officiers de police judiciaire et aux agents du Service Forestier. Pour les populations, les forestiers sont « le chat qui traque la souris ». Dans ce contexte, est-il possible bâtir une gestion participative efficace entre les deux? Aussi, les agents forestiers ont souvent subi une déformation professionnelle se traduisant par un manque d'écoute et un manque d'espace de négociation. Peuvent-ils parvenir à se convertir ?

Quelles alternatives existent à l'approche « projet », qui ne semble pas être capable de consolider ses acquis?

Le projet PGRN s'est foncé sur ces défis avec des activités d'animation, discussions, information sur les textes législatifs et réglementaires, formation des agents forestiers à la gestion participative et l'implication des populations riveraines dans la surveillance et le dénombrement des espèces animales. Ces actions ont fait des novateurs, mais ils ont surtout fait des attentistes et parfois des réfractaires— ce qui a eu pour conséquence une lenteur dans la réalisation des actions physiques prévues.

Sur le plan de la valorisation de la faune, l'écotourisme a été promu en utilisant une population d'éléphants estimée à un effectif de 150 têtes fréquentant les abords immédiats de la brigade forestière de Alfakoara, à l'orée de la zone cynégétique de Djona. Les éléphants cohabitent avec les communautés humaines, qui ont souvent contribué à la création de conditions de vie des pachydermes. Le projet a financé un mirador et des infrastructures d'accueil sur le site dit « des éléphants » qu'attire désormais chaque année des centaines de visiteurs locaux, nationaux et internationaux. Les recettes sont réparties entre l'administration forestière (20%) et les populations riveraines (80%, dont 45% pour les réalisations communautaires et 25% pour les travaux d'entretien des infrastructures mises en place). Malheureusement, les premières initiatives communautaires ont échouées à cause de la corruption de certains entrepreneurs externes : les locaux se sont retrouvés dupés et appauvris. La chasse sportive a aussi été re-ouverte à titre expérimental au profit d'un guide de chasse, chargée d'y impliquer les populations riveraines. Cette expérience n'a duré qu'une seule année.

Sur le plan de l'aménagement de l'habitat de la faune, plusieurs mares et le site des éléphants ont été aménagés avec la participation des populations riveraines, qui ont constitué la principale main d'œuvre locale. Les riveraines ont également participé à la matérialisation des limites de l'aire protégée à travers la plantation d'arbres et à l'apprentissage de techniques améliorées d'apiculture pour protéger l'habitat de la faune contre les feux de brousse. Pour toutes ces activités les populations étaient représentées par des structures mises en place à cet effet, c'est-à-dire les Associations Villageoises de Chasse (AVC). Le rôle essentiel de celles-ci était le contrôle du braconnage et la participation aux activités d'aménagement de la zone cynégétique.

Quels sont les principaux acquis et défaillances de cette expérience ? Au delà de l'inventaire des ressources fauniques et de la restauration du capital productif (aménagement de mares, amélioration de la végétation à travers les reboisements…) on constate que l'atmosphère entre communautés locales (structures villageoises de chasse) et administration forestière est améliorée. On note aussi une conscience accrue de la dégradation des ressources fauniques et les associations villageoises de chasse désormais assistent l'administration dans le démantèlement de réseaux de braconniers. Il y a aussi une réduction sensible de la fréquentation de la zone cynégétique par les animaux d'élevage (bovins, ovins et caprins) et la réduction des feux de brousse. Finalement, il y a un accroissement des recettes des populations riveraines pour réaliser des infrastructures de base (écoles, puits, équipement d'unités villageoises de santé …). Les insuffisances relèvent du fait que les retombées économiques sont encore limitées, qu'aucun texte juridique n'a encore donné un contenu précis à la gestion participative des aires protégées et que ce type d'initiatives est très dépendant de la vie des projets. Apres une rupture du financement extérieur du PGRN une période de « vide institutionnel » a refroidi les activités des structures villageoises de chasse et favorisé l'intensification du braconnage.

En effet, beaucoup des questions restent ouvertes. Quel niveau de « participation » doit-on atteindre pour garantir l'intégrité des aires protégées de façon durable? Quelles capacités et fonctions doivent assumer les populations riveraines dans cette approche participative? Quelles alternatives existent

El Parque Nacional Marino Ballena y su gente—Un proceso de manejo conjunto en construcción

Coope Sol i Dar R.L

El Parque Nacional Marino Ballena está ubicado en el de Área de Conservación de Osa (ACOSA), en el Pacífico Sur de Costa Rica, Centroamérica. Su declaratoria por Decreto Ejecutivo en 1989 obedeció al propósito de conservar un rico ecosistema marino. Los límites fueron redefinidos en 1992, y hoy el parque cuenta con una extensión de 5375 hectáreas marinas y 110 hectáreas terrestres.

Para el Gobierno de Costa Rica no ha sido sencilla la gestión de las áreas protegidas marinas, ni tampoco su integración al Sistema Nacional de Áreas Protegidas, principalmente terrestres. La creación del Parque Marino Ballena tuvo una débil consulta a las comunidades locales previo a su creación, lo cual provocó fuertes enfrentamientos entre los usuarios locales de los recursos naturales y los funcionarios del Ministerio de Ambiente y Energía (MINAE). El conflicto llegó a tal extremo que el puesto de control del MINAE, en el año 1996, fue quemado lo cual significó el abandono del Parque por parte de los funcionarios por varios meses.

A raíz de este incidente, y como parte de la estrategia para manejar el conflicto, se creó en 1997 la Asociación para el Desarrollo del Parque Nacional Marino Ballena (ASOPARQUE), la cual agrupó en aquel entonces a 22 organizaciones locales. ASOPARQUE propuso desarrollar iniciativas de manejo conjunto para el Parque Marino Ballena. Desgraciadamente estas iniciativas fracasaron por los vacíos legales que impiden y obstaculizan al Estado el apoyo a este tipo de procesos colaborativos. El fracaso generó frustración entre las partes involucradas, pérdida de interés y deterioro de los canales de diálogo, aumentando la escalada de conflictos, que no se ha interrumpido hasta a hoy. Lo que es necesario es replantear el proceso y consolidar el manejo conjunto del área protegida. Las comunidades de Bahía, Ballena y Uvita no están satisfechas con la estructura establecida para la gestión del parque y perciben problemas de comunicación, representatividad y gobernabilidad.

El momento actual presenta oportunidades únicas para el manejo conjunto del Parque Marino Ballena. ACOSA, ASOPARQUE y las comunidades desean avanzar en el proceso y se ha conformado un grupo de trabajo que deberá proponer un primer marco de acuerdos que permita este tipo de gestión bajo la tutela del Estado. Como parte de este proceso, se ha construido a partir de una reflexión colectiva basada en la experiencia, un concepto de manejo conjunto que pueda orientar las actividades y las acciones desarrolladas por los diferentes actores involucrados:

> El manejo conjunto es un acuerdo de toda la comunidad, un proceso participativo, dinámico y evolutivo que tiene como fin común la sostenibilidad de los recursos naturales. El manejo conjunto necesariamente implica la participación local en la toma de decisiones y un cambio a nivel del Estado por compartir las responsabilidades de manejo con los diversos actores involucrados (la democratización del manejo!). En el manejo conjunto se comparten beneficios sociales, económicos y ecológicos a través de un proceso complejo y continuo de negociación. Se trata de una experiencia experimental, donde no hay recetas y se aprende haciendo".

Sustentados en un análisis histórico del conflicto socio-ambiental queremos facilitar y fortalecer el trabajo que se está llevando a cabo entre los actores locales. Queremos rescatar las lecciones aprendidas y ayudar las partes involucradas a formular un Código Ético que incluye el consentimiento informado previo en la toma de decisiones. Creemos que el fortalecimiento y el avance en el proceso de manejo conjunto del PN Marino Ballena ayudarán a avanzar al mismo tiempo hacia el desarrollo local y hacia la conservación de la biodiversidad del área protegida.

*Coope Sol i Dar R.L., es un equipo interdisciplinario de profesionales y personas interesadas en la temática ambiental con un compromiso social. Los miembros trabajan para que la riqueza cultural y biológica en Centroamérica se traduzca en bienestar social y ambiental para sus habitantes, a partir de herramientas que permitan "aprender haciendo". En este proceso participan los siguientes asociados: Vivienne Solis , Luis Carlos Barquero, Patricia Madrigal, Marvin Fonseca y Alicia Jiménez. Vivienne Solis (*vsolis@racsa.co.cr*) es Deputy Chair de la CEESP/ CMWG. Patricia Madrigal (*patmadri@sol.racsa.co.cr*) y Marvin Fonseca*

Figure 2. Pescadores locales. Los pescadores quieren participar en el manejo del Parque Marino Ballena

Le transfert de gestion dans le nord-est de Madagascar—— Apprendre a respecter le rythme local et a accompagner l'organisation et l'apprentissage des acteurs

Jean-Marc Garreau

La région d'Andapa se structure autour d'une plaine rizicole, clairement délimitée par les grands massifs montagneux de Marojejy et d'Anjanaharibe-Sud, tous deux couverts de vastes forêts de basse et de haute altitude, enjeux importants de la conservation des forêts humides et d'altitude malgaches. La 'cuvette' d'Andapa ainsi nommée pour son caractère enclavé n'a commencé à se peupler qu'au début du XX^{ème} siècle après que des réunionnais y avaient installé la culture de la vanille qui fait depuis la renommée de la région. Autour de la cuvette la région se caractérise par des reliefs très prononcés.

Le projet a invité les communautés, et ensuite les communes et l'ensemble de la sous-préfecture, à relire leur histoire et à examiner l'avenir des communautés au regard des ressources qui leur restent.

La fertilité des terres nouvellement mises en culture, l'essor rapide de la culture de la vanille, puis du café, ensuite du riz ont attiré des populations plus pauvres des régions limitrophes et l'accroissement très rapide de la population est allé de pair avec une déforestation incontrôlée et désordonnée. La population a triplé au cours des trente à quarante dernières années, de ces communautés qui ont toujours largement fait usage des ressources forestières, et pour lesquelles la pratique des défrichements pour la culture du riz pluvial, le *tavy* est une tradition qui valorise ceux qui la pratiquent. Ainsi en trente ans la disponibilité en forêts en dehors des aires protégées est passée de l'ordre d'un hectare par habitant à un hectare pour dix habitants. Les forêts restantes sont situées au-delà de 1.000 m d'altitude, sont naturellement moins riches en bois d'œuvre et ont déjà été largement écrémées. La pression foncière s'est accrue en conséquence, le prix des terres a grimpé très rapidement au cours de la dernière décennie donnant naissance à un véritable marché foncier.

Le projet de conservation et de développement intégrés (PCDI) mis en œuvre par le WWF autour des aires protégées de Marojejy et Anjanaharibe-Sud depuis 1993, et qui se poursuivra jusqu'en 2004 grâce à un financement de la coopération financière allemande, a d'abord contrôlé l'accès aux aires protégées et tenté de promouvoir les changements de comportement par l'éducation environnementale et la diffusion d'alternatives aux pratiques destructrices : riziculture irriguée plutôt que *tavy*, construction en brique plutôt qu'en bois, apiculture plutôt que collecte du miel de forêt en particulier.

La promulgation en 1996 de la loi sur les transferts de gestion des ressources naturelles renouvelables aux communautés locales dite loi *GELOSE* (Gestion Locale Sécurisée) a permis de changer d'approche et d'offrir un véritable enjeu de pouvoir aux partenaires locaux du projet. Après avoir compris que ce qui manque le plus aux communautés rurales est bien souvent l'information sur leur propre situation, sur les évolutions qui sont les plus déterminantes pour elles et pour leur avenir, la démarche du PCDI a consisté dans un premier temps à inviter les communautés, et ensuite les communes et l'ensemble de la sous-préfecture, à relire leur histoire et à examiner l'avenir des communautés au regard des ressources qui leur restent. Cette démarche patrimoniale a eu pour effet de créer de nouveaux liens entre les familles, entre les villages qui découvraient la similitude des problématiques à travers la région, et à renforcer une identité régionale très lâche du fait des phénomènes d'immigration. Dans le même temps le PCDI a organisé l'information sur la nouvelle législation permettant à la fois de transférer la responsabilité de la gestion des forêts aux communautés et de sécuriser le foncier et la formation des acteurs chargés de la mise en œuvre de ces transferts. Lorsque les communautés ont eu l'assurance officielle du gouvernement que les transferts de gestion étaient garantis par l'Etat, alors ceux-ci sont devenus un véritable enjeu de pouvoir, et d'affirmation par les communautés du rôle qu'elles entendent jouer dans l'avenir de la région.

Le projet a alors changé de rôle. De partenaire du service des Eaux et Forêts dans le contrôle des délits forestiers, de vulgarisateur de techniques agricoles et de promoteur du crédit rural, avec les rapports de force que cela entraîne entre projet et communautés et les effets limités aux familles innovatrices (un problème bien connu dans ce type de projets), le PCDI est passé à un rôle de conseil et d'intermédiaire pour les communautés qui voient en grande partie la maîtrise de leur avenir dans l'amélioration de la gestion de leurs ressources devenues rares et mal protégées par les services en

La zone du village d'Ambodivoara. La vallée est aménagée en petits périmètres irrigués, l'eau venant directement de la forêt. *(Courtoisie Jean-Marc Garreau)*

place. Après avoir pris conscience de la disparition des forêts et des changements que cela a déjà entraîné et continuera d'entraîner dans l'avenir, la perspective de devenir responsables de la gestion des forêts est devenu un véritable moteur de changement pour les communautés et la modification des pratiques destructrices est un sujet d'actualité pour beaucoup de ceux qui hier encore défendaient la 'tradition'. Le changement n'est plus recommandé de l'extérieur, il est devenu une priorité des communautés, qui demandent à expérimenter et à organiser la diffusion des pratiques qui leur paraissent adaptées à la situation.

Pour accompagner cette dynamique sociale le projet a dû mettre la priorité sur l'appropriation de la démarche de transfert. Le transfert tel qu'il est proposé à travers la loi n'exige pas de prouesses techniques à des paysans pour qui les règlements forestiers relevaient jusque là de la contrainte à contourner plus que de recommandations propres à permettre une maîtrise du développement de la communauté, et qui découvrent très tardivement les vertus d'une gestion concertée des forêts. Ainsi, le PCDI a profité de cet aspect de la loi pour appuyer le transfert de gestion non pas dans la maîtrise technique de la gestion des forêts, mais plutôt dans :

- la mise en relation des communautés avec les acteurs du processus, tels que les médiateurs environnementaux indépendants et les autorités responsables de la validation des transferts, Eaux et Forêts en premier lieu ;
- la qualité de la démarche d'élaboration par toutes les parties prenantes et de la ritualisation des objectifs de gestion à long terme ;
- l'organisation de la communauté (structures internes, règlement de police interne à la communauté— *dina*) et l'organisation de gestion des ressources forestières (plan de gestion simplifié, cahier des charges).

L'expérience montre que la qualité de la démarche— qui prend du temps parce qu'elle met l'accent sur le respect de l'indépendance des acteurs et de leur rythme de travail— garantit l'appropriation du processus par les acteurs. Les enjeux, en premier lieu la sauvegarde de la forêt, et les outils mis en place sont alors ceux des communautés, non pas ceux des projets qui les ont promus. Les communautés découvrent à leur rythme la complexité de la gestion forestière et l'intérêt des techniques préconisées par la législation forestière. Elles découvrent aussi la nécessité de mieux gérer les ressources des terroirs agricoles dont les sols s'épuisent, se fragilisent et sont sujets à subir une érosion massive lors des cyclones. Les besoins de changement ne sont plus exprimés par les projets, mais par les communautés qui réclament l'aide technique qui leur est nécessaire pour remplir leurs engagements, pour garantir leur avenir.

L'expérience montre aussi que, pour peu qu'ils l'acceptent, les services techniques hier décriés pour leur incapacité à enrayer le déclin des ressources forestières deviennent les partenaires indispensables des communautés. Les services techniques sont nécessaires à appuyer les communautés dans les aspects répressifs et dans le conseil technique qui leur manque. Les communes trouvent également un rôle à leur mesure dans la coordination des actions des différentes communautés et la défense de leurs règlements vis-à-vis de l'extérieur.

Les besoins de changement ne sont plus exprimés par les projets, mais par les communautés qui réclament l'aide technique qui leur est nécessaire pour remplir leurs engagements et garantir leur avenir.

Ainsi le processus de transfert de gestion des ressources naturelles offre aux différents acteurs locaux des enjeux importants dans le cadre de la décentralisation en cours. Dans l'ensemble, leur rôle doit se redéfinir en fonction de la prise de pouvoir réel des communautés autour de la gestion de leur territoire. Le PCDI lui-même a dû revoir son approche et passer d'une démarche de proposition d'alternatives techniques à une démarche d'animation et d'accompagnement socio-organisationnel.

What affects livelihood sustainability of coastal communities in Sri Lanka?

Sonali Senaratna & E.J. Milner-Gulland

Since October 2001 we have been working on a three-year study of factors influencing the sustainability of livelihoods in a rural coastal setting in Sri Lanka. Our focus is on natural resource uses related to fisheries and our initial data collection is now complete.

Poverty is a major issue affecting coastal communities in Sri Lanka, and we believe that the concept of sustainable livelihoods can help us understanding its nature and identifying ways to alleviate it. In any given context, the sustainability of human livelihoods has ecological, economic and social dimensions. For the coastal communities in our study we opted to focus on the social and economic aspects of household life using three main directions of enquiry: a "livelihood approach", a "food security approach" and a "personal security" approach. We also placed particular emphasis on assessing how participation in an initiative involving co-management of natural resources (the Special Area Management or 'SAM' process) has affected the sustainability of livelihoods.

The SAM process was introduced in the early 1990s as a response to unsustainable patterns of natural resource use and widespread poverty in Sri Lanka's coastal zone. SAM involves communities playing a key role in coastal resource management in partnership with the government at specially identified sites (Fig. 1). Its major objective is to resolve competing demands of coastal resource users and thus ensure both the economic well being of the local communities and the ecological well-being of the natural ecosystem[1]. In 1997, Sri Lanka's Coastal Zone Management Plan included twenty-three sites to be designated under the SAM category[2], 11 of which are now being implemented[3]. Today, the SAM process is considered a key component of Sri Lanka's coastal zone management policy. Despite this, only a preliminary assessment has been carried out on the actual effectiveness of the SAM approach. This assessment, in late 1996, covered only the initial implementation stage of the two pilot SAM sites in Hikkaduwa and Rekawa[4]. Our study is designed to produce a more comprehensive assessment of the SAM process and results.

We are collecting data from two "sites" - an existing SAM site (Rekawa) and a proposed SAM site (Kalametiya), each including several communities. The Rekawa and Kalametiya lagoon systems in the Hambantota District on the southern coastline of Sri Lanka include noteworthy wetland ecosystems, mangroves, coastal lagoons, rivers, shallow inshore fringing reefs and nesting beach habitats for five species of globally threatened marine turtles (Fig 2a). The

Figure 1. The major steps adopted in the SAM approach (adapted from CCD, 1997).

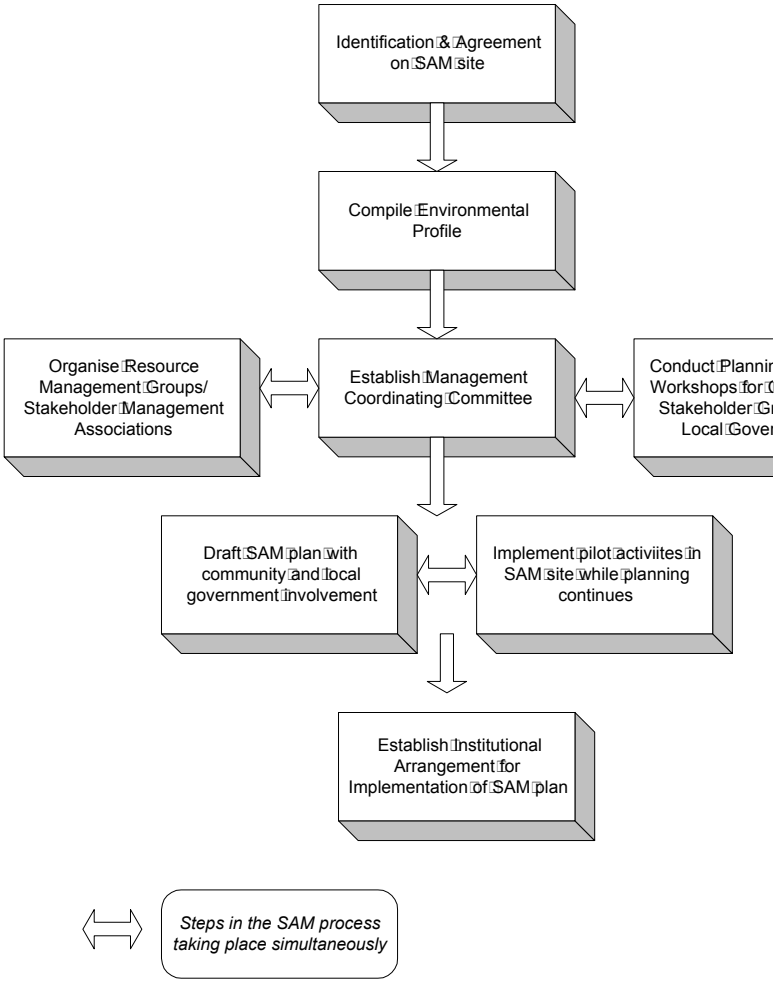

Figure 2a) Kalametiya lagoon. A feature of one of the study sites. *(Courtesy S. Nguyen Khoa)*

Figure 2b) Fisherman of Oruwella Village (Rekawa) *(Courtesy J. Soussan).*

communities living in the area are among the most economically disadvantaged groups in the country. A range of different natural resource uses takes place at these sites, including lagoon and near-shore sea fishing (Fig 2b), coral mining, shell mining, turtle egg-collecting and farming. Fisheries is a major economic sectors. A SAM plan was developed for Rekawa in 1992-1995, with a five-year implementation schedule up to 1999. The Department of Wildlife Conservation declared Kalametiya a Sanctuary in 1984. SAM planning is in its preparatory stages at this site.

How can we assess the "sustainability of livelihoods"?

Livelihood approaches have gained wide acceptance as a valuable tool to understand the factors that influence people's lives, especially among the rural poor[5]. According to Carney (1998): "*A livelihood is considered to be sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources base*".

One aspect of livelihood is food security, which can be measured using indicators such as food coping strategies, i.e., 'short term temporary responses to declining food entitlements'[6]. Households facing a crisis use a succession of coping strategies to remain food secure and maintain their livelihood systems. Food security indicators are good tools to compare household situations, investigate the root causes of their differences[7] and assess how natural resources can contribute to coping with short- and long-term shocks. Resource management plans may offer various kinds of benefits to a community, including non-economic components such as personal security. This aspect of sustainability is not usually analysed[8]

We placed particular emphasis on assessing how participation in an initiative involving co-management of natural resources (the Special Area Management or 'SAM' process) has affected the sustainability of livelihoods

In our study we are adapting a matrix of human needs developed by Max-Neef (1991) and we will attempt to assess the sense of well-being and personal security felt by the communities in the relevant sites.

Our research questions include the following:

- What are the differences between the livelihood practices of households in the study area?
- How do these differences in livelihood practices relate to external factors, including participation in the SAM process?
- Has there been a change over time in livelihood practices, within a site where there has been a change in policy such as the SAM process?
- Are there links between different livelihood practices and food security at the household level?
- What food coping and accumulation strategies do the households adopt, and how do these vary between communities and resource user groups (e.g., between lagoon fishers and sea fishers)? Do they vary depending on policies adopted in the area? (e.g., between households outside a SAM area and those within a SAM area?)
- Are there links between different livelihood practices and personal security at the household level?

- Are there differences in the personal well-being and personal security of households that participate in the SAM process and those that do not?

We are collecting information from 35 households in each of the 6 villages covered by our study (3 villages for each of the sites to be compared). A total of 210 households are involved. The survey includes questions about both past and current livelihoods, to enable us to assess the impact of the SAM process on households in Rekawa. In Kalametiya, the information allows us to assess the factors affecting sustainability of livelihoods in an area not yet designated as a SAM site. Our methodology includes mapping of villages, wealth ranking exercises, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and household questionnaire surveys on livelihoods and food security. As we are interested in obtaining a gender perspective, we administer our questionnaire to both a male and female respondent within each household. Interviews are also held with local government and central government officials. The personal security aspect of the research is to be carried out in the second phase of data collection, from September 2002 on.

We plan to examine the data to draw out major qualitative trends and influences. We will then investigate the differences between households within and between villages using uni-variate analyses and linear modeling. The sustainability indices will be related to variables such as location of the village, SAM participation, household size, boat ownership, utilized fishing gear, etc. Our study will likely be the first to compare a range of indices (food security indices, livelihood indices and personal security indices) to evaluate factors affecting the sustainability of livelihoods. Our aim is to illuminate the different dimensions of livelihood sustainability with particular regard to natural resource uses. From a policy perspective, our findings will contribute to an improved understanding of the SAM process and of poverty alleviation policies in general, and of their effects on livelihoods of coastal communities.

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Notes

[1] Wickremeratne and White, 1992; Lowry *et al*., 1999.

[2] CCD, 1997

[3] IUCN Asia, 2001

[4] Lowry *et al.,* 1997; Lowry *et al.,* 1999.

[5] University of Leeds, 2001.

[6] Davies, 1993.

[7] e.g. Malleret-King, 2000.

[8] See Rivera and Edwards, 1998 for an uncommon example.

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Community involvement in managing protected areas of the Meso American barrier reef system—How real is it?

James R. Barborak, Jocelyn D. Peskin,
Gerald R. Mueller, Amanda D.Holmes, and Carla Suarez

Conservation and development organizations generally recognize the importance of stakeholder participation in protected area management. In practice, however, are traditional resource users and local communities truly increasingly involved in the planning and administration of protected areas? We addressed this question by assessing the incorporation of traditional resource users and communities living within and around coastal and marine protected areas (MPAs) in establishing, planning and managing 15 protected areas in the Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System (MBRS) (see Table 1).

The MBRS, a WWF global priority ecoregion, is shared by Mexico, Belize, Guatemala and Honduras. It is the largest complex of coral reefs and associated marine and coastal ecosystems in the Western Hemisphere. The MBRS is threatened by unsustainable resource utilization, possible impacts of climate change on reefs, and habitat degradation due to sediment and contaminants flowing into the Caribbean from coastal watersheds. Through a cooperative program approved by the Central American Commission on Environment and Development, funding has been obtained from the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the World Bank, governments of the region and international NGOs to implement a new conservation initiative in the MBRS region. As part of this program, GEF support for improved stewardship of fifteen priority protected areas, including increased local participation in planning and management, is envisaged over the next five years.

In out study we surveyed key informants including MPA staff and personnel of associated NGOs and governmental institutions (via questionnaires through e-mail or by telephone) and obtained updated information on local participation and on the legal status of each area. Extensive Internet and literature searches were done on each MPA and on the legal and policy framework for protected areas in each nation. The findings are summarized in Table 2.

Figure 1. Participatory planning in Belize *(courtesy Wildlife Conservation Society)*

What did we find? What does it mean?

Basically, we found out that local communities were consulted prior to establishing seven out of the 15 surveyed MPAs, and three of those were actually MPAs proposed by local communities. Regarding management plans, among the 13 areas that have or are developing a plan, at least nine (eight in Belize, one in Honduras) have been drafted primarily by expert consultants, but in all cases it is claimed that the planning processes had some level of community involvement— through workshops, stakeholder analysis, and opinion surveys. Methods ranged from community members responding to a questionnaire to participatory workshops and membership on consultative committees. Seven pluralist committees (one in Mexico, six in Belize, and one in Honduras) were actually created for the purpose of developing a management plan (but in four cases, all in Belize, this was not the main reason). All MPAs that established pluralist committees claim to have involved local communities in planning processes. In some cases, committees established to prepare management plans have evolved into more permanent management committees.

In recently created protected areas, the involvement of traditional resource users and local communities in planning and managing tasks is widely accepted, both in law and practice. Yet protected areas with decades of history are still managed by central government agencies with limited local involvement in decision-

Figure 2. Participatory planning in Belize *(courtesy Wildlife Conservation Society)*

Eleven MPAs (three in Mexico, six in Belize, one in Guatemala, and one in Honduras) currently have an advisory committee active in MPA management. Only one of them, (in a remote reef area in Belize) does not include local representatives. Formal co-management agreements already exist with NGOs, which are primarily community-based, for five of the 13 MPAs with active field management. Informal co-management arrangements are in place for three additional areas.

The legal frameworks for protected area management in Mexico and Honduras, where protected area laws and regulations are newer, specifically mandate local community and stakeholder participation in protected area planning and management. In Belize and Guatemala older legislation does not mandate local participation or co-management, but government policy and guidelines promote these concepts. Both local MPA management committees and co-management agreements are increasingly the norm in all four nations.In the fifteen designated priority MPAs of the MBRS region, involvement of traditional resource users and local communities in protected area planning and management is widely accepted, both in law and practice. However, since all 15 priority protected areas in the MBRS region are of recent creation (within the past decade), this subset is most likely atypical of Mesoamerican protected areas in general. For example, nearby protected areas with decades of history (such as the major archaeological parks of Tikal, Copan, and Tulum) are still managed by central government agencies with limited local involvement in decision-making. Even in nearby protected natural areas with active co-management agreements in place with local NGOs, local residents are not always actively involved in all phases of protected area planning and management. Also, even where laws, regulations and policies dictate establishment of management councils and committees with local representation, some such committees seldom meet, funds to cover logistical costs of meetings are often a limiting factor, the committees have limited power, and they are not necessarily truly representative of a wide cross-section of user groups and other local stakeholders.

If greater stakeholder participation is to be more widely and successfully implemented, funding agencies and management organizations need to address the need for secure, long-term funding for the basic operating costs of participatory committees and

Although local participation in MPA planning and management is widely accepted in the MBRS areas studied, conflicts (such as poaching and mangrove cutting) between resource users and government and NGO management authorities still exist. In addition, operation of management committees and participatory processes is often hindered by lack of secure funding for transportation, lodging, and other costs of convening meetings (logistical difficulties are often more serious for MPAs than for terrestrial reserves). If greater stakeholder participation is to be more widely and successfully implemented at MPAs throughout the MBRS ecoregion, funding agencies and management organizations need to address the need for secure, long-term funding for basic operating costs for participatory committees and councils. Fortunately for the 15 priority protected area of the MBRS, modest funding should be available through the MBRS GEF project and other sources to promote expanded involvement of a wider range of stakeholder groups in participatory planning and management processes. In this way, co-management regimes, legal MPA establishment and on-site management could be extended to those protected areas where these goals have not yet been achieved.

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Table 1. The 15 Priority Protected Areas of the Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System

Country	Protected Area	Protected Area Category	Year Established
Belize	Corozal Bay	Wildlife Sanctuary	1998
	Bacalar Chico	Marine Reserve, National Park	1996
	South Water Caye	Marine Reserve	1996
	Glover's Reef	Marine Reserve	1993
	Port Honduras	Marine Reserve	2000
	Gladden Spit	Marine Reserve	2000
	Sapodilla Cays	Marine Reserve	1996
	Sarstoon-Temash	National Park	1994
Guatemala	Sarstún	Multiple Use Area or National Park (currently special protection status)	Proposed
	Punta de Manabique	Wildlife Refuge or National Park (Currently special protection status)	Proposed
Honduras	Omoa-BaracoaUtila/Turtle Harbour	n/a (several PAs and categories possible) Wildlife Refuge/ Marine National Park	Proposed 1992
Mexico	Bancos Chinchorro	Biosphere Reserve	1996
	Santuario del Manatí	Wildlife Sanctuary	1996
	Xcalak	National Marine Park	2000

Table 2. Community Participation Summary

Country	Protected Area	Stage of Local Participation in Protected Area Establishment	Management Plan Status	Local Participation in developing a Mgmt Plan?	Co-management Agreement in Place?	Advisory Committee established?
Belize	Corozal Bay	n/a	none	n/a	no	No
	Bacalar Chico	Prior	drafted 1995	yes	no	Yes
	South Water Caye	During	drafted 1993	limited	no	No
	Glover's Reef	During	drafted 1988	yes	no	Yes
	Port Honduras	prior(MPA proposed by local communities)	approved 2001	yes	yes	Yes
	Gladden Spit/Silk Cayes	Prior	draft completed 2002	yes	yes	Yes
	Sapodilla Cayes	During	drafted 1994	limited	yes	Yes
	Sarstoon-Temash	After	none initiated yet	yes	yes, but unofficial	Yes
Guatemala	Sarstún	After	complete, but not active	no	no	No
	Punta de Manabique	Prior	complete, but not active	yes	no	Yes
Honduras	Omoa-Baracoa	n/a	none initiated yet	n/a	no	No
	Utila/Turtle Harbour	Prior	draft in progress	yes	yes	Yes
México	Bancos Chinchorro	prior (MPA proposed by local communities)	active	yes	yes	Yes
	Santuario del Manatí	?(discrepancy in responses)	active	yes	no	Yes
	Xcalak	prior(MPA proposed by local communities)	draft in progress	yes	no	Yes

Lessons learned by a pioneering conservation programme in the Pacific

Joe Reti

The South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme (SPBCP) pioneered a participatory approach to biodiversity conservation at the community level in the Pacific. Its main strategic approach was to empower local communities to protect biodiversity in their communally owned land and marine areas through Conservation Areas Projects (CAPs). Those projects support development activities that respect and enhance the natural environment while providing for the economic well-being of the local resource owners and communities. Communities, NGOs and government agencies were facilitated to work together to set up those projects.

After ten years of work it can be said that the programme has made a significant contribution to the protection of critical biodiversity in the region. 17 CAPs were established and there is now a large group of people capable of leading biodiversity conservation initiatives in the region. SPBCP helped local communities to take on the challenge of being responsible custodians of biological diversity, and it ventured to demonstrate that conservation and development are not mutually exclusive, but inter-dependent elements of "sustainable living". One of the best legacies of SPBCP are the seventeen Conservation Area Support Officers (CASOs) up-skilled through the programme over a number of years. Like its successes, SPBCP's shortcomings are equally acknowledged. The programme had a narrow focus on CA establishment and its management style was not very different from the one of conventional projects. In fact, it proved difficult for the communities to take full control of their own initiatives, at their own pace. Fixed timelines and the pressure to show early results to keep the donors happy were contributing factors.

A document gathering lessons learned in the ten years of programme activities is under preparation. Some of those include:

- Conservation Areas are only a tool for achieving sustainable conservation of biodiversity in the region. They are not the end in themselves.
- Conservation will not succeed unless we deal successfully with people's issues and concerns.
- Communities are unlikely to commit to conservation without reasonable compensation.
- A regional approach and long term investments are essential to achieving conservation success in the Pacific.
- Inflexible timelines and requirements of donor organisations do not cater for the changing needs and priorities of local communities.
- Understanding community dynamics and getting to know those who influence or make decisions within a community is an important characteristic that Conservation Area Support Officers should possess.
- Community ownership of CAPs is the key to their long-term viability. The aim of SPBCP was to make communities believe that the projects are their own and that they are responsible for their long term management. However, some communities see themselves as the bosses whose only job is to reap benefits. For others, ownership is a pride but also a huge responsibility.
- Income from CAPs is an important incentive for conservation but is unlikely to meet the expectations of the local communities.
- Donor-funded projects should understand the cultural peculiarity of a place, specifically when trying to assess the gender equity characteristics of an initiative. They need to see, beyond the meeting houses where women are usually only marginally represented, if at all, the roles women actually play in implementing the projects, and not judge solely from their absence at certain discussions.
- NGOs' effectiveness as ambassadors for community conservation is almost always handicapped by their lack of capacity and resources, making them less effective and less able to cope with the demands of community conservation.

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There is a commonly held concern for the sustainability of the 17 conservation areas set-up under SPBCP, but there are reasons to be confident. On the 31st of December 2001, the SPBCP officially came to an end. Biodiversity conservation in the Pacific, however, will continue to develop and improve, hopefully forever.

People and the sea—A study of participation and coastal livelihoods in Saint Lucia, West Indies

Yves Renard

Figure 1. The coast of Saint Lucia
(courtesy Yves Renard)

The Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI), a regional organisation dedicated to the study and promotion of participatory and collaborative approaches to natural resource management in the insular Caribbean, is currently involved in a research project aimed at testing and developing tools, methods and approaches critical to the sustainable development of coastal communities. The project, called *People and the Sea: a Study of Coastal Livelihoods in Laborie, Saint Lucia*, is implemented by CANARI in collaboration with local community organisations and the Department of Fisheries in the Government of Saint Lucia. The project is funded by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) under its Natural Resources System Programme (NRSP), and it receives technical assistance from the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex in the UK.

The primary purpose of the project is to explore *alternatives* to Marine Protected Areas. Throughout the developing tropical world, coastal conservation and management initiatives have tended to emphasize Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) as the most appropriate instrument. In the Caribbean, some of these MPAs have been successful in achieving their management objectives, but this success has depended, to a large extent, on their ability to raise funding through user fees and other tourism-related mechanisms. The operation of these protected areas has, in almost every instance, required the creation of new, autonomous organisations vested with lead responsibility for management. Such arrangements are not suited to all situations. In addition, marine protected areas have generally failed to address broader social and economic development concerns, including poverty issues. There is therefore a need for alternative arrangements that are suitable to a variety of contexts and that incorporate a social and economic development agenda. Looking at one coastal community, this project seeks to identify effective policies and institutional arrangements—outside of conventional protected areas— which can meet a range of social, economic and conservation objectives.

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With a focus on the use and management of coral reefs and associated resources, this project thus focuses on two main aspects:

- ***co-management institutions*:** the project is testing, developing, refining and documenting methods to increase the effective participation of stakeholders in all stages of planning and management. Using specific occasions, such as the need to prepare a local plan for community-based tourism, the project will produce guidelines to help Caribbean managers and development workers facilitate the participatory development of co-management institutions;
- ***sustainable use*:** while pursuing the above, the project is also exploring and documenting technologies and approaches to enhance the social and economic benefits derived from the sustainable use of coastal resources, with particular attention to the needs of the poor. This is being undertaken through experiments and case studies in sea urchin harvesting, seaweed cultivation and heritage tourism.

Because of its geographic focus, this project offers an interesting opportunity to evaluate how participation affects the sustainability of resource use and on the livelihoods of people. On the one hand, we attempt to identify and monitor concrete linkages between institutional and technological change. On the other, we attempt to identify and monitor linkages between the well being of the people and the well being of the reefs. We do so by measuring some of the impacts that new or modified management interventions and arrangements (including increased participation of people in decision making, adoption of new resource use regulations, access to improved technology) have on the status of the resource (e.g. ecosystem productivity, stock maintenance) and on the lives of people (e.g. poverty reduction, income and employment generation). The project will enter its final phase in January 2003, when the results of this research will be documented, analysed and distributed.

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Figure 2. The beach of Saint Lucia *(courtesy Yves Renard)*

Leçons tirées de l'approche de planification participative multi-niveaux du programme environnemental II de Madagascar (1996-2002)

Vololoniaina Rasoarimanana

Madagascar est caractérisé par l'appauvrissement accentué de ses ressources naturelles, dont la large majorité se trouve hors aires protégées, et par des conditions de vie parmi les plus modestes du monde. La troisième phase du Plan d'Action Environnemental (PAE) de Madagascar est en préparation. Les deux premières phases (1990 – 1997 – 2002) ont produit des lois, politiques, stratégies nationales et instruments de gestion des ressources naturelles et de l'environnement. En plus, ses agences d'exécution ont aidé à la mise en œuvre d'un grand nombre d'initiatives locales (mini-projets) de conservation et de développement, pour traiter les problèmes urgents. Les leçons tirées de ces expériences ont mis en évidence que les problématiques doivent être traitées à plusieurs niveaux et avec la contribution de tous les secteurs et acteurs intéressés**.** Ces deux conditions sont essentielles pour que les actions et investissements menés aient des conséquences positives tangibles sur les conditions de vie de la population et en même temps, réduisent les dégradations des ressources naturelles.

Des Structures de Concertation Régionales (SCR) ont émergé dans les écorégions, et leur composition évolue au cours du processus selon la compréhension des enjeux et la prise de responsabilités par les différents acteurs.

L'approche participative multi niveaux est un processus itératif combinant l'apprentissage en commun dans l'action et la prise de responsabilité de différents types d'acteurs regroupés dans les structures de concertation à tous les niveaux.

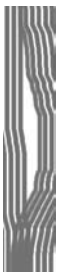
C'est dans cette perspective que s'inscrit l'approche participative multi niveaux menée dans une dizaine d'intercommunalités (ensemble de communes partageant les causes et effets de la dégradation d'une ressource naturelle) à Madagascar par la composante d'Appui à la Gestion Régionalisée de l'Environnement et à l'Approche Spatiale (AGERAS) du Programme Environnemental II que j'ai coordonné de 1997 à 2001.

A l'issue d'un atelier international en 1995, Madagascar a été divisé en six grandes régions écologiques partagées elles-mêmes en «écorégions »[1]. Après sensibilisation sur les enjeux des problématiques environnementales, des Structures de Concertation Régionales (SCR) ont émergé dans les écorégions. Il est important de noter que la composition des ces structures n'est pas fixe mais évolue au cours du processus selon la compréhension des enjeux et la prise de responsabilités par les différents acteurs. En effet, souvent des associations, des privés et des communautés de base rejoignent les techniciens et les élus dans les comités communaux de développement (CCD). Ces derniers, après avoir identifié des problématiques ou des intérêts en commun, forment des « intercommunalités », à leur tour représentées dans la SCR avec les organismes et les autorités de la région.

Les structures de concertation sont chargées des analyses diagnostics et de la planification participative à leur niveau de référence. Ils ont aussi pour rôle d'engager dans le processus les parties prenantes et de veiller à la réalisation des initiatives planifiées en respectant le principe de subsidiarité[2]. La méthodologie de planification prévoit de bâtir un schéma de développement régional (SDR) donnant la vocation et la vision du développement de la région dans un horizon de 10 à 20 ans en fonction des potentialités et des problématiques. Les orientations stratégiques et les actions d'envergure régionale y sont consignées et programmées. Cela inclut le développement des filières économique (écotourisme, énergie écologique, huiles essentielles, crevettes…), la réalisation d'infrastructures régionales (route, centre de formation…) et la prise en compte des initiatives essentielles de gestion des ressources naturelles (systèmes de protection, restauration, utilisation durable…) En pratique, le SDR est alimenté par les cadrages nationaux mais surtout au fur et à mesure par les résultats de la planification des structures à niveau communal et intercommunal.

Le travail de la composante AGERAS a été focalisé sur la promotion des structures de concertation participative multi niveaux et sur la facilitation de leur

analyse des problématiques clés de gestion des ressources naturelles alimentant la planification et aboutissant à la mise en œuvre d'actions cohérentes. Nous avons trouvé que les problèmes et/ou leurs solutions trouvent souvent leurs explications et leurs liens dans des espaces intercommunaux où il faut établir des systèmes complexes de gestion durable des ressources naturelles. D'habitude, nous avons appelé «sous-programme » un ensemble d'actions cohérentes et complémentaires répondant à ces problématiques clés. Dans ce sens, un sous-programme comprend des initiatives:



De nouveaux modes de relation et de gouvernance s'instaurent ainsi entre les parties prenantes. Les avantages comprennent une meilleure communication sociale, la prise de conscience des problèmes communs, le développement d'une vision commune à long terme et l'optimisation et la mise en cohérence des ressources complémentaires.

- d'appui à la gestion locale communautaire des ressources naturelles accompagnée de restauration des ressources— forêts, lacs, pâturages ou espaces marins ou côtiers— pour des vocations de préservation ou d'exploitation durable ;
- de développement d'alternatives à l'exploitation destructive des ressources pour diversifier les revenus ou professionnaliser les populations dans leurs métiers telles que l'agriculture intensive, l'apiculture, la pisciculture, l'écotourisme ;
- de mise en œuvre d'accompagnements indispensables, telles que la sécurisation foncière, la structuration du marché, la mise en place de mécanismes de financement adapté aux besoins locaux et le renforcement des capacités des acteurs.

Les activités des sous-programmes concernant les communes devraient se retrouver dans les plans de développement communaux, étoffant notamment leurs volets «environnement » et/ou « investissements sociaux » (écoles, centres de santé…). Ces plans— autant que l'approche participative multi niveaux— ont comme condition nécessaire la mobilisation des communautés de base, le diagnostic participatif et la planification locale. Inversement, lors de l'élaboration des plans communaux de développement (PCD) ou des sous-programmes, si des actions du ressort du niveau supérieur sont identifiées, elles peuvent être soumises aux SCRs en charge.

A l'issue d'un premier boucle de planification/ négociation, les parties prenantes adoptent les sous-programmes et les entités concernées (comme une commune ou un groupement de paysans ou des communautés) mettent en œuvre les actions de leur initiative ou élaborent des dossiers de projets, à soumettre aux organismes d'appui. Quand toutes les conditions sont réunies, les gestionnaires d'un projet ou d'un ensemble de projets signent des contrats tri ou multipartites avec l'organisme d'appui et la structure de coordination du sous-programme. Les actions impliquant la collaboration de plusieurs acteurs sont analysées ensemble et mises en cohérence. Il n'est pas rare que, pour défendre leurs intérêts et leurs droits dans les structures de concertation ou vis-à-vis des tiers, les communautés s'organisent dans des associations ou groupements. L'assemblée générale de la population du terroir (*fokonolona*) est aussi une importante plate forme de concertation locale.

En conclusion, l'approche participative multi niveaux est un processus itératif combinant l'apprentissage en commun dans l'action et la prise de responsabilité de plus en plus importante de différents types d'acteurs regroupés dans les structures de concertation à tous les niveaux. Le but est la mise en œuvre de sous-programmes cohérents, capables de répondre aux problématiques clés liées à la gestion de l'environnement dans les régions de Madagascar. Le bilan des premières années de ce processus est encore préliminaire. Il est pourtant évident que les règles du jeu des structures de concertation et les sous-programmes rendent chaque acteur plus directement responsable vis-à-vis des autres. De nouveaux modes de relation et de gouvernance s'instaurent ainsi entre les parties prenantes. Les avantages comprennent une meilleure communication sociale, la prise de conscience des problèmes communs, le développement d'une vision commune à long terme et l'optimisation et la mise en cohérence des ressources complémentaires. Persévérance et investissements importants en ressources humaines, matérielles et financières sont requis pour la mise en œuvre des sous-programmes ainsi que pour les fonctions de promotion des structures, facilitation de la planification négociée, médiation des conflits et renforcement des capacités de tous les acteurs concernés. Cette approche

commence à être appropriée par les structures à différents niveaux et pourrait accélérer la mise en œuvre et les impacts de la suite du Plan d'Action Environnemental et des autres programmes de développement durable du pays.

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Notes

[1] D'autres définitions sont possibles : le WWF divise Madagascar en 7 écorégions. Le Programme environnemental et le Plan d'Action pour le Développement Rural, identifie 20 régions agro-socio-écologiques ou écorégions dont plusieurs correspondent aux régions

Sistema de manejo participativo de la reserva marina de Galápagos— Actividades en 2001 y resultados de la primera evaluación participativa

Manuel Bravo y Pippa Heylings

El régimen de manejo y administración de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos (RMG) ofrece una oportunidad práctica para aprender sobre el gobierno de áreas protegidas. Es uno de los pocos ejemplos existentes, en el Ecuador y el mundo, de un esquema donde los derechos y responsabilidades de los usuarios locales en la toma de decisiones y manejo de un área protegida marina están establecidos por ley[1] e institucionalizados en la práctica. Este artículo informa sobre las actividades del nuevo sistema durante el año 2001 y sobre la relevancia de un programa continuo de seguimiento y evaluación de los impactos del nuevo marco institucional.

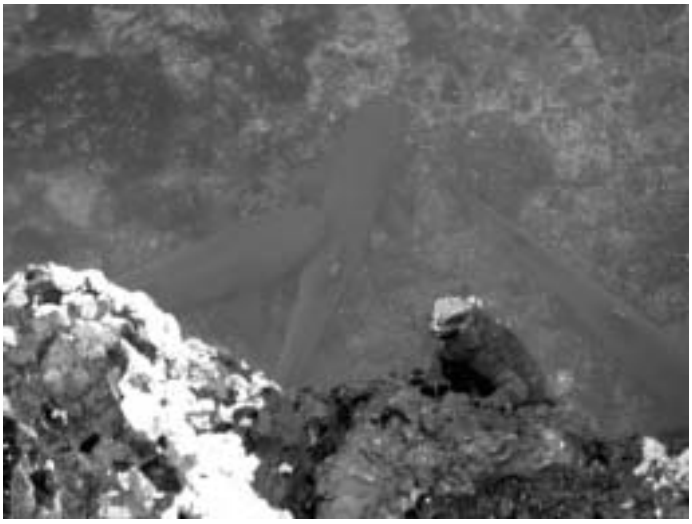

Figure 1. Mezcla de especies en Galápagos. Tiburones e iguanas en la isla de Santa Isabel *(cortesía Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Antes del año 1999, las decisiones sobre la RMG se tomaban en comités interministeriales o departamentos gubernamentales del Ecuador continental, sin consultar a los usuarios locales. La población local percibía a estas decisiones y regulaciones como impuestas desde afuera,[2] lo cual entorpecía su cumplimiento. En Junio de 1997, el Grupo Núcleo multi-sectorial[3] encargado de revisar el Plan de Manejo de la RMG construyó una visión de un nuevo régimen de manejo:[4] un sistema de co-manejo, donde los sectores locales, más allá de ser simplemente consultados, participen en el proceso de toma de decisiones equitativas y apropiadas al contexto local, sean responsables de buscar consensos locales y cumplan con los compromisos adquiridos. Esta visión pudo ser

Los expertos internacionales coinciden en que la Reserva Marina de Galápagos parece ofrecer uno de los ejemplos más significativos de programas de manejo participativo institucionalizado de todo el

consensuada a nivel local y en 1999, con un fuerte apoyo nacional e internacional, se concretó en el nuevo marco legal e institucional de la RMG.

El nuevo Sistema de Manejo Participativo

La Ley Especial de Galápagos establece que el Parque Nacional Galápagos se encargará del manejo y administración de la RMG bajo principios de manejo participativo y adaptativo. El Sistema de Manejo Participativo[5] establece la participación integrada de los usuarios locales, el gobierno nacional y las ONGs ambientalistas en la toma de decisiones sobre el manejo y la administración del área, siendo la Autoridad Interinstitucional de Manejo de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos (AIM) la máxima autoridad en la definición de políticas para la RMG. En este sistema, la toma de decisiones empieza desde las 'bases' con propuestas de cada sector de usuarios que son discutidas en la Junta de Manejo Participativo (JMP)[6] y luego pasan a AIM[7] para su aprobación[8] (ver Figura 1). Los usuarios locales están representados en todos los niveles del sistema y son co-responsables de las decisiones tomadas. Las decisiones se toman por consenso en la JMP y por mayoría de votos en la AIM.

En la JMP, el PNG juega el papel de un actor más en la búsqueda de consensos; en la AIM, actúa como Secretaría Técnica. Posteriormente, el PNG es responsable de la ejecución de las decisiones tomadas, con el apoyo de los co-actores del sistema.

Figura 2. Administración de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos

Actividades de las organizaciones de co-manejo

Entre enero y diciembre de 2001 tuvieron lugar 14 reuniones de la Junta de Manejo Participativo (6-7 de febrero; 5 de marzo; 9 de abril; 10 de abril; 27 de abril; 22 de mayo; 9 de junio; 22 de junio; 6 de julio; 31 de julio; 20 de agosto; 4 de septiembre; 22 de octubre y 14 de noviembre). Dos reuniones se suspendieron por consenso entre los miembros de la JMP (8 de junio y 28 de noviembre). Ninguna reunión se suspendió por reclamos o inasistencia de los miembros. En cinco reuniones se discutió el Reglamento Especial de Pesca; en cuatro, temas relacionados con el Calendario Pesquero 2001; en dos, la Evaluación del Sistema de Manejo Participativo. Se dedicó una reunión para cada uno de los siguientes temas: la Zonificación de la Reserva Marina, el Derrame de Combustible del Buque Tanque Jessica, el Reglamento de Turismo en Áreas Naturales Protegidas y el Plan de Trabajo de la JMP.

La Autoridad Interinstitucional de Manejo sesionó seis veces durante el año 2001 (5 de febrero, 8 de marzo, 17 de abril, 30 de abril, 13 de julio y 30 de agosto). La reunión del 5 de febrero fue suspendida por falta de quórum. De las seis reuniones, cuatro fueron convocadas como ordinarias y dos como extraordinarias. Cuatro se realizaron en Guayaquil y dos en Puerto Ayora. Los principales temas abordados durante el año 2001 fueron los siguientes:

- Evaluación del calendario pesquero del año 2000.
- Determinación de las temporadas de pesca durante el año 2001.
- Registro pesquero de la RMG.
- Informe de avance del Reglamento Especial de Pesca.
- Análisis del accidente del buque tanque Jessica.
- Informe de avance del Reglamento Especial de Turismo en Áreas Naturales Protegidas.
- Informe del proyecto FOMIN-BID.
- Informe del proyecto de desarrollo del turismo local en San Cristóbal.

El 75 % de estos temas fue tratado previamente en la JMP.

Monitoreo y Evaluación del Sistema de Manejo Participativo

La nueva forma de tomar decisiones y administrar la RMG se basa en un cambio de los paradigmas mundiales sobre la conservación de recursos naturales. Es importante analizar la eficiencia y eficacia de esta nueva forma de gobierno, a corto y a largo plazo. De acuerdo al Plan de Manejo[9], se está desarrollando un programa de monitoreo y evaluación de los impactos institucionales, sociales, económicos y biológicos de la ***participación local en el manejo.*** El equipo de Coordinación del Manejo Participativo ha establecido una base de datos sobre indicadores del funcionamiento institucional del sistema desde el año 1999 hasta la fecha. Se miden, entre otros, estos indicadores:

- Número de reuniones de la JMP y la AIM.
- Tendencias en la asistencia de los representantes de cada sector.
- Porcentaje de reuniones realizadas, suspendidas e interrumpidas (por abandono de uno o más miembros, excesiva conflictividad, etc.).
- Porcentaje de consensos logrados en los temas tratados por la JMP.
- Porcentaje de resoluciones de la AIM basadas en los consensos de la JMP.
- Tendencias en el cumplimiento de los compromisos adquiridos.

Esta información cuantitativa se presenta a la JMP, que la analiza junto con información cualitativa sobre conocimientos y percepciones, que es originada durante la evaluación participativa.

Entre el 14 de agosto y el 4 de septiembre de 2001, un ***Equipo de Evaluación Participativa*** compuesto por expertos internacionales en el tema, facilitadores de la JMP y delegados de los principales sectores de la Junta de Manejo Participativo evaluó el Sistema de Manejo Participativo establecido a partir de 1999 para la administración de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos[10]. La metodología de evaluación participativa incluyó tres componentes principales: análisis de la situación[11], análisis de las metas[12] y análisis de las actividades[13]. Se realizaron talleres interactivos en Puerto Baquerizo, Puerto Ayora y Puerto Villamil, así como entrevistas a líderes y autoridades locales y de la AIM.

Los objetivos de la evaluación participativa, planteados por consenso en la JMP, fueron:

- Promover un mejor entendimiento del sistema de manejo participativo para la Reserva Marina de Galápagos e identificar maneras de mejorarlo.
- Establecer, en conjunto con todos los actores clave del sistema, una lista de objetivos del manejo participativo y una lista de indicadores relevantes para monitorear los alcances y debilidades del sistema y permitir un ajuste de las acciones según sea necesario.
- Sentar las bases para un fortalecimiento progresivo del sistema de manejo participativo.
- Compartir la experiencia de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos con otras regiones en el mundo y facilitar el aprendizaje conjunto con el apoyo de la UICN y otras instituciones.

La Evaluación Participativa interna

Los conocimientos, las percepciones y opiniones de los usuarios servirán en el futuro como una línea base para evaluar los avances del sistema. Aquí se compila y resume lo recogido durante los talleres en Puerto Ayora, Puerto Baquerizo y Puerto Villamil[14].

- El conocimiento sobre el sistema de manejo participativo no es homogéneo entre los diversos grupos sociales, ni entre los pobladores de las principales islas del archipiélago de Galápagos.
- Pocas personas parecen comprender el procedimiento para la toma de decisiones dentro del sistema, las implicaciones de haber adoptado una modalidad de toma de decisiones por *consenso* y la profunda diferencia entre esta modalidad y la toma de decisiones por votación.
- Se percibe que existen influencias externas al sistema que afectan la credibilidad, el funcionamiento y la naturaleza participativa del mismo.
- Todos los sectores percibieron al sistema como centralizado, con el poder real confinado en la isla Santa Cruz.
- El sector pesquero percibe la naturaleza misma del sistema como conflictiva (por ejemplo, un espacio donde los sectores con diferentes opiniones intentan buscar solución a sus conflictos), la ECCD y el PNG la definen como constructiva (por ejemplo: un foro donde los distintos sectores construyen sobre sus mutuas capacidades y ventajas para lograr objetivos comunes).
- Acerca de las debilidades y fallas del sistema, se encontró unanimidad sobre la débil organización interna de los sectores, el peso de influencias políticas sobre ellos, la "falta de certeza" en términos de información científica, la pobre comunicación entre los sectores, el poco respeto hacia los acuerdos y el pobre conocimiento sobre ellos, el hecho de que solo las regulaciones de pesca parezcan ocupar el tiempo y la energía de la JMP y de la AIM.

- Fueron vistos como aspectos positivos el hecho que el modelo permite la participación de diferentes sectores, el diálogo, la base legal del mismo y la toma de decisiones por consenso, la zonificación consensuada y el calendario pesquero.

Otro producto importante del trabajo fue la identificación consensuada de los objetivos del Sistema de Manejo Participativo a corto, mediano y largo plazo. Este conjunto de objetivos facilitará el seguimiento de los avances del sistema con respecto a la satisfacción de las expectativas y necesidades multisectoriales.

Objetivos a corto plazo (1 año)

- Informar y capacitar a todos los sectores sobre el proceso.
- Mejorar la comunicación entre los sectores.
- Mejorar la participación de Isabela y Cristóbal en la toma de decisiones.
- Mejorar la organización, participación interna y representación de todos los sectores.
- Respetar los acuerdos**.**
- Mejorar el equilibrio en el tratamiento de temas en la JMP.
- Generar recursos para mejorar la participación.
- Respetar las opiniones de todos y no personalizar las discusiones.
- Tener un reglamento interno de la JMP.
- Mejorar el sistema administrativo del Manejo Participativo (difusión, comunicación, cobertura).
- Fortalecer al Equipo de Evaluación Participativa.
- Establecer un cronograma de trabajo provincial anual (reuniones rotativas en las diferentes islas).

Objetivos a mediano plazo (3 años)

- Mejorar la comunicación entre los sectores.
- Mejorar la participación de todas las islas en la toma de decisiones.
- Mejorar la organización, participación interna y representación de todos los sectores.
- Respetar los acuerdos**.**
- Poner en práctica el marco legal para todos los usuarios de la RMG.
- Mejorar la equidad (participación, discriminación).
- Buscar alternativas para el desarrollo sustentable.
- Transferir la experiencia a otras áreas protegidas del Ecuador y el mundo.
- Disminuir las decisiones tomadas fuera del sistema de manejo participativo por influencias políticas y de intereses personales.
- Generación de conocimiento biológico, social y de manejo.
- Transferencia comprensible de la información técnica.
- Negociación como mejor estrategia que las medidas de hecho.
- Reglas equitativas y apropiadas al contexto local.

Objetivos a largo plazo (10 años)

- Proteger la biodiversidad.
- Usar y manejar los recursos de la RMG de manera responsable y apoyar su recuperación.
- Actores concientizados y dispuestos a proteger la naturaleza de Galápagos.

La evaluación externa

A continuación se resumen las apreciaciones de los expertos que analizaron al sistema basados en su experiencia internacional en proyectos de co-manejo. Los expertos internacionales en manejo participativo coinciden en que la Reserva Marina de Galápagos parece ofrecer uno de los **ejemplos más significativos de programas de manejo participativo institucionalizado de todo el mundo**. El Sistema de Manejo Participativo de la RMG cumple, parcial o totalmente, 29 de las 33 preguntas que los expertos consideraron importantes para determinar si el sistema de manejo participativo estaba completamente institucionalizado.

Los expertos consideran como **elementos positivos del sistema**:

Figure 3. Un momento en la evaluación participativa. María Eugenia Buenaño de la Estación Científica Charles Darwin de San Cristóbal explica los resultados de un grupo de trabajo *(cortesía Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

Figure 4. Lobos marinos y visitantes. Una de las playas en la isla de San Cristóbal *(cortesía Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend)*

- El respaldo legal fuerte y claramente establecido.
- Un sistema integrado y bien pensado, con un grupo de co-manejo local que elabora propuestas por consenso y otro, compuesto principalmente por autoridades, que toma decisiones sobre las propuestas por votación.
- El diseño incentiva la búsqueda de consenso a nivel local.
- El sistema es flexible.
- El sistema fue diseñado a través de un proceso participativo.
- El sistema está aislado de la influencia política directa
- El sistema se apoya en una secretaría de co-manejo que suministra el impulso y sustento técnico indispensables.
- El PNG brinda su apoyo institucional y se ha adherido al sistema.
- El sistema es capaz de comprometer a los sectores y promueve el diálogo intersectorial.
- Se han promovido acuerdos de manejo muy importantes.

Los expertos identificaron como **limitantes del sistema**:

- Las comunidades de Galápagos son extremadamente jóvenes y no existe homogeneidad socio cultural.
- El clima entre los sectores no está completamente sereno y ay una historia de actos de violencia.
- El sistema de manejo participativo es muy joven, por lo que es entendido todavía de manera limitada por la sociedad en general.
- La JMP no tiene un estatuto interno de funcionamiento.
- La JMP también debería tratar temas relacionados con el turismo y la conservación, y debería supervisar la administración de la RMG.
- No es convincente la organización interna de los sectores.
- Da la impresión de que el PNG está involucrado con el Sistema Participativo de una manera instrumental, antes que con una adherencia total a sus principios y prácticas.
- El enfoque de manejo adaptativo todavía debe ser comprendido y aceptado.

Los expertos **recomiendan a la JMP**:

- Elaborar sus estatutos internos.
- Completar la fase inicial de la evaluación participativa y organizar un sistema de monitoreo regular.
- Mantener el cuestionamiento y el mejoramiento de la adaptabilidad, equidad y sustentabilidad del sistema de manejo.
- Vincular los datos del monitoreo participativo a los datos sobre el impacto ecológico y los indicadores socioeconómicos. De esta manera, el sistema de monitoreo sustentará la toma de decisiones en el marco del manejo adaptativo de la RMG. Además, ello permitirá evaluar el impacto del régimen de manejo participativo sobre el cumplimiento de las metas generales del manejo de la RMG.
- Promover el fortalecimiento de la organización interna de todos los sectores y las iniciativas conjuntas entre los sectores.
- Intensificar el intercambio de información y las lecciones aprendidas con iniciativas similares en el Ecuador y en otros países.

Diseminación e intercambio de experiencias

Se presentó el estudio de caso de Galápagos en el Taller de Co-Manejo para los Recursos Costeros y Marinos del Gran Caribe, realizado en Cuba en diciembre del 2002. En este taller se identificó a Galápagos como una fuente de aprendizaje para otros programas incipientes de co-manejo en la región. El caso de Galápagos también se propondrá como ponencia en el Congreso Mundial de Áreas Protegidas que tendrá lugar en 2003 en Durban, Sudáfrica.

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Notas y Referencias

[1] Véase el análisis de los vacíos y desincentives legales para la participación local dentro del marco de la Ley Forestal del Ecuador en Troya, R. "Participación local en la conservación de áreas naturales y protegidas del Ecuador: Aspectos legales", TNC, USA, 2001.

[2] Véase Macdonald,T., "Conflict in the Galapagos Islands. Analysis and recommendations for management", Puerto Ayora, Galápagos, CDF, 1997.

[3] Integrado por representantes del sector pesquero y el sector turístico de Galápagos, la ECCD, el PNG y la Subdirección de Pesca.

[4] Véase Heylings, P. *et al*. en Informe Galápagos, 1997-1998.

[5] Creado a través de la Ley de Régimen Especial para la Conservación y Desarrollo Sustentable de la Provincia de Galápagos, el Reglamento General de Aplicación de la Ley de Régimen Especial para la Conservación y Desarrollo Sustentable de la Provincia de Galápagos y el Plan de Manejo de la Reserva Marina de Galápagos.

[6] Integrada por delegados del Parque Nacional Galápagos, la Estación Científica Charles Darwin, el Sector Pesquero de Galápagos, la Cámara de Turismo de Galápagos y los Guías Naturalistas de Galápagos.

[7] Integrada por delegados de los Ministerios de Ambiente, Comercio Exterior Industrialización y Pesca, Turismo y Defensa Nacional; la Cámara de Turismo de Galápagos, el Sector Pesquero de Galápagos y el Comité Ecuatoriano para la Defensa de la Naturaleza y el Medio Ambiente (CEDENMA).

[8] Excepto en los temas que el PNG puede aprobar directamente.

[9] Véase 9.1.8 Sub-Programa de evaluación y seguimiento de la implementación del Plan de Manejo.

[10] Dra. Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Presidenta del Grupo de Trabajo de Manejo Colaborativo UICN/CEESP, Dr. M. Taghi Farvar, Presidente de la Comisión de la UICN sobre Políticas Ambientales, Económicas y Sociales. Junta de Manejo Participativo: Pippa Heylings, Coordinadora de la JMP, Manuel Bravo, Facilitador de la JMP. Delegados de los sectores: ECCD (Manfred Altamirano, Enrique Ramos, Patricia Zárate y Jaime Cevallos) y Guías Naturalistas (María Navarrete) participaron en actividades en Puerto Ayora, Puerto Baquerizo Moreno y Puerto Villamil. Personas vinculadas al Sector Turístico y PNG de Puerto Baquerizo y Puerto Villamil participaron en sus respectivos puertos.

[11] Por ejemplo: ¿Cómo se toman las decisiones concernientes a la Reserva Marina? ¿Puede abocetar una representación gráfica del sistema y sus componentes?

[12] Por ejemplo: ¿Qué le gustaría lograr a través del sistema de manejo participativo de la Reserva Marina? ¿Cuáles los objetivos a corto, mediano y largo plazo?

[13] Por ejemplo: ¿Qué necesitamos para alcanzar cada objetivo que hemos identificado?

Le Mont Blanc peut- il s'élever au rang de Patrimoine Mondial sans processus participatif ?

Christian Chatelain et Barbara Ehringhaus

La région du Mont Blanc se caractérise par une beauté naturelle unique et par sa diversité biologique et culturelle. Son Massif, ses glaciers et ses balcons, d'où l'on profite d'un panorama exceptionnel, sont partagés entre la France, la Suisse et l'Italie. La région du Mont Blanc représente un mélange exceptionnel de terres cultivées, de forêts et de nature très sauvage dans les zones les plus élevées. Elle représente une énorme attractivité touristique.

Environnement naturel

Massif charnière entre les Alpes centrales et les Alpes occidentales, le Mont Blanc expose une grande variété de caractéristiques géologiques et géomorphologiques alpines. On y retrouve tous les étages de la végétation et de la faune des Alpes occidentales avec les deux tiers des espèces alpines et sub-alpines correspondantes. Avec ses 4.810 m d'altitude, le Mont Blanc est le plus haut sommet des Alpes européennes et c'est un point de

Figure 1. Les aspects mythiques et mystiques de la montagne sont profonds *(courtoisie Alan Ossan)*

repère géographique et symbolique majeur, une icône en Europe et au-delà. Le Massif couvre environ 80.000 ha et compte plusieurs sommets dépassant les 4.000 m, des pointes et des aiguilles, ainsi que de nombreux glaciers. Toute la zone est estimée à environ 300.000 ha, touchant le Parc National de la Vanoise en France et le Parc National du Grand Paradis en Italie.

Société et culture

Les vallées autour des sommets sont peuplées de manière inégale. Dans plus de 30 municipalités, comprenant des villes comme Chamonix, on trouve une population de 135.000 habitants. La langue commune est le français mais il reste encore quelques bribes de dialectes similaires provenant de l'histoire savoyarde et des traditions qui ont marqué les trois pays limitrophes. On retrouve ces traditions communes dans l'agriculture locale et dans des rites comme les combats de vaches. Le mélange culturel est en effet fort entre anciens et nouveaux résidents, en plus des touristes, comme cela a été le cas pour les marchands et les soldats qui ont traversé ces cols depuis au moins 2.000 ans. Dans un contexte mondial, le Mont Blanc est le berceau des traditions de l'alpinisme, et d'une culture montagnarde particulière comprenant un bon verre de vin et un bout de fromage local après une course en montagne.

Les événements sportifs á la mode risquent de transformer la montagne mythique en une montagne de parc d'attraction type Disneyland.

Tourisme et information touristique

Depuis des siècles les alpinistes et les touristes sont venus dans la région comme des pèlerins vers les hautes montagnes qui inspirent rêves et imagination. L'alpinisme et la recherche montagnarde ont commencé ici grâce à De Saussure. Après ses études, les montagnes et les glaciers ont perdu un peu de leur « distance » et le défi sportif et scientifique est commencé. Grâce à son unique beauté, sa neige, sa glace et ses rochers exceptionnels, la région du Mont Blanc a attiré non seulement des alpinistes professionnels mais également des skieurs et des randonneurs du monde entier, en été comme en hiver. Avec le temps, le Massif a été rendu accessible par des trains, des routes, et des téléphériques, spécialement depuis les vallées françaises et italiennes. En 1999, quatre millions de touristes ont été portés au sommet de l'aiguille du midi (par le téléphérique du même nom) d'où ils ont pu admirer une vue époustouflante. Ceci évite au flot de visiteur de pénétrer dans la « wilderness » même. Des centaines de randonneurs partent également chaque année pour le tour du Mont Blanc (1 à 3 semaines en traversant les trois pays).

Dans la région il existe un bon nombre d'excellents guides de haute montagne qui, avec les accompagnateurs de moyenne montagne forment le public aux aspects naturels et culturels. Il y a également des centres d'information et d'éducation sur l'environnement, des musées sur la nature et la culture locale, 4 jardins botaniques alpins et, bien sûr, des stations scientifiques de haute altitude. L'ONG internationale Mountain Wilderness a organisé des campagnes de sensibilisation autour et au sommet du Mont Blanc pour les résidents locaux, les touristes, les journalistes, les parlementaires ainsi que la communauté internationale des alpinistes et les écoles de la région. L'offre d'information est continue et a tendance à s'intensifier.

La protection de l'environnement

Depuis longtemps déjà des alpinistes et des groupes de protection de l'environnement ont essayé de protéger le Mont Blanc. Cependant, comme aucun pays ne peut réclamer la souveraineté complète du Massif, la plus part de ces initiatives n'ont pas été

soutenues par toutes les autorités. En 1982, le Mont Blanc fut inclus dans l'inventaire de l'UICN comme site digne du Patrimoine Mondial. En 1986 lors du 200éme anniversaire de la première ascension, des alpinistes venus du monde entier se sont réunis pour formuler un plan commun de protection. Mountain Wilderness a été fondé à cette occasion. En 1990, les trois ministres de l'environnement respectifs se sont mis d'accord pour créer un parc international du Mont Blanc. En 1991, un réseau entre différentes associations environnementales pour la protection du Mont Blanc (CIAPM) fut créé. Dans la même année la convention alpine a été signée par les trois pays ainsi que par les autres pays alpins. Le parc international du Mont Blanc était alors considéré comme un projet pilote.

Dans nos pays dits développés, nous faisons une telle confiance à la démocratie que nous pensons que les élus locaux agissent obligatoirement de façon fidèle aux idées élaborées en concertation à la base.

Les politiciens des trois pays ont en effet créé peu après cela la Conférence Transfrontalière du Mont Blanc (CTMB) et le programme Espace Mont Blanc avec les buts de protéger l'héritage naturel et culturel de la région transfrontalière, de promouvoir le tourisme soutenable et l'agriculture de montagne, de réduire la circulation régionale et de mettre sur pied un plan de gestion tri national. Depuis 1999 le CIAPM représente les ONG des trois pays avec trois observateurs dans le cadre de la CTMB et de ses sous comités. Quelques mesures récentes vers une gestion transnationale de la région ont été entamées, par exemple le lancement d'un système SIG, l'identification des zones sensibles, la création de 50 sentiers didactiques. Récemment une société de consultants de l'environnement a été mandatée pour étudier un plan de développement durable. Mais tout n'est pas brillant et ensoleillé au sommet du Mont-Blanc. Il y a toute une série de problèmes dûs au caractère international de la région et dûs aux projets parfois grandioses de développement de l'industrie touristique.

Le Mont Blanc n'a pas besoin du statut du patrimoine mondial pour être mieux connu, mais pour être mieux protégé contre les promoteurs sans scrupules qui empiètent sur cette région alpine unique, il en a besoin pour rendre les gens attentif á sa valeur exceptionnelle.

Les défis administratifs légaux et politiques

Malgré des racines culturelles similaires, les trois pays ont des législations différentes et différentes manières de traiter l'aménagement du territoire. Ceci rend difficile un projet de gestion et de protection commune. Ce problème s'aggrave avec le changement des gouvernements régionaux et nationaux à l'intérieur des trois pays. Avec la décentralisation (même en France), les états ont réduit leur engagement. Les politiciens locaux en vallée d'Aoste, dans le canton du Valais, en Suisse et dans les deux départements français essayent d'écarter toute ingérence nationale et internationale en ce qui concerne " leur montagne ", malgré les subsides importants de leurs ministères de l'environnement et de l'Union Européenne. C'est à cause de cela qu'aucun statut légal de conservation, ni aucun plan de gestion n'a obtenu de résultat satisfaisant jusqu'à aujourd'hui, malgré les projets existants. Chaque pays attend que les deux autres prennent des décisions. Par exemple, beaucoup d'objectifs de l'Espace Mont Blanc existent uniquement sur le papier et les forces politiques agissent souvent dans la direction contraire.

Les défis environnementaux.

Il est étonnant que jusqu'à aujourd'hui, le Mont Blanc n'ait pas été déclaré zone protégée selon les standards internationaux de protection. Même la zone centrale des glaciers et des sommets dépassant 2.000 m n'est protégée que par des mesures minimales. Par contre, il y a plusieurs espaces protégées tout autour du Mont Blanc. A cause de ce déficit de statut, l'importante pression touristique existante n'est pas efficacement gérée. De plus en plus de téléphériques sont construits, surtout sur le sol français, et les nuisances aériennes (avions et hélicoptères) se multiplient. Les événements sportifs á la mode risquent de transformer la montagne mythique en une montagne de parc d'attraction type Disneyland. Beaucoup de gens sont convaincus que, même après 10 ans de travail de l'Espace Mont Blanc, les groupes d'intérêts locaux n'ont aucune volonté de poursuivre des options de développement respectueuses de la nature, et durable. Le dernier problème qui n'est pas

des moindres est le fait que le tunnel du Mont Blanc amène un trafic international polluant et bruyant. C'est pour cette raison que des ONG locales ainsi que des maires français insistent pour interdire définitivement la circulation des camions dans le tunnel.

La participation autour de l'avenir du Mont Blanc: une lacune.

Les organisations aujourd'hui en place pour la gestion du Mont Blanc sont tout sauf participatives et actives dans le sens de la protection du Massif. Le noyau de la CTMB est constitué d'élus locaux ou régionaux chargés de développer l' "économie touristique"- un secteur ayant le pouvoir d'écraser toute dissidence. La vallée de Chamonix par exemple, héberge à l'année 50.000 habitants mais a une capacité d'accueil de 250.000 lits. L'argent y est roi au point qu'un projet d'envergure modeste a peu de chance d'intéresser les décideurs locaux. Le développement des stations de ski, du sport de montagne et d'autres sports anciens, constant et régulier, a habitué la population à voir fleurir de nouvelles remontées mécaniques, de nouvelles pistes en zone vierge, de nouveaux bâtiments en zone à risque… Et la population de base est très hétérogène, en grande partie composée d'allochtones, et ignorante des soucis environnementaux menaçant le Massif.

La Conférence Transfrontalière du Mont Blanc (CTMB)

La CTMB est l'organe exécutif du programme Espace Mont-Blanc. Cette conférence existe depuis 11 ans et a été mis sur pied par les Etats Suisse, Français et Italien sous pression des ONGs. Elle n'as pas de statut juridique et est piloté par les élus locaux des vallées des trois pays. Au cours de ces 11 années de travail, la CTMB n'a réalisé aucune action concrète importante allant dans le sens de la sauvegarde du massif et elle n'a pris aucune décision ni même aucun avis en faveur de la protection du massif. Néanmoins, elle se place auprès des médias comme l'organisme incontournable et seul compétent pour réfléchir à l'avenir du massif et elle s'est lancée dans l'élaboration et la mise en place d'un Schéma de Développement Durable (SDD). Dans ce schéma, la "consultation" des populations locales n'est supposée intervenir qu'en fin de cycle, alors que les jeux sont faits.

« A la lecture du Schéma proposé, on voit très rapidement et de façon évidente, que ce ne sont que quelques acteurs ou catégories d'acteurs (entités politiques et administratives, experts techniques, bureaux d'études et de recherche) qui vont piloter les études et les réalisations et que bon nombre de parties prenantes, qui en définitive vivront concrètement et au quotidien le résultat du SDD, n'auront pas de niveau d'expression suffisant pour se sentir responsables et porter le projet tant dans ses décisions d'orientations que dans ses choix stratégiques de fond. Et là, la durabilité peut être compromise.

Le Développement Durable recherché ne peut effectivement être durable que si techniquement les ressources supportent les contraintes qu'on leur applique et si sociologiquement on a permis à tous les acteurs concernés (y compris les petits groupes locaux d'utilisateurs de la ressource) non seulement de donner leur avis mais surtout de sentir une part de responsabilité, d'appropriation dans le projet. Un des grands principes du Développement Durable est la gestion participative (co-gestion) des ressources et cette gestion participative doit se retrouver à tous les niveaux d'élaboration d'un SDD, de l'idée originelle du projet à sa réalisation sans cesse améliorée.

Au point 2.3 de l'offre du bureau ECOSCAN SA pour la phase préparatoire du SDD de l'Espace Mont Blanc (CTMB 9 Juin 2000), il est rappelé que les programmes INTERREG doivent « impliquer non seulement des acteurs institutionnels mais aussi la société civile: des acteurs socio-économiques, des organisations non gouvernementales, et des représentants du monde universitaire » Cette indispensable « implication » des acteurs locaux de tous types (du petit artisan ébéniste du val d'Aoste à la compagnie des guides de Chamonix en passant par l'agriculteur producteur en A.O.C.) n'est pas sérieusement prise en compte dans l'actuel SDD puisqu'on y parle uniquement de "consultation" (la consultation est très loin de la gestion participative) et également puisqu'on réserve cette phase de consultation à la fin du processus, une fois les concepts, méthodes et listes d'activités élaborées.

Ainsi, le SDD proposé sous estime fortement la qualité de l'apport potentiel de certains acteurs, surtout locaux, au processus d'élaboration dudit

schéma. Il apparaît en fait que la notion de "participation" reste cantonnée à un niveau consultatif, d'enquête, d'étude, de conférence, d'information, etc. alors qu'elle devrait faire corps avec toutes les phases d'élaboration, de négociation, de proposition et de contre proposition, de signature et de mise en œuvre du SDD. Participer ce n'est pas écouter et dire oui ou non à des propositions, participer c'est apporter des connaissances et des savoir-faire pour élaborer en commun des propositions.

Ne pourrait-on pas, selon les méthodes bien établies de la co-gestion (méthodes développées par bon nombre d'organismes nationaux ou internationaux tel que l'UICN), permettre une prise de conscience plus rapide et une participation plus précoce, plus active et plus opérationnelle des acteurs locaux à chaque étape du processus. Par exemple, utiliser les connaissances et les compétences locales en mettant en place des "groupes de travail thématiques locaux" chargés de faire remonter l'information au groupe opérationnel du SDD (cela s'avérerait probablement plus efficace que des enquêtes classiques et relativement "froides"). Par exemple encore, confier l'organisation, ou une partie de l'animation, des conférences du futur à des groupes d'utilisateurs de tous les jours des ressources des pays du Mont-Blanc.

Concernant la cohérence des actions, le SDD touche un très grand nombre de domaines d'activités plus ou moins imbriqués ou superposés géographiquement et socio-économiquement. En tête de ceux ci, l'agriculture, le tourisme, la protection des milieux sensibles et les transports. Ces domaines sont condamnés à cohabiter en bonne harmonie si l'on veut espérer atteindre un Développement Durable du massif et cette cohabitation ne sera possible que si le niveau de développement de chacun de ces domaines est compatible, cohérent avec le niveau de développement des autres. C'est cette cohérence que nous ne percevons pas suffisamment dans le SDD proposé et nous pouvons même dire que la mise en cohérence des politiques sectorielles et thématiques ne peut se faire efficacement qu'avec un minimum d'appropriation du processus par les acteurs locaux concernés (agriculteurs, opérateurs touristiques, sociétés de transport, organismes de protection de la nature, etc.). Cette appropriation,

Figure 2. Un Parc Européen de la Paix ? Le Mont Blanc—en tant que Massif tri national géré sous un système de co-gestion—deviendrait le symbole d'une Europe affirmée et consciente, bien au delà des mélanges stériles de bureaucratie et de valeurs du marché… *(courtoisie Christophe Gotti)*

Le Comité International d'Associations pour la Protection du Massif du Mont Blanc (Pro Mont Blanc) dont nous faisons partie a répondu ainsi à cette proposition :

Pourquoi la façade de la participation ?

On peut effectivement se poser la question du pourquoi d'une telle négligence de l'aspect participatif. Si en Afrique, plus aucun projet de conservation-développement ne se met en place sans un minimum de prise en compte des problèmes et des besoins des populations vivant sur place, ce n'est pas du tout le cas en Europe. Dans nos pays dits développés, nous faisons une telle confiance à la démocratie que nous pensons que les élus locaux agissent obligatoirement de façon fidèle aux idées élaborées en concertation à la base. Nous en avons un contre exemple ici, avec la structure de l'EMB qui veut se débarrasser facilement de cette épine dans le pied qui se nome " participation " en organisant une "consultation" une fois que tous les dossiers sont ficelés.

Mais pourquoi agir ainsi ? Il y a plusieurs raisons possibles. La peur des associations et de leurs idées environnementales et protectionnistes. La peur de ne plus pouvoir étendre les domaines skiables, construire et équiper plus haut en montagne. La peur d'avoir à ralentir cette fuite en avant vers toujours plus d'investissements pour toujours de plus de rentabilité touristique. Probablement, en effet, la peur de la prise de conscience des populations locales de l'état réel du

Massif du Mont Blanc aujourd'hui et des risques à venir. Ainsi, il est logique de ne pas vouloir faire réfléchir la population sur un SDD par simple peur des résultats de cette réflexion.

Quoi faire ?

Notre organisation s'est engagée à poursuivre l'inscription du Mont Blanc en tant que site du patrimoine mondial selon les procédures de l'UNESCO. Malgré le fait qu'il n'y a pas de candidature officielle de la part des trois pays, les représentants gouvernementaux et les groupes d'intérêts locaux sont favorables à cette démarche. Contrairement à d'autres sites, le Mont Blanc n'a pas besoin du statut du patrimoine mondial pour être mieux connu, mais il en a besoin pour être mieux protégé contre les promoteurs sans scrupules qui empiètent sur cette région alpine unique, il en a besoin pour rendre les gens attentif á sa valeur exceptionnelle.

Pour obtenir le statut de patrimoine mondial, il nous semble indispensable de passer par une phase importante de concertation entre tous les acteurs—petits ou grands—concernés par l'avenir du Massif. Les populations ont trouvé l'énergie de se regrouper autour du sujet des transports et du tunnel de Mont Blanc, il nous faut leur ouvrir les yeux sur les autres problèmes qui guettent le Massif. En dehors des nécessaires expertises et suivis internationaux pour arriver à trouver un équilibre entre la protection et le développement (efforts locaux et régionaux), il nous semble également indispensable qu'une gestion conjointe soit mise en place au sein du Massif pour garantir l'équité et l'utilisation durable de ses ressources naturelles. Nous croyons que le Mont Blanc—en tant que Massif tri national géré sous un système de co-gestion—deviendrait ainsi un exemple européen d'envergure, un Parc Européen de la Paix, le symbole d'une Europe affirmée et consciente, bien au delà des mélanges stériles de bureaucratie et de valeurs du marché.

Management plans for protected areas— Can we make them more viable, useful and effective?

Stephan Amend and Thora Amend

For 30 years, management plans have been seen as valuable instruments for the management of protected areas (PAs). And yet, they did not always respond to the specific needs and realities of the local context. Often, they were prepared by "external" consultants and/or people not directly involved in the locality. In many cases the plans, which may have cost dearly, were simply abandoned on a shelf.

A group of Latin American professionals with years of experience on the subject recently put together a proposal for a new framework for PA management activities. In October 2001, at the initiative of the Cerro Hoya Project[1] in Panama, an international workshop was held to strengthen technical exchange and cooperation in the region and to develop recommendations on the subject of PA "management plans".

The workshop recommended to respond to the realities of protected areas— which often host communities inside their borders— and to produce management plans with the full participation of those communities, so that they could actually *use* the plan, and assure that it is viable in the local context. Out of an extensive

analysis of experiences in Latin America a suggestion arose to structure a management plan into four distinct elements, namely:

- ***a descriptive component***—containing information on geographical, biophysical, social or economic issues.
- ***a component of laws, norms and agreements***— containing information on legal questions, including possible agreements between the conservation agency and local communities or other stakeholders.
- ***a strategic plan***— listing priority activities to be carried out (why, what, where, and how) and providing long-term goals and development perspectives.
- ***a zoning plan***— prescribing the land use, defining where programs or activities can be done, and how, based on the results of a negotiation process between the stakeholders, taking into account the specific conservation objectives of the area.

The workshop recommended to respond to the realities of protected areas— which often host communities inside their borders— and to produce management plans with the full participation of those communities, so that they could actually use the plan, and assure that it is viable in the local context.

The suggestion of dividing a management plans into four elements is based upon a series of pragmatic reasons, namely the complexity and magnitude of producing plans according to the conventional way, as well as conceptual reasons:

-the expected outputs and results of each element are different
-the information sources for the elaboration of each element are different
-the actors involved in the elaboration of the elements usually vary
-the methodology required for each element is different
-the timeframe, legal procedures, implications, needs and steps to be taken for each element are different

In view of the above, professionals from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Venezuela and Germany elaborated a paper to document the efforts of adapting the tool and making it as effective as possible. The study emphasizes the distinction between the conventional way of planning and the new type of strategic planning and discussed a series of important orientations and criteria (e.g., institutional and spatial coherence, continuity of the participative process, information sources adequate to the level and magnitude of decisions to be taken, need for strategic alliances between protected areas and regional development efforts).

The study also presents specific recommendations to elaborate and implement management plans, such as tips for the preparatory phase, the geographic area to be included, suggestions for how to gather information, techniques to evaluate activities and a proposal for the presentation and format of a document type. By this initiative the Latin American professionals hope to transform management plans into more meaningful, realistic and relevant tools, adapted to the specific needs and challenges of each context. The need for park managers to seek alliances with local communities, local government agencies and other stakeholders is ever increasing. Producing this new type of participatory management plans may well be an important step towards fulfilling it.

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Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit. Thora is a member of the CEESP/ CMWG.

Notes

[1] The project is carried out by the Panamanian Environmental Authority (ANAM) with support from the German Cooperation

Buffer zones of protected tropical forests: what GTZ has learned…

Rolf Mack

Protected areas are an important instrument for conserving biodiversity. Too often, however, they are managed strictly by conservationists, neglecting the rural peoples' values and practices and the potential alliances to be made with local interests in conservation. The obvious result has been poor social acceptance of protected areas and, in such circumstances, sustainability stands on shaky grounds.

Conservation and development need to be appreciated from at least two different perspectives: the one of their official managers and the one of the local residents, attempting to meet their livelihood needs though the use of natural resources. Joint management agreements between the two are a promising approach, based on mutually negotiated solutions. Concepts, methods and tools in support of such solutions need to be developed and exchanged to improve their practical implementation in a variety of contexts.

Buffer or transition zones do not often have a formal conservation status, but the people living there are highly affected by the presence of the protected areas and by their regulations.

The project "Protected Area Management and Buffer Zone Development" (ABS-LISTRA) is an initiative of GTZ wishing to strengthen rural livelihoods by increasing the capacity of rural people to deal with their own problems and opportunities, adapt to change, and increase their bargaining power in negotiations around natural resource management. The focus of the work of LISTRA is on the buffer or transition zones of protected tropical forests. These zones do not often have a formal conservation status, but the people living there are highly affected by the presence of the protected areas and by their regulations.

LISTRA works under the assumption that rural people living in and around protected areas are interested to maintain their livelihood systems and the resource base of which the forest is often the mainstay. Destruction of the forest resources cannot possibly be their goal, but they might be forced to use resources in an unsustainable way because of external pressures (e.g. land policies, migration into the areas, population growth etc.). Strict protection rules for the forest may actually intensify the local needs, in a vicious cycle of reduced resources, over-exploitation in particular areas and consequent degradation. The capacity of livelihood systems to adjust to strict protection measures may be too limited to cope. To avoid a collapse, active external support might be required.

A different case is the one in which the initiative to establish a protected area does not come from the government authorities but from the rural people themselves, seeking to secure the resources on which their livelihoods are based. In this situation they may still need external support to negotiate for their own rights (e.g. tenure issues). In other cases, an influx of new settlers into the tropical forest areas and transition zones may threaten the sustainability of the local livelihood systems. Rules for the use of natural resources need to be developed and agreed upon, and this might also need external support.

Rural people and agents of the supporting institutions need to learn and act together. Projects can facilitate such learning processes through the setting up of negotiation platforms and the effective development of local capacity and technological innovations to sustain livelihoods and conserve natural resources.

Types of external support that can strengthen the capacity to withstand change include the introduction of economic alternatives, such as off-farm income opportunities and alternative components in the farm production system. Off-farm income opportunities can cover the small enterprise sector, tourism development included. In areas with interesting game, wildlife management is a promising option, as elsewhere is the utilisation of non-timber forest products. Potential adaptations of the production system mainly relate to the intensification of agricultural production. Examples are the integration of livestock into farming systems or the move from shifting to permanent cultivation. All these examples have something in common: they cannot be "introduced" though simple interventions. Livelihood systems are complex and dynamic in their nature and demand systemic approaches. The analysis of GTZ experience in a

number of contexts allowed us to identify a number of requirements to strengthen the capacity of local livelihood systems around tropical forest areas. These include:

- **Participatory development of innovations** (jointly developing and promoting technical, economic and social innovations, such as agricultural practices and income generating activities)
- **Dealing with conflicts** (carrying out an analysis of the interests and concerns of different local and institutional actors, negotiating agreements among stakeholders)
- **Resource-use planning** (reaching local agreements and by-laws on the utilisation of land and other natural resources)
- **Strengthening local (village-level) organisations** (clarifying mandates and responsibilities of local organisations to ensure that agreements and by-laws are implemented; enhancing the accountability of leaders; strengthening representative structures of villages vis-à-vis other villages and governmental agencies)
- **Creating awareness of resource conserving technologies** (enhancing understanding of environmental processes and providing exposure to technological options)

The five areas outlined above are interlinked and cannot be pursued in isolation. For example, in a situation where slash and burn agriculture threatens the forest, an intervention might be geared towards developing and adopting alternative land use systems. For this, technical innovations and social innovations will be required, as well as the agreements of the villagers. Resource use planning will be needed, often a conflictive process that should be effectively facilitated and mediated. In fact, the claims of various villages and the roles of forestry authorities will have to be taken into account in the negotiation. In this, village-level organisations with a strong mandate ought to represent the community's interests and not only the interests of the leaders— a necessary condition to assure the implementation of agreements.

Importantly, the process needs to be specific and adapted to the specific context of each village. Blueprint solutions cannot be transferred. Rural people and agents of the supporting institutions need to learn and act together. Projects can facilitate such learning processes especially through the setting up of negotiation platforms and the effective development of local capacity and technological innovations to sustain livelihoods and conserve natural resources.

Mountain peoples— A vision for the future

Peter Schachenmann and Hanta Rabetaliana

Throughout 2002— the International Year of the Mountain— the African Chapter of the World Mountain Peoples Association (APMM) promoted a lively debate and mutual learning experiences towards solidarity and synergy amongst various concerned actors. Participants included representatives of mountain communities, policy makers, NGOs, scientists and experts from Central, Eastern and Southern Africa, the Mascarene Islands and Madagascar. Together we examined from different perspectives the theme "African mountain development: how can stakeholders emerge?". Affirming a sense of community among mountain peoples sharing a common destiny, the African Chapter of APMM is

contributing to the development of a joint Mountain Action Plan for Africa.

Mountains as barriers and bridges

Due to their poor accessibility and harsh environmental features— rugged terrain, high peaks, forbidding cliffs— mountains can be seen as biophysical *barriers*. In fact, they do separate weather regimes and vegetation zones (both horizontally and vertically), divide water catchments and water reservoirs and provide habitats and refuge to biological, cultural, linguistic and agricultural diversity, often endemic.

Figure 1. "If people will lead, leaders will follow" (Dr. David Suzuki): Climbing mountains for vision and inspiration— our logo for the APMM Africa *(courtesy Pierrot Men)*

Paradoxically however, mountains are also very important biological, ecological and spiritual *bridges* for numerous ecosystem services and cultural values. Their waters provide energy for industry, life for agricultural production and satisfaction of the essential needs of people all around the world. Their remoteness offers refuge to diverse life forms and endangered species, including persecuted indigenous people. Their natural beauty lifts the mind and tired spirit of millions of visitors. Climbing a summit may reaffirm strength and triumph or simply offer a place where one may feel on the "top of the world" or at least on the "top of oneself". Mountains are places to reflect on mortality and immortality, the immaterial and mysterious essence of spirits. They are a place where people can feel purer, halfway between a physical and a spiritual universe.

Human communities depending on and working in mountain environments are the most important stakeholders to be involved in identifying and applying the solutions to their problems [yet their] values and

The World Mountain Peoples Association (APMM)

Most mountain ecosystems in the world are host to human populations. People interact with and use mountain resources and affect the natural dynamics of the system. Nature responds, reacts, adapts, and people and institutions learn to adjust to the changes in their environment. This inter-dependent interplay between nature and people may "degenerate", often when new actors and parameters enter the picture, into problems of biodiversity loss and resource degradation. In turn, these may affect the social systems of mountain peoples, leading to loss of shared and mutual responsibility and even the breakdown of social practices, institutions, local knowledge and skills, and cultural identity. In severe cases one may even assist at a collapse in the resilience of an ecosystem and to an increased

Figure 2. Andringitra massif. This massif is not only a distinct bio-geographical barrier but also a bridge between life forms and cultures *(courtesy Peter*

frequency and severity of natural disasters, leading to human casualties, misery and even forced migration.

Working towards sustainability requires both vision and practical approaches. Human communities depending on and working in mountain environments are the most important stakeholders to be involved in identifying and applying the solutions to their problems. During the last decades natural sciences have accumulated much knowledge about ecosystem processes, but there remains an important gap of knowledge and understanding in dealing with civil society, where broad (integrative) values and goals may be poorly known, marginalized or even *not yet articulated*. This is the entry point for the World Mountain Peoples Association. On the background of increasing impacts of modernisation and influxes of outside forces in mountain environments, the APMM has the ambition to unite for a common cause the mountain peoples of the world, and give them a voice to facilitate equitable and sustainable solutions to their problems.

During the Year of the Mountains, the Africa Section of the APMM is providing a platform and giving a voice to mountain people from Central, Eastern and Southern Africa, the Mascarene Islands and Madagascar. The process is building upon and adding value to the multi-dimensional evocative power of mountains to build bridges between traditional and modern worlds and forms of knowledge, peoples speaking different languages, the powerful and the discriminated, conservationists and developers, users and keepers. This is a great challenge, where different values are represented by different voices, all claiming their own rights and logic.

Adaptive and collaborative management approaches are receiving impetus from traditional cultural values of social solidarity and the social enforcement of local law (*fokonolona, dina*) representing their adaptation into the context of a modern nation state.

What we wish to achieve

APMM is a global movement, working bottom-up at the local, national, regional and global levels. At the national level in Madagascar, APMM has founded Tambohitravo Malagasy (the Malagasy Mountain Peoples), the Malagasy branch of APMM, promoting an enabling environment for democratic principles and system-wide citizen science for good governance and action. This includes joint problem solving among representatives of the civil society, the technology

and science fields and policy makers. Adaptive and collaborative management approaches are receiving impetus from traditional cultural values of social solidarity and the social enforcement of local law (*fokonolona*, *dina*) representing their adaptation into the context of a modern nation state. APMM is also instrumental in catalysing the start-up phase for the Malagasy Mountain Action Plan, including recommendations about how to implement the Madagascar Code of Water. And is diffusing experiences from early successful community initiatives that set up Voluntary Protected Areas— a powerful tool to strengthen and defend the natural heritage and cultural identity of mountain communities.

Communities set up Voluntary Protected Areas—a powerful tool to strengthen and defend the natural heritage and cultural identity of mountain communities.

At the Africa regional scale, APMM collaborates with mountain stakeholders to develop a Mountain Action Plan for Africa, focusing on integrated management of high areas, forest and water catchments as well as mountain agriculture, pastoralism and ecotourism. By scaling up a program geographically and politically, the risk is high that citizen participation may jump a notch down on the involvement scale. Aware of this, APMM motivates the mountain stakeholders to look into the crucial issue of land tenure, including legal rights and responsibilities for natural resource management. Working upwards from a sub-regional vision, the World Mountain Peoples Forum in Quito (September 2002) will finally examine how mountain peoples can organize themselves for their cause to be heard, innovative approaches and resources to be supporting concerted action, new alliances to be forged among global, sub-regional and local groups, and synergy to be achieved among their initiatives.

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Figure 3. Fomba Gasy. *Fomba gasi* means reverence to ancestors and mountain spirits *(courtesy Peter Schachenmann)*

Collaborative management of protected areas in Europe—A learning partnership in the making

Kathryn Furlong and Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend

In Europe, the heart of conservation efforts is the preservation of the integrity of the relationship between people and nature, rather than strict nature protection *per se*. There is, in fact, widespread recognition that resident communities are the creators and maintainers of most landscapes for which preservation is sought. One could even say that, in Europe, conservation is a social experiment in sustainable living and biodiversity is both the foundation and product of normal life. In such conditions, co-management (CM) is an obvious choice.

The fact that most European governments are rather mature democracies can both facilitate and inhibit participatory conservation efforts. Some citizens and groups have experience with participatory democracy, but the majority is accustomed to the complete "delegation" of the care of their concerns to elected officials. In delegated democracy, the elected politicians are assisted by technical experts and only rarely call for the direct opinion of their constituencies on specific issues (e.g., by referendums). In participatory democracy, the citizens are frequently called upon to influence decisions and actions in a direct way, by expressing opinions on specific issues and helping to formulate and support rules, incentives, disincentives and initiatives. It is also rather frequent, and especially so in traditional societies, that participatory decision making is done by consensus. This requires rather long elaboration times but generally delivers decisions that are broadly owned and viewed as legitimate. While the first mode is often deemed more efficient and better suited to national contexts and large-scale decisions, the second mode allows for the full use of local knowledge, skills and resources and fosters compliance with the agreed rules. When the goal is to establish a *sustainable* management system for a protected area or a body of natural resources and to safeguard those from the vagaries of political change, participatory democracy offers the most promise indeed.

Platforms for mutual exchange, communication and negotiation of common initiatives are the core of co-management processes.

Besides sometimes being "over-accustomed to delegated democracy," obstacles to attaining co-management partnerships in Europe originate from within both the quarters of official protected area (PA) management and those of local stakeholders. Some local people see PAs as restrictive to local economic opportunities or as a risk to their culture through rapid changes brought about by excessive tourism. They also see management officers as arrogant, unable to communicate or listen to local concerns and needs. Some management and legislators, on the other hand, see local stakeholders as people interested in their own benefits rather than conservation per se. They find it difficult to relate to residents as partners in conservation, rather than as obstacles to it. All this can engender a lack of mutual trust, a pernicious obstacle for co-management processes.

The COMPAS initiative is planning to develop or strengthen public/ civil society partnerships in at least five protected area sites in Central and Eastern Europe, and to promote a learning partnerships with other sites throughout the

The key to overcoming the aforementioned problems begins with effective organization of interests and concerns, and with the communication and dialogue among the parties. The latter is usually referred to as "social communication" to distinguish it from the often paternalistic and ineffective "environmental education." After that, platforms for mutual exchange, communication and negotiation of common initiatives become the core of co-management processes, and hopefully result in the production of management agreements and pluralist institutions capable of self-correction along the way.

The above is a brief and rather incomplete summary of discussions at a recent workshop entitled *Co-management of protected areas: reviewing evolving concepts, practices, needs and opportunities in Europe* held at the IUCN/WCPA Europe Members Meeting (Austria, June 12-15, 2002). The workshop included 14 presentations on CM experiences from across the continent and a broad discussion of shared needs and concerns.

The Austrian meeting also saw a number of gatherings to discuss a specific project called COMPAS– Collaborative Management of Protected Areas in Central and Eastern Europe. Through the project, five protected areas (PAs) are hoping and expecting to establish or strengthen a co-management (CM) setting for their own site, while contributing to the development of a broader CM culture throughout the region. The project is born out of the concerns and initiative of a team of volunteers from the IUCN's Collaborative Management Working Group (CMWG) and the joint CEESP/WCPA Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA). It is now in an advanced state of completion and investigating funding options.

The aim of the COMPAS initiative is to improve and strengthen conservation in Central and Eastern European countries via co-management processes. In those, new human and institutional capacities will be created and will foster the development of more effective environment policy and action. Concretely, the initiative will develop or strengthen public/ civil society partnerships in at least five PA sites in Central and Eastern Europe[1]. In these sites, CM processes (organizing, negotiating and learning by doing) will be promoted and offered technical assistance to develop their own co-management plans, complementary agreements and multi-party organizations. The sites will be kept in close contact with each other and with other PA sites in Western Europe. They will be involved in sharing advice and support while learning by doing and thereby constitute a Learning Partnership. In time, the COMPAS initiative will yield policy lessons to ensure durable and long-term achievements. Readers who are interested in participating in the COMPAS partnership are welcome to contact the authors of this piece.

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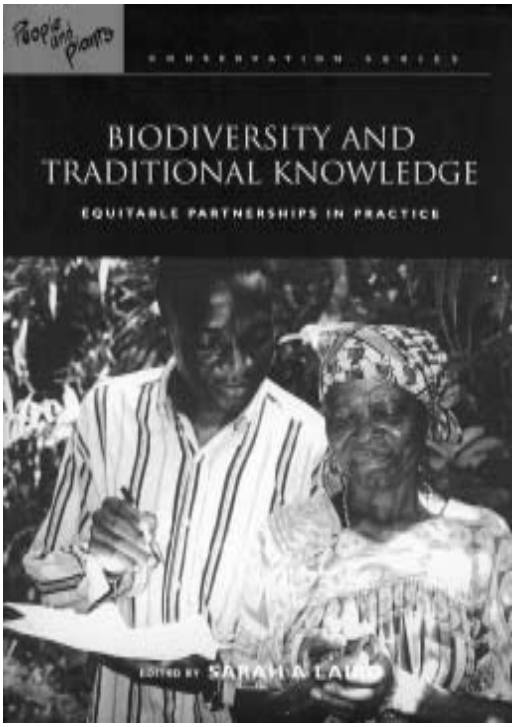
Sharing experiences. A moment in the Austria meeting on co-management of protected areas in Europe, June 2002 *(courtesy Juan Rita Larrucea)*

Biodiversity and Traditional Knowledge— Equitable Partners in Practice

edited by Sarah A. Laird, Earthscan, London 2002

short review by David Pitt



Earthscan can justly claim to be the leading global publisher on environmental sustainability. Their 2002 catalogue (www.earthscan.co.uk) has more than 300 titles of great interest to our network. One title to catch the eye is "Biodiversity and Traditional Knowledge- Equitable Partnerships in Practice" - part of the series "People and Plant Conservation" a joint initiative of WWF, UNESCO and the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew (www.rbgkew.org.uk/peopleplants) which has also titles on ethnobotany, protected areas, green markets etc. The Biodiversity and Traditional Knowledge book has 75 expert contributors, including the late and much lamented Darrell A Posey. The book is divided into five main sections— research relationships (including "giving back", making relevant research available to local groups), research and prospecting in protected areas, community relationships with researchers, commercial use of biodiversity and traditional knowledge, national policy contexts. It also includes valuable recommendations, a comprehensive (28 page) bibliography and a very useful list of contacts (including electronic addresses).

The book is really a manual to the Convention on Biological Diversity, which for the first time has provided an international legal framework for regulating access to genetic resources and promoting the sharing of benefits from commercial and scientific uses. This convention is rather different to most environmental agreements. Very real efforts are being made to move onto action, as seen at the February 2002 meeting in The Hague of the Parties to the Convention. A most useful feature of the book is the itemized advice on how to proceed to action for the stakeholder groups— governments (and the international agencies who represent them), companies, researchers, donors, protected area managers, indigenous people and local communities. There is recognition that this action must avoid misleading stereotypes of ownership, especially the tendency to assume communality. Maurice Mmaduakolam Iwu from Nigeria makes the important point that much valuable traditional knowledge of useful plants is a prized possession of families or individuals even if others have some rights of access. The legal framework needs to recognize these and other individual property rights, which would be a stimulus to more development if not democracy.

Of course any rights must be considered in a globalizing world in the context of trade, or more precisely the TRIPS agreement, (Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) since there is little benefit in owning at home only to be sold down the river under the WTO rules of "free trade" skilfully manipulated by multinational companies or mired in bureaucracy. Here one must complement the Laird compendium with another new excellent Earthscan book—Graham Dutfield, Intellectual Property Rights, Trade and Biodiversity, 2000.

Many are understandably sceptical of the pious hopes and interminable wishful words of international treaties. Many such treaties are top down "educational" exercises rather than laws with teeth. And much grass roots action is limited. Despite all this, as Diana Mitlin has argued in the first issue of a new electronic journal on the Future State (www.idsac.uk/gdr/reviews/review-07), every opportunity must be seized to enhance equity in our very exploitative world. To do this, the conservation movement must find some paths through the impenetrable international legal jungle. This book is a first class guide.

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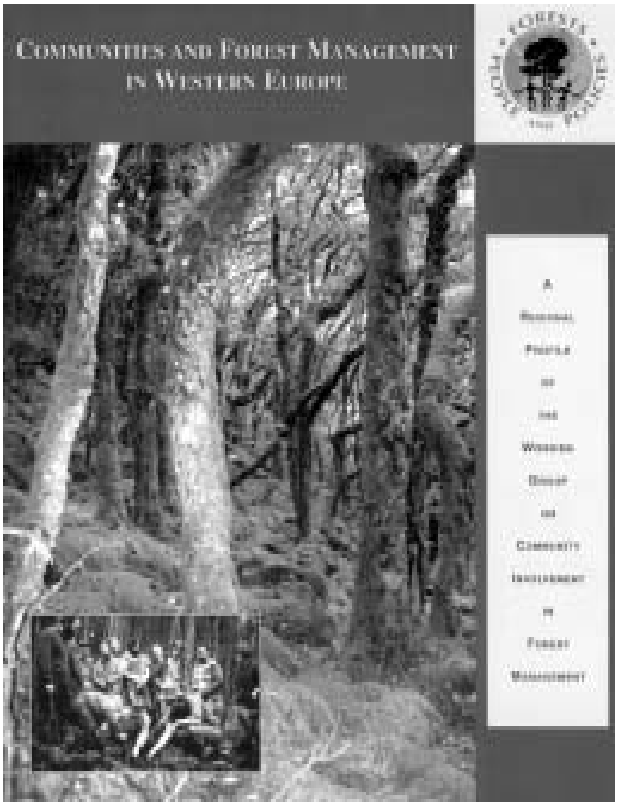
Communities and Forest Management in Western Europe

by Sally Jeanrenaud, IUCN, Gland (Switzerland), 2001

short review by David Kamowitz

In 1111, the Prince Bishop of Trentino granted autonomy to the villagers of the Valley of Fiemme in the Italian Alps. In exchange for the villagers sending him 24 soldiers each year he allowed them to handle their own affairs. Ever since, the Magnifica Comunità, a democratic local institution, has managed the valley's forests and pastures, which belong collectively to its inhabitants. Today, although they stopped sending soldiers a long time ago, the Magnifica Comunità owns its own modern sawmill and other forestry enterprises, and its operations have been certified under Forest Stewardship Council standards.



Of course, not all European forests are like the Valley of Fiemme. Few communally-owned forests remain. Even so, smallholders and communities play a major role in modern European forestry. "Communities and Forest Management in Western Europe," produced by Sally Jeanrenaud for the World Conservation Union (IUCN), documents that.

Twelve million European families own and manage forests, which average only 11 hectares in size. Such family-owned forests account for a large portion of the two-thirds of European forests that are privately-owned. In Finland, 70% of forest production comes from family-owned forests and in southern Sweden families own 80% of forestland. Over the last few decades, these family forests have undergone rapid change. Many owners moved to cities or now earn large portions of their incomes from off-farm activities. Recreational uses of forests have become more important. Still, Europe's relatively equitable ownership of forest resources encourages broad participation in decisions about forests.

Many European small forest owners belong to organizations that provide information, training, and marketing services and represent their interests in policy discussions. Sometimes these associations have their own processing facilities. One association in Sweden, for example, has 33,000 members, who together own 1.7 million hectares of forest and produce ten million cubic meters of timber each year. The association's members also own a wood-processing company that operates six sawmills and several other processing plants. Local governments also own significant forest areas in Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. In France, 11,000 local communes own 2.6 million hectares of forest and in 1995 those forests generated over half of all the income that came from publicly-owned forests. The Federation of French Forest Communes regularly presses national policymakers to take into account local interests.

Jeanrenaud's book also provides many examples where European governments are implementing participatory policy processes that allow greater input from a wide variety of local groups concerned with forests. So there is nothing folkloric about getting the *volk* (common people) involved in forestry. It works in the Valley of Fiemme, in Sweden, and in many other places in Europe. Rather than some archaic remnant of the past, it may well be the model for the future.

To request a free copy of the Jeanrenaud book in pdf format or to send comments to the author, you can write the IUCN Forest Conservation Program at forests@iucn.org. You can also download the report at: http://www.geo.ucl.ac.be/LUCC/ .

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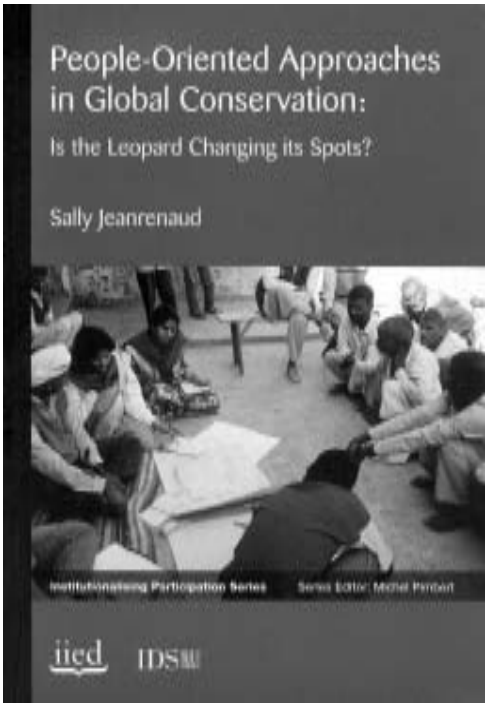
People-oriented Approaches in Global Conservation: Is the Leopard Changing its Spots?

by Sally Jeanrenaud, Institutionalising Participation series, IIED/IDS, London, 2002



short review by Michel Pimbert

Local people were once considered a threat to nature and often removed from protected areas. Today, many international and national conservation organisations promote a wide range of people-oriented conservation approaches. Despite these changes, this insightful contribution suggests that we should be careful before claiming that "participation" and "people centred processes" have been mainstreamed in global conservation programmes. Drawing mainly on case study materials from WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature)— the world's largest independent conservation organisation— the author explores the idea that change is conditioned by complex reflexive relations between dominant conservation narratives, western environmental values, fundraising approaches and organisational structures, which can all work against the "leopard changing its spots". In particular, the questions raised by the author will be of crucial interest to organisations involved in institutionalising participatory natural resource management.

This book is part of the new Institutionalising Participation series, coordinated by the Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods (SARL) Programme at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Participation Group at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). The project examines the dynamics of institutionalising people-centred processes and participatory approaches for natural resource management. The book is available from: EarthPrint Limited, Orders Department, PO Box 119, Stevenage, SG1 4TP, UK. Internet: *www.iied.org/bookshop* Email: *orders@earthprint.co.uk.*

*Michel Pimbert (*Michel.Pimbert@iied.org*) is Principal Associate with the International Institute for Environment and Development (London) and member of the CEESP/ CMWG Steering Committee co-responsible for CM and institutions, policy and advocacy. Sally Jeanrenaud (*s.jeanrenaud@span.ch*) is an independent consultant with key interests and concerns in community forestry and a member of the CEESP/ CMWG and CEESP/ SLWG.*

Special Issue of *Parks* on Local Communities and Protected Areas

edited by Jessica Brown, Ashish Kothari and Manju Menon, IUCN, 2002 (forthcoming)

short presentation by Jessica Brown

Community protection. In Jardhar (India) the community has achieved the full regenerating of its local forest.

An upcoming issue of the journal PARKS focuses on the theme of indigenous and local communities and protected areas. The issue is a project of the joint WCPA/CEESP Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas (TILCEPA). The aim of the issue is to showcase the different roles that local communities are playing in protected areas, to highlight some emerging issues and challenges, and to

advance the debate on the state of community involvement in conservation. Among the articles in this issue of PARKS are: "Beyond Community Involvement: Lessons from the Insular Caribbean" by Tighe Geoghegan and Yves Renard; "Do Rural People Really Benefit from Protected Areas - Rhetoric or Reality?" by Edmund Barrow and Christo Fabricius; and "Innovative Governance of Fisheries and Eco-tourism in Community-based Protected Areas" by Janet Chernala, Ali Ahmad, Fazlun Khalid, Viv Sinnamon and Hanna Jaireth. A piece by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, "Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas: Rethinking the Relationship" brings together interviews with Tariq Banuri, Taghi Farvar, Kenton Miller, and Adrian Phillips and explores different governance types for protected areas, including community governance, in perfect compatibility with the existing IUCN protected area category system. The "governance dimension" in protected areas promises to be an innovative, major topic at the next World Park Congress in Durban (September 2003). This issue of PARKS is due out in the late summer of 2002 and will be received for free by WCPA members. Additional copies can be ordered from Natalia Wase at natalia@naturebureau.co.uk.

*Jessica Brown (*jbrown@qlf.org*) is Vice President of International Programs at the QLF/Atlantic Center for the Environmentand. Ashish Kothari (*ashish@nda.vsnl.net.in*) is the Coordinator of the Technical and Policy Core Group of the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan of India and associated with the NGO Kalpavriksh. Jessica and*

Hannu Biyu Ke Tchuda Juna—Strength in Unity

by Gill and Kees Vogt

&

From Conflict to Consensus

by Matthias Banzhaf, Boureima Drabo and Hermann Grell, Securing the Commons Series, IIED and SOS Sahel, Nottingham (UK), 2000.

short review by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend

The Securing the Commons Series has produced a number of titles in English and French, of great interest to professionals concerned with co-management of natural resources in the Sahelian region. Among those, the two booklets under review trace the emergence of a co-management platform in the vast pastoral resources of Kishi Beiga (Oudalan province, Burkina Faso) and in the Takietà Forest Reserve (department of Zinder, Niger). The sites have in common the harsh climatic and environmental conditions of the sub-Saharan region as well as the richness and complexity of Sahelian society, with different ethnic groups living side by side in complementary but also conflict-prone ways. Local conflicts, in fact, have been fuelled in the region by all sorts of agents— from outside interventions of colonial or state powers to the severe droughts of the last decades.

From Conflict to Consensus deals with such conflicts in great detail and sets into an historical context a project aiming at developing a management partnership for the pastoral resources essential to the livelihoods of the Kishi Biega region. The project's willingness to take into account the historical, social and cultural complexities of the region, together with the choice of good entry points, competent project personnel and a lively action research spirit maintained throughout its life, succeeded in developing a most unlikely and

effective social consensus among pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, former slaves and former masters, local people and transhumant herders.

Hannu Biyu Ke Tchuda Juna offers more in depth information on the process by which a project developed a co-management setting for a very important set of sylvo-pastoral resources utilised by several villages and nomadic groups (and under the official administration of several cantonal authorities). Through a series of facilitated meetings, a pluralist Local Management Structure was first created, and then accompanied to develop and agree upon several relevant by-laws. The text is full of illuminating details on the overall process and its outcomes.

Both booklets are clear, informative and capturing for anyone concerned about ways to achieve more equitable and effective management settings for the natural resources essential for human livelihoods.

The booklets are downloadable at *www.iied.org/drylands/pubs.html* and free hard copies in English or French can be requested from *drylands@iied.org*. More information can also be found from: *http://www.iied.org/bookshop/sd_stc.html* .

Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend (gbf@cenesta.org*) is the Chair of CEESP/ CMWG. The authors of the booklets are professionals with long experience with co-management settings in Africa.*

Customs and Conservation: Traditional and Modern Law in Arunachal Pradesh, India and Annapurna, Nepal

by Ruchi Pant, Kalpavriksh, Pune (India), 2002

presented by Ruchi Pant

The views and opinion put forth in the book were generated by the author over seven years of work in the Eastern Himalayan region, both in India and Nepal. She brings the attention of the reader to the existence of legally pluralist societies, governed by a large matrix of— statutory, customary, moral and religious— laws. These societies may be considered "semi-autonomous" as they often govern themselves through their own rules and regulations. They are, however, also subject to the laws made by the state and the central law making bodies. This mix of customary and statutory laws creates complex situations and problems, especially as statutory laws are not often in harmony with local ethos and cultures.

The author highlights such complexities and problems with the help of two case studies. The first is on the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) in Nepal, a popular trekking destination and a protected area since 1992, managed by a NGO and several community based conservation committees as per rules framed by these committees. The other case study relates to Arunachal Pradesh, one of the largest states of North-east India. This is predominantly a tribal area with the forest resources under community management, governed largely by indigenous practices and customary laws. Both the regions are biologically rich areas and the

latter, part of the Eastern Himalayan belt, is a global hotspot for biodiversity.

The author analyses several conservation-related statutory laws and compares those with customary and community framed rules in natural resource management. Besides laws, the book also examines and compares individual judgments made by the formal judiciary and by the traditional and community institutions. Strengths and weaknesses of both traditional and modern institutions are discussed and the book offers some suggestions to bridge the gap between statutory provisions and regulations framed by the community to conserve their biological resources.

This book is one of a series of monographs produced in the South Asian Regional Review of Community Involvement in Conservation, coordinated by members of the Indian NGO Kalpavriksh and sponsored by IIED, London.

Books on Community Based Conservation

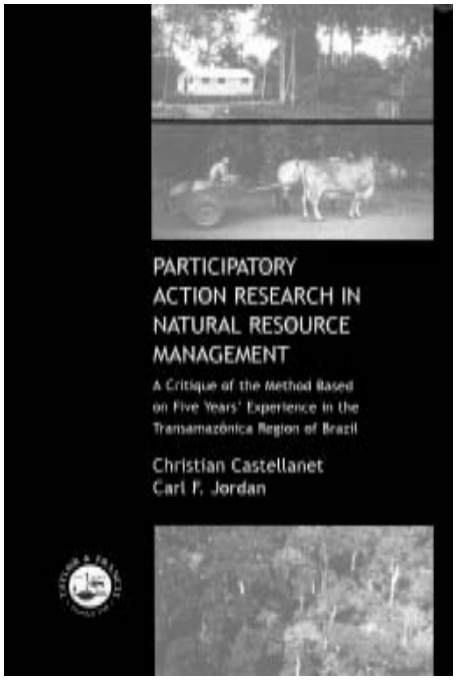
Customs and Conservation is one of a series of 10 publications produced by Kalpavriksh on community-based conservation and natural resource management, in particular related to South Asia. Details of these books can be found at *http://cenesta.org/ceesp/publications/publications.htm#CMWG.* The full set is available at a discounted price of US$55 (postage extra). For orders please contact Swati Arjunwadkar, Kalpavriksh, at *kvriksh@pn3.vsnl.net.in.*

Participatory Action Research in Natural Resource Management—
A Critique of the Method Based on Five Years' Experience in the Transamazônica Region of Brazil
by Christian Castellanet et Carl F. Jordan, Taylor and Francis, New York, 2002

par Philippe Lavigne Delville

Cet ouvrage restitue et analyse une expérience de recherche action participative (participatory action research— PAR) sur la gestion des ressources naturelles en Amazonie brésilienne, menée en partenariat entre une petite équipe de recherche et une organisation paysanne, avec l'appui du GRET, Ong française. Au sein d'une large littérature sur les approches participatives, il présente plusieurs intérêts majeurs, et devrait être lu largement, par tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la recherche-action, aux démarches participatives et aux questions de la déforestation tropicale. Tout d'abord, notons qu'il témoigne d'une démarche rare d'auto-analyse critique qui, loin d'idéaliser les choses et de présenter la RAP comme une panacée, restitue avec honnêteté les hypothèses, les échecs, en même temps que les réussites ; et explicite en détail le processus de travail et les modalités de mise en œuvre de cette ambition de participation.

L'expérience elle-même repose sur des bases originales par rapport aux postulats populistes et communautaristes qui obscurcissent trop souvent les analyses sur la participation : un partenariat effectif avec une organisation paysanne, avec ce que cela implique de négociation et de prise en compte des logiques institutionnelles propres aux différents acteurs ; un souci de concevoir des solutions durables avec les producteurs qui amène à partir des aspirations des producteurs pour atteindre des objectifs environnementaux et à conjuguer travail sur les innovations techniques au niveau des exploitations (pour permettre une agriculture fixée aussi productive que les stratégies actuelles de front pionnier) et travail sur la



gestion des ressources forestières ; une approche qui, partant des intérêts contradictoires des différents acteurs en présence, couple recherche-action participative et méthodes de médiation/ résolution de conflits.

Une telle approche a permis d'obtenir des résultats originaux, tant en termes de compréhension des dynamiques à l'œuvre qu'en termes de propositions. Elle permet aussi des apports originaux et fondamentaux, sur les relations entre producteurs, organisation paysanne et chercheurs dans une démarche de recherche-action, et la façon de gérer les contradictions entre leurs logiques propres ; sur l'intérêt et les limites des approches de « plates-formes de négociations » dans des contextes marqués par de profondes asymétries sociales et une culture de la violence ; sur la façon de mobiliser les institutions publiques pour stabiliser des arrangements institutionnels nouveaux. Une contribution significative à la construction de la recherche-action participative comme mode de production de connaissance et outil de changement.

Maitland Watershed Partnerships

Interactive CD, 2002

short presentation by Phil Beard

The Maitland Watershed Partnerships is an innovative planning model for watershed management. It provides an opportunity for organizations— including community groups, government agencies and local businesses— to research, plan and carry out initiatives that effect positive change in their watershed. The premise behind the project is that the pooling of local resources and knowledge is a more effective response to watershed management than the traditional model where individual organizations focus mainly on their own area of interest.

The Maitland watershed is predominantly rural, with a low population base and a large geographical area. This fact, combined with years of cutbacks has reduced the capacity of many organizations to plan and deliver programs. Watershed health has suffered as a result. The Maitland Watershed Partnerships seeks to address this situation by providing an opportunity for the sharing of information and expertise and by providing financial and technical support. This allows organizations to work together to develop long term, meaningful solutions that have input from a broad range of related disciplines.

The project uses a collaborative process to identify issues and directions, develop strategies and implement

solutions. Decisions are made by consensus and respect for the opinion of others underlies all discussion and decision-making. The power of this collaborative process is the ownership and commitment that evolves through sharing of information, exploring alternatives and agreeing on solutions.

This project can be used as a model for watershed planning. To assist others interested in this planning model, a CD has been prepared that documents the process, looks at the lessons learned and makes recommendations for future efforts. The MWP partners have learned how to work together effectively, how to communicate with their community and how to focus the efforts of many for the benefit of all. The Ontario Professional Planners Institute has awarded the Maitland Watershed Partnerships an Excellence in Planning Award in the New Directions/ Research category for 2002.

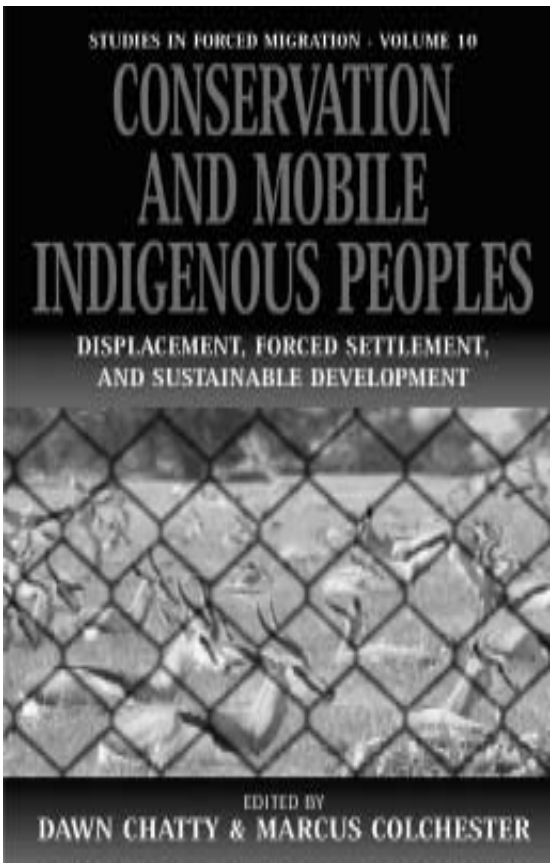
Copies of the CD are available by contacting Erica Wright at Maitland Valley Conservation Authority (maitland@mvca.on.ca).

*Phil Beard (*pbeard@mvca.on.ca*) is the General Manager of the Maitland Valley Conservation Authority*

Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples

edited by D. Chatty and M. Colchester, Berghahn Books, Oxford (UK), 2002 (forthcoming)

short presentation by David Towsey



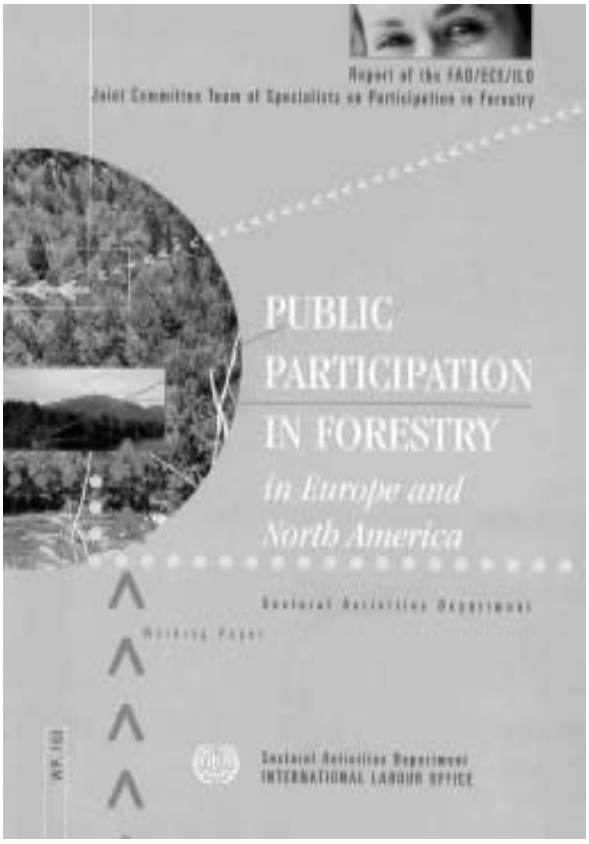
Wildlife conservation and other environmental protection projects can have tremendous impact on the lives and livelihoods of the often mobile, difficult-to-reach, and marginal peoples who inhabit the same territory. The contributors to this collection of case studies— social scientists as well as natural scientists— are concerned with this human element in biodiversity. They examine the interface between conservation and indigenous communities forced to move or to settle elsewhere in order to accommodate environmental policies and biodiversity concerns. The case studies investigate successful and not so successful community-managed, as well as local participatory conservation projects in Africa, the Middle East, South and South Eastern Asia, Australia and Latin America. There are lessons to be learned from recent efforts in community-managed conservation and this volume significantly contributes to that discussion.

Dawn Chatty (dawn.chatty@queen-elizabeth-house.oxford.ac.uk)— General Editor of Studies in Forced Migration and Deputy Director of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford— is a CEESP/ WGSL member. Marcus Colchester is Director of the Forest Peoples Programme and a member of CEESP/ CMWG.

Public Participation in Forestry in Europe and North America—— Report of the FAO/ ECE/ ILO Joint Committee Team of Specialists on Participation in Forestry

International Labour Organisation (ILO), Working Paper 163, 2000

short review by Sally Jeanrenaud



At the Third Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe, held in Lisbon in 1998, the ministers responsible for forests signed resolution L1 "People, Forests and Forestry– Enhancement of Socio-economic Aspects of Sustainable Forest Management", which recommended to increase knowledge on "public participation", an increasingly important element in forest policy. An FAO/ECE/ILO team composed of 23 specialists from across Europe and North America– forest managers, researchers, practitioners, policy, private forestry and non-governmental organisation advisors— took on the task of clarifying the meaning and elements of "participation". The meetings were expertly facilitated and, while differences were not buried, a high degree of mutual understanding and respect managed to be achieved. Public participation was defined as "*a voluntary process whereby people, individually or through organised groups, can exchange information, express opinions and articulate interests, and have the potential to influence decisions or the outcome of the matter at hand*."

The resulting report examines why public participation has become an issue in Europe and the USA. It outlines characteristics, purposes, benefits, limits, challenges, levels and degrees of participation and offer ideas on "how to do it". Case studies are drawn from Belgium (Flanders), Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (Scotland) and the United States of America. The report is of particular interest to those who wish to learn more about the role of participatory processes in different forestry contexts in the North: public forest management; private forest ownership; community-based forest management; countries in transition; urbanised society and participation of workers and unions in forestry. This is one of the first times these experiences have been reported in the international literature.

An interesting question for me is to what extent public participatory processes constitute a double-edged sword. Compared to earlier planning approaches they clearly provide more opportunities for stakeholders to voice their interests and to win possibilities of influencing future forest policy and practice. But participatory processes can also become the means of exercising or extending dominant power relations, or technocratic control. Images of providing a 'platform' or 'level playing field' for negotiating social interests can be misleading. Public participatory processes can in fact reproduce deeply incised and unequal landscapes of power, in which skilled actors strategically manoeuvre themselves to the high ground. This word of critical reflection, however, does not imply that participatory processes are not worth pursuing, nor trying to improve…

This book is available on line at *www.unece.org/ trade/timber/joint-committee/participation/report.pdf*

*Sally Jeanrenaud (*s.jeanrenaud@span.ch*) is an independent consultant with key interests and concerns in community forestry. She is a member of the CEESP/ CMWG and of CEESP/ WGSL. Another member of CEESP/ CMWG—Andrea Finger*

World Summit on Sustainable Development

RING Statement

AUGUST 2002

The RING alliance of policy research organisations

For those who take sustainable development seriously, the period since the 1992 Rio Earth Summit has proved disappointing; dashed hopes, failed promises, and missed opportunities outweigh the achievements by far. Even accounting for the naive optimism invested in the Rio process and outputs, the track record since then has been dismal: governments have refused to invest the new resources that had been promised or implied; civil society continues to feel distant from the locus of global decision making, in spite of the fact that it has grown in size and achieved many successes at the local level. The hopes that sustainable development would build new bridges between North and South or between governments and civil society remain largely unrealised. The much-celebrated Rio compact – the supposed understanding between South and North that environment and development needs to be dealt with as an integrated set of concerns within the context of current and future social justice and equity – lies bruised and neglected.

We, the members of RING – a global consortium of policy NGOs dedicated to sustainable development – are concerned that the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg will become yet another venue for rehearsing routine admonishments. Sustainable development was originally deemed powerful – even threatening – because it suggested the possibility of change in the status quo. Today, increasingly divorced from its initial action orientation, sustainable development is on the verge of becoming ineffectual. Yet there is no way forward without it.

Not only is the legacy of Rio under threat but so too is the very future of sustainable development as a viable ideal. The challenge before WSSD is to reorient sustainable development back to its original course. The WSSD needs to recuperate the original vision: an orientation towards participatory action; the protection of environmental life-support systems; the maintenance of the diversity of life, a priority for the poor; a commitment to social justice and human security; and a respect for human dignity.

While there have been advances in certain areas since Rio, issues that lie at the critical conjunction of poverty and the environment have received only marginal attention. Johannesburg must be judged by the extent to which the policies and actions flowing from it are rooted in the interests of the poorest and most vulnerable. On the basis of our experiences over the last ten years, and our aspirations for the next ten, we offer the following key themes as a means to advance a meaningful sustainable development agenda at Johannesburg and beyond.

ACTS

BCAS

Cenesta
Centre for Sustainable Development

CIPMA

Development Alternatives (India)

Environnement et Developpement du Tiers Monde (ENDA–TM, Senegal)

iied
International Institute for Environment and Development

IIED
Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo IIED – América Latina

ZERO
REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT ORGANISATION

SEI STOCKHOLM ENVIRONMENT INSTITUTE

Vitae Civilis

SDPI

NEST

IISD
International Institute for Sustainable Development
Institut International du Développement Durable

WHAT JOHANNESBURG MUST RE-AFFIRM?

- There is no way forward but sustainable development. Johannesburg must reorient ongoing global discussions back towards sustainable development, with clear investments in participatory action, a commitment to social justice, and a priority for the concerns of the most marginalised.
- There is no need for new institutions for global environmental governance. There *is* an urgency to strengthen existing arrangements – for example, giving UNEP the resources and authority it needs, making GEF more democratic, and uncluttering MEA-proliferation. Most importantly, investments need to be made in enhancing the capacities, space and support for meaningful civil society participation in global environmental governance.
- Sustainable development is not just an environmental demand; it is a developmental necessity. Sustainable development must, therefore, be a central goal of the global trade regime. WSSD must push for this reality to be incorporated into the new Doha Round of the WTO.
- WSSD should initiate discussions on a post-Kyoto climate regime – one that focuses on the needs of the most impoverished and most vulnerable; one that invests in the resilience capacities of the most threatened countries; one that mandates meaningful and real emission reductions; and one that is rooted in a framework of equity and fairness within and between generations.
- WSSD should adopt a global public goods approach to financing for sustainable development. International assistance is not charity; it should be based on a clear understanding that the global ecological services provided by the poor need to be compensated. All institutions – from multilateral development financiers to national and local recipients – must be made transparent and held accountable. Governments, North and South, must be pushed to fulfil the promises they made at Rio.
- Sustainable development policy should facilitate local communities through a process of empowerment in their quest for sustainable livelihoods; top-down programmes and projects must be replaced by an approach that seeks to learn from and support local, culture-based, responses to problems and opportunities. In addition, one of the most pressing issues for sustainable development is to develop strong and accountable local institutions in order to ensure that local needs and priorities are met.

Global environmental governance

The debate on global environmental governance – with its dominant focus on establishing a super-organisation for the environment – represents a serious misdiagnosis of the issues and distracts from more pressing ones. This is not to suggest that there is no 'crisis' of global environmental governance; indeed, there is. However, the discourse on organisational tinkering only diverts attention from the more important challenges of environmental governance that we face as the Rio compact crumbles around us.

To place the spotlight on organisational minutia is to imply that the 'institutional will' for global environmental cooperation already exists and all that remains is to set up an appropriate organisational framework; that global cooperation is a function of inappropriate design, rather than a reflection of a fundamental absence of willingness on the part of states; that the lack of implementation stems from dispersed organisations, rather than from the failure of the countries to own their responsibilities; that improved global environmental governance is a puzzle of administrative efficiency, rather than a challenge of global justice.

This challenge needs to be addressed at four related levels. First, the goal needs to be defined honestly and stated clearly. If the realisation of sustainable development is that goal – as we believe it must be – then institutional investments, implementation designs, and evaluation metrics must reflect this orientation. Second, the principal institution for global environmental governance (UNEP) should be given the resources and authority to match the responsibilities that have been thrust upon it. Third, the multilateral environmental agenda needs to be uncluttered by managing the drift towards MEA-proliferation and its attendant pathologies of 'negotiation fatigue'. A clustering of treaties has begun to emerge organically; it may be timely to convert this into a deliberate schema. Finally, and most importantly, global environmental governance needs to be 'civilised' by providing space and opportunities for meaningful involvement of civil society. Civil society is not just a stakeholder in, but can be a motor of, global environmental governance. Indeed civil society networks and civic entrepreneurs have been and will remain principal drivers of MEA implementation.

Trade and sustainable development

The centrepiece of the Rio bargain emerged directly from the passionate belief in market mechanisms that prevailed in the 1990s – aid is a perpetuation of colonial dependency; the real solution is for developing countries to 'grow their way out of poverty' through better market access. The Uruguay Round, by then well advanced, seemed to offer a way to put the idea to practice. Ten years later, and at the outset of a new trade round, we are all older and wiser.

The Uruguay Round agreements were aggressively sold as good for all countries – a rising tide floats all boats. Admittedly, it would be better for the richer countries, but all would benefit. In retrospect, the benefits of this cycle of trade liberalisation for most developing countries have proved meagre, while the costs have often been high. Concessions were scant in the industries where the

developing countries have the comparative advantage – agriculture, leather goods, textiles – but were secured at the price of considerable advantages to the rich countries in areas such as intellectual property protection or services. In reality, the rising tide floats all yachts, but some of the smaller boats – still anchored to poverty – go under.

With the Doha round discussions now underway, there is another opportunity to use the trading system to advance sustainable development. This will require developing countries to identify and articulate where their sustainable development interests lie in the context of trade and adopt a positive agenda. It will require the environmental community to come together to agree how they can effectively feed sustainable development into the entire WTO work programme. It will require a merging of the environment and development agendas, and an understanding that sustainable development will not be advanced in the trade regime through technical fixes, but by swinging the WTO tanker slowly and patiently around so that its considerable power and energy pushes it in the direction of a form of economic development that not only creates wealth, but begins to close the gap between rich and poor, promotes social equity, and the sustainable use of environmental resources.

Climate change and sustainable development

Although the Kyoto Protocol still remains clouded in uncertainty, some headway has been made towards its eventual ratification, although in a diluted form. Until now, the policy discourse has effectively ignored and paid lip service to the deep links between climate change and sustainable development. This conscious neglect will not only undermine global efforts towards sustainable development but could ultimately threaten the effectiveness and legitimacy of the global climate regime.

One of the original 'Rio documents', the Climate Convention had raised the hopes that the climate challenge would be viewed within the framework of sustainable development, with due focus on the poor who are most vulnerable to climate change and least able to adapt to its ravages. It has done neither. Today, climate policy is being held hostage by the world's biggest polluter, has degenerated into an exercise in accounting for hot air, and the fascination with 'market mechanisms' is leading to a perverse situation where rewards accrue to the biggest emitters and risks are dumped on the most vulnerable.

Rio's intent was articulated explicitly in the Convention, which called for an emissions reduction so that countries could pursue sustainable development. It was clear that meaningful and real reductions were needed from the largest emitters while developing countries were called upon to not repeat the mistakes of the industrialised world. The meagreness of the original Kyoto targets and their subsequent dilution – first by the US refusal to join the regime and later by the increased prominence given to trading-based flexibility mechanisms – has meant that key human and environmental implications have been marginalised. Issues of poverty abatement, equity, vulnerability and resilience, and capacity building have been left on the sidelines as the Convention is progressively reduced into a regime on carbon trade rather than on emissions abatement. It is time to reorient the Climate Convention back to its original sustainable development moorings – by refocusing attention on the most impoverished countries and communities, by raising concerns about adaptation capacity in vulnerable countries, and by highlighting the necessity to root the regime within a framework of equity and fairness that treats the atmosphere as a global commons rather than as a polluter's haven.

Financing for sustainable development

Sustainable development is a difficult goal to begin with. Without adequate financing it will remain elusive as well. Although financing has consistently been the highest Southern priority in international negotiations, the trends since 1992 have been dismal. In less than a decade, the hopes, trust and confidence built during the Rio process have dissipated. In place of a peace dividend, there is the threat of war; instead of the visions of uniform and broad-based growth there is the experience of unequal and unstable development; in place of faith in inter-governmental agreements there is growing cynicism and despair.

Our approach to this issue starts with the need to take globalisation seriously. This means recognising the interdependencies and connections between countries and peoples. It means imagining the entire world as a single country. While this is not a country in the traditional sense – especially since it does not have a single government – it is not much different from many developing countries, which also comprise many ethnicities and nations, and where also the writ of the central government often does not run far beyond the capital city. It means asking how the agenda of *global* sustainable development can be furthered – not how resources can be transferred from one country to another, but how resources can be mobilised for the equitable development of the entire planet.

This places the focus squarely on the question of responsibility. What is the responsibility of the governments and taxpayers of rich countries to the people of poor countries? What is the responsibility of international financial institutions? What is the responsibility of the recipients of development resources? In the absence of a clearly stated understanding of responsibility, foreign aid will either be viewed as a form of charity, to obtain which poor countries have to degrade themselves; or it will become an instrument of domination and imperial control. Difficult as these questions of responsibility are, the WSSD process can no longer afford to ignore or bypass them.

Sustainable livelihoods and good governance for local communities

A critical measure of sustainable development is the abundance of varied, productive, enjoyable, secure, and environment-friendly livelihoods for communities and people. Centuries of experience in traditional systems of natural resource management and even contemporary experiences with local communities show that sustainable livelihoods are achievable. In fact, it is not poverty *per se* but the pressure of alienation from local natural resources and lifestyles that results in

depletion of resources and miserable livelihoods. Traditional livelihood systems everywhere are being driven down into social and ecological chaos. Local communities are often bypassed. Yet we know from well before Rio that the most potent and powerful examples of real sustainable development come when we are able to recognise and respect the true wealth of communities and people – their indigenous knowledge in managing the natural resources around them, and ultimately their own livelihoods.

Sustainable livelihoods are patterns of local ingenious responses to local problems and opportunities. These need to be developed and mustered by local communities themselves. Sustainable livelihoods cannot be planned, commanded, or controlled from the top. But they can, and must, be supported and strengthened. The most meaningful role of governments and NGOs is to create an environment of support and facilitation in which local communities can themselves go through a process of empowerment in their quest for sustainable livelihoods.

Another critical measure of sustainable development is the quality and effectiveness of local governance. This implies ensuring: 'the rule of law' through which the rights and entitlements of all groups are protected; everyone's needs are met for water, sanitation, drainage, health care, schools, transport, emergency services; local government institutions provide the framework within which provision is guaranteed, standards ensured and prices controlled; robust, effective and accountable democratic processes; enterprises do not contravene environmental regulations or health and safety standards.

One of the most pressing issues for sustainable development is to develop the web of accountable local institutions that ensure progress towards meeting sustainable development goals in each locality. Without such institutions, new projects or investments are profoundly undemocratic. How are national governments and international agencies going to meet their 'global' responsibilities without effective, democratic local institutions as partners? ●

About the RING

The Ring is a global alliance of research and policy organisations that seeks to enhance and promote sustainable development through a programme of collaborative research, dissemination and policy advocacy. It was formed in 1991 to stimulate preparations for the 1992 Rio Summit. There are currently 14 Ring member organisations based in 5 continents.

- The **VISION** of the Ring is to promote and develop collaborative working in support of sustainable development through:
  - — Linking grassroots communities and policy makers.
  - — Linking civil society and research agendas.
  - — Sharing and disseminating knowledge and experience between the North and South, and between regions.
- The **ADDED VALUE** of the Ring is gained from joint research and information sharing and lesson learning between Ring partners. This gives the Ring a unique inter-regional and regional perspective on major sustainable development issues.
- The **OBJECTIVE** of the Ring is to ensure that international sustainable development policy making and institutions are informed and influenced by local realities, and hence are supportive and enabling of local action.

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CEESP is a close partner of the **The RING,** a global alliance of research and policy organisations that seeks to enhance and promote sustainable development through a programme of collaborative research, dissemination and policy advocacy. The RING was formed during the preparations for the 1992 Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro). There are currently 14 Ring member organizations based in 5 continents. (Contact: Vivian Davies vivian.davies@iied.org)

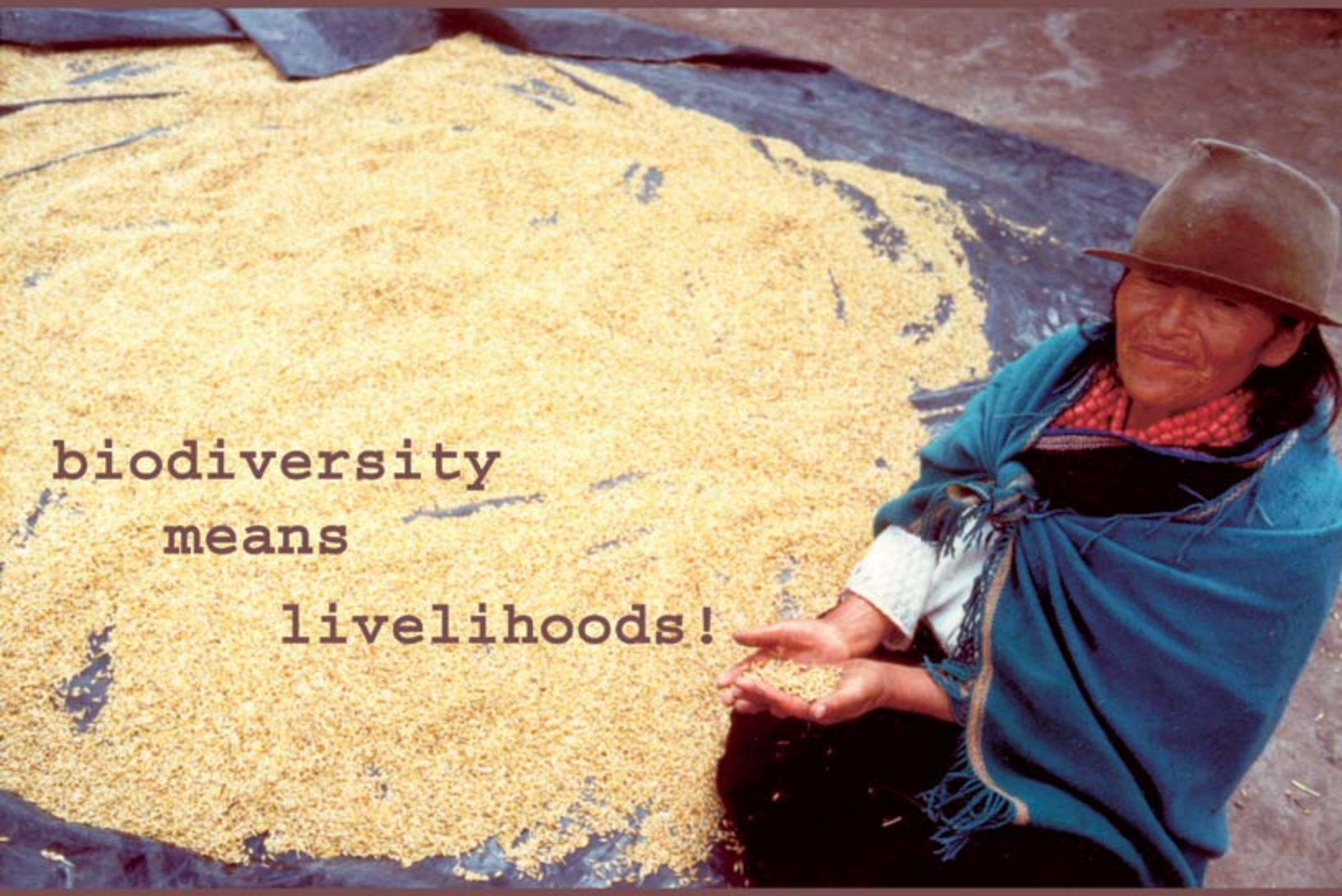
WSSD Parallel Events with major involvement of IUCN/CEESP

SATURDAY	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
24 August	**25 August**	**26 August**	**27 August**	**28 August**	**29 August**	**30 August**
CEESP/WGSL: Careless Technology workshop	**CEESP/ WGSL: Careless Technology workshop** - **CEESP/ GETI: Workshop on trade and intellectual property**	**- THEME: Globalisation with Equity** **Organised by CEESP/GETI includes a multitude of events**	- THEME: Imagining Feasible Futures - **CEESP/WGSL Careless Technology Revisited: Launch (11:00-12:30)**	- THEME: Biodiversity and Poverty - **CEESP/ WGSL: Local Voices, Global Choices (15:00-18:00)**	THEME: Africa Day - **CEESP/ CMWG informal meeting 09:00-10:30** - **CEESP Steering Committee Meeting 13:00-19:30.**	THEME: Digital Opportunities: **- CEESP Steering Committee Meeting 9:00 - 12:30.**
31 August	**1 September**	**2 September**	**3 September**	**4 September**	**5 September**	**6 September**
THEME: Business Day	THEME: Water Day	THEME: Parks Day **- CEESP/TILCEPA meeting to prepare Durban workshop of end Oct 2002 09:00- 12:30**	**THEME: Human Security and Environment** **organised by CEESP/ ESWG**	THEME: Commitments and Partnerships		

IUCN Environment Centre	Headquarters of Nedcor Bank Limited on 135 Rivonia Road, Sandton.	http://www.iucn.org/wssd/index.htm

CEESP acronyms: CMWG – Collaborative Management Working Group / WGSL –Working Group on Sustainable Livelihood / GETI – Working Group on Environment, Trade and Investments / ESWG – Environment and Security Working Group / TILCEPA – Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities and Protected Areas (a joint theme with the World Commission on Protected Areas)

Sustainable livelihoods- the solution to the problem of poverty?



How are local communities practicing biodiversity-based livelihoods?
Can these provide lasting solutions to problems of poverty?
What lessons can be drawn for policy?

IIIC- Innovation, Integration, Information, Communication:
IIIC is a new fund of IUCN that fosters enquiry into significant new directions in conservation.
The first IIIC initiative has been awarded to a partnereship spearheaded by FCP & CEESP to investigate the above.

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A RED LIST OF THREATENED CULTURES...

The five main extinctions of species in geological history occurred in response to catastrophic events. A sixth episode of species extinction is one of our own making, largely a product of unconstrained technology and destructive economic activities. Today, the extinction rate of birds and mammals is a hundred times greater than the "background level"–and for the tropics it may even be a thousand times greater. This is an appalling crisis. But at least it is a recognized crisis, and institutions all over the world are attempting to address it.

Courtesy Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend

An equally tragic crisis is currently underway but much less known and heralded, let alone effectively addressed. In 1900, there were more than 7000 distinct ethnic groups in the world. A century later, there are only about 5000. The disappearance (ethnocide?) of more than 2,000 ethnic groups in just a hundred years is an unprecedented tragedy in human history. Today, under the impulse of globalisation, this tendency is accelerating. And yet, very few people and organizations seem to be aware and concerned.

Cultural and biological diversity are deeply enmeshed within their peculiar ecosystems and habitats. Indigenous and traditional natural resource management systems are living treasure chests of knowledge, skills and institutions for the management of biodiversity. Indeed, the erosion of biodiversity and the disappearance of distinct ethnic groups are closely related.

Several members of CEESP have joined forces to work on an initiative tentatively called "Red List of Endangered Cultures" and are discussing the problems faced by vulnerable ethnic populations—including issues of cultural adaptation and integrity— and their relationship to environmental change and the concurrent loss of biodiversity. The elaboration of a Red List (and *Red Book*) of Endangered Cultures, akin to the Red List of Endangered Species is being considered to render this crisis better known and recognized.

Interested IUCN and CEESP members and partners please contact Jeff Gritzner (jag@selway.umt.edu) and Taghi Farvar (taghi@enesta.org).