Integrating Conflict Management into Community Forestry: Experience from West and Central Africa[1]

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Introduction

Conflicts over natural resource use and management are one of the more critical issues in developing countries. The Sahelian region in particular will increasingly be facing this issue to make sustainable development possible. Changes occurring in economic and socio-political spheres, originating from internal dynamics (rapid population growth, unwise development policies, extensive environmental degradation, corruption, etc.) as well as external ones (structural adjustment, liberalization and globalization of economy leading to growing inequity, devaluation, etc.), are indeed triggering conflicts.

These changes are also witnessed in forestry (and more generally with respect to natural resources) as approaches shift from more state-oriented plans and activities, in which populations were regarded more as workers or employees (e.g. the food for work system) rather than as partners or stakeholders, to more community-based conceptions.

Participatory approaches have generated the concept of community forestry. However, in making forestry programmes more participatory through community forestry, there has been a shift at the same time in conflict from state-community level to a more intra- and inter-community level.

The changes described in forestry are not an isolated phenomenon: they intervene within a more general context of institutional mutations whose objectives have to be well understood to better understand the link between community forestry (and more broadly, forest policy) and conflicts, and to design management methods and tools.

1. These are speaking notes prepared for a presentation made at the Satellite Meeting.

The context is decentralization/regionalization[2], which is a currently taking place in many Sub-Saharan countries, particularly in the Sahelian region.

Two sets of questions come in mind when talking about resources, conflicts and decentralization:

- What are the veritable stakes of conflicts that decentralization tries to address?
- What motivated decentralization and how could it impact on forest resources and conflict management?

Conflicts over Forest Resources: A Result of Overlapped Interests and Stakes

Conflicts over natural resources are often a specific step in a longer process of embedded stakes, relationships and tensions between and/or among groups at a local, national or international level. To better address not only the symptom but the real underlying causes of conflicts, stakes that feed these conflicts and that are economic, social, political and environmental have to be well identified.

Decentralization policy, which is a tentative response to lack of responsibility at the community level, and tensions and conflicts that undermine the chances for local development, will be evaluated in relation to the responses it is possible to give to each of the different categories of conflict stakes: economic, environmental and socio-political.

Economic stake

How to deal with the growing value of natural resources due to devaluation (for example) and the conflicts this generates between the more structured and powerful economic groups or networks located, in general, in the cities and how to get access to the resources by the state and local communities, which get almost no returns from the exploitation of the resources and suffer from resource scarcity, which increases competition and, of course, conflicts among them. This is the case in Cameroon where there is an upsurge of conflicts between populations and the various logging companies; in the Logone foodplain between

2. Since the end of January 1997, Senegal has been experiencing regionalization, which is a deepening of the decentralization initiated in 1972.

different ethnic groups for fishing resources and in the east of Senegal with charcoal producers (in both cases the state gets a considerable amount of money from taxes, permits, etc.); or again in Niger where the Borassus palm tree is subject to conflicts between the state getting important income from Borassus product salea and local people who consider that the resources are theirs.

How will decentralization address this issue? In this decentralization process will the state transfer its prerogatives (including potential revenues) to local people? Will local communities get decision-making power over their resources? If so, what kinds of arrangements will be made with external users?

Environmental stake

Biodiversity conservation has become a great challenge all over the world and in Sahelian countries, in particular, with the worsening climatic conditions severely affecting livelihoods. Permanent conflicts arise from attempts to strike a balance between the preservation and regeneration of resources of peripheral parks and state-owned (classified) zone forests, which are considered to be the only places where resources are still abundant but without any access. These conflicts will probably increase with the controversial role of the state within the decentralization frame.

Socio-political stake

In this category are all the conflicts generated by social and political changes and the new alliances or combinations stakeholders can make with regard to their interests and their position in society. The conflict between the Kotoko, a powerful native group[3], and the Mousgoum, who are migrants, in the Logone foodplain is a very good example of socio-political transitions. This category also includes all the incoherencies and discrepancies within the legal and institutional framework (land tenure legislation, forest code, pastoral legislation, legislation on decentralization).

3. The Kotoko used to be a powerful group whose support helped P. Biya come to power in 1982. But years later the Kotoko elite, among others, were held responsible for the failed coup, which led to a political divorce between Biya and the Kotoko elite from the north and their decline, while the other ethnic groups became more important.

Most of the Sahelian countries have initiated land laws and forest code modifications to take into account the decentralization process. But many questions remain, among them:

- Is the process that leads to the changes (ongoing changes in the case of Senegal, which has produced 10 drafts to date of a new forest code) itself decentralized so to better associate the local bodies that will be in charge of implementing the law?
- Are the proposed solutions to better fit in the decentralization policy, socially, politically and technically sound?
- Do these frames really integrate the conflict management dimension? Do we have an idea of new types of conflict that can be created by decentralization?
- What are the basic needs involved to make possible a real decentralization of decision-making processes in forest resources and conflict management?

Decentralization Policy: Towards a Real Local Management of Natural Resources and Conflicts?

From the previous developments we can conclude that conflicts are one of the main components of forest resources use and management. From this point of view, one can consider that community forestry and decentralization try to reach the same objective.

If community forestry is seen not only as a 'technology' but also as an approach that replaces social well-being and socio-economical relations at the heart of the system, decentralization tends to offer the context and the minimal conditions for greatest responsibility of local populations in natural resources decision-making.

It seems to me useful to answer some basic questions such as: what is decentralization? why decentralization? how? under what conditions? what potential impact can it have on resource and conflict management?

Decentralization is defined in textbooks as the transfer of regulatory and executive competence to local authorities, without central governments retaining a supervisory role. Let us distinguish between two complementary tracks of decentralization:

- the creation of conditions that enable local communities to manage their own resources: and
- administrative reforms whereby central powers are transferred to local governments.

The proposals for decentralization in the Sahel have been mainly confined, until recently, to administrative reforms. Moreover, decentralization is often confused with devolution, the transfer of limited power to local or regional bodies (mainly government agencies), power which may only be exercised under the supervision of the central authority. Studies conducted in different Sahelian countries have convincingly demonstrated that the lack of decentralization severely hampers economic development. Even in countries such as Senegal, which practises a cautious form of decentralized administration, the results in terms of economic development and more sustainable management of natural resources are disappointing. Until 1 January 1997 and the effectiveness of the 'regionalization', decentralization aimed at expanding existing state structures at local level. Other Sahelian countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, etc.) have very recent experience in this process. But now the need for real decentralization and even for self-governance, which goes a step further, is being recognized everywhere. Self-governance is a policy where the people are able to seek and develop partnerships with each other in development processes: where they can fulfil their potential for self-organization at multiple levels on which they hold the legal rights and diverse resources to engage in collective action. Under a regime of self-governance, the state's primary role is to act as a framework of rules. Applied to the management of natural resources, decentralization implies that certain guidelines are formulated at national levels, e.g. in a legislative framework, and that a national policy plan is then set out and implemented at regional and local level, which can be specially adapted and fleshed out according to local circumstances.

For example, in the current decentralization process in the Sahel and with regard to resources and conflict management, is the community allowed/able to produce their own norms, methods and tools, which are part of their own world views and cultural and social construction? To what extent does the legal framework facilitate such a process?

In both community forestry and decentralization one thing remains very important: the local circumstances that encompass local knowledge, local rules and regulatory processes for access and control of resources and local bodies for implementation. This leads to the question of the role of the

state, of the community, of the technical services, and of the NGOs, which should be very well defined.

We also should keep in mind that as well as community forestry decentralization can and will create conflicts to be managed proactively. Local level can also means customary rules and practices and marginalised and disadvantaged groups. How can such a trend be prevented? Will decentralization and community forestry be able to create or legitimate the local that are needed for conflict resolution and management?

Conclusion

Decentralization and the role it can play in conflict management, as well as community forestry, are fairly big issues that most of the Sahelian countries are currently experiencing. There is no ready-made blueprint at hand. Lessons should be learnt from this experience to try to redefine the basic needs. But one can say without any doubt that two main directions, among others, need to be explored further:

- the policy and legal framework, in which conflict management tends to have very little place although conflicts are well foreseen; and
- the necessary assessment of local (customary as well as modern) approaches, techniques and tools for conflict management.

These are the main tasks that the West and Central Component of FTPP will have to face within the second phase of its Conflict Management Activities.

Policy Formulation Process: Forest Management in Eeyou Astchee

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Summary

In 1975, the Crees of Eeyou Astchee entered into the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement with Canada and the Province of Québec. This 'modern-day' treaty established a detailed environmental protection regime with the objective of safeguarding the natural environment so that the Cree people could continue to derive a subsistence living from their boreal forest home. In effect, this regime was to serve as a mechanism to resolve conflicts over the resources of Eeyou Astchee.

In 1986 the Province of Québec passed the Forest Act. This act failed to recognize the rights of the Crees as provided for in the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement. As a result, the Forest Act and the regime it established is in direct conflict with the rights of the Crees as prescribed in the Agreement. The outcome of this conflict is a community consultation process that does not meet the requirements of the Agreement or the satisfaction of the Crees. From the perspective of the Crees, there is no consultation process, and this has led to widespread destruction of traditional Cree hunting territories.

To resolve this situation, the continued right of the Crees to a land base that can sustain a subsistence living must be recognized in Québec's Forest Act. Only when this recognition is established and there is legislative harmony between the Forest Act and the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement can both sides sit nation-to-nation and build a forest management regime that meets the needs and vision of all.

Introduction

The organization that I represent, the Grand Council of the Crees of Eeyou Astchee, was asked by the hosts of this workshop to share the experience of the James Bay Crees of northern Québec with policy formulation and implementation, and conflict management in relation to the forest resource. To address each of these subjects, I have organized my presentation using the four main themes of this workshop. In doing this, I hope to provide some insight on how these issues have affected the Crees and at the same time highlight some useful lessons from this experience.

The Policy Framework: The James Bay Northern Québec Agreement

The James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, hailed by some in Canada as the first modern treaty between the state and an Indigenous People, finds its roots in the conflict over natural resources and their management (Cumming, 1989). Signed in 1975, the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement was the result of a protracted legal battle over the Province of Québec's policy of mega-scale hydro-electric development and the Crees' right to continue to derive a subsistence living from their boreal home as they had done for thousands of years.

The collision between resource development and those who live directly from the land is a global theme. Whether it is Indigenous Peoples of Australia, Indonesia or Mexico, or rural farmers in Brazil or India, in each case it usually filters down to a question of the rights of minority populations succumbing to the will of the dominant society.

In Canada the chosen resolution to these conflicts is to pass treaties and laws that are meant to safeguard the rights of all parties involved. In the case of the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, the Crees' right to subsist from the natural resources of their land was confirmed by law. Furthermore, these rights were to take priority over and be protected from all other laws and from inappropriate development. The Agreement is not designed to preclude resource development altogether; rather, its function is to ensure that resource exploitation occurs in a manner that does not significantly infringe upon the Crees' ability to hunt, fish, trap and gather (James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, 1976).

Protection of these rights and the land that sustains them was to be accomplished through an elaborate environmental protection regime detailed within the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement. Key to this regime is a series of environmental panels whose task is to review various development projects and any associated policy that affects the Crees and their traditional lands. Though advisory in nature, these environmental panels were to function as policy mechanisms to protect the rights of Crees as defined in the Agreement.

Policy Formulation Process: The Case of Forestry

As noted, the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement in many ways is designed as a mechanism to resolve conflicts over resource management on the lands where the interests of the Crees clash with the interests of the dominant society. Issues of resource management are to be distilled through an environmental regime specifically designed to meet the needs of all parties with a stake in those resources. This is the policy framework for the James Bay region, or Eeyou Astchee, as the Crees call it.

In the case of industrial forest development, this framework has not resulted in legislation or regulations that protect the Crees' land regime or their rights. In the 22 years since the signing of the Agreement, Cree hunters, whose lands have been affected by forestry operations, have indicated that large-scale clear-cutting and unregulated public access to logging roads has made it difficult for them to continue to pursue a subsistence way of life. In the most extreme cases entire families have been forced to abandon their traditional hunting territories, as forestry operations have left them barren of both trees and animals (Grand Council of the Crees, 1996).

And so if the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement not only provides the legal right for the Crees to continue a subsistence way of life, but also defines a policy framework for the protection of this way of life, how is it that such damaging forestry practices are being implemented?

Although the government of Québec signed the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, thereby agreeing that the Crees hold special rights and privileges to the land, above and beyond those of the general population, these rights and privileges have never been reflected in government policies (Grand Council of the Crees, 1995). In the years that have passed since the Agreement was signed, the Crees have yet to witness any resource development policy that recognizes their rights.

In the formulation of Québec's guiding legislation on forestry, the Forest Act, the Crees' participation in the various advisory panels set out in the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement had no influence on the character of the Act. Instead of strengthening or complementing the provisions set out in the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, the Forest Act serves to weaken the rights of the Crees by granting indefinite timber licenses for large tracts of forest to private companies. In granting this, Québec has shifted much of the burden of forest management, including the formulation of forest management plans, to the private sector (Dufour, 1995).

The James Bay Northern Québec Agreement specifies that government-approved forest management plans were to be exempted from the environmental impact assessment process set out in the Agreement so long as they did not impact an area of more than 65 km^2 (James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, 1976). At the time management plans consisted simply of short-term timber allocations and inventories. With the passage of the Forest Act 12 years later, management plans were redefined to become long-term industrial strategies for companies holding renewable 25-year timber licenses. These redefined management plans not only included short- and long-term cutting plans, they also included the road networks and logging camps that make up the infrastructure for those cutting plans (Daigneault, 1995).

In redefining the content of forest management plans, the Province has taken the position that roads and camps included in the plans are exempt from the environmental impact assessment requirements contained within the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement. Moreover, even though these forest management plans now cover areas much larger than 65 km^2, Québec's view is that the company management plans, once approved by Provincial resource managers, are exempt from environmental impact assessment (Environmental Quality Act, 1978).

In essence, the government of Québec has used the Forest Act as a tool to bypass the entire policy framework defined in the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement. It should be noted that there is no reference in the Forest Act to the Crees or to the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, even though its jurisdiction accounts for almost one-quarter of Québec's 450 000 km^2 of commercial forest.

Implementing Policies: Abdication to Private Forestry Companies

With the passage of the Forest Act and the new timber licenses that flowed from its provisions, forest management, including the responsibility of conflict resolution, was placed in the hands of private forest companies. Disputes over harvesting levels, and where and when forestry activities were to occur, became a matter to be settled between individual Cree hunters, local band councils and forestry companies.

In effect, the Forest Act, by failing to recognize the rights of the Crees and the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, has enabled the government of Québec to abdicate its fiduciary responsibilities. If Cree hunters or the band council that represents them appeal to government resource managers over difficulties with a forest management plan, they are told to resolve the conflict directly with the company. If the dispute cannot be settled, the company's usual response is to refer to its timber license agreement with the Province and to the Forest Act, and to inform the Crees that it is operating completely within the law, even though this law conflicts with the 1975 treaty.

Community Participation: Let's Make a Deal

Under the present conditions there are two opportunities for public consultation before forest management plans are approved. First, as directed by the Forest Act, there is a 45-day period during which the public can review plans and submit comments (Forest Act, 1986). This includes members of the Cree communities whose lands are affected by forestry. Second, the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement directs that forest management plans must be submitted to an advisory committee made up of representatives from Canada, Québec and the Crees. This committee then has 90 days to respond to the contents of the plans.

Events have demonstrated that neither of these opportunities for input fulfills the requirements of the treaty. First and foremost, when made public, the plans are in the final stages of completion. At this point all of the important decisions have been made and there is very little room for change. Multi-year road construction has been tightly planned according to annual harvest quotients, as have areas scheduled for cutting.

Presenting forest management plans at this stage of development signifies to the Crees that, despite the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement, their concerns are a low priority among forestry planners and will not be given serious consideration. This is especially true when corresponding maps of the forest management plans do not include traditional Cree land use designations, such as family hunting territories.

Another problem with the current process of public participation is that forest management plans are not written for the public. These plans, detailing five and 25 years of forestry activity, are usually several cm thick and filled with maps of differing scales, charts and numerical calculations. A fair amount of technical expertise is required to effectively wade through the volumes of information contained within a single forest management plan, let alone several plans, as is the burden in some Cree communities. The communities do not have the funds to hire the expertise necessary to manage this task adequately.

The 45-day period for review and comment is insufficient, as it gives Cree community resource managers very little time to contact the individuals or families whose hunting territories may be affected by the plans. These community members are often residing in their remote hunting camps when the plans are released, making it impossible for them to participate in the consultation process.

In the case of the advisory committee set up through the Agreement, the committee is charged with reviewing all of the management plans for the entire region (more than 20 five-year and 25-year management plans). Once again, this task exceeds the capacity of the committee's resources, especially since the members of the committee are part-time members and they hold only quarterly meetings. Nevertheless, even when the committee has focused its limited resources on reviewing some of the forest management plans, it has found them lacking in the background data necessary to justify many of the decisions laid out in the plans. Requests to the companies and government for this background information have yet to be answered. Furthermore, committee recommendations on the content of management plans are rarely implemented.

Overall, the late stage of consultation, the burden of complex and inaccessible documents, the cultural insensitivity of time allotted for plan review, the lack of sufficient background data, and the scarcity of resources to participate in this framework of consultation, has led to dysfunction. From the Crees' viewpoint, there is no public consultation (Nutaaq Media Inc., 1996). From the perspective of the companies, whose only obligation is to mail the plans to the advisory

committee and hold a copy on file for the communities to view, they have fulfilled their prescribed role in the consultation process.

In the absence of an effective consultation process and given Québec's abdication of its treaty commitments to the Crees, private forest companies have been struggling to find firm footing. With growing frequency, several of the companies operating on Cree traditional lands have come to ad hoc arrangements with individual hunters before cutting in their hunting territories. These deals vary among the companies; however, each usually involves a gift of equipment or a cash settlement in exchange for the hunter's permission to operate in his hunting territory.

The Cree leadership at the local and regional levels finds these deals unacceptable because they represent a direct attack on Cree collective rights and undermine their ability to bring equitable long-term solutions to this situation. Instead, these deals, preying on the financial vulnerability of the Cree hunters, offer only short-term compensation for long-term problems. Compared with the economic loss and social disruption that Cree hunters and their families will face in the long run, these compensation payments amount to tokenism.

From the viewpoint of the forestry companies, they are caught between the conflict created by contrasting directives of the Forest Act and the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement. In offering private deals, they are simply attempting to fill the void left by the Province's refusal to address the rights of the Crees.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The scenario I have just described has led to a situation where conflicts over the management of forest resources are not resolved. Instead, they are shoved aside at the expense of the Crees, their culture and the forest environment. This scenario is not entirely unique to the Crees. Indigenous Peoples across Canada are struggling with many of the same issues (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

However, just as the problems are similar, so are the solutions. The starting point for Indigenous Peoples across Canada is a recognition of their rights under Canadian and international law (Constitution Act, 1982; Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989; International Covenant on Civil and Political

Rights, 1967; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1967). Outstanding treaty claims must be resolved before development can proceed, and existing treaties must be respected. Negotiations over forest management conflicts on the traditional lands of Indigenous Peoples must be approached in a government-to-government fashion (Smith, 1995).

For the Crees, resolving these issues would begin with a full recognition of their rights under the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement. This recognition must come by way of formal support in other laws such as Québec's Forest Act. One law must not be used as a tool to deny the rights provided by another law. Only when there is legislative harmony can the parties work toward designing a forest management regime that truly incorporates the needs and vision of all aspects of society. Until there is equity with respect to the Crees' use of the forest and all of its resources, any attempts to design policies or processes to involve the communities in forest management will end in failure.

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The Role of 'Positive' Conflict Management in Fostering Social and Political Changes: The Case of Enda Graf Forum and Renapop, Senegal

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Summary

Conflict management or prevention has become the vogue of development thinking during the last decade. Conflict management fits neatly into the current paradigm that prescribes democratization, decentralization and community participation as crucial keys to successful development policy and implementation. Nevertheless, despite the growing emphasis on the topic, rigorous analysis based on concrete case studies in West Africa remains rare.

Since 1994, Enda Sahel et Afrique de l'Ouest Groupes Recherche Action Formation (ENDA GRAF Sahel) has worked in collaboration with a network of Senegalese community-based organizations, Réseau National d'Appui et de Perfectionnement des Organisations Populaires (RENAPOP), in the field of 'positive' conflict management. The following fundamental hypotheses underlie the work being undertaken in this field:

■ *Conflicts are an intrinsic component of human interaction. In particular, changes that modify prevailing power relations inevitably provoke conflicts.*

■ *Conflicts can constitute an object of analysis by external experts, who rationally study conflicts experienced by other groups of people. Or, conflicts can be understood as an integral component of one's life. Within such a framework, the veritable experts, or 'managers of conflicts', are those who directly experience conflicts.*

■ *Conflict management does not necessarily entail preventing/solving conflicts. Conflicts can be used as a learning opportunity for people to critically analyse their lives and institutions, their socio-political context and power relations, and eventually to elaborate their hypotheses of action in function of their strategic interests, cultural context and longer-term objectives. 'Positive conflict management' thus entails transforming conflictual situations into a resource for strengthening the empowerment processes of poor people (through increased research action capacities, negotiation skills and bargaining positions).*

Retracing the Path that Led ENDA GRAF Sahel to Privilege Conflict Management

From NGO-dominant priority setting to local ownership

Set up in the mid-1970s, our institution, then called ENDA CHODAK (from Chômage a Dakar; see Appendix 1 for a brief presentation of ENDA GRAF), initially implemented sectorial projects such as mother-and-child health care, sanitation and woodcraft/carpentry in Grand Yoff, a poor district in the suburbs of Dakar. Our methodology at that time was based on community development theories. At the field level, we encountered local social groups (tontines and mbotayes), whose internal structure and functioning did not conform to our ideals of democratic and transparent decision-making, equality and community participation. We disregarded these existing structures and encouraged the creation of new associations composed of those we perceived as the most exploited (women and the young), and more apt to foster a 'democratic communitarian' society.

By the mid-1980s, we clearly realized that our manifold development efforts were ephemeral, if they made any contribution at all to alleviating poverty. The majority of the groups we had helped to create foundered one by one due to insufficient ties between members. The loans we had disbursed to women and young people's associations for income-generating activities were used by the populations to fund other activities, whether parallel economic activities, social linkages or religious ceremonies (an action we likened to 'embezzlement'). These successive failures led us to question and reassess our strategies and methods and their conceptual underpinnings.

One of the major lessons we learned from this period was that like many external structures, we had based our actions on interventions. We had literally 'interfered, often with latent force', expecting the populations to participate in our projects. We realized that our approach had been dominated by our own preoccupations, world views and concepts, rather than by the priorities of the populations concerned. For example, that the people diverted the funds allocated to them could be understood as a case of 'accommodating rebellion' of the actors against the institution. Instead of directly telling us that their priority was not purely financial, but also social and symbolical, the people took the funds and 'perverted' the project to suit their own self-defined interests.

We then decided that if our veritable goal was to contribute to poverty eradication and social changes, we had to modify our approach and practices. Henceforth, we would identify social networks and initiatives and insert ourselves into existing social dynamics. We would cease to regard external theories, practices and ready-made solutions as automatically valid in the context in which we were evolving. By recognizing, evaluating and strengthening the research and action capacities of the poor, we would prioritize their preoccupations and insure local ownership.

Rather than take the approach that the people would participate in our projects, we would participate in and support their strategies and programmes. We would strengthen the popular actors' basis of power by supporting processes that increase their access to and control over natural, financial and material resources. This change of orientation led to internal institutional restructuring, to such an extent that the name of the institution was changed from ENDA CHODAK to ENDA GRAF in 1987.

Provoking changes at personal, institutional and local levels often engenders conflicts

This change of strategy led us to realize that as we enter the space of people in full ownership and control of the satisfaction of their own practical and strategic interests, we enter the domain of power, that is, the stage at which the very concept of participation in external projects becomes redundant. We realized consequently that empowerment entails the development of poor people's bargaining power to such an extent that external structures cannot unilaterally impose their conditions and regulations upon the poor. As we experimented our change of orientation and methodology with the popular actors, we also noticed that the change in relationship we envisaged between local populations and

external structures (changes whereby people can manage to efficiently use the institutional resources at their disposal, rather than letting themselves be 'used' by institutions for objectives that are exogenous to them) tends to engender a conflictual or tension-filled situation.

To give only one example, one of the rural community-based organizations we work with in Fandène (a village located 70 km from Dakar) had initiated in the late 1980s, with the help of the local priest, a mutualist health care insurance system. The initiative immediately gained momentum and the farmers' organizations were able to replicate the initiative in several neighbouring villages, without any external financial assistance. The local NGOs and administrative structures were impressed with the farmers' success in mobilizing local savings and negotiating with a nearby hospital in order to obtain lower hospital fees. The initiative soon came to be recognized at a national level. Faced with this success, a village doctor who used to offer technical advice to the farmers attempted to appropriate, with the complicity of a charity-based NGO, the work being done by the farmers. He gradually came to be acknowledged by the outside world as the 'founding father' of the scheme. The farmers' organizations were quick to react to this appropriation, and a public conflict resulted. In the words of one of the farmers, "The scheme represented an attempt by the farmers to modify the power relations between modern health care systems and local populations. In that sense it was a political conflict."

Moreover, we observed this contentious relationship between development agents and popular actors within our own institution. In other words, as we progressively came to value the abilities of popular actors to conceive, implement, execute and evaluate their own projects, our role was transformed into that of facilitators of what we denote as 'popular research'. This necessarily involved changes in the way we perceive our own role and function, both on a personal level as development agents, and at an institutional level. This institutional evolution was not welcomed initially by all the members of ENDA GRAF. Advocates of the status quo, inevitably, find ways to obstruct or slow down strategies they find threatening to their livelihoods. And for many extension workers, our institutional evolution was experienced as generating insecurity, both personally and professionally (if a 'beneficiary' of a programme is to be accorded the same research and action capacities as myself, then what is my role in the development field?). By making a critical analysis of the institution (by turning our institution in an object of research action) we began to understand how resistances are rooted in conflicts between competing kinds of social values, and between views on decision-making

With the risk of oversimplifying a complex process, the above mentioned observations were some of the institutional elements that led us to privilege the domain of conflict management.

'Positivizing' Conflict Management

Developing the expertise of popular actors in the field of conflict management

From the moment we decided to treat conflict management as a research action subject, we realized the multidimensionality and complexity of such a subject. To address some of the questions the topic raised, a workshop was organized in Tchad in September 1994, attended by more than a dozen development agents and popular actors from the sub-region. A year later, another sub-regional workshop on the topic was organized in Dakar. These workshops have led us to elaborate a West African programme on conflict management. In Senegal, the programme is coordinated by RENAPOP, with the support of ENDA GRAF.

At the advent of the first workshop, we were faced with a set of methodological questions:

- What in fact underlines the concept of 'conflict' (as opposed to 'tension', 'opposition', 'social disequilibrium', 'violence', 'division', 'contradiction', 'diverging view points')?
- What are the means to initiate an analysis of 'live' conflicts, to distinguish cause from effects, to link local conflictual situations to more global contexts?
- What does conflict-management signify? What methods/tools can be deployed to manage conflicts successfully (what are the criterion of 'success')?

Although most of the questions were only partially addressed, the workshop was decisive in elaborating a clear-cut orientation in the field of conflict management. During this workshop, we decided that we could either discuss conflicts in general (other people's conflicts as objects of study) or conflicts that we had directly experienced and/or continue to experience (our own conflicts as objects of study). We opted for the second choice, primarily because of our belief that those who directly experience a conflict are best able to discuss, analyse, and elaborate tools to deal with the conflict in question. Unlike other institutions that promote conflict management as a field reserved to specialists and experts, we tend

to believe that every person possesses the requisite research and action capacities to manage conflicts. Furthermore, although we do not belittle, by any means, the work done by peace mediators and observatories, we tend to question the purported 'neutrality' of external agents in the field of conflict management.

During our workshop on conflict management, we realized that tracing the trajectory of conflicts can provide substantial content for analysis. The conflicts examined during the workshops included diverging views on natural resources between sedentary farmers and pastoral herdsmen in Burkina Faso; contrasting viewpoints/logic between industrialists and farmers in Senegal; conflicts over land rights in the region of Thiès, Senegal; conflicts between the state and agriculturalists over a classified forest; and conflicts between community-based organizations and NGOs.

After a thorough presentation of the conflicts underlying the lives of popular and/or institutional actors, we undertook a collective critical analysis of the conflicts. The actors involved in the conflicts, the implicit stakes (political, social, economic and institutional), and the levels of conflict (such as manifest and latent levels) were analysed systematically.

Turning a passion-inducing topic such as experienced conflicts into a research subject enabled the participants to distance themselves from their experiences, and hence to be more lucid and conscious of the various issues at stake. For several of the cases analysed, both the 'protagonists' and 'antagonists' of the conflicts were present. At the beginning of the presentations, the participants generally refused to directly mention the name of the people involved in the conflict. Gradually, however, the opposing parties or groups came to confront each other (with analysis tempering their passion). In several cases, conflicts that had been ruining the community-based organizations were solved on the spot.

Conflict management, however, does not necessarily entail conflict resolution (in this case and throughout the presentation, I am not referring to life-endangering conflicts). In our experience, a conflict that has been 'resolved' through external intervention or through internal regulatory mechanisms can resurge later in the same geographical space or can be displaced to another context. Instead of conceiving conflicts as a problem that needs to be resolved, perhaps it is more strategic to reinforce the capacities of actors to manage conflicts positively

Through a process of research action, we learned, actors can transform ('subvert') conflictual situations into a resource for social and political

change. In other words, critical analysis on conflict management can reinforce the ability of actors to make explicit the power dynamics at work in their life context and to define their own approach in function of their strategic interests in order to negotiate inequalities and gain firmer control over their lives. In our experience, the more important 'result' of conflict management is the lessons and advantages the actors acquire through the process of conflict management, and the changes that are induced in their position.

Conflicts as a Source of Social Change: Three Axes of ENDA GRAF/ RENAPOP for Facilitating Alternative Logics

The choice of ENDA GRAF and RENAPOP to place the actors directly concerned with the conflicts in the forefront of analysis and action on conflict management was motivated by our 'political' leanings, our convictions that empowerment consists of strengthening people's research action capacities, of facilitating people's access to and control over resources and of increasing their decision-making power. In our search for an alternative society, conflicts can constitute a strategic 'point of entry' for negotiating the status quo.

RENAPOP, in collaboration with ENDA GRAF, has identified three fundamental axes of research action, in view of facilitating social and economical alternatives. Before enumerating and explaining these axes, it is worth pointing out that in our search for alternatives, we seek to deconstruct poverty and domination-inducing mechanisms, rather than propose a 'blueprint' for an alternative society. It is our hypothesis that these mechanisms need to be eradicated in every sphere, both private and public. As we contribute to dismantling these mechanisms, it would be the responsibility of each member of the RENAPOP/GRAF forum to experiment social innovations.

Three Fundamental Hypotheses

Our three fundamental hypotheses are:

1 To eradicate mechanisms that transform differences into inequalities and unequal distribution of privileges and resources.

In our experience, domination can be engendered by bipolar oppositions that divide people, experiences and characteristics, and privi-

lege one group to the detriment of another. These dichotomies, which include superior/inferior, expert/layperson, rational/irrational, masculine/feminine and modern/traditional, tend to legitimate and/or naturalize inequalities. One of the fields permeated with inequalities is research, or rather the assumption that research capacity is detained uniquely by those who have access to 'scientific' knowledge, high level of education and/or specialized training and experience is a source of exclusion and inequality (and the corollary of this assumption is that a gap exists between the capacity of experts and that of 'unskilled' people who possess 'common sense' or 'traditional' knowledge).

As explained briefly above, our long experience in the field has taught us that conflicts often arise because some people (whether experts or government agents) make decisions on behalf of other people. The difference in the degree of know-how between 'experts' and 'unskilled' is often thought to translate into a gap between the decision-making capacity of the former and latter, which legitimates the fact that 'unskilled' (poor people, particularly women) are not included in the decision-making process. During the last few years, the knowledge systems of poor people have increasingly come to be recognized, acknowledged and valued. The work being undertaken by RENAPOP and ENDA GRAF aims not so much as to 'recognize' the research action capacities, as to 'centralize' these creative capacities in the search for an alternative social order.

Our hypotheses is that research is a 'humane' activity rooted in everyday life. Each of us possesses experience and hence possesses a potential reservoir of capacities and competence. Bipolar oppositions and power relations need to be bypassed and to be replaced by practices that value the specific competence and expertise of each person or groups of persons. Each person has sufficient resources to be an agent of social change.

2 To eradicate mechanisms that engender exclusion, and in turn to develop mechanisms that facilitate integration.

Poverty is a social construction: in other words no one is born poor, but a person becomes poor (in the eyes of others, in one's own self-image and because of situations that he/she lives through). Poverty

manifests itself in multiple forms: material/economic, cultural and spiritual, symbolic and existential. We constantly ask ourselves which mechanisms in our own lives create our own poverty or create other people's poverty? How can we fight against or neutralize these mechanisms and, in particular, mechanisms linked to the unequal distribution of wealth?

3 To modify decision-making practices and frameworks, enabling concerned actors to occupy spaces where decisions are made on their behalf.

We seek to modify decision-making practices that are hierarchical, vertical top-down interventions and patrimonial. Within a hierarchical institution, a division of labour akin to the capitalist Fordist system predominates: a hierarchical chief who thinks, and subordinates who execute. This institutional model hence exacerbates the monopoly of production of knowledge, which translates into such dichotomous relationships as producer/consumers of knowledge and conceivers/executors. We don't deny the utility of the function of a leader, but contest the exclusionary practices of leaders (that monopolize conceptual and decision-making power) and their privileged situation.

Our objective is to have indigenous actors occupying spaces where decisions are made over their resources on their behalf. In the medium to long term, this entails strengthening the institutional capacity of indigenous organizations to such an extent that decentralized structures implementing national policies cannot bypass these structures (without causing a local uproar). In rural areas, farmers' organizations, members of RENAPOP, are consulted on a regular basis by decentralized structures on resource management decisions. In Fimela, Senegal, the farmers' organization, Yungar, has managed by direct confrontation to gain control over the management of a communal forest that had been under the control of the state since independence. In other cases, the organizations' leaders have succeeded in integrating local government structure. In Dakar, ENDA GRAF is supporting the self-organization of populations of 20 districts in elaborating local development plans, in collaboration with municipalities. This process has been facilitated by the current political context of decentralization of power and resources to local governments.

An observant reader of this paper may well contest, “It is one thing for an NGO like ENDA GRAF to experiment such an approach at a local level. It is quite another to enable such a people-centred process to be applied nationally or internationally so that it has more of an impact. What are the ramifications of such an approach at policy level?” Arguably, the concluding section raises a certain number of points of relevance to policy framework, formulation and implementation.

Conclusion and Recommendations

- Development planning and policy that is not embedded in the preoccupations, institutional structures and knowledge systems of Indigenous Peoples is bound to fail, and it inevitably gives rise to conflictual situations ranging from clear opposition to passive non-compliance. Admittedly, current development paradigms and approaches give increasing importance to community participation/management and local knowledge. Too often, however, a discrepancy can be observed between such well-intended discourses and the implementation of such practices at a local level.
- In the majority of cases, participation continues to be viewed as the integration of local communities in externally-defined programmes, instead of the inverse process (external projects integrating themselves into local dynamics). As explained above, it is our hypothesis that when Indigenous Peoples are in full ownership and control over their own needs and interests, the concept of participation in external projects become redundant. If one of the objectives of ‘development’ is the empowerment of destitute and marginalised populations, perhaps participatory approaches should reinforce populations’ control over resources, by giving decision-making power to Indigenous Peoples.
- Disempowering laws and regulations (such as land rights and forestry code) that do not enable Indigenous Peoples to have control of and a voice in the management and use of their resources act as a mechanism against the full participation of Indigenous Peoples (because of a lack of incentive).

- Full ownership by local populations is facilitated if local institutions have a sufficient amount of responsibility in the implementation of programmes. In certain cases, external agents do not attempt to identify existing local structures, either because of their belief that such structures do not exist, or because existing structures do not correspond to their notions of 'efficient institutions'. In such cases, external agents favour the creation of new organizational structures (standardized committees, with elected members), without sufficiently taking into account the social processes behind institution building. The juxtaposition of new structures and existing institutions might even lead to inter-community conflicts, by dividing the local populations or by questioning the legitimacy of existing institutions.
- The reason behind the lack of attention paid to existing local institutions, methods, initiatives, values and knowledge systems might be a latent belief in the 'superior' research or technical capacities of external experts. Although increasing emphasis is placed on local know-how and traditional knowledge, 'analysis' and 'technicity' continue to be regarded as the domain of 'experts'. As in the case of any specialization, integrating conflict management concerns into policies would be more socially, economically and environmentally efficient if the 'expertise' of Indigenous Peoples were recognized and promoted.
- The institutional framework of national and international machineries exacerbates this latent belief. Within national machineries, for example, there exists a gap between planning and national research departments and extension systems. In a schematic manner, researchers, according to their forecasts, design policies and programmes to redress constraints they have identified. Extensionists implement these solutions in the field, where they generally prove to be inadequate and/or inappropriate because they misassess local populations' behavioural patterns. The separation between researchers and extensionists, whether arising from bureaucratic procedures or disregard for the capacities of extensionists, implies that the extensionists' knowledge of the field level is not sufficiently incorporated. Lack of communication channels between researchers, extensionists, and Indigenous Peoples diminishes the efficacy of policies.

- A certain lack of coherence can be observed at the policy-making level, arising from 'fallacious' disciplinary or thematic divisions within international and national development agencies. Sectorial departments or different bodies of knowledge compete for intellectual 'rights' over policy formulation and tasks. Such intellectual 'battles' contribute to a further marginalising of local populations' conceptual capacities and to endangering the sustainability of programmes.
- Lastly, our experience suggests that conflict management concerns can be a veritable opportunity to facilitate empowerment processes if local actors are included in policy-making processes.

Appendix 1: Presentation of ENDA GRAF Sahel

Enda Sahel et Afrique de l'Ouest Groupes Recherche Action Formation (ENDA GRAF Sahel) was created in 1975, initially under the name of CHODAK (Chômage à Dakar), and is based in Grand Yoff, Dakar. It is an autonomous branch of the international NGO, Enda Third World. It interacts with NGOs, community-based organizations and governmental agencies in urban areas and in more than 2000 villages in Senegal. ENDA GRAF Sahel also works in other, primarily West African, countries such as Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Ivory Coast, Niger, Tchad, Togo and Tanzania.

ENDA GRAF Sahel promotes a method known as Research Action Learning (RAL). This method supports grassroots actions and helps local people to:

- improve their analysis of situations, problems, potentialities and experiences;
- seek appropriate solutions and innovations, and make the most of local resources;
- identify resource persons, and negotiate means of action;
- organize their activities, and assess their own methods and practices; and
- evaluate results, processes and perspectives.

The global aim is foster socio-political changes by increasing actors' capacity to analyse their own situations and to influence and change themselves, the institutions and the world around them. Poor people possess a pool of capabilities; foremost among them are research capacities, both in know-how (skills, technology) and analysis (analysis of situations, search for appropriate solutions, identifying means of optimizing local resources). The terms 'popular expertise' and 'farmers-researchers' denote the richness of the research undertaken by the poor and contradicts the current assumption that attributes research to an elite minority.

It has a diversity of objectives:

- to facilitate people's analysis of their own situations and solutions in order to improve their living conditions (self-diagnosis of needs, potentialities, objectives, resources)

- to promote the development, use and recognition of local expertise;
- to reinforce people's autonomy and self-reliance;
- to encourage self-education and mutual learning processes;
- to promote networking among 'local experts' and technicians;
- to consolidate local populations' organizational capacities (conception, decision-making, negotiating skills, capacity for action, anticipation) so they can manage their environment;
- to encourage networking among local populations in order to enhance their negotiating and bargaining position; and
- to strengthen and enlarge the decision-making power of local populations.

Research relates to: assessment tools to help projects improve their responses to situations, and the local people's commitment to the goals targeted; analysis and assessment of methods by those involved; identification of 'resource people' in order to exploit their research capacities; exchanges based on the assessment of schemes, comparison of experiences and mutual consultation; and experimentation in community land development and the management of the rural and urban environment.

Action takes the form of: revitalization of the environment in community lands (for example, reforestation, combating erosion, and development of bottomland); locally managed village association funds to finance productive microprojects; hydro-agricultural improvement schemes; methodological support for local community initiatives; and technical and financial support for projects.

Learning relates to: the training of farmers in new farming methods; the training of field workers to support self-training in village communities; the training of project managers in assessing their own methods in order to improve the local people's commitment to the objectives; support for the training and self-training of blacksmiths and carpenters; and systemization of the RAL approach.

Programmes include:

■ Institutional analysis and support, a tool for societal change

Defining and redefining institutions*:* ENDA GRAF Sahel constantly questions hierarchical modes of conception, management, decision-making and control, in order to develop structures that would enhance people's responsibility, autonomy and creativity.
Valuing human resources involves creation of a network of consultants, including 'local experts'.

■ Farmers' control of local resources and power basis

ENDA GRAF Sahel works with farmers in more than 1000 villages. The farmers' federations include health-care schemes, reforestry, agro-biology and grain banks. ENDA GRAF's role is to enrich farmers' research and action capacities, to support their control over natural resources, to facilitate their access to decision-making structures and to encourage exchanges.

■ Valuing local food produce (such as cereals, fruit, vegetables and oil)

This programme supports food-processing to increase the income-generating capacities of artisans, street- food vendors and microenterpreneurs.

Objectives include consolidating livelihood strategies, promoting ingenious know-how, strengthening artisans' positions in local markets and promoting national and regional exchanges of skills and experiences.

■ Urban social management

ENDA GRAF Sahel encourages the recognition, development and evaluation of the social and economic capacities of populations so that they can control and make efficient use of resources. It works in partnership with networks of urban farmers, craftspersons, traders and young workers (such as shoe-shine boys and repairmen) and those concerned with land rights.

ENDA GRAF Sahel supports a Savings and Loan Network in Dakar, created in 1987 by women's groups in Grand Yoff to disburse credit

for women's income-generating activities. It includes savings components (such as a home-buyer's scheme, and savings for household provisions and for Islamic pilgrimages). The members have trained others in setting up their own schemes in urban and rural areas. The network of more than 20,000 women has disbursed more than CFA one billion.

ENDA GRAF Sahel also supports waste-management and recycling in Dakar and Thiès in cooperation with community-based organizations, youth associations and institutions. The project aims to create employment, improve hygiene and cleanliness, transform waste into compost, increase agricultural productivity and prevent land degradation.

■ Alternative education

Its strategy is to reinforce the mutual and individual learning process based on existing educational situations (street, family, workshops, etc.) and to encourage the creative capacities of the 'illiterate'. The alternative education programme works with women, street children, craftspersons, apprentices and farmers. More than 1500 school dropouts have joined alternative educational schemes.

■ Conflict management

Conflicts can be used to negotiate changes. Changes that modify the prevailing power relations inevitably provoke conflicts. Conflicts in turn can be utilized to foster social change.

The programme strengthens actors' capacity to use conflictual situations (in their district, village or organizations) to deepen their knowledge of themselves and their surroundings, and to reinforce their negotiation skills and bargaining position. National and international workshops are organized. A publication series on this programme has been launched.

■ Communication

This is the key to recognizing and evaluating differences.
ENDA GRAF Sahel's role is to facilitate individuals and organizations opening up to others to share experiences and knowledge.

■ Evaluation and capitalization

Projects constitute an opportunity for research; everything that takes place within a project's framework is research material and all the people involved, indigenous actors in particular, are researchers as well. Evaluation enables actors to measure their progress. Capitalization enables actors to extract and disseminate lessons and knowledge from their own experiences and to elicit concepts, visions and perspectives.

Tools of analysis include tracing chronologies, identifying actors, actions, processes and deviations.

Dealing with Landless People in Paraguay

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Summary

This paper addresses the Paraguayan environmental context and then highlights a strategic approach to natural resource-based conflicts. A very delicate biological diversity is being rapidly destroyed by a growing population, systemic poverty and a lack of land tenure in most regions throughout the country. The vast majority of Paraguayans are affected by these trends, and the effective management of natural resources is hampered by the fact that the actions of both governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations are frequently contradictory, isolated or narrow in their approach to natural resource management decision-making.

The paper then outlines how the state, citizens, non-governmental and international institutions must work in concert to promote the ideals of sustainable development in order to diminish the occurrence of natural resource conflicts. The harmonizing of existing regulations and laws, the implementation of a transparent evaluation system, and rational and equitable land use planning are some examples of the mechanisms discussed as means to address natural resource conflict in the Paraguayan context.

Introduction

The degradation of natural resources in Paraguay has reached dramatic extents. Massive deforestation, overexploitation and erosion of soils and contamination of waters characterize the situation, putting at risk not only environment and biological diversity but also the basis of the main economic activities of the country: agriculture, cattle production and timber trading.

The socio-economic consequences of this development have already reached alarming impact, including growing underemployment and unemployment, migration to urban centres and emigration, poverty, and hunger.

The population growth rate of more than 3 percent and the great number of landless people create an enormous pressure on the remaining forests. Moreover, there is no legal or cultural social binding of the private land tenure. The owner has absolute and unrestricted power over his land and the stocking natural resources.

Various NGOs and internationally supported projects are dealing in different ways and on different levels with these problems. However, activities of governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations are frequently contradictory, isolated or limited to a narrow scope.

There is political will to establish an efficient environmental administration and coordination for the regulation and stimulation of rational land use. Moreover, the possibility of indirectly influencing land use and utilization of natural resources is being exercised increasingly, through agrarian reform politics, price and tax politics, extension and education.

The Paraguayan Context

Paraguay has a population of approximately 4.5 million, with a growth rate of 3.2 percent. Population distribution is very unequal, as shown in Table 1. A total of 50 percent of the population lives in the rural areas. The agricultural sector is the basis of the Paraguayan economy. Agriculture, livestock and forests contribute to 26 percent of the GDP, generate 90 percent of the export values and employ 37 percent of the population. The distribution of the land is extremely unequal. The state owns practically no land or forests. There are thousands of landless (i.e., people without title deeds) and small-scale farmers (0-100

ha). However, almost 90 percent of the agricultural and farming land (22 out of 24 million ha) is owned by only 4 percent of the landowners. This situation gains importance despite the continuous degradation of the soil, especially in the centre of the eastern part of the country.

In addition to a frightening deforestation rate even in protected areas (Table 2), there is much reason to be concerned about poverty, hunger, the supply of drinking water, pollution of rivers and lakes, and irreversible losses in biological diversity. Since 1945, the forest area of the eastern part of the country has been reduced from 52 percent to 21 percent.

The various groups of actors who are responsible for the deforestation and its ecological consequences include:

- small-scale farmers (*campesinos*), who do not have title deeds for the land they occupy, and whose activities are characterized by spontaneous colonization or by colonization nurtured by governmental programmes;
- large-scale cattle farmers (*hacendados*) who extend their pastures at the expense of forests (since 1991 there has been an increase of 30 percent in cattle; the total amount of land held by hacendados is 6.7 million ha, with approximately the same number of animals); and
- timber extractors who continue to exploit existing forests without sustainability, without reforestation and with a proportion of 30 percent of illegal cuttings (165 000m^3 of 500 000m^3/year).

Affected by this development are:

- Indigenous Peoples who have already lost most of their ancestral lands, hunting and food gathering grounds, and whose rivers are affected by pollution and are drying out,
- inhabitants of the rural areas and towns, whose waters are polluted or drying out, and whose environment is being destroyed,
- the campesinos and hacendados themselves, whose soils continue to degrade and who are entering into a vicious circle.

Specific Problems

Degradation of soils

Two factors promote the erosion processes that form the main threat for agriculture in Paraguay: The uncontrolled diminution of the vegetative cover and the fact that any kind of crop rotation is applied only rarely. It is estimated that up to 80 percent of the soils suffer from erosion. The consequences include frequent inundations, irregularities in the amount of water in the rivers and an increase in pollution.

Contamination of waters

Only 24 percent of the population of the eastern parts of Paraguay have access to drinking water. Most rivers are polluted by erosion and fertilizers. Many rivers have lost the regularity of their waters due to massive deforestation.

Loss of biological diversity

It is estimated that in the eastern forests there are more than 1000 species of value as timber or for industrial or medicinal purposes. The deforestation has probably already led to an irreversible loss of species.

Strategic Approach and Possible Solutions

There is little that is possible in dealing with illegal timber poachers, transporters and dealers and organized land-grabbing-gangs other than applying existing laws and regulations. Although this is difficult enough in a context where political and economic interests are frequently and intensively linked, this is not the content of this paper. It is necessary to make some considerations, however. A key instrument for resolving the dilemma is rational land use planning that brings together state and landowners.

Land use planning, however, is realistically applicable only if it is part of and in harmony with the general development planning of the country. Moreover, it can only be successful if the aim is a model of sustainability of production.

Forestry as an integral part of land use planning can be successful only if:

- timber and timber transport prices meet the real costs (this refers especially to sustainable production);
- forestry is not only considered in the context of timber but also as multipurpose production;
- biological diversity of forests is considered an economic value; and

agroforestry systems are developed, promoted and distributed.

The state as an actor

Government has to ensure, on one hand, creation of the conditions for a balance between agricultural production, and, on the other hand, sustainable use, that is, protection of the natural resources. Until now, the government has promoted agricultural production of a few monocultives, such as cotton, sugar cane, soja and maniok, regardless of the site conditions and the negative effect on soil fertility and natural forests. Thus, any other activity would be in contrast to official agricultural policies. Moreover, the extension services are not in a position to address questions of protection and sustainable use of natural resources, as they are poorly prepared and badly equipped. At present, there exist incoherences between different sectorial policies. For example, the Forest Law requires that landowners owning more than 20 ha who want to cultivate forests have to maintain 25 percent as forest. However, the agrarian reform exempts those who own less than 20 ha from this rule.

A law to promote reforestation has been launched with considerable success by the Paraguayan government. After establishment of the plantation, up to 75 percent of the establishment and maintenance costs for the successive three years are reimbursed to the investor. However, the condition for eligibility is possession of a title deed, which excludes quite a number of de facto landowners.

The structures of governmental institutions have not significantly reflected the democratization that started in 1989, and they are static, bureaucratic and not very flexible. However, the modernization of the state has begun, with the strong support of the international donor community, and it has affected the Ministry of Agriculture, as a pilot ministry. Decentralization and privatization have become key words since then. Alongside this development goes the inclusion of crop diversification, sustainable land use and participation in official policies.

The people as actors

As mentioned above, characteristics of landownership are unequal land distribution and absolute ownership rights. The small-scale farmer plans the utilization of the natural resources on the land on the basis of personal criteria (family needs, survival as a farmer), available instruments and manpower. Thus, land use planning and utilization of natural resources in Paraguay has to consider the family as the natural and most important unit.

The campesinos have to deal with very limited instruments and resources. Their land use technologies are mostly traditional. Since these traditions go back to the time of colonization, they are based mainly on slash and burn techniques. In Paraguay, relatively little is known about agroforestry techniques. As campesinos are difficult to convince, success must be seen and felt. Thus, the introduction of more resource-friendly techniques (agroforestry systems, direct seed) is time-consuming. Special access is necessary; speaking the local language (Guarani) is indispensable. Reference farmers who have the confidence of both farmer colleagues and the introducer, as well as the formation of farmer's associations, have proved to be useful tools.

A special role is played by the women in the rural areas. A campesino will not take any decision on new techniques without contacting the women in his life, that is, his wife and grandmother(s). Frequently, the women are the decision-makers in any case, as their husbands are working elsewhere to improve the family's income.

Relations between the campesinos and the state are frequently tense because of remoteness, bureaucracy, inadequate differentiation between campesinos and organized timber-poaching and land-grabbing gangs, and the subsequent suffering of the campesinos in police actions against the latter. The modernization of the state may bring some changes in this respect. NGOs and internationally supported projects play an important role as intermediaries.

NGOs and international organizations (projects) as actors (stimulators, catalyzers)

Since the early 1970s, considerable support has been given to the forestry sector in Paraguay. The Forest Law, the formation of a Forest Service, Forest Education at school and university level, and Forest Inventory have been established with international help (FAO, Swiss, German and Japanese technical cooperation). From 1984 onwards, the German technical cooperation group has

delivered services and support to rational land use planning and forest/environmental/natural resources strategies and policies.

Whereas in the early years of cooperation the projects concentrated on governmental institutions as their partners, in the course of time it became clear that consciousness could not be raised in governmental institutions and politics without practical experience. A special role is thus given to pilot activities and projects in the rural areas. The aim of these projects is to prove the implementability of ecologically oriented land use with small- and medium-scale farmers as partners, and with NGOs and extension services as mediators. In these activities, in the beginning and up to the present, the cooperation of various institutions and organizations has been a problem and has itself become an objective.

Activities in buffer zones of national parks play an important role. The cooperation and collaboration of all relevant groups is being exercised, having as its main objective the protection of the natural resources by giving the rural population alternatives for income generation and livelihood. The stability of the rural communities has proved to be the best park guardian. Agroforestry systems, direct seed techniques, alternatives to (for example, non-timber forest products, cultivation of forest herbs) and diversification of crops are successful examples of the Paraguayan context. Opening up ways of access to small amounts of credit for those who do not dispose of guarantees, such as property and title deeds, seems to be a necessity. The success of such measures has long been proved in small-scale industries. However, in the Paraguayan context it seems to be a privilege for donors to implement.

Without a doubt, NGOs and projects play an important role. But the different approaches of these organizations sometimes do not contribute to sustainably improve the situation. Lack of coordination and discrepancies in their philosophies and approaches, mainly regarding the question of the project ownership, hamper the desired impact.

Time pressure and the pressure to achieve countable indicators in due (i.e., planned) time, and sometimes pressure to achieve a flow of money, frequently lead to white elephant projects or projects that depend entirely on the foreign input. Re-orientation, flexibility and the readiness to adapt to changing conditions in our partner's countries are necessary if sustainability of projects is to be achieved.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In order to contribute to resolving problems in natural forest protection in Paraguay, several means should be undertaken in parallel. They include:

- harmonizing and, consequently, implementing and following-up existing laws and their application against criminal gangs and corrupt officials;
- implementing a monitoring and evaluation system for natural resources that is rapid, accessible to the public and transparent; and
- working with the people in their areas.

The modernization of some of the state's structures will, for example, allow thinking about privatization and decentralization of the control and fiscalization of timber commercialization and export, thus making them more transparent and bringing them nearer to the peoples' understanding.

Rational land use planning is considered to be a powerful means of protecting natural resources. The family should be considered the smallest but most important planning unit.

An efficient privatized extension service bringing together foresters and agriculturists should be promoted. Selection and training of the extensionists is an important task. In the Paraguayan context, the extension workers should ideally grow out of the communities they are going to advise. This would improve their acceptance. A clear human resources development strategy is necessary for the extension service in order to address the specific needs of the communities.

To allow people using the forests to satisfy their families' needs in a sustainable way, it is necessary to promote research on what is sustainable (for non-timber products, also) and on the carrying capacities of ecosystems. Showing people the benefits of forests for themselves and their descendants is considered to be powerful protection against foreigners and vested interests. However, on the other hand, it means that politicians also understand that, and can finally change the agrarian code, which still describes forests as 'unproductive lands'.

The role of women as decision-makers in rural areas of Paraguay must be recognized. Convincing the women is a safe way to success.

NGOs and internationally supported projects must play a role as catalyzers and mediators, instead of assuming tasks of the line system. Convincing the partners to assume a project's ownership is a necessity, and it is one of the most important challenges for donor agencies. Bringing the actors of the public and private sectors together is another challenge in Paraguay. The understanding of each other's role, strengths and weaknesses must come prior to trying to complement each other.

It is recognized, on one hand, that times are difficult, but, on the other hand, that money is still easy to get from the big donors (WB, BID, EU), especially in the sector of protection of natural resources. However, NGOs should reject the temptation to make quick money out of their work. Donors' projects should refrain from imposing strict demands regarding time and measurable indicators of success, and they should establish better monitoring systems relative to the quality of their agents' (own or contracted) work, incorporating aspects of impact.

Table 1: Distribution of the Population in Paraguay

Region	*Area (km^2)*	*%*	*Population*	*%*
Eastern	159 000	39	4 400 000	97.8
Western (Chaco)	247 000	61	100 000	2.2
Total	**406 000**	**100**	**4 500 000**	**100**

Table 2: Deforestation Rates in Paraguay

Period	*Area (ha)/Year*
1945-1985	123 000
1985-1991	290 000
1994-1995	120 000

Initiatives and Experiences in Relation to Conflict Resolution between Forest Villages and Forestry Organization for Sustainable Management of the Forest Resources in Turkey

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Summary

In Turkey, the forest areas, which cover 20.2 million ha, or 25 percent of the total surface of the country, are exclusively owned (99 percent) and managed by the state (Ministry of Forestry). More than eight million people living in 17 000 village settlements scattered within or around these forest areas are in the lowest-level income group, and they are heavily dependent on excessive and often destructive utilization of the forests for providing their basic needs and earning cash income from the forest areas, due to extremely limited alternative sources of income. This situation creates serious constraints for efficient conservation and sustainable management of forest resources to provide vital environmental, social and economic functions and services for the present and future populations, and it is the main cause of conflict between forest-dwellers and the forestry organization.

Although the poor socio-economic conditions and dependency of the large forest village populations are commonly recognized as the main cause of deforestation and a constraint to sustainable management and utilization of the forest resources, adequate consideration in the development policies of the governments, and sufficient support for socio-economic development of forest village communities, have not been provided up to the present time.

To alleviate the conditions of the forest villagers and improve relations with them, the forestry organization itself has undertaken various legal, institutional and implementation measures during recent decades. However, achievements up to the present have been inadequate, mainly due to limited experience in planning, management and utilization of forest resources with the participation of forest village communities and integration of efforts with the other stakeholders.

On the other hand, rapidly increasing seasonal and permanent migration from the forest regions to the urban areas has been reducing the dependency and pressures of the forest region communities on the forest resources to some extent during recent decades. But such migrations have been exerting serious social strains on the separated families and putting heavier workloads on women while the men are away for work. At the same time, new destruction and conflicts take place in the forest areas around urban centres, as a result of urban expansion. During recent periods, unplanned tourism development has also become a serious threat and the cause of serious conflicts in the forest areas, particularly in the coastal regions.

For securing sustainable management of the forest resources, efforts should be concentrated on the development and implementation of appropriate forest management and multipurpose utilization models, with the participation and contributions of villagers and other stakeholders. For this purpose, special consideration should be given to:

■ *strengthening the institutional and staff capabilities of the Ministry of Forestry in participatory approaches and implementation;*

■ *developing policies and strategies and legal arrangements for better integration of the responsibilities and contributions of different stakeholders;*

■ *creating sufficient awareness and commitment in society among decision-makers and politicians; and*

■ *developing partnership and cooperation mechanisms within forest village communities by giving special attention to women's participation.*

Background Information

Forests covering 20.2 million ha are exclusively owned (99 percent) and managed by the state (Ministry of Forestry) in Turkey. More than eight million people living in 17 000 village settlements scattered within or around these forest areas are in the lowest level income group. They are heavily dependent on excessive and often destructive utilization of the forest for providing their basic needs, such as wood for heating and construction, and for earning cash income from the forest areas, due to extremely limited alternative sources of income (Ministry of Forestry, 1993a). As a result of centuries of destructive utilization, such as encroachment for gaining farming land, overgrazing, illicit cuttings, and fires caused by people, more than half of the presently existing forest areas (11.3 million ha) carry only degraded or poor forest vegetation (State Planning Organization, 1980). Deforestation is followed in large areas by serious soil erosion, water resource depletion, loss of flora and fauna species and their biological diversity, on an irreversible scale (Ministry of Forestry, 1993).

More serious conflicts are experienced regarding the degraded forest lands and openings within the forest areas. While the forestry organization is trying to establish productive forest cover by reforestation in such areas, as dictated by the forest management plans, villagers prefer to use these areas as common grazing lands, and (in many cases with the support of local politicians) they prevent reforestation implementation to an extent involving several million ha of the country's territory.

Although the poor socio-economic conditions and dependency of the large forest village populations are commonly recognized as the main cause of deforestation and as a constraint for the sustainable management and utilization of the forest resources by securing their vital economical, social and environmental functions and services, adequate consideration in the overall development policies of the governments and sufficient support for socio-economic development of forest village communities have not been provided up to the present time.

Under these circumstances, the forestry organization has been trying to solve the conflicts by itself, by undertaking various institutional, legal and implementational measures during recent decades. Such measures aim at alleviating the socio-economic conditions of the forest villagers and improving relations with them in order to achieve more efficient protection and management of the forest resources, as discussed in detail in the following section.

On the other hand, increased migration from the forest regions to the urban areas has been reducing dependency (by increasing revenues provided from outside work) and to some extent during the last decade has consequently been reducing the pressures on the forest resources. But such migrations put serious social strains on separated families and increase the workload of women while the men are away at work. At the same time, new destructions and conflicts are initiated in the forest areas around urban centres, as a result of urban expansion. For example, most of the dense forest vegetation has been destroyed as a result of rapid expansion of illicit settlements in the critical watershed areas surrounding Istanbul City, resulting in depletion and pollution of water resources supplying the city.

Unplanned tourism development has also become a serious threat and the cause of conflicts regarding forest resources, particularly in the coastal regions, during recent periods (State Planning Organization, 1995). Besides production forests, protected areas such as national parks, nature parks, nature reserves and wildlife reserves are also under heavy pressure for the construction of excessive tourism installations and summer houses, which is encouraged by land speculators, particularly in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions. Support for the forestry organization at the political level has been inadequate for the prevention of such unhealthy development and for the solution of growing conflicts in these areas.

Uncompleted and slowly progressing forest land demarcation and cadastre works have been among the serious obstacles to solving a great number of land ownership-related conflicts in forest regions (State Planning Organization, 1995).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in the environmental protection and rural development fields have been showing a significant development in number and capabilities, especially for creation of awareness in the society in general and among the intellectuals and politicians in particular. Yet only few of these NGOs have significant experiences or have effected field level implementations in relation to the protection of forest and other natural resources, based on participatory rural development projects and implementations. The Turkish Development Foundation (TKV) is the most prominent among them, with its more than 20 years of field experience in rural development and five years of experience in community forestry project implementations. The Turkish Erosion Combating and Natural Resources Conservation Foundation (TEMA) is the other major NGO involved in natural resource development in cooperation with local communities, and it has successfully been implementing some pasture development and erosion control projects in the mountainous regions during recent years. The Association

for the Protection of Natural Resources (DHKD), the Foundation for the Protection of Environmental and Cultural Values (CEKUL), the Association for Conservation of Turkish Nature (TTKD) and the Association for Investigation of the Rural Environment and Forestry Problems are also among the NGOs worth mentioning (Dogru, 1997).

Different Measures and Programmes Implemented by the Forestry Organization in Relation to Development of Forest Village Relations and Conflict Resolution

Legal arrangements

Fuelwood and roundwood needs of the forest village households are provided at subsidized prices (one-third of cost price) by the General Directorate of Forestry (GDF)(Articles 31 and 32 of the Forest Law).

Roundwood needs of the wood processing units owned by forest village cooperatives are provided at subsidized prices. Up to 80 percent of the fuelwood production is also provided at the cost price to the forest village households or cooperatives for selling at the market as a source of income (Article 34 of the Forest Law).

The forest villagers are allowed to use forest lands for grazing under certain conditions (Articles 19 and 21 of the Forest Law).

Priority is given to local forest villagers for employment in forestry activities (Article 40 of the Forest Law).

Suitable degraded forest lands are allocated to the forest villagers for reforestation and utilization of forest production from such reforested areas. Grants (for village communities) and low interest credits (to households) for reforestation establishment and maintenance activities on such lands as well as on their own lands are provided to encourage reforestation and afforestation activities by local communities (Articles 57 and 64 of the Forest Law, Reforestation Fund Regulation, National Reforestation and Erosion Control Mobilization Law)(Dogru, 1997).

Forest lands that scientifically and technically lost their forest character prior to 31 December 1981 and are determined to be suitable for agricultural

or grazing purposes, and the forest lands already settled by city, town or village dwellers' communities are extracted from the forest regime. They are (a) used for settlement of forest villagers that have to be moved out of their present areas because of, for example, serious threats such as landslides or extreme degradation of natural resources; (b) allocated to village communities as common grazing lands; or (c) sold to the inhabitants presently using them. Revenues from such sales are supposed to be transferred to the Forest Villagers Development Fund for use in forest village development programmes and projects in accordance with the Constitution and Article 2b of the Forest Law.

There is a 50-year tax exemption for people who establish forest plantations (Article 63 of the Forest Law).

A Forest Villagers Development Fund is established under the Ministry of Forestry to support different income generation and rural development activities in the forest villages (Article 13 of the Forest Law 6831; and Amendment Law 1744) (Dogru, 1997).

Institutional arrangements

The Forest Village Relations General Directorate (GDFVR), established under the Ministry of Forestry, is responsible for designing and supporting small-scale income generation and rural development projects and implementations by forest village households or cooperatives. The present organization of the GDFVR is composed of four departments (the Planning and Coordination Department, Individual Credits Department, Cooperatives Department and Construction and Settlement Department), 15 divisions and one Fund Accountant at the headquarters level, and 47 Forest Village Relations Chief Engineer units and 157 Forest Village Relations Engineer units under the nine Ministerial Regional Directorates at the field level (Dogru, 1997).

Other general directorates of the Ministry of Forestry, and especially the GDF, have continuous close contact and relationships with the forest villagers through their field level units distributed all over the country. These units are the only state agencies in most remote areas. More than 10 000 forest guards (more than 8000 under the GDF) responsible for patrolling forest areas against illicit interventions of local forest communities represent an important component in the organizational structure of the Ministry of Forestry (Dogru, 1997).

Implementations and achievements

Provision of wood requirements at subsidized prices

As mentioned above, in accordance with Articles 3l, 32 and 34 of the Forest Law, GDF provides significant amounts of roundwood and fuelwood to forest village communities every year at subsidized prices. The total amount of wood provided during 1996 under this scheme was about 8.5 million m^3, and the corresponding value of these subsidies borne by GDF (the difference between the subsidized value and the market value of 8.5 million m^3 of wood) was estimated at about TL 13 trillion at 1996 value (more than US$ 150 million) (General Directorate of Forestry, 1997).

Non-forest products and grazing rights

Forest village communities are provided with collection and utilization rights for various non-wood products, as well as grazing rights on suitable forest sites.

Encouragement of reforestation and tree planting by villagers

With the support of the credit from the Reforestation Fund, the total afforestation established by villagers and the private sector during the 1986-1996 period was 1720 ha, which corresponds to about 1000 ha of afforestation established annually. About TL 40 billion (US$ 500 000) credit assistance was provided for the establishment of approximately 3000 ha of forest plantation during 1996. Although these figures are quite modest in comparison with potential state reforestation achievements and existing large potential reforestation areas, increase in the private plantations during last three years seems promising. Private nursery areas established with the support of the Reforestation Fund credit during the 1986-1996 period was 65,6 ha (General Directorate of Reforestation and Erosion Control, 1997).

Forest village development plans and implementation projects

For identification of socio-economic conditions, problems and potential solutions, 534 District Level Forest Villages Development Plans were prepared by the multidisciplinary survey and planning teams of the GDFVR during the 1974-1984 period. There is an urgent need for renewal of these plans to update the information about changing conditions of the forest village areas and expectations of village communities, but, due to institutional constraints, revision and renewal plans have been prepared for only 94 districts covering 630 villages during the past three years (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997).

District development plans are taken as the basis for implementation activities of the GDFVR. The plans identified and suggested various social development implementations for 826 344 units (household level implementation of a certain activity) and economic development implementations for 1 094 364 units (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997).

Model implementation projects have been developed by the GDFVR for each different activity, providing information about implementation techniques, required inputs, expected outputs and economical aspects. Cooperation with the other general directorates of the ministry is used in identification of priority village areas (where there is severe damage to the forest areas or where there are constraints for implementation of reforestation and national parks/protected areas activities) to be included in the annual investment/implementation programmes.

Credits are provided to forest village households for supporting income generation and rural development activities. Income generation and social development project implementations are supported by individual credits (given to individual households) provided from the Forest Village Development Fund (FVDF). Social development project credit is interest-free, but no grace period is implemented. The interest rate of the credits supplied by the Forest Village Relations Fund for income generation activities (presently 5 percent) is one-seventh of the interest rates of the Agricultural Bank credit (the average inflation rate during recent years has been 70-80 percent). During the 1974-1995 period, 246 016 forest village households were provided with credit for the implementation of 33 different projects. The total value of the credit provided for this purpose was TL 16.8 trillion, at 1995 value (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997).

Apart from the FVDF, modest amounts of credit obtained from other sources (mainly from foreign-financed project budgets) were also provided to forest villagers (TL 650 billion to 14 097 households during the 1993-1995 period). Reimbursement rates of the credits are generally very high, as, for example, more than 92 percent during the last five years (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997).

Credits are provided to forest village cooperatives for supporting income generation and rural development activities. The development and functioning of forest village cooperatives (FVCs) have been supported by various legal and financial measures and support programmes in Turkey. Objectives of such supports are:

- provision of income to villagers through cooperatives;
- capital accumulation in the villages that should be re-invested in new employment and income creating activities; and

- development of in-village cooperation and collaboration directed to socio-economic development as well as to the protection and management of natural resources, including forests.

The major support provided by the GDFVR is in terms of credit provided at favourable terms for development of various income generating and social development activities by the forest village cooperatives. For this purpose, 249 cooperatives were provided with TL 44.6 billion in grants and TL 307.8 billion in credit during the 1975-1995 period. The total value of this assistance at 1995 prices was TL 4.7 trillion. Credit provided to the cooperatives during 1996 was TL 456 billion. This money was used for financing various economic activities, including carpet weaving, extracting pine nut and bay leaf oil, producing bricks, pickling olives, producing forage, processing and marketing wood, and cultivating mushrooms, and for dairy products plants, cold storage and fish farming plants. To obtain such credit, at least 51 percent of the village households should be members of the cooperative, and 10 percent of the project costs should be met by the cooperative. Reimbursement rates of the cooperative credit has been considerably high (98.3 percent) up to present (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997).

Lands taken out of the forest regime

Another important activity of the GDFVR is to follow up the procedures for demarcation and sale of the lands taken out of the forest regime (in accordance with Article 2b of the Forest Law) and the transfer of the revenues from such sales to the Forest Villages Development Fund. During the 1973-1996 period, 322 286 ha were identified as lands to be taken out of the forest regime by the forest cadastre commissions. With the addition of the lands determined by the commissions of the General Directorate of Land Register and Cadastre (GDLRC), the total area to be taken out of the forest regime is estimated at about 450 000 ha (General Directorate of Forest Village Relations, 1997). Of these lands, according to Laws 2924 and 3763 the areas suitable to be used as pasture are to be allocated free of charge for the common utilization of local villagers. The lands suitable for agricultural practices or those already settled by the villagers or urban populations should be sold to the persons presently using them. However, sale of such lands was stopped upon cancellation of some provisions of Article 11 of Law 2924 by the Constitutional Court in 1993, based on the argument that sale of such lands to persons other than forest villagers was against the Constitution. To overcome this constraint, Law 4127 was enacted in 1995, and some changes were made in the Regulation for the Support of the Development of Forest Villagers. Cadastral

surveys and registrations in favour of the Treasury are presently continuing, and these activities are supported by the GDFVR with the expectation that the transfer of the revenues from sales would provide considerable amounts of money for the Forest Villagers Development Fund Budget. However, there is also a strong opposition among the foresters and some NGOs against implementations of Article 2b, with the belief that it is a very serious threat to the sustainability of the forest resources, and if implementations continue, much larger areas should be expected to be taken out of forest regime, with new legal adjustments and with political decisions and preferences (for gaining votes from forest village populations) in the future. There are also serious doubts about the transfer of such large amounts of revenues to the FVRF while the government is anxiously seeking new sources of revenue for closing the significant deficit in the state budget.

Employment provided by the forestry activities

Forestry activities are highly labour-intensive and provide a significant amount of employment opportunities to the forest village communities. In fact, total employment provided in forestry activities during 1996 was 46 994 599 working days, corresponding to 1 565 488 working months. However, payments to the workers, especially by the GDF, are subject to long delays (from three to four months) due to difficulties faced in the sale of forest products during recent years (Dogru, 1997).

Foreign-Assisted and National Projects and their Achievements towards Development of Appropriate Participatory Approaches

Various foreign-assisted projects have been undertaken in relation to development of appropriate community forestry, participatory and integrated method approaches during recent decades. Implementation-based experiences gained (from successes as well as from failures) and a cadre of trained staff (both abroad and in field implementations) have been the valuable achievements of such projects. However, most of the field implementations (i.e., under the GTZ project in the Zonguldak region) have not been sustainable for different reasons, including mistakes made in village selections, insufficient institutional capabilities in participatory planning and implementations as well as an insufficient project period. A brief discussion of such projects follows (Dogru, 1997).

FAO-GCP/INT/045/SWI was an important project for the testing and development of appropriate community forestry models in the country and was implemented in three selected regions of the country (the Erzurum/Uzundere, Amasya/Vezirkopru and Sinop/Duragan districts). However, the first phase was too short to achieve its objectives, and suspension of the second phase of the project for various reasons was unfortunate.

FAO-GCP/INT/539/ITA, Forestry and Food Security in the Mediterranean Region, is a regional project covering Turkey, Syria and Jordan and has been implemented since 1992. Its implementations in the selected villages of the Hadim District of Konya Province have developed some useful experiences in relation to identification and implementation of natural resource development and income generation activities with the participation of local populations. Some promising results have been obtained particularly in agroforestry implementations, land and water resource development, communal laundry, and women-oriented small-scale income generation activities.

Ongoing since 1993, the World Bank-assisted Eastern Anatolia Integrated Watershed Development Project has produced some useful implementation results in participatory (villagers' contribution) and integrated (collaboration of forestry, agriculture and rural services organizations) approaches in the degraded mountainous watersheds of the three provinces of the eastern part of the country. However, in the achievements of the project, substantial inputs provided by the World Bank and government (the total project budget is over US$ 100 million) have played significant roles. Therefore, sustainability and replicability of its model in other regions without similar project conditions (with modest external assistance to villagers) is rather questionable.

Some national-level, small- to medium-scale projects and implementations also provided useful experience. They include: (a) establishment of coniferous (*P.brutia*) plantations on abandoned farmlands by local people in Cal/Denizli Province; (b) efficient protection, utilization (for nut production) and enlargement of stone pine (*P.pinea*) forests in the Aegean Region; and (c) silvipastoral demonstrations in deforested areas in Konya Province. A comprehensive evaluation of achievements and failures of these activities is available (Geray *et al.*, 1993).

As mentioned above, in addition to the state forestry organization, various NGOs have also been showing increasing interest in involvement in participatory forestry and natural resource protection and development activities. The most prominent among them is the TKV, which is continuing its community forestry activities in the Erzurum and Duragan regions. The activities were started jointly with GCP/INT/045/SWI and the Ministry of Forestry during the 1992-1995 period.

With relation to community forestry, rural development projects have been implemented in TKV Erzurum and Sinop Forest Regional Directorates with a participatory approach. The income generating projects include animal husbandry, improvement of vegetable and fruit cultivation, beekeeping, fishing and home economics. In the framework of community forestry, the ongoing implemented projects are distribution of multipurpose, less wood-consuming heath; plantation to meet the fuel and lumber needs of the villagers in the shortest term; production of crops to improve cattle breeding, and upgrading of barns; and pasture improvement as a soil erosion preventive.

In the plantation activities, selection of fast-growing and nectar-rich tree species is the basic criterion, since these will make an important contribution to the improvement of beekeeping. The sustainable utilization of natural resources approach is used in the implementation of all these activities. Besides these, in recent years, there has been an endeavour to improve all these activities in a micro-catchment frame (Saltyk, 1996).

Experiences gained under different projects and initiatives showed that in the ongoing activities in the frame of protection and improvement of the natural resources, even though the income generating nature of the projects is more encouraging because of the creation of mutual confidence between contributing/supporting organizations and the villagers, and the consciousness level of the villagers on these subjects is raised, it is possible to receive the required support of the villagers for the attainment and implementation of the projects (Group for Development and Environment, 1995) (Clark, 1996). Villagers consider that if their living conditions were improved, they would give up destructive interventions on forest resources. GDFVR also follows the same strategy, and spends most of its efforts and resources to support income generation activities in the forest villages. However, sufficient efforts and mechanisms (criteria and indicators) are lacking for evaluating actual contributions of the ongoing income generation support programmes towards sustainable management of the forest resources. Experiences under these projects taught that special attention should be

paid to measuring and evaluating the impacts of alternative support programmes and courses of action on sustainable management of forest and natural resources. Appropriate strategies and programmes should be developed, based on thorough and participatory evaluations of the achievements (Dogru, 1997).

Contributions of the other government agencies

Due to harsh topographical conditions, limited land resources and remoteness of the forest village areas, as well as lack of sufficient awareness of the consequences of deforestation and natural resources degradation in the mountainous and forest regions, the investments and services, including education, health, infrastructure, agricultural extension and credits, provided there by the other government agencies (agriculture, rural services, communication, electrification, education, health) are usually inadequate and poorer than the services provided to the villagers on bottom lands (Special Expertise Report, 1995).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The main sources of conflict in relation to sustainable management of the forest resources in Turkey are:

- dependency of large forest village populations on excessive and destructive utilizations of the forest areas for their livelihood due to their low income levels and lack of alternative sources of income;
- unplanned urban expansion into forest areas due to high rates of migration from rural areas; and
- excessive and inappropriate tourism expansion into forest areas, especially in the coastal regions of the Aegean an Mediterranean Regions.

In spite of increasing general awareness about the causes and serious environmental consequences of the conflicts in the forest areas, political commitment and support for solutions have been insufficient up to the present, and essential action programmes (including socio-economic development of the lowest income level forest village communities) have not found a place among the development priorities and strategies of the political governments.

Involvement in and contributions of other stakeholders, including relevant state agencies, local administrations and NGOs, to conflict resolution efforts are inadequate, and cooperation and collaboration among them are weak;

Legal, institutional arrangements, strategies and programmes designed and implemented by the forestry organization towards solution of conflicts have achieved their objectives to only a limited extent, due to various reasons including:

- inadequate institutional and staff capabilities in participatory decision-making, implementation and evaluations;
- dominance of top-down decision-making due to insufficient decentralization and weak coordination and cooperation at field level among various units of forestry organization, as well as with other agencies and local administrations;
- inadequate extension and communication capabilities of the forestry organization;
- lack of sufficient government support, such as budget and personnel for forest village relations development programmes;
- inadequate cooperation and collaboration with other stakeholders, including relevant government organizations, NGOs and local administrations;
- lack of sufficient cooperation and collaboration with education, training and research institutions in relation to conflict resolution for sustainable management of forest resources;
- insufficient consideration given by the traditional forest management planning system to socio-economic conditions, needs and aspirations of local populations;
- lack of adequate systems and efforts for evaluating the achievements of various ongoing measures and implementations towards resolution of conflicts for sustainable management of problems;
- lack of rational criteria and their implementations for selection of priority regions, villages, households and programmes for rational assignment of limited resources;
- uncompleted and slowly progressing forest land demarcation and cadastre works; and
- inadequate political interventions in conflict areas.

Income generating projects play an important role in the sustainable utilization of natural resources.

Sustainable rural development requires a holistic approach that considers the economic, social and ecological dimensions of the issue.

Problem identification, development of solutions and implementation must take place with the active and equitable participation of resources utilizers, government and voluntary organizations, while a dynamic approach must be adopted in planning work.

Women have a particular importance in the utilization of resources in rural areas. Thus, women, too, should take part in project designation and implementation.

It is recommended that a thorough study with a participatory approach (involving local communities and relevant stakeholders) be made of the achievements and failures of the past and existing policies, strategies, legal and institutional arrangements, programmes and implementations of the forestry organization in relation to sustainable management of forest resources and determination of amendment and development needs and opportunities, by placing special emphasis on:

- subsidized fuelwood and roundwood provisions to forest villages and cooperatives;
- efficiency of measures and programmes for encouragement of reforestation and tree planting activities by local communities, such as land allocation, credit, grants, technical assistance, legal and bureaucratic constraints;
- income generation and rural development programmes supported by the Forest Village Relations Organization;
- forest management planning systems in respect to efficiency in taking socio-economic aspects and local needs and expectations into account;
- existing utilization rights and opportunities for the local populations from the forest areas and potentials for further increasing such utilizations and benefits;
- impacts and consequences of some lands being taken out of forest regime;

- village harvesting and utilization systems, successfully applied in coppice forests in some regions, and opportunities for their expansion in other regions, especially in southeastern Anatolia;
- plantations by villagers of multipurpose and fast-growing species, such as stone pine, chestnut, walnut, poplar, alder and eucalyptus, and opportunities for their expansion and development, as, for example, alder plantations in the Black Sea Region, and stone pine plantations in the Aegean Region;
- silvipastoral plantations and rangeland improvement implementations and potentials in and around forest lands; and
- impacts and possibilities for standing sale of forest production to forest villagers to provide greater responsibility and income opportunities in the harvesting, transportation and marketing chain.

Also recommended are:

- making a detailed study of trends in socio-economic conditions as well as in wood consumption patterns in forest villages;
- making a participatory study and evaluations of the policies, strategies, implementations and experiences of relevant NGOs;
- effecting participatory implementation, based on these evaluations, of identified and improved models on a pilot basis in selected representative regions of the country;
- effecting, based on participatory evaluations of achievements, final identification of appropriate models, designing and introducing necessary strategies, legal and institutional arrangements, programmes and implementations;
- securing active participation of women and other disadvantaged groups, such as children and youth, in all stages of the participatory implementations and conflict resolutions, including identifying problems according to their priorities, designing suitable programmes and implementations, and benefiting from outputs and revenues;
- strengthening institutional and staff capabilities of the forestry organization in participatory work, extension and communication fields;

- studying participatory work and cooperation capabilities in the villages;
- strengthening relations and collaboration with NGOs;
- taking necessary steps for decentralization of decision-making, and strengthening cooperation and collaboration at the field level, between various units of forestry organization as well as with other local stakeholders, for example, local administrations, other state agencies and NGOs;
- strengthening government support in forest village development programmes and implementations;
- strengthening cooperation and collaboration with education, training and research institutions;
- developing a forest management planning system to incorporate socio-economic aspects and multipurpose management and utilization provisions;
- developing and implementing an efficient participatory evaluation system;
- strengthening forest land demarcation and cadastre works;
- concentrating limited resources in priority regions and areas for conflict resolution;
- eliminating inappropriate political interventions by improved collaboration between stakeholders; and
- undertaking active involvement in regional and international initiatives for exchange of ideas and experiences in conflict resolutions for sustainable management of forest resources.

In the light of the guiding principles and recommendations that were adopted in the Satellite Meeting on 'Integrating Conflict Management Considerations into National Policy Frameworks', the main recommendations of this paper are to:

- develop effective and efficient programmes and training for all relevant actors that will help to build capacity in conflict management /resolution;
- understand the reasons why present policies are not being implemented effectively;

- incorporate local knowledge into policy development;
- consider training, research, and institutional development as essential elements of the policy working process;
- encourage NGOs, universities, community organizations and news media to collaborate in developing effective policies that incorporate local knowledge;
- plan multipurpose use of forests by participatory management of these resources;
- make the decision-making process regarding forest management transparent and participatory.

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Integrating Conflict Management into Forestry Policy: An Applied Anthropologist's Perspective

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Summary

This paper addresses some of the author's own experiences related to forestry conflicts and conflict resolution. It is divided into two sections. The first section introduces some working assumptions on conflict and conflict management in community forestry. These working assumptions largely derive from the discussion paper written by Kreg Ettenger and the author for FAO's 1996 Electronic Conference on Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts through Community Forestry. However, several of them have been revised to reflect the different purpose of this Satellite Meeting. These alterations also, hopefully, reflect changes in the author's own thinking and understanding of the issues.

The second section discusses some of the author's experiences as an applied anthropologist and as an educator concerned with forestry conflicts. It opens with an analysis of the Social Forestry Project in Bangladesh, which offers a cautionary tale of what can go wrong when community forestry is introduced without strong official support and a proper policy framework. Next, the paper covers some of the author's research on the history of forest conflicts in Kenya, illustrating how varied, entrenched and long-standing such struggles can be. The analysis of conflicts requires both a social and a historical perspective. The final part of the section discusses some of the experience at Syracuse University in trying to deal with forest conflicts and related conflict resolution issues.

Introduction

There is an urgent need to address issues of conflict in national forestry policy. The guiding principles and recommendations set forth by the Satellite Meeting offer an ambitious yet important framework for integrating conflict management into forestry and other resource-based sectors. In particular, the recommendations' emphasis on harmonizing policies, increasing collaboration, empowering communities, linking local participants with supporting groups, building capacity through appropriate training, seeking improved communication within and across communities, and involving forest users in resource planning and management cover substantial ground. If the tasks suggested by the Satellite Meeting seem too broad or sweeping, it is only because the problems to be addressed are so enormous and deeply entrenched. However, these guiding principles and recommendations can be operationalized in appropriate ways from the global to national to local levels. Of course, the manner in which they will be implemented will vary according to the particular place and case. There is no blueprint or quick technical answer for resolving forestry conflicts, which are often deeply embedded in communities and their relations with the wider political economy.

In response to the request of the organizers, this paper addresses some of the author's own experiences related to forestry conflicts and conflict resolution. It is divided into two sections. The first section introduces some working assumptions on conflict and conflict management. These working assumptions largely derive from the discussion paper written by Kreg Ettenger and the author for FAO's 1996 Electronic Conference on Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts through Community Forestry. However, several of them have been revised to reflect the different purposes of the Electronic Conference and the Satellite Meeting. Hopefully, they also reflect changes in the author's own thinking and understanding of the issues. In that regard the Satellite Meeting was very useful in bringing together such an illustrious and knowledgeable group of individuals.

The second section discusses some of the author's experiences as an applied anthropologist and as an educator concerned with forestry conflicts. It opens with an analysis of the Social Forestry Project in Bangladesh, which offers a cautionary tale of what can go wrong when community forestry is introduced without strong official support and a proper policy framework. The project was nearly disastrous for rural communities and their members. Next, the paper covers some of the author's research on the history of forest conflicts in Kenya, illustrating how varied, entrenched, and long-standing such struggles can be. The analysis of conflicts requires both a social and a historical perspective. The final

part of the section discusses some of our experience at Syracuse University in trying to deal with forest conflicts and related conflict resolution issues.

Working Assumptions about Forestry Conflicts and their Management

The Satellite Meeting's guiding principles and recommendations offer an important framework for addressing urgent needs in terms of addressing forestry conflicts. One hopes that the published proceedings of the meeting will furnish readers with an appreciation of the exciting and demanding learning process that occurred within the plenary sessions and working groups. One also hopes that the published papers provide insights into the individual authors' particular goals, values, assumptions and experience, which so influenced the outcome of the meeting.

Gunnar Myrdal (1970) emphasized the need to be explicit about one's value premises and concepts in order to enhance clarity and to reduce possible bias. The author believes that the identification of value premises is especially important in the realm of conflict studies. In a paper for FAO's 1996 Electronic Conference on Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts through Community Forestry, Kreg Ettenger and the author listed several working assumptions about communities, forest conflicts and conflict management based on our own experiences and on published studies. These working assumptions (in revised form) also offer a useful starting point for discussing the integration of conflict management concerns into forestry policy.

- Conflicts related to the use and management of natural resources, including forests and trees, exist to some degree in every community. Their origins are often complex and multi-causal, embedded in local cultural systems yet connected to the wider political economy of which communities are a part. The form and intensity of such conflicts vary widely by place and over time. Communities and their members also vary in the way they respond to conflicts. Significant diversity always exists within communities in terms of knowledge, opinion, material wealth, power and status. Although cultural norms may be widely shared, not all groups or individuals within a community will hold or behave according to a single set of values (Rubinstein, 1994). Therefore, conflicts and the way they are handled should be examined from a social and

historical perspective, with an understanding and appreciation of the range of local viewpoints.

- A dispute is a public acknowledgement of conflict between parties. It signifies severe disagreement, but also willingness and an ability to do something about the claim. Not all natural resource conflicts become disputes. People may allow grievances to smoulder because of fear, distrust, peer pressure, financial constraints, exclusion from disputing procedures, or strategic reasons. Poor women and other marginalised groups often end up essentially 'voiceless' in conflicts due to their powerlessness and oppression (Sarin, 1997). Some societies and institutions (including government agencies) encourage their members to avoid public confrontations. An apparent lack of disputes, however, does not mean that conflict is somehow absent. Submerged conflicts may be ready to erupt at any time.

- Disputes about specific resources are often entangled in complex and long-standing conflicts between individual community members, families and various other social groups. A seemingly minor dispute may have major implications because of socio-economic, political or cultural conflicts embedded in it. The task of sorting out such conflicts for the purpose of resolving immediate disputes can be time-consuming and difficult, or even impossible. A supposedly resolved dispute may resurface long afterwards because the underlying conflict remains. At the same time, the web of social relations within a community often compels parties in a dispute to work towards a resolution, especially when they are pressured to do so by family members, neighbours, community leaders or government authorities. Parties involved in a dispute sometimes press to resolve it as a means of determining their current position in an ever-shifting balance of power.

- All communities possess ways of resolving or managing disputes. These mechanisms may be formal or informal, violent or peaceful, equitable or not. While specific mechanisms vary, communities rely to varying extents on the same basic procedural modes to handle disputes: avoidance, coercion, negotiation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication (see Castro and Ettenger, 1997,

for detailed references). Community forestry disputes are generally handled through legal forums and procedures used for dealing with other land-based issues. Forest departments and other official land-use managers also often possess their own judicial mechanisms, complete with laws, regulations, guards and officers capable of rendering legally binding decisions.

- Community members involved in disputes take courses of action based on their preferences, their knowledge about the options available to them, their perceived likelihood of success, and their relationship with an opponent. Not all people have equal access to all options; class, gender, age, ethnicity and other factors may restrict the avenues open to certain individuals or groups. Seasonality, through its influence on labour patterns, income flow, and so on, can affect the ability of people to act on disputes. Finally, the nature of the dispute itself may prescribe the use of certain legal procedures.

- Most communities have long histories of contact with their neighbours, as well as with state-level and other institutions, that have significantly affected the way they perceive and manage conflicts. The existence of different bodies of laws and legal procedures within the same socio-political space is called legal pluralism. Communities are sometimes able to appeal to legal orders rooted in the nation-state, religion, ethnic group, caste, local custom, or other entity. These legal orders are not discrete or closed systems, but overlap. They can be complementary or competitive and contradictory. Nation-states attempt to exercise exclusive control over the definition of legal, extra-legal and illegal orders. State bureaucracies, including legal and forestry administrations, have generally expanded their power by co-opting, supplanting or suppressing local legal orders and institutions. Nevertheless, community members still often hold their own views of legitimate and illegitimate authority. It is not uncommon for community members to try to insulate as much as possible certain areas of their lives, including control over land and natural resources, from the intervention of national policies and agencies (Moore, 1986). However, such strategies have not always proven successful.

■ A key starting point for integrating conflict management into national policy is for decision-makers, administrators and planners to acknowledge that conflict exists, and that it ought to be addressed in a participatory manner. The lack of official awareness or candour regarding conflicts often results from the system of centralized forest management that was set up in colonial times and that has continued to the present day. Many public forestry agencies still focus on custodial management of state lands or reserves. Ironically, the creation of these reserves through government appropriation of large tracts of lands has been a major source of local-state forest conflicts worldwide since the colonial era. Officials have usually characterized unauthorized local forest use as criminal activity (encroachment, illicit farming, theft of produce, and so on), without recognizing the underlying issues of contested resource tenure and social justice. Conventional policies, programmes and projects are often designed and implemented with minimal public involvement. When conflicts arise from such interventions, they are commonly viewed by officials as errors to be ignored or hidden, rather than as pressing problems to be addressed (and learned from). Because forestry agencies often have no formal local accountability, communities and their members resist official policies and practices in a variety of ways. This legacy of distrust and tension between communities and foresters remains strong in many places. Fortunately, many government agencies have increasingly perceived the need to seek local participation in the management of forests and forest resources.

■ Ideally, community participation in the policy formulation process may be best conceived as an ongoing negotiation among all members of society, seeking to reconcile their diverse interests. The problem of attaining local involvement is not so much a technical issue as it is a political one. Policy formulation and implementation take place in a context of dynamic power relations. As Sarin (1997) observed: “Any community forestry intervention changing the existing resource use pattern will tend to have a different impact on its different constituent groups.” Again, a key challenge is getting broadly based participation in policy formulation so that the full range of public interests is covered. How to get

such participation in policy formulation cannot be discussed without reference to wider issues of governance and political reform, including democratization, decentralization, the establishment or strengthening of local institutions, gender equity, addressing the needs of the landless and land-poor, and so on. Participatory forestry offers enormous opportunity for the empowerment of local communities and their members. Proactive approaches to long-standing conflicts are possible, such as recognition of indigenous land rights or setting up co-management arrangements with local communities. But such changes depend on political will and political action.

Applied Research and Training on Conflict in Forestry

The author's experience with conflict management in community forestry arises out of three closely related settings: (1) work as an applied anthropologist dealing with practical issues of planning, managing, and evaluating community-based forestry programmes and projects, including fieldwork in Kenya, Somalia, and Bangladesh; (2) social and historical research on forest- and agricultural-based conflicts, focusing on Kenya but also looking cross-culturally; and (3) teaching and advising of graduate and undergraduate students at Syracuse University concerning forestry and land-use management.

The evaluation of social forestry in Bangladesh

The pervasiveness of conflict in community forestry is a common theme that links all of the author's applied work, ranging from desk studies to field studies to evaluations of national programmes. The following example relates directly to the need for integrating conflict management into national planning. In 1992 the author led a team for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to evaluate at mid-point Bangladesh's Social Forestry Project. This project was supported by UNDP (with a US$ 1.9 million grant) and the Asian Development Bank (with a US$ 44 million loan), and it sought to create the capacity for the Forest Department to engage in community-oriented training, tree planting and resource protection. The planners viewed it in part as a proactive response to long-standing conflicts between foresters and rural people over the use of state forest reserves. Much attention was given to training, including showing

forestry staff how to work with villagers. The project also set up innovative resource-sharing arrangements, with people getting access to state land, and financial support to plant and to protect trees. Co-managed woodlots and agroforestry plots were to be established on 16 000 ha of degraded state forests. Resource-sharing arrangements were also set up for strip plantations along roadways, canals and other sites. These co-management arrangements were seen as a major step forward from the Forest Department's usual practice of evicting or arresting 'encroachers' on government land.

The project had great potential and accomplished many positive things, including training large numbers of forestry staff and community members. It also established many decentralized tree nurseries and tree plantations. Yet the Social Forestry Project had failed to fulfill much of its promise, and there were deep problems related to the project. The executive summary of the final mission report observed that public participation was often lacking in the strip plantations, woodlot and agroforestry components, as a top-down approach, rather than partnership, was the dominant model used in project implementation. It also observed that there have been problems related to widespread land tenure conflicts, benefit-sharing arrangements, development of agroforestry modules, and other issues concerning community-Forest Department relations (Castro *et al*, 1992).

The reasons were complex and varied, but several factors stood out. Interviews indicated that some senior forestry officials were unconvinced about the value of community participation, including co-management arrangements. Their concept of community forestry seemed to be that villagers ought to do what officials wanted them to do. The project was largely treated as an addition to existing departmental activities, instead of being integrated into the totality of its structure. A large number of staff who underwent training in community forestry, for example, ended up assigned to non-community posts. The training unit itself lacks an institutional home within the department, suggesting that it would not be sustained once the external funding ran out. Its monitoring and evaluation units had been poorly implemented. The resource-sharing arrangements were often used by officials as a legal means to abolish the villagers' claims to state lands. Project participants (who were usually illiterate) were expected to sign pre-printed agreements relinquishing any traditional rights to the land. The agreements also put all decision-making power in the hands of department staff, with any conflicts to be resolved by forestry officers. The project floundered in many places as rural people resisted this 'pre-printed participation'. In fact, the project often intensified, rather than reduced, the tensions between foresters and villagers.

The point of this discussion is not that foresters in Bangladesh made errors in the project. Rather, the message is that effective conflict management policies and practices in community forestry will not occur until officials are willing to recognize communities and their members as partners in a process of problem-solving. The various stakeholders need to be recognized and engaged in the processes of project planning, implementation and conflict resolution. The case study also shows that community forestry cannot succeed as an essentially donor-driven activity. It will not thrive as an additional activity. Officials need to commit in terms of adjusting national legislation, policy, institutional structures and training to permit communities to act as full partners. The absence of supporting legislation and policy in Bangladesh, for example, made it difficult for forestry staff sympathetic to participatory forestry to engage communities or NGOs in innovative co-management arrangements.

Historical research on forest conflicts in Kenya

Although the notion of incorporating conflict management into community forestry planning and policy is fairly recent, the world's forests and wooded areas have a long history of being both the source and site of conflicts. In many places rural people, government agencies, commercial interests and others have long struggled over the control of forest resources. Often there exists a legacy not only of conflicts, but also of previous attempts at resolving them. Understanding this past is crucial, since it influences the willingness of people to get involved in new efforts. It also provides insights into what has worked and what has not worked in terms of conflict resolution.

While working among the Gikuyu people of Kirinyaga, Kenya, in the early 1980s, local informants made the author aware of the long and continuing history of forest conflicts between rural communities and the central government (Castro: 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1996). There were conflicts and debates about deforestation in the Mount Kenya Forest Reserve. Officials often portrayed local families and pit-sawyers as being responsible for land clearing, while some local people contended that the central government's own development policies were responsible for forest degradation. State policies sanctioning extensive clearing of indigenous forest to provide wood fuel for tea factories and to make way for plantations were identified as culprits. My attempt to analyse the dynamics of these local-state conflicts eventually led me to examine the origins of state forestry in the southern Mount Kenya region. Indeed, knowledge of this past was indispensable for comprehending government forest management and local attitudes about it (see

Ochieng Odhiambo, 1997, on the relevance of history for understanding resource conflicts in Eastern Africa).

The onset of British rule in Kirinyaga during the early 1900s was followed almost immediately by the appropriation of forests under the guise of conservation and colonial interest. Following the model of India, colonial officials evicted local forest dwellers and criminalized traditional land use in the state reserves. Conflicts ensued, and the central government attempted to address them in many ways: police action, creation of buffer zones, appointment of a special commission to adjudicate indigenous claims, creation of local governing bodies to act as officially sanctioned channels for local protest and negotiation, and accommodation with particular groups of forest users. The latter two arrangements, with their element of continuing local involvement, seemed to offer the most effective strategies for problem-solving. The land claims process provided limited compensation for the people of Kirinyaga, but British officials had determined from the onset that the Africans' claims were largely to be ignored. After independence, the Kenyan government retained the system of centralized management of its state forests. In fact, it revived the colonial idea of buffer zones in the mid-1980s under the guise of the Nyayo Tea Zone Schemes.

Local histories also revealed that other conflicts were related to the colonial setting but focused on the rural communities themselves. The introduction of new religions led to the new social division among the Gikuyu by the 1930s. The communal bonds that once supported public worship at sacred groves had eroded, and the protection of the groves emerged as a major conflict. Meanwhile, land-hungry Gikuyu from distant areas moved into Kirinyaga, contributing to the breakdown of common property regimes that had sustained locally protected patches of woodland. In both cases indigenous means of conflict resolutions (moots) proved ineffective, and local government intervention was employed to resolve each case. Not all community members accepted the traditional authority of local elders to adjudicate these forestry conflicts. Outside intervention became necessary to protect the trees. The legacy of these various conflicts (and attempts to resolve them) is evident in current forestry policies and practices. The history of Kirinyaga is far from unique. Similar social and political changes occurred throughout the world, and planners need to be aware of the existence and legacy of these varied conflicts. Once again, it is generally community members who are best at identifying the existence of such conflicts and past attempts to resolve them. Archives are also another important source of information on forest conflicts (but they are often overlooked in development planning).

Training

Most of the Satellite Meeting's recommendations have direct relevance for universities and colleges. Recommendation No. 10, for example, specifically encourages universities, along with NGOs, community organizations and the news media "to collaborate in supporting effective policies that incorporate local participation." Educational institutions also clearly have key roles to play in contributing to capacity building, training, policy analysis, conflict analysis, increased communication and enhanced local empowerment. In addition, universities and colleges can provide opportunities for public forums, as mentioned in Recommendation No. 5, for fostering "dialogue and negotiation among all forest and tree resource users." It is very clear to the author and many of his colleagues that universities and colleges ought to be playing more socially responsible roles by addressing natural resource conflicts and the need for building up conflict resolution capacity from the local to the global levels.

Substantial interest in forestry conflicts and conflict management issues often already exists within educational institutions, especially among students. Since 1988 the author has worked with a significant number of graduate and undergraduate students at Syracuse University and the College of Environmental Science and Forestry of the State University of New York (SUNY) who are concerned about specific forest conflicts and their resolution. These students come from various disciplinary backgrounds, including anthropology, geography, forestry, environmental science, and sociology. Many of the graduate students (including students from India, Mexico, Nepal, Kenya, Uganda, Guatemala, Lesotho, and Brazil) have carried out field projects on topics directly and indirectly dealing with forest-based conflicts. Working in a conflict setting raises many sorts of ethical, professional and methodological issues that have not been addressed in conventional training programmes. Our students are making us increasingly aware of the need to address such issues in a more explicit and thorough manner. Upon completing their degrees, these women and men have often resumed or taken up positions in government, NGOs, or other organizations that deal at times with issues related to forest conflicts. Thus, the training provided (or not provided) to students ultimately influences society at large.

At Syracuse University and the SUNY campus several faculty members are working on such conflict management and environmental issues. The Maxwell School at Syracuse University also has several special programmes and centres concerned with conflict and environmental issues, including the Program for the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts, the Global Affairs Institute, the

Center for Environmental Policy and Administration, and the Environmental Finance Center. Despite the presence of such entities, however, little coordination took place among faculty interested in the fields of forestry and other natural resource conflict. Disciplinary, department and other boundaries often served to keep faculty members apart. Fortunately, several of us, in different disciplines and departments, started a dialogue about the need to consider natural resource conflicts at multiple levels. FAO's 1996 electronic conference on community forestry and conflicts proved especially useful in providing a focal point for analysis. The enthusiasm and interest in the topic has led several faculty and graduate students at Syracuse University and SUNY to collaborate in an effort to establish a programme on policy, theoretical and ethical aspects of natural resource co-management and conflict resolution. The proposed programme will try to help communities, public officials and other interested parties develop policies, institutions and practices that lead to collaborative action for sustainable resource management and conflict resolution. We are especially interested in devising ways and means, including distance-learning technology, on-site workshops and training, fellowships, financial assistance, and instructional appointments, so that programme partners and participants in local communities can have access to the range of its activities. Our goal is that the programme may contribute to local capacity building, instead of being another extractive industry, removing knowledge from communities for the benefit of outsiders. These are lofty goals, but no less so than those proposed by the Satellite Meeting at Antalya.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There is an urgent need to address issues of conflict in national forestry policy. The guiding principles and recommendations set forth by the Satellite Meeting offer an ambitious yet important framework for integrating conflict management into forestry and other resource-based sectors. As the problems to be addressed are so enormous and deeply entrenched, it is difficult to set an agenda based on broad principles and recommendations. Operational recommendations and agenda for their implementation will emerge as the guiding principles and recommendations are translated into particular places and cases. There is no blueprint or quick technical answer for resolving forestry conflicts, which are often deeply embedded in communities and their relations with the wider political economy.

This paper has set forth eight working assumptions about forestry conflicts and their management. It is especially important when dealing with issues of conflict management to specify one's underlying value premises and assumptions.

These assumptions call for looking at conflicts as ever-present features of community life. All communities possess ways of addressing conflicts, but not all people have equal access to all options. Significant differences in terms of gender, class, status, age, and so on, are always present. A key starting point for integrating conflict management into national policy is for decision-makers, administrators and planners to acknowledge that conflict exists, and that it ought to be addressed in a participatory manner. The paper has also presented a brief case study of what can go wrong in community forestry when it is introduced without strong official support and a proper policy and institutional framework. Even 'social' forestry can become 'anti-social' forestry if local participation is not seriously taken into account. The paper has also presented a short discussion of the history of forestry conflicts in Kenya, illustrating how complex and entrenched such struggles can be. The analysis of both cases demonstrates the importance of combining social and historical perspectives. The final section ends with a discussion of efforts at Syracuse University and the neighbouring SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry to create a programme on collaborative strategies for resource and conflict management.

The following three questions for follow-up are based on the Satellite Meeting's guiding principles and recommendations.

- How can universities make themselves more relevant collaborators in the processes of harmonizing policies, fostering dialogue among forest resource users, facilitating local participation, helping build local capacity, increasing communication within and between communities, and assisting participatory resource planning and management?
- What approaches and tools are useful in developing the capacity of institutions at all levels (local to global) to engage in cooperative strategies of resource and conflict management?
- What are the implications of decentralization, privatization, and democratization for state and community resource management regimes and their conflict resolution mechanisms?

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Conflict Management and Community Forestry in the Near East Region: Two Case Studies from Syria and Jordan

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Summary

The paper presents two case studies related to conflict management among forest village populations in Jordan and Syria. The conflicts between such populations and the state organizations responsible for forest management in the two countries are very similar, as is forestry legislation actually in force in Jordan and Syria, which, being of the most traditional and restrictive type, is frequently the hidden cause of damage to the forestry resources.

Recommendations and proposals for the modification of the forestry law were already made by a forestry legislation expert who visited the two countries, but the related problems were not adequately discussed among all the concerned parties. A long process of partnership-building is needed among the national organizations dealing with forestry resources management, village communities living in the forest areas and the main international organizations dealing with the sustainable management of natural resources, in order to achieve effective and satisfactory results.

1. The author is Chief Technical Advisor of the FAO Project GCP/INT/539/ITA, Forestry and Food Security in the Mediterranean and Near East Region, operating in Jordan, Syria and Turkey and financed by the three recipient countries and by the Italian Cooperation.

Introduction

Project GCP/INT/539/ITA, Forestry and Food Security in the Mediterranean and Near East Region, has been operating in Jordan, Syria and Turkey since October 1992. It is a contribution to a long-term programme aiming at a wider and more active participation of the local populations in integrated forest and rangeland management, for a sustainable development of the forestry subsector.

The main project has several objectives.

- Foresters and technicians will apply knowledge, skills, techniques and guidelines gained during the project's training activities in their work.
- Participatory integrated natural resources management will be continued in selected areas in Syria, Jordan and Turkey after the project's completion.
- Proposals for institutional development, conducive to following a participatory integrated natural resource management approach, will be agreed upon by the three governments of the countries under the project.
- Extension services will be provided in subjects promoted under the project in selected areas other than those covered under the project.

As is easily understood from such objectives, the project frequently deals with the management of conflicts arising between the rural populations living in forestry villages and governmental organizations in charge of forest protection, mainly as concerns the sustainable use of forests and range resources. This happens more or less actively in all the project areas of Jordan, Syria and Turkey. This paper will discuss two case studies related to conflict identification and management in Jordan and Syria, while the main conflict management problems related to community forestry activities in Turkey will be discussed in a separate paper.

A Case Study from Jordan

Forests in Jordan cover about 76 000 ha, of which 35 500 ha are manmade plantations. Natural forests cover 40 594 ha, representing only 0.44 percent of the country's area and are mainly located in the Jerash, Ajloun, Irbid and Bani Keenana districts, chiefly in the northern, eastern and western slopes of the mountains.

The main natural forest types include:

- evergreen oak forests, covering about 21 000 ha, in which *Quercus calliprinos* and *Quercus infectoria*, associated sometimes with *Ceratonia siliqua*, *Pinus halepensis* and *Arbutus andrachne*, are the dominant species;
- Juniperus forest, covering approximately 8000 ha, in which the dominant species is *Juniperus phoenicea*, occasionally associated with *Pistacia atlantica*, *Cupressus sempervirens* and *Quercus calliprinos*;
- deciduous oak forests of *Quercus aegilops*, associated with *Ceratonia siliqua* and *Pistacia atlantica*, covering about 4000 ha; and
- mixed pine and hardwood forests, also including almost pure pine woods, where *Pinus halepensis* is sometimes associated with *Arbutus andrachne* and *Quercus calliprinos*, covering about 3000 ha.

Jordan has about 520 000 ha of cultivatable land, which represents only 6 percent of the territory, and an estimated population of 4 500 000, having one of the highest growth rates in the world (3.9 percent).

As a result of massive population movements from rural to urban areas, the country has become increasingly urbanized during the last 25 years, and more than 70 percent of the population lives in the major towns (Amman, Irbid, Zarka and Akaba).

In the past, there had been in Jordan a very limited involvement and participation of the people in planning and forestry management implementation. However, as people's participation in forestry protection and management is a key factor for increasing the extremely reduced forestry surface, both our project and Project TCP/JOR/4452/T implemented some actions aiming to enable the national staff of the forestry department to adopt participatory methods for planning rangeland and forest management, identifying the most critical areas and conflicts with the concerned populations, in order to prepare, with their active participation, holistic forestry management plans (Project TCP/JOR/4452) or Integrated Natural Resources Management Plans (PINRM, Project GCP/INT/539). The approaches followed by the two projects where very similar, and the proposed case study is based mainly on the results of a study carried out by a community forestry consultant and by a national consultant in socio-economics, recruited in 1995 in order to

identify the main conflicts and/or problems faced by villagers living in the forestry areas of the Ajloun and Jerash districts.

Methodology adopted

The methodology adopted was based mainly on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Through this methodology, which focuses on qualitative rather than quantitative information, it is possible to learn their main problems from and with the community members and to evaluate the obstacles and opportunities found in order to make the proper decision.

Efforts were also made to meet people of the older age groups to get information on present and past conflicts. Almost all these people remembered the times when the areas around them were covered with trees, shrubs and greenery. They described the effects of the increasing population on the local vegetation and spoke of how the pressure on forests for fuelwood and fodder has reduced those areas to their present condition.

Data gathered by the district Social Development Centres (set up by the Ministry of Social Development) were also collected by the national consultant in socio-economics (Aridi, 1995), in addition to basic information about the villages (Table 1).

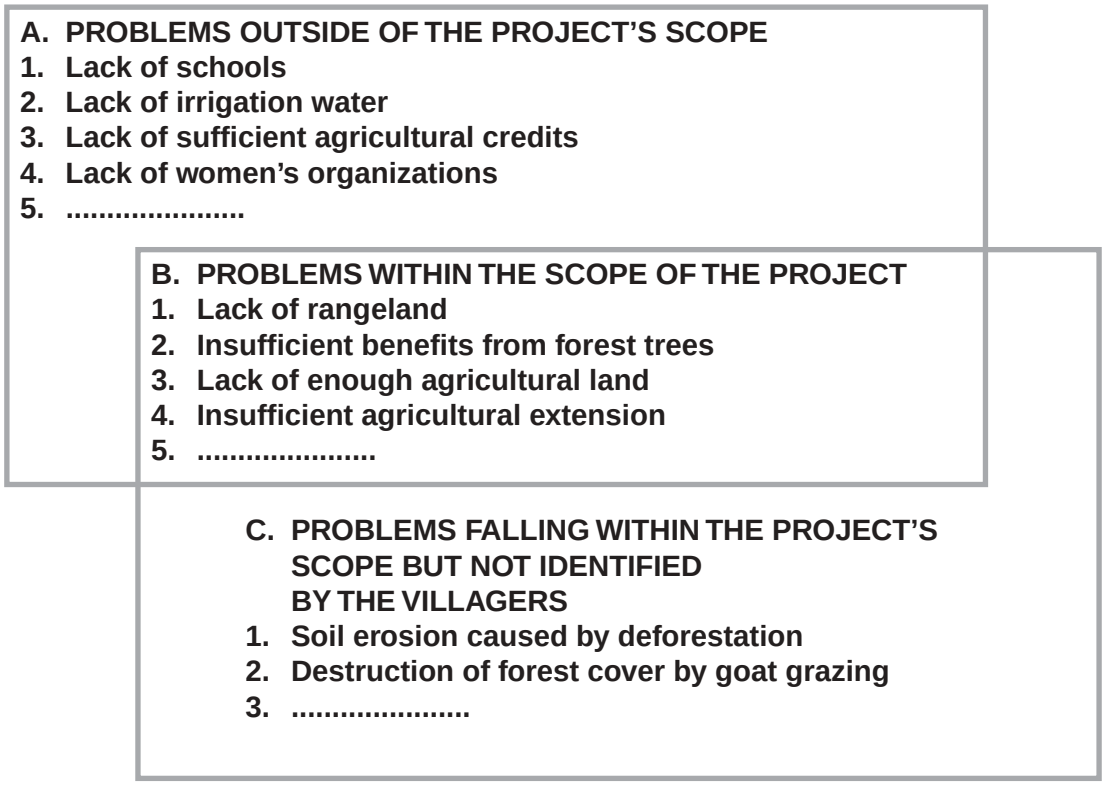
The villages selected for PRA are located in the northern part of Jordan, specifically in the districts of Jerash and Ajloun, having respectively 13 983 and 9 230 ha of forests. They can therefore be considered a representative sample, showing the serious conflicts existing between the forestry organizations and local villagers.

The PRA team was led by M. Dogru and was composed by the national project coordinator A. Al-Salman, the persons responsible for forestry and the agriculture extension in the concerned districts, one national consultant on socio-economics and a second national consultant acting as facilitator. Meetings were usually organized with women and men participating together. One meeting with a group of women from Jordanian society in Jerash was held separately and provided good information on gender issues.

When the PRA team started the meetings, first the team members and villagers introduced themselves, which created a relaxed atmosphere at the beginning. Then, briefly, information was given about the project and PRA

meeting procedure. Villagers were invited by the facilitator to identify their problems. Each identified problem was written on a paper sheet affixed to the wall, with a related priority number. Once the problem-recording was completed, participants were asked to divide into groups (from two to four groups consisting of from three to eight persons, depending on the number of participants), and then each selected a group leader and discussed and ranked the problems according to the group priority order. Finally, a short review and comparison of the differences and similarities between different group priorities was carried out.

After identification of the problems, the PRA team classified the problems under three categories as shown in the following figure.



Results of this classification were explained to the villagers, and they were informed that the project could address only the problems in category B, whereas problems in category A were outside the scope of the project. At this time, villagers were also informed about problems in category C and asked to consider whether some of those problems where also important for their village. If the answer was affirmative, such problems were transferred into category B.

Finally, a problem solving session took place, and villagers were asked to give their proposals only for the solution of the problems in category B.

Participation in problem solving sessions was also active. Like the problems, suggested solutions were also recorded on sheets of paper affixed to the wall.

Villagers were then requested to complete a questionnaire asking for more details about their socio-economic situation, and they were informed that after evaluations of the results by the PRA team, village visits would be continued for more detailed studies and for the preparation with them of the village action plans.

After the end of each meeting, the consultant, together with the team and the villagers, visited different zones of the village and representative sites (forest, agricultural and range areas); village transects were drawn during such field visits. A short synthesis of each PRA meeting was prepared and, after finishing all the PRA meetings, the team met again to review, evaluate and discuss the identified problems and suggested solutions, which were recorded under the following headings:

- forest land-related problems;
- rangeland-related problems;
- agricultural land-related problems;
- infrastructure-related problems;
- social problems; and
- environmental problems.

Problems and solutions falling within the project's scope are summarized in Table 2.

Problems identified and proposed solutions

From the analysis of Table 2 and from a synthesis of villagers' opinions expressed during the various meetings, including also the separate meeting with a women's group in Jerash, the following conclusions can be drawn.

- Problems and solutions show close similarity in different villages.
- Problems identified by women participants show similarity to problems identified by men. However, there is a significant difference in terms of given priorities. Women's first priority always concentrates on the lack of women-oriented extension, of training and of input support for small-scale income generating activities, such as dairy products, pickle preparation and medical herbs.

- Villagers give high priority for family income increase by increasing agricultural production and providing inputs at reduced prices. One of the common solutions suggested was the provision of better agricultural extension services. Infrastructure-related problems (farm roads, irrigation water) are also given high priorities.
- Forest-related problems in almost all villages are ranked as the low priority. Among the forestry problems, first priority is always given to the difficulty of getting permission (from the forestry service) for cutting forest trees on private lands. Another common complaint is related to the small benefits people can obtain from the forest lands. They have some clear proposals for increasing their benefits from forest areas, and especially for the open forest lands (such as planting multipurpose trees and shrubs, and renting forest areas from the state for olive and fruit tree planting).
- Damage done by wild boar is a source of serious concern for the villagers/farmers. The farmers often try to poison the wild boars. This endangers other lives and needs to be discouraged.
- Villagers don't like forest trees on their lands because the shade effect of forest trees is decreasing the agricultural production in neighbouring fields, and because obtaining cutting permits for forest trees on private lands is difficult, requiring a long time and bureaucratic procedures.
- Since villagers, unlike the urban populations, are heavily dependent on intensive natural resources utilization, programmes to prevent damages, with creation of awareness about the essential role of forest for erosion control, water harvesting and environment improvement, must be combined with well-designed activities providing better income opportunities, and a more balanced and sustainable natural resources management.

Problems related to the forest legislation

Among the day-to-day problems mentioned by the villagers, many are related to the forestry legislation. The most relevant include the following.

- For illicit cutting of trees, forest fires and other damage caused to the forests, collective fines are imposed on the neighbouring villages, whereas the actual offender remains unknown. Such

collective fines generate a high degree of discontent and inequity among the local people and a strong resentment against law-enforcing forest officers. According to some villagers, the illicit felling of trees is done mostly at night by a few villagers who own chain saws. The suggestion made to prevent such damage is the introduction of a legal requirement to have a licence, like a licence for a gun, for owning a chain saw, and to inform the District Forest Officer. This would help control and identify the illicit fellers. The persons owning the chain saws should be fined, instead of imposing collective fines on the community for any illicit felling of trees in the forest.

- Goat raising is one of the main problems of the villagers. It is almost free of cost for the villagers because of forest grazing. However, since the goats can destroy the forest, the law provides that "grazing by goats may be totally prohibited by ministerial order in areas where it is deemed to endanger the forest cover." It is a complex matter. Until 1993 the livestock rearers were receiving a government subsidy of 12 kg/month per goat against 15 kg/month for sheep, but this was not sufficient to discourage goat breeding, as the additional feeding ration for goats was largely covering their fodder needs and the goat population was flourishing.
- Felling of trees occurring on private lands is not allowed, and harvesting of fuelwood therefrom is subject to a licence. The procedure for securing a licence for felling and pruning is very time-consuming. The villagers have to present their applications for permission first at the District Headquarters, and later at the General Directorate of Forests in Amman. The villagers urged that the power of granting a licence for cutting and pruning trees on private lands be decentralized and delegated to the district authorities.
- Protected tree species, in particular conifers, cannot be felled unless exceptionally authorized, in essential cases, by the Minister of Agriculture or the minister's representative. Some villagers complained of not getting permission (despite persistent requests) to fell pine trees, that are obstructing their agricultural production. Since conifers constitute about 60 percent of the forest trees present in Jordan and they are far from being an endangered species, this general prohibition seems unrealistic and unjustified.

■ Forest officers are vested with powers to search offenders, but they have no compounding authority. As a result, all cases must be brought before the courts for judicial settlement. The whole process is time-consuming. If authorized forest officers are vested with the power to compound the offences punishable by fines, the people will be able to get faster and cheaper extrajudiciary settlements.

A Case Study from Syria

Forests occupy an area of about 450 000 ha in Syria (2.4 percent of the country's total area). Of these, 180 000 ha are manmade forests. The productive forest consists of only about 60 000 ha, and the remaining forest has gradually degenerated, mainly because of overgrazing, forest fires, illegal overcutting for fuelwood and charcoal production, forest encroachment by agricultural land, and technical difficulties in forest regeneration due to climatic and ecological conditions. Consequently, Syria is an importer of wood, producing locally less than 10 percent of its requirements. Annual total wood production from state forests, both for industrial use and for fuelwood, is only about 25 000 tons.

The major woodland resources of the country are found in the northwestern Governorate of Lattakia and are situated mainly on the foothills of the Alaouite Mountains. There are extensive areas of maquis, with *Quercus calliprinos* dominating. *Quercus aegylops* and *Quercus pseudocerris* form dense stands at middle altitudes with high rainfall. Stands of *Abies cilicica* and *Cedrus libani* can be found in small residual forests above an altitude of 1000 m. *Pinus brutia* pure stands cover areas at lower altitudes in the region. As a result of frequent forest fires, most of these forests are in very young age classes (up to 15 to 20 years).

The protection of natural forests and afforestation of new areas are the main targets of the forest service. To achieve these targets, 40 forest nurseries have been installed, with a production capacity of 30 million seedlings per annum. Since 1984, the afforested area has averaged about 23 000 ha/year, after the appointment of a High Commission for Afforestation. Most of the new plantations are located in areas of low rainfall, where they cover roadsides and hills in bareland.

In order to allow the implementation of community forestry activities and to identify suitable models of integrated natural resources management

programmes in areas located under different phytoclimatic conditions, in 1993 Project GCP/INT/539/ITA selected three pilot areas located respectively in Aleppo, Lattakia and Qunaitra governorates. That located in Lattakia has the best phytoclimatic conditions; rainfall is about 900 mm/year, and it can be considered as a typical forestry area of Syrian coastal hills. However, the area located in Qunaitra, which will be considered in our case study, also has satisfactory rainfall.

Methodology adopted

The methodology adopted is similar to that adopted in Jordan, but, as the project team is working full time in Syria, the discussions with the villagers were not limited to PRA meetings, but were integrated with information collected during previous meetings, field visits and consultancies on specific subject matters (such as socio-economics, agroforestry, beekeeping and edible mushrooms cultivation). Some villages were identified and selected for the implementation of Participatory Integrated Management Programmes. In Syria, such villages are Zeitouna and Al-Fajer, located in Lattakia; Katma, Kessebie and Maarasat Al-Khatib, located in Aleppo; and Trungi and Hadar, in Qunaitra.

The project strategy for developing integrated sustainable rural development programmes in cooperation with the local populations is to start them after identifying the main village problems. On one hand is a sensitization campaign on the role of forests for environment protection, water harvesting and soil erosion control, and on the other, the support of sustainable income generating activities that can be carried out without any damage to the natural ecosystems (for example, beekeeping and edible mushrooms cultivation).

General information about Hadar and Trungi villages

The villages of Hadar and Trungi are located in the Golan upland (Qunaitra Governorate) near the southwestern border of Syria on the slopes of Al-Sheikh Mountain (2814 m). Although the climatic conditions are not extreme, and soil characteristics are good, the project's area is characterized by spread rocky lands and residual natural oak forest (*Quercus calliprinos* and *Quercus infectoria*) that has almost completely disappeared. In Trungi, there are still 160 ha of forest (mainly *Quercus calliprinos*) 40 ha of which are private. Afforested land covers an area of 15 ha, planted with *Pinus brutia*.

The yearly mean rainfall is 775 mm during autumn, winter and spring, but in years of drought it can decrease to 400 mm, and in other years it can reach 1300 mm. Snowfall is frequent during winter; in Hadar it can reach a depth of 60 cm. The area is one of the most exposed to western and to northwestern winds; wind velocity can sometimes reach 100 km/hour (the average velocity is about 50 km/hour). The climate is cold in winter and fairly warm in summer; the yearly average temperature is 15° C, with the maximum in August (25° C) and the minimum in January (5° C). Absolute minimum temperature is -10° C (winter) and absolute maximum is +35° C (summer); late frosts are frequent at the end of April. Details related to the land use, population and animal husbandry in the two villages are given in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Results of the problem census and problem solving meetings

Two problem census and problem solving meetings were held respectively in Hadar and Trungi villages by a national consultant and by the project staff with the participation of about 25 villagers in each village. According to the evaluation and priority ranking of the meetings in the two villages, one sketch was prepared by the consultant (Al-Jebaoui, 1996), which shows the problems identified and the solutions proposed respectively for Hadar (Figure 1-2) and Trungi (Figure 3-4).

As can be seen in the two figures, the problems identified are practically the same in both the villages, and the actions proposed are similar. During the meetings with the villagers that took place for the formulation and implementation of a village action plan, many issues related to forest and range resources use were discussed with them.

Similar discussions also took place in the other project areas in Syria during various meetings with the consultants (such as the socio-economist and the range expert) who were visiting the areas during PRA organized in order to identify the main problems and conflicts related to the use of forest and range resources. The main topics mentioned are summarized as follows.

- The villagers would like to improve their agricultural production by using irrigation, but natural sources are rare, the water table is deep and the results achieved up to now by drilling wells in the area have been unsatisfactory. Therefore, it was decided to evaluate this issue through a consultancy on the availability of water resources and their most appropriate use.

- There is much need of fodder for breeding cattle and sheep, but the forestry law actually in force does not recognize the villagers' grazing rights.[2]

- The villagers are interested in improving beekeeping, and they know that bees in their villages can produce a very good honey, both from native forests and cultivated fruit orchards (cherries, apples, pears). Therefore the project supported such activity through training courses and beehive distribution.

- Only a few people know the edible wild mushroom species growing in their forest, and villagers are not used to collecting, eating and/or storing wild mushrooms because they are afraid of being poisoned. After the visit of one international consultant on edible mushroom cultivation, it was agreed to start the cultivation of *Agaricus bisporus* in some of the air-raid shelters constructed in the village during the 1973 war with Israel. The project supplied compost sacks inoculated with the mushroom mycelium at a subsidized price, as well as the technical skill needed for production. A training course on edible mushroom growing was also organized.

- Villagers are also interested in wildlife and hunting. They know that the forest can provide them with game (such as rabbits and partridges) but they feel that the forestry law actually in force does not allow them to get adequate benefits from game.

- They also collect natural herbs and shrubs from forest and rangeland (such as *Rhus choriaria*, *Origanum syriacum*, *Thymus cilicicus* and *Salvia aramiensis*), and a few of them also occasionally obtain important income from such activity.

2. According to the actual forestry law, grazing animals in forest areas located near a village is not forbidden but requires a special licence obtained through a very long and complicated process. Moreover, the licence is not authorized in (a) afforested area less than 15 years old; (b) burnt forest areas for at least 10 years after the fire occurred; or (c) in any other forest land where, in the opinion of the Forest and Afforestation department, grazing must be prohibited on conservation grounds.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The conflicts seen between the villagers and the foresters in Syria and Jordan are very similar, as is the attitude of the villagers regarding forests, foresters and the forestry law, which is, in both countries, of the most traditional and restrictive type, frequently causing very serious conflicts between the forestry department staff and the villagers.

One difference, however, is due to the fact that the Syrian forestry law is much more restrictive as regards goats, which are isolated and killed when found browsing in the forests. Even if this provision is not completely respected everywhere, it is surely a strong deterrent for the villagers, who are much more careful than the villagers in Jordan about allowing their goats to enter the forests. In fact, with very few exceptions, forests in Syria appear generally less overgrazed than those in Jordan.

However, aside from this difference in the two laws, they are quite similar in many other aspects, generating the same kind of conflicts mentioned above regarding problems related to the forest legislation in Jordan.

Private forestry and community forestry are not encouraged, and sometimes, since the law is too restrictive, there is a risk that it may create serious conflicts and damages. In Syria, for example, when a private land has a forest tree cover of more than 10 percent, it is subject to the public forestry law, which prescribes particular authorizations for thinning, pruning and cutting the trees, and also for terracing and soil preparation. The reaction of the owners of private lands having a forest tree cover approaching 10 percent is to cut some trees in order to avoid the risk of losing a great part of their property rights.

Moreover, it also seems that some of the owners who already have more than 10 percent of forest tree cover on their land are trying to burn the state forests located not far from their land, allowing the fire also to burn part of their forest trees and prevent the limitation of their property rights.

The main conclusion is that forestry legislation should be deeply revised in both countries (and in Turkey, too, though the matter is not specifically addressed in this paper). In order to approach the problem, our project fielded in both countries a forestry legislation expert (Mekouar, 1993) who made the following recommendations, among others, of changes to be made in order to improve community forestry and private forestry in Syria and Jordan.

- To promote community forestry: (a) Local forest users should have a real share in forest management, exploitation and conservation. This may be achieved either through the establishment of self-administered village forests, under the supervision and with the assistance of the forestry administration, or by means of contractual arrangements to be negotiated between the Afforestation and Forestry Department and the competent authorities of interested villages. (b) Customary usage rights should be clearly recognized legally, and except where forest resources are scarce, and/or human/animal pressure is high, their exercise should not, as a matter of principle, be subject to formal licensing.

- To promote private forestry: (a) Most restrictions on exploitation of private woods should be eased, including licences in normal situations. Licences could alternatively be replaced by reporting requirements for monitoring purposes. (b) Technical supervision of the Afforestation and Forestry Department should be kept to the minimum, particularly to avoid possible negative impacts on the environment. (c) In addition to the provision of free seedlings, other incentives may be accorded to stimulate private forestry, such as tax exemptions, low-interest credits, and afforestation contracts of state lands. To this effect, the establishment of an Afforestation Fund (similar to the proposed Environmental Protection Fund) may be envisaged.

- To apply penalties and enforce the law:

  (a) Compensation of damage suffered by forests as a result of infractions should normally be required.

  (b) To secure faster and cheaper extra-judiciary settlements of forestry cases, authorized forest police officers should be empowered to compound for offences punishable by fines, based on officially fixed rates to ensure transparency.

  (c) Penalties for forestry infringements, both fines and imprisonment, should be set at realistic levels, taking account of the financial means of the rural people, and in order to reverse the repressive reputation of forest police officers.

  (d) Finally, as concerns Jordanian forestry law, there should be no collective sanctions whatsoever, and except for authorized

compounding, the power to impose penalties should be a prerogative of the judiciary.

Such recommendations and proposals have not been adequately taken into consideration until now by the concerned authorities of the two countries. The example mentioned above, related to damage by goats in Syria and Jordan, makes us very careful in criticizing the very severe laws related to goats actually in force in Syria, as they proved to be useful in preventing forest destruction. However, it is clear that the best way to prevent overgrazing in areas where the concerned populations are very poor is to discuss the problem carefully with them and with the local foresters, proposing solutions that should be planned and implemented with their agreement.

This can be obtained only through a broad process of partnership-building among the national organizations dealing with forestry resources management, village communities and international organizations supporting this new strategy. Such a process has already started in both countries by means of our project, and we hope it can achieve satisfactory results.

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Table 1: Basic Information about the Eight Forestry Villages
(From the report of N. Aridi, 1995)

	Sakeb	*Nahle*	*Souf*	*Jazazeh*	*Majdal*	*Eshtafena*	*Sakhneh*	*Ainjanna*
Population	7893	2801	11095	1058	459	700	800	6000
Household	1118	431	1180	156	73	60	150	1200
Agricultural Land (D)	4292	2582	14995	2929	6982	850	2276	6057
Olive plant.	3270	1875	9800	2130	5560			2769
Fruit orchard.	772	352	1280	282	532			667
Grape orchard.	120	170	3700	175	300		2386	
Citrus orchard.		115		175	245			
Vegetable	20		40	52	70			235
Cereal land	110	70	175	115	275			
Forest land (D)	2297	282	10943	1558	691	624	1116	12256
Natural forest								
Oak forest	164		3888			388	1048	7863
Mixed forest	2017	255	1790	954	83	236		4262
Pine forest	116	27	319	604	437		68	131
Plantations			4727		171			
Bare forest land			219					
Private forest lands (D)		140	1166	750	520			207
Other states land	10	1,3	12	4	494			
Animals (number)								
Goat	1691	250	3248	2217	122	600	1500	2300
Sheep			10			200	500	200
Cow	12	25	61	29	61	2	50	80
Other	191	21	290	45		22	35	48

Table 2: Problems and Solutions Falling within the Project's Scope

Identified problems	*Suggested solutions*	*Possible project actions*
A.1.Cutting permission for forest trees on private lands	1.1. Study of the legislation, preparation of suggestions for amendments	It is envisaged in the Project workplan through speciallzed consultancles
A.2. Small agricultural land within forest areas	2.1. Exchange of agricultural lands in forest areas with other suitable state lands	It could be done after the survey of the concerned areas by a national consultant
A.6. Lack of enough legal rights for grazing in forest areas	6.1.Provision of sucih rights through amendments in the legislation	It is envisaged in the Project workplan through specialized consultancies
A.7. Insufficient benefits from forest areas	7.1. Implementation of more intensive silivicultural operations (i.e. thinning, pruning) in the dense forest areas	Demonstrative implementations in the selected villages
	7.2. Renting open forest areas to villagers for fruit and olive tree growing purposes	Study of legislative and environmental impact aspects
	7.3. Planting multipurpose fodder shrubs and fruit bearing species on open forest lands	Demonstration and evaluation of their results in the selected villages
	7.4. Providing utilization rights for fruit collection, grazing and fodder harvesting from forest areas	Study of legislative and environmental impact aspects
A.9. Grafting of Pistachio trees	10.2. Technical assistance	Provision of technical assistance and practical training by providing short term specialists in the selected villages
A. 10. Forest fires	10. 1. Education of people	Extension programs
B.1. Lack of range and grazing lands	1.1 Planting multipurpose fodder shrubs and fruit bearing species on open forest lands	Demonstration and evaluation, studies of legislation, procedures, environmental aspects
	1.2. Testing growth of possible nitrogen fixing fodder crops	Demonstration (if possible)
C.18. Lack of sufficient extension knowledge and support, especially for women oriented income generation activities	18.1. Agricultural extension programs, specifically designed for women	Studying possibilities, constraints, providing suggestions
	18.2. Training and support by providing inputs	Demonstrative implementation in selected villages on: • mushroom cultivation • beekeeping • food conservation
F.4. Soil erosion on agricultural lands	4.1. Government initiative	Extension programs for creation of awareness
F 5. Reduced water resources	Government initiative	
F 6. Loosing biological diversity	Government initiative	

Table 3 - Land Use in Trungi and Hadar

Present land uses	*Forestry lands*	*Rangelands*	*Agricultural lands in use*	*Agricultural lands not in use yet*	*Lands that could not be used for agricultural purposes*
Total area (Ha) in Trungi	290	305	526,9	203	909
Total area (Ha) in Hadar	100	900	1450	550	1000
Prevailing uses of land	Fuelwood	Rare, various fodder herbs	Crops and fruit trees	Poor herbaceous vegetative	Not in use
Actual problems		Poor	Absence of windbreaks	Need reclamation	High percentage of stones
Actual benefits	Fuelwood and environmental benefits	Animal grazing (fodder)	Food procurement (fruits, crops)	Fodder for animals	Fodder for animals
Future possible uses	Improvement and development		Production of fruits crops	Agroforestry system	For animal production
Future benefits	Environmental protection	Procurement of fodder during summer	Improve life condition of of villagers	Increase income of villagers	Production of fodder during winter

Table 4 - Land Use in Hadar and Trungi villages (Qunaitra Governorate) Expressed in Donums *

The village	*Lands used for agricultural purposes*				*Useless lands*	*Lands that could not be used for agricultural purposes*	*Pasture-lands*	*Foresters*	*The total*
	Rainfed crops	*Rainfed fruitful trees*	*Watered crops*	*Watered fruitful trees*					
Trungi	2740	2200		330	2030	9090	3050	2900	23340
Hadar	1500	13500			5500	10000	9000	1000	40500

** From the cosnultancy report of Eng. Z. Al-Jebaoui (1996)*

Table 5 - The Areas of Fruit Trees and Herbaceous Crops (in Donums)

	Fruitful trees								*Field crops*				
	Apples		*Cherries*		*Olives*		*Grapes*	*Figs*	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Vetch*	*Lentils*	*Chickpeas*
	rainfed	w	rainfed	w	rainfed	w							
Trungi	156	150	100	150	370	29	710	150	1450	410	330	200	190
Hadar	1985	1		300		55	7285	2042	830	260	190	50	110

Table 6 - Animal Breeding in Hadar and Trungi

	Cows			Sheep	Goats	Horses	Mules	Donkeys	Hens	Notes
	Local	Mixture	Foreign							
Trungi		7	94	1397	850	26	10	20	950	
Hadar	5	5	20	1500	4000	20	50	350	450	

Figure 1: Problems Census in Hadar Village

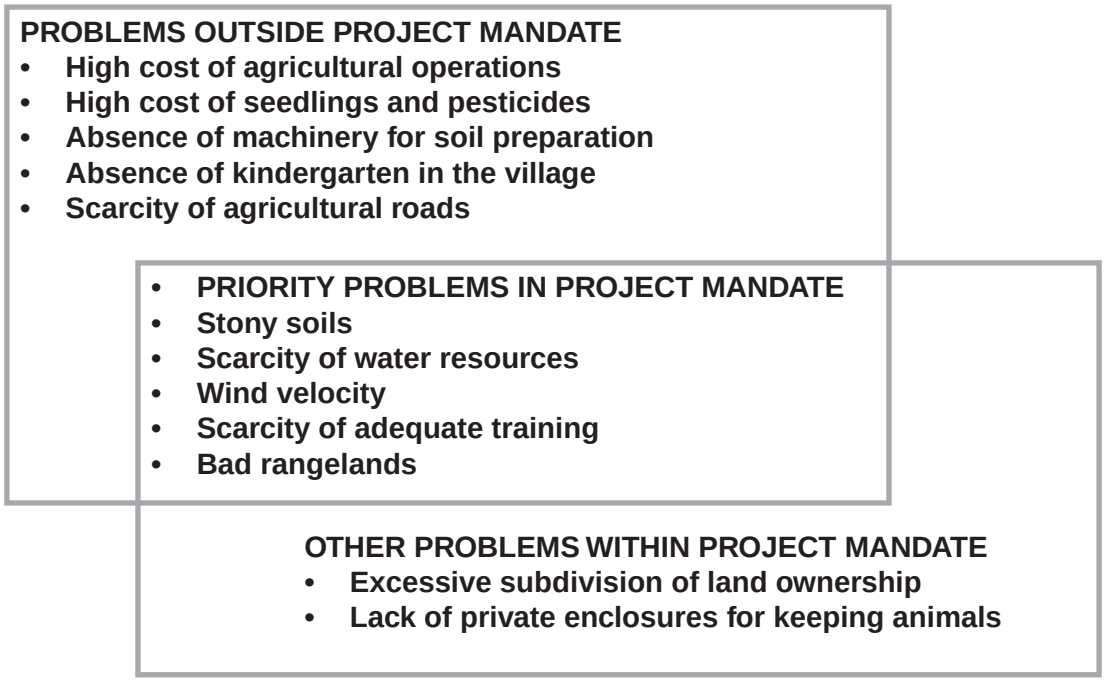

Figure 2: Problem-Solving in Hadar (as suggested by villagers)

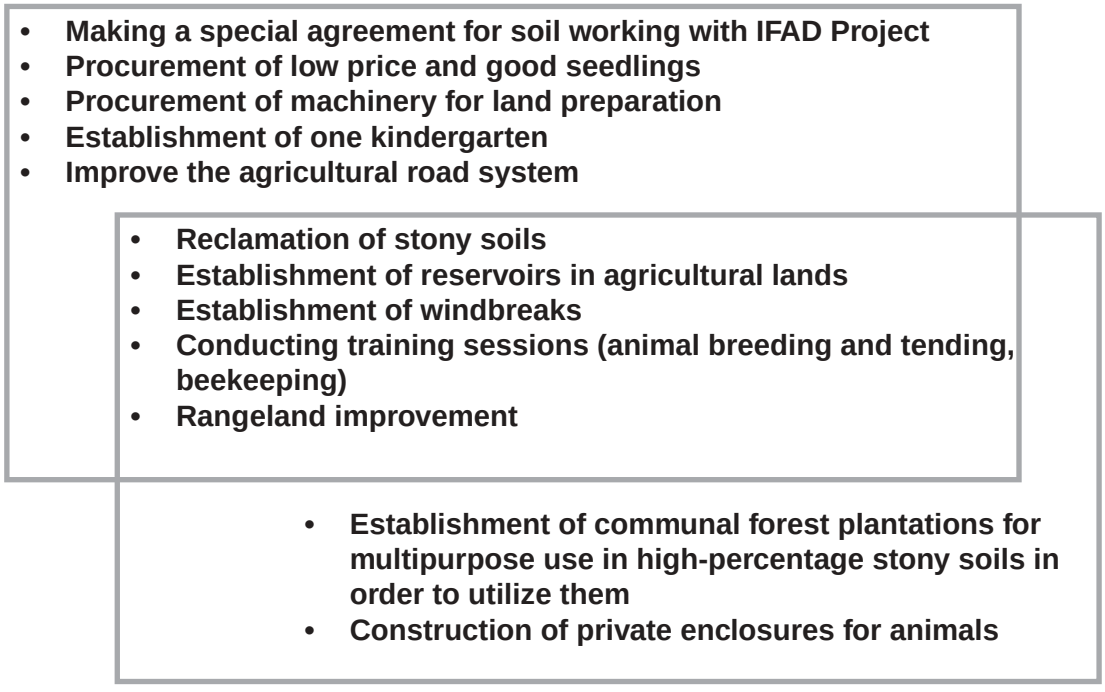

Figure 3: Problems Census in Trungi Village

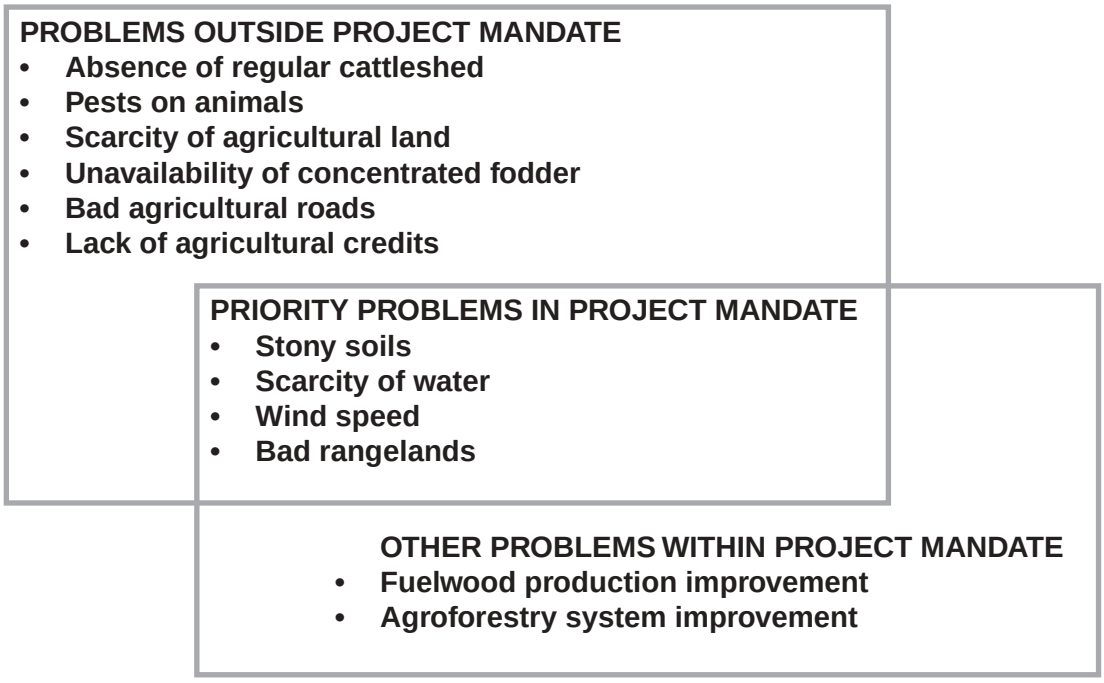

Figure 4: Problem-Solving in Trungi Village (as suggested by villagers)