













#### Why?

- Small-scale producers: the main actors in most tropical forest areas
- Increasing tracts of tropical forests owned by communities
- International forest policies and corporate strategies: importance of local communities and participation emphasized
- Community based forest management approaches seen the main tactics to stimulate sustainability and equity









#### **But: How did it work out?**

- Do we have a right understanding (and respect!) of local realities, needs and dynamics?
- What do we mean by participation and meaningful engagement?
- What have we learnt: dilemmas, pitfalls and promises?
- Where are "we" on the right track and where not?



#### Objectives of the seminar

- To assess the experiences, dilemmas and perspectives to strengthen meaningful engagement of local (forest) actors in tropical sustainable forestry development
- To identify the ways forward:
  - → What should key actors do differently/better?





#### **TAKE-HOME MESSAGES**

Policy makers, business, NGOs, education



## **Programme**

13.15 – 13.30 hrs.	Welcome & Introduction	Chair: Helias Udo de Haes, Institute of Environmental Sciences (CML), Leiden University
13.30 – 14.45 hrs.	Understanding Local Practices	
	Negotiating Timber in DR Congo	Charlotte Benneker, Free lance researcher
	Chainsaw logging in Gabon & Cameroon	Jaap van der Waarde , World Wide Fund for Nature
	Shell Nigeria: working with communities and local representatives	Sola Abulu, Shell International Exploration and Production
	Reforestation in Malindang, Philippines	Anton Stortelder, Alterra, Wageningen University
14.45 – 15.15 hrs.	People First in Tropical Forests?	
	Meaningful engagement beyond rhetoric -Promises and Pitfalls	<b>René Boot,</b> <i>Tropenbos International,</i> on behalf of the Seminar Organizers
15.15 – 15.45 hrs.	Break	
15.45 – 17.00 hrs.	Plenary discussion with panel	
	Panellists	Verina Ingram, Wageningen UR, Agricultural Economics Institute (LEI) Bas Clabbers, Senior policy advisor climate change at Ministry of Economic Affairs Vanessa Linforth, Social Policy Manager, FSC International Freerk Wiersum, Wageningen UR
17.00 -18.00 hrs.	Closure and Drinks	



- What should we stop doing (the pitfalls and wrong tracks)?
- What should we do better or differently (the promises and right tracks)?
- And what does this mean for different actors? (f.e. local communities, governments, private sector, NGOs; our politicians; education & science, international development and support organizations).

#### Panel discussion

Verina Ingram, Wageningen UR, Agricultural Economics Institute (LEI)

**Bas Clabbers,** Senior policy advisor climate change at Ministry of Economic Affairs

Vanessa Linforth, Social Policy Manager, FSC International

Freerk Wiersum,
Wageningen UR, Forestry
Groups











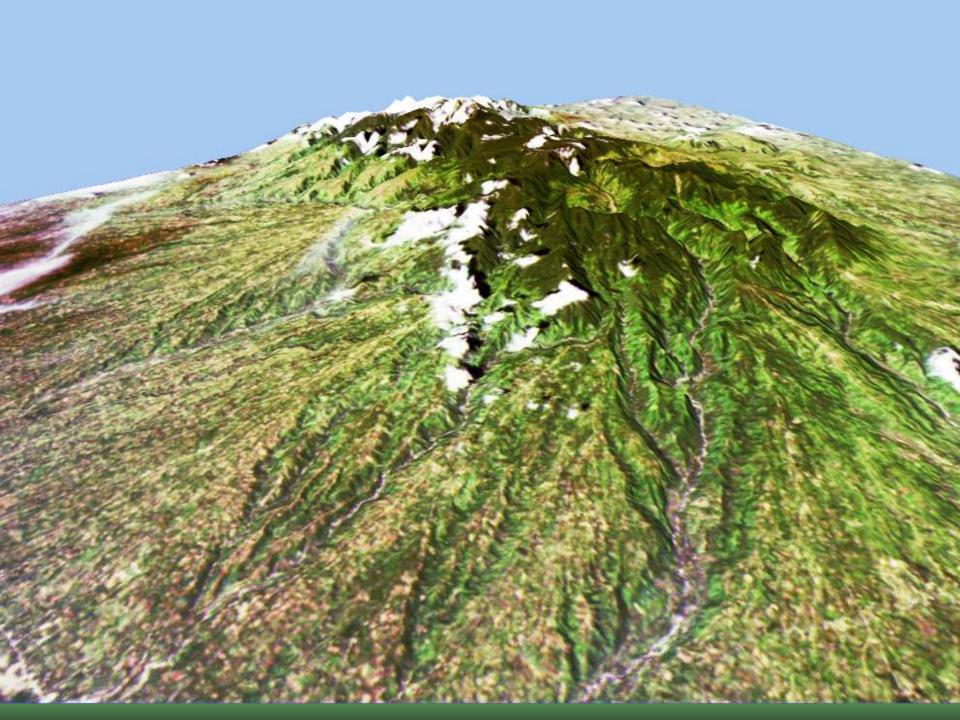












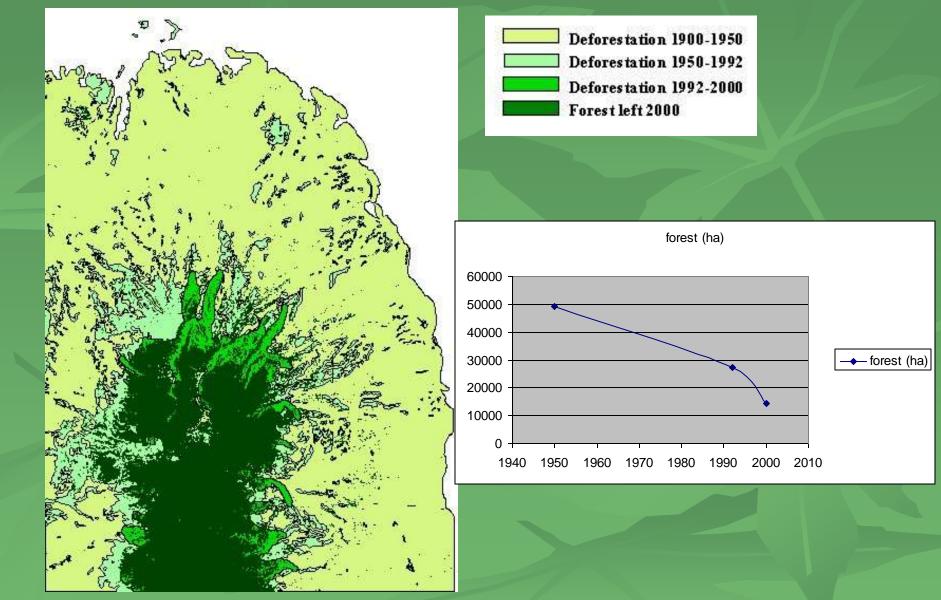












Rainforestation in the Philippines

Mt. Malindang 2005 Increasing
water dynamics
(flooding) by
deforestation deforestation loss of biodiversity etosion pollution



#### **BRP Products**

- Vesetation Map
- Classification of Forest/Fatma
- Local skills (Participatory Approach)
- Socio-Economic Cultural Profiles
- Reports

End of Research

**Start of Application** 

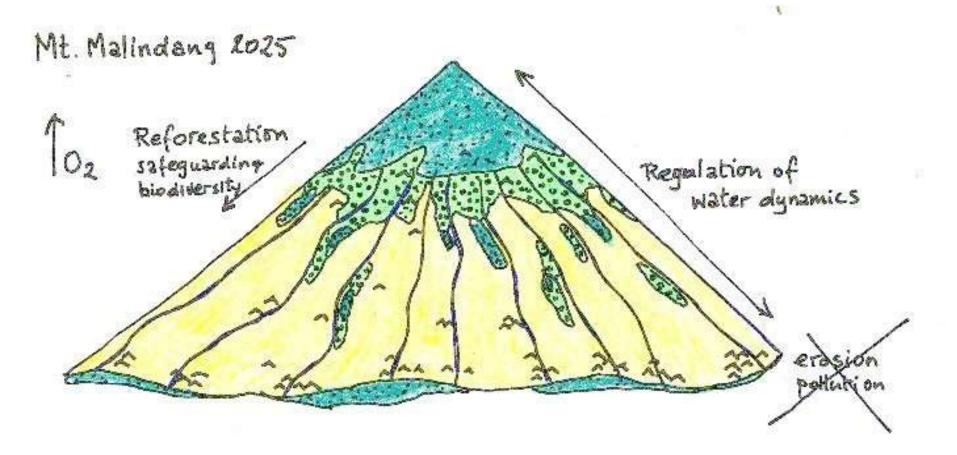


Billboard layout/design installed at the Barangay Hall of Mansawan, Don Victoriano



# Biological Research Program (BRP) 2000-2005, Aart-Anton

- Forest classification (relevees,)
- Forest vegetation map (altitude, aspect)
- Characteristic tree species composition (incl. endemic species)



# Malindan Rainforestation project

#### objectives:

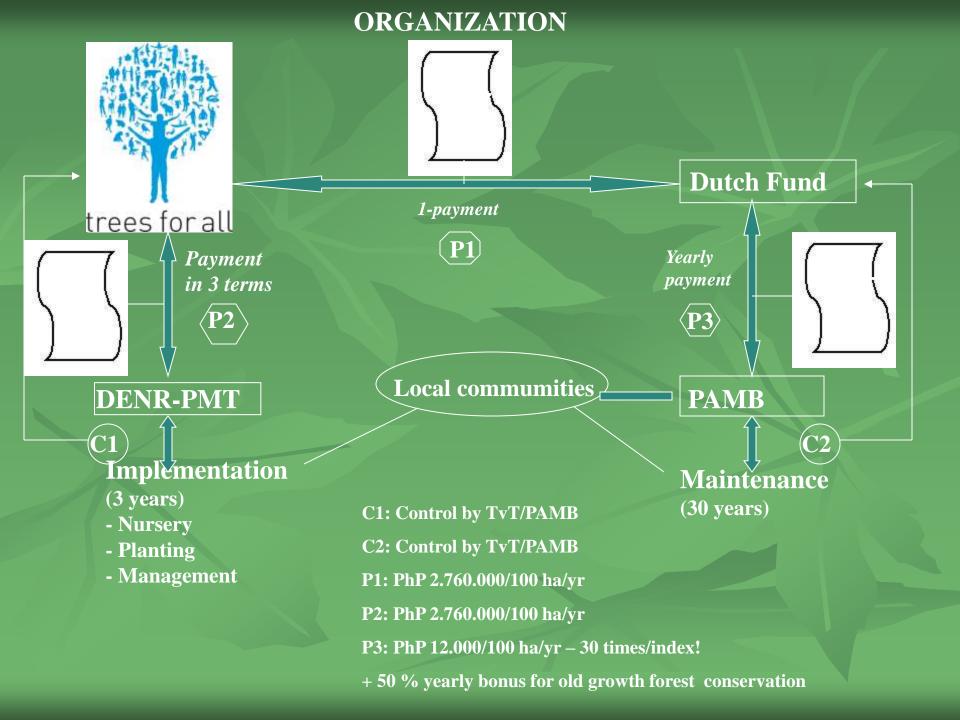
- Sequestering CO2 by replanting trees (50ha/yr)
- Create "natural" forests (40ha/yr) around the existing forests
- 20% plantations for "village" forests (10ha/yr) for local needs
- Protection of biodiversity in the remaining old forests
- Protection/restoration of water sheds
- Employment for local people
- Sustainable management of the areas for at least 30 yrs

## Malindan Rainforestation project

#### Cooperation during 5 yrs:

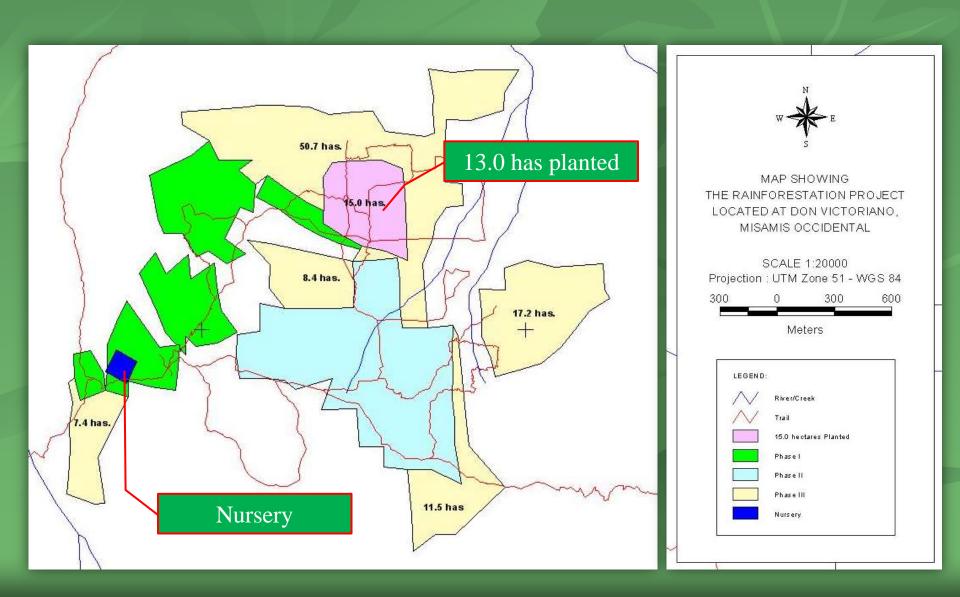
Dutch organization Trees for Travel facilitates the plantation and the forest protection with money from travellers and industries (72.000 euro/yr for 50ha of forest). Another 72.000 euro is stored in an private fund and paid to the local people during 30 yrs.

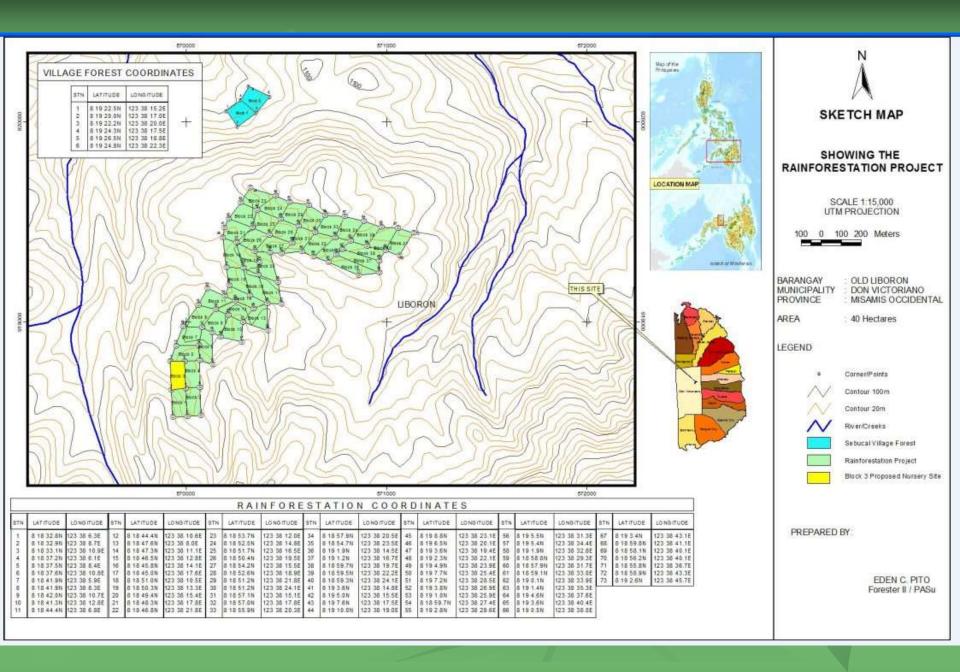
Philippine government is managing and monitoring the plantation activities with local people (300 locals, earning 3 euro/day)





#### Rainforestation M A P





## Panoramic View of Nursery









#### Bunkhouse







Ram pump









Community Workers Living Quarters





## b. Seeds & Wildlings Collection















## Seedling Production

## a. Bagging

Phase IIII











## c. Potting/Sowing













## Seedling Maintenance

#### c. Hardening – off seedlings









## d. Hauling of Seedlings









#### Forest Plantation



POLAYO Syzydium nitidium



ALMACIGA

Agathis philippinens

#### Phase II

Area (ha)	Location	No. of Seedlings Planted
40.0	Old Liboron	105,000



IGEM
Dacrycarpus cumingii



KALINGAG



BITANGHOL alophyllum inophyllum



MALAKAWAYAN Podocarpus rumphii Blco.

## Plantation Maintenance

Forest Plantation

Phase I

Phase II





## Plantation Maintenance

# Village Forest PlantationPhase I

Area (ha)	Total No. of Seedlings Planted
10.0	25,000









# Other Activities

□ Scholarship Program

Batch



LEVEL	NAME OF SCHOOL	NO. OF SCHOLAR
High School	Buenavista Natl. High School	7
College	MSU-Marawi City NMSC, Tangub City	3 2

Batch 2



Batch 3



## Economic Garden



# Goat Production





## Vermi culture/Compost









#### **Awareness Building**

Mr. Renie Sarno, the Administrator of the municipality of Don Victoriano states that the community should take the lead role in forest protection .

## Community Workers (total 300)



# Malindan Rainforestation project results (PPP)

#### Multi purpose

- Employment for local communities (People)
- Education and Awareness building (People)
- CO2 sequestration (Planet) Carbon credits
- Protection of biodiversity (Planet)
- Restoration of waterheds (Planet)
- New forests/old growth forest (Planet/C)

#### Sustainable

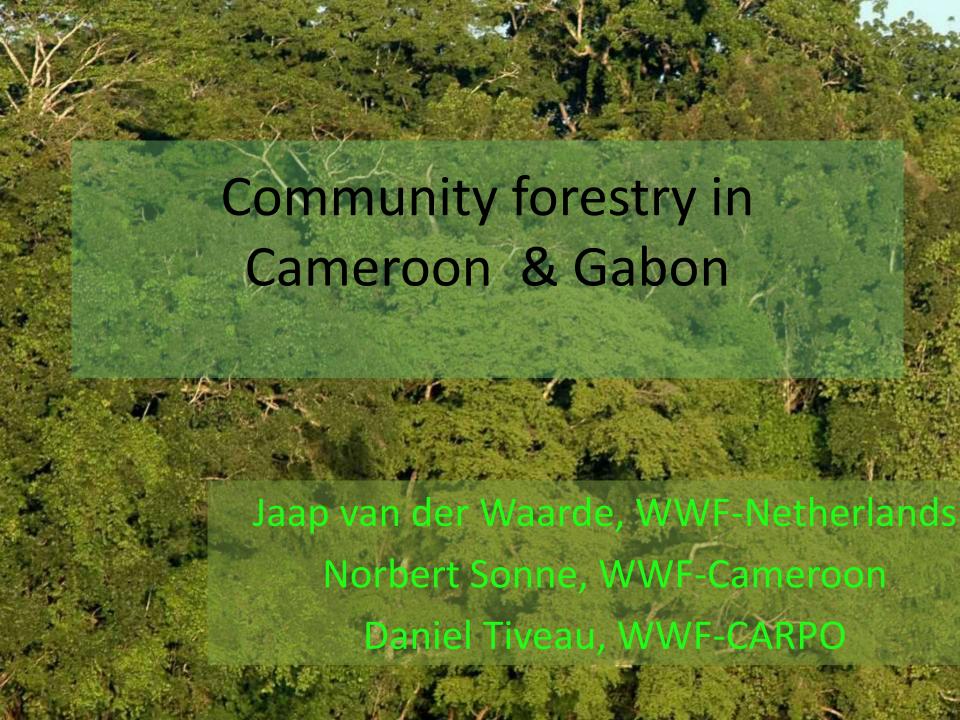
Payments during 30 yrs (Profit)

Rainforestation in the Philippines

## Malindan Rainforestation Essentials Project Organization

- Invest in partnership between TfA and local and regional authorities (DENR)
- Management by PAMB, all stakeholders involved
- Local people do the work and are paid
- High skills daily manager (Eden and his staff)
- Explain what you are doing and why
- Invest in awareness building
- Invest in skills local people (learning reading and writing), scholarships
- Invest in improvement of agricultural practices
- Organization of long term payments





## Legal framework in Cameroon

- 1994 Forest law, including CF
- 1999 suspension 'small titles'
- 2004 first Community Forest
- 2006 suspension lifted, auction permits
- 2009 revised MoP Community Forestry



## Forest industry Cameroon

- Big source of tax revenue for the state, export earnings
- FSC certification well established (2013: 1 m ha)
- Informal logging important for economy: many jobs (cities 4.000, rural 40.000), turn-over 150 m €/yr.
- 'Informal taxes' amount to 10 m €/yr.

Source: Pye-Smith 2010, Cerutti&Lesuyer 2011







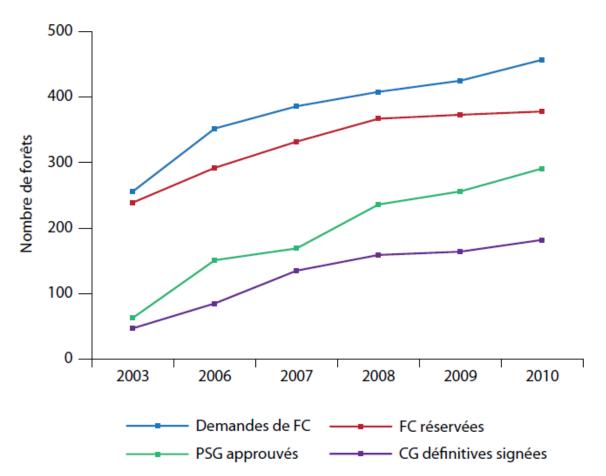








## **Growth Community Forestry Cameroon**



Source: Cuny, 2011















## CFs supported by WWF-Cameroon

area	Number CFs	hectares
West	39	155.748
South	20	61.629
South-East	4	17.800















## Some results WWF

- 28 CF demarcated
- 43 simple management plans produced/revised
- 58 annual permits, 4 tree nurseries
- 10 local development plans, 8 business plans
- Many FMCies strengthened
- 30 FC restructured into Forest Enterprises
- 9 business partnerships with timber traders
- Platforms of CFs and FEs















## **Economy of CF**

#### Investment costs are high

- Sensibilisation
- Awarding title

but turn-over can be good

- Salary costs
- Profit (community)
- Profit/capita
- WWF yr 2 examples



3000€

> 35.000€/yr

> 25.000 (10\*)

5€

1.600(s)1.200(p)€/yr



### Gabon

1982: Forest law, incl Coupe Familiale

2001: New Forest law

2005: Community Forestry Permit

2008: promote sustainability certification

2013: regulation Community Forestry

## Stakeholder capacity building

#### **Key facts**

**75** 

villages

**12** 

sites

1 500

People trained

+ 10

revisions of texts

3

Technical files

10

stagiaires



## Community Forest formalisation

#### **Key facts**

5

FC boundaries agreed

4

FC applications

1

simplified managment plan

2

Village funds



#### Results CF Gabon

- 5 associations CF formed
- 4 formal applications for CF
- Slow uptake concept by villages, conflict in LUP
- Flaws in legal texts
- Revise legal texts
- Lots of capacity building

















## Challenges for CF

- Heavy system, a lot of paperwork
- Low capacity: Enterpreneurial spirit, management&financial skills, external support
- Weak business case: high costs, informal taxes
   10%, benefits dont trickle down.
- Market share remains small (max 10% domestic timber market Cameroon)
- Ecological sustainability?















### Outlook

- Development and conservation through Community Forestry can improve the livelihoods of poor people but....
- Much capacity building needed
- Process needs simplification (eg manual Gabon)
- Diversify income (NTFPs, REDD+, ...)
- Forest governance needs to improve (VPA/FLEGT?) so CF can supply legal timber to domestic markets.















Thank you for your attention!







## WWF's CF approach

"WE ARE LIVING AS IF WE HAVE AN EXTRA PLANET
AT OUR DISPOSAL. WE ARE USING 50 PER CENT MORE
RESOURCES THAN THE EARTH CAN PROVIDE, AND
UNLESS WE CHANGE COURSE THAT NUMBER WILL
GROW VERY FAST - BY 2030, EVEN TWO PLANETS
WILL NOT BE ENOUGH3"
Jim Leans, Director-Seneral,
WWF International

- Focus around Protected Areas
- Combine local development and conservation
- Forest Enterprises combine several CFs, market chain approach
- Work with and through local NGOs
- Since 2003 supported to 64 CFs (400+ total)
- 1 Ba'Aka Community Forest

#### Forest industry Cameroon

- Big source of tax revenue for the state, export earnings
- FSC certification well established (2013: 1 m ha)
- Informal logging important for economy: many jobs (cities 4.000, rural 40.000), turn-over 150 m €/yr.
- 'Informal taxes' amount to 10 m €/yr.

Source: Pye-Smith 2010, Cerutti&Lesuyer 2011















#### Forest use Cameroon

#### **Permanent Forest domain**

- Protected areas
- Logging concessions
- Council forest

#### Non-permanent forest domain

- Community forest (max 5.000 ha, 25 years lease between village and state)
- Agriculture















## Status CF Cameroon (2011)

- 182 CF have approved MP
- CFs manage 677.000 ha, 21% NPFD
- Only 43% CF in actual production
- Most CFs produce less than allowed (13%)
- Share CF in national timber production is low (2-4%)

















The reality mismatch

Charlotte Benneker

charlotte.benneker@gmail.com



'Mettre le savoir au service des forêts et de l'homme'

#### My background

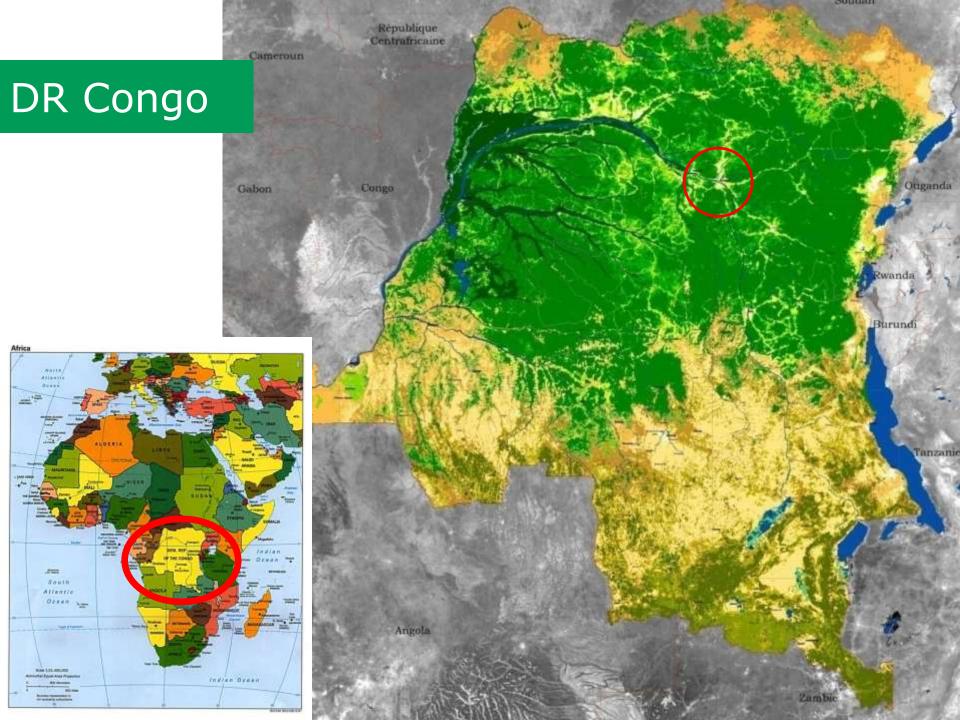
- MSc. Natural Resource Management
- Social forestry advisor for SNV in Bolivia
- PhD. community forestry FNP/WUR
- Post-doc PES/REDD ITC Enschede
- Program director Tropenbos International en DR Congo
- Independent researcher in Uruguay



#### Content

- Message
- Some background information on DRC
- Artisanal logging sector
  - categories of loggers
  - communities and chiefs
  - government officials
- The reality mismatch
- Discussion





#### Background

- One of the poorest countries in the world (and the richest)
- Long history of wars and conflicts, still unstable
- Predatory privatized state started with Mobutu: « débrouillez-vous »
- Taxes and harassment affect local economic growth
- Hardly any services provided by the government
- Increased pressure on resources:
  - Relative political stability
  - Desire to develop
  - Improving infrastructure
  - Increased market demand (local and international)
  - Increased (foreign) investments



### Background

- German et al 2013: "Government agencies (in Africa SS) seem to have fully bought in to notions that large-scale (foreign) investment is one of the most effective pathways for economic development and poverty alleviation"
- DRC state focuses on the issuing of large scale concession for agriculture / forestry and mining
- Local livelihoods are constantly being compromised
- But population = very creative, persistent and innovative
- Forest sector: less than 10% of wood used is used by industrial loggers (GIZ in DRC)



### Forest context DR Congo: local level

- Population depends on forest resources
- Organizational structure of society are local arrangements (80%)
- Strong customary rights acknowledged but never formalized
- Local arrangements are subject to change (market pressure, politics, military power etc.)
- The consequences (overlapping rights, conflicts) of resource allocation by the national level to be dealt with at the local level (as concessions)





#### The artisanal timber sector

## Many different stakeholders involved:

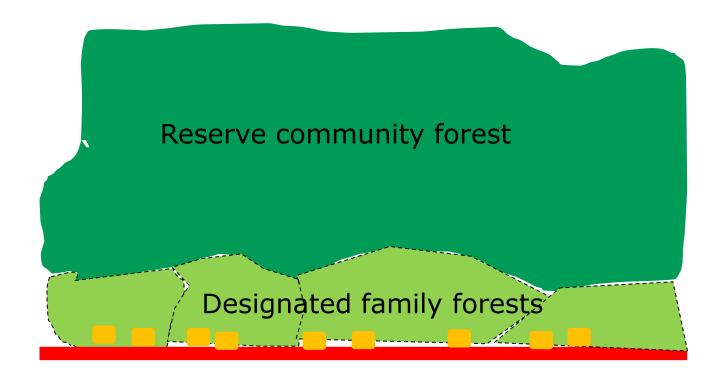
- Communities
- Local authorities (chiefs)
- Loggers
- Investors (national and international)
- Truckers / boats / canoes
- Sawmills
- Carpenters
- Traders
- Government officials, politicians, military, etc.







## The source: community & family forest





#### The artisanal timber sector

- 1. Pit sawing, for local use
- 2. Harvesting and processing with chainsaw in forest
  - 1. For national market
  - 2. For international market
- 3. Semi-industrial logging with artisanal permits but no artisanal operation (national and international market)

  Greenpeace, Global Witness

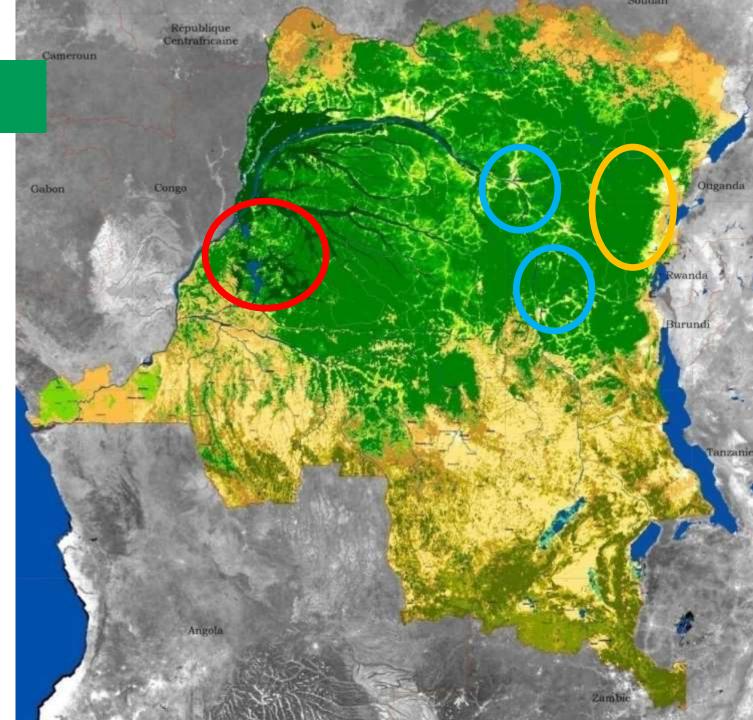








## DR Congo



## The loggers

- Associations of artisanal loggers
   (not everywhere, not everybody)
- Inclusive activity (low entry barrier)
- Two types of enterprises:
  - Vertically integrated enterprises
  - Network' of producers & service
     providers (Murphy & Schindler 2009)
- Secondary processing with sawmills for local market
- Extremely important for local economy



Source de financement	Fréquence	%
Petit commerce	15	44
Diamant	7	21
Crédit	5	15
Emplois parallèles	5	15
Patron	2	6
Total	34	100



Category	Product	Sourcing	Acces through	Financing / destination
1. Pit sawing	Loggers – carpenters buy trees	Family forests     (agric fields     secondary forest)	Payments to tree owner	<ul><li>Exchange of goods</li><li>Domestic market</li></ul>
2. Chainsaw	Loggers buy trees	<ul> <li>Family forest (agric fields, secondary forest)</li> <li>Community forests (primary forest)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Negotiations</li> <li>Contracts</li> <li>Payments to farmers &amp; chiefs</li> </ul>	<ul><li>Locally financed</li><li>Local markets</li></ul>
3. Chainsaw	Loggers obtain 'concession' / aire du coupe	Community forests (secondary and primary forest)	<ul> <li>Payments mainly to chiefs &amp; local administrators</li> <li>Some innovative arrangements</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>National and international investors</li> <li>Local &amp; regional markets</li> </ul>
4. Semi- industrial	Loggers obtain 'concession' / aire du coupe	Community forests (primary forest)	<ul> <li>Some payments to chiefs</li> <li>No role communities</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>National and international investors</li> <li>Local, regional and international markets</li> </ul>

Arrangements with communities differ with market pressure:

#### Low pressure:

payments in kind

#### **Medium pressure:**

- payments per tree, according to volume, species and distance to the road
- arrangements for community investments

#### **High pressure:**

 Cooptation of local chiefs, no direct payments to population





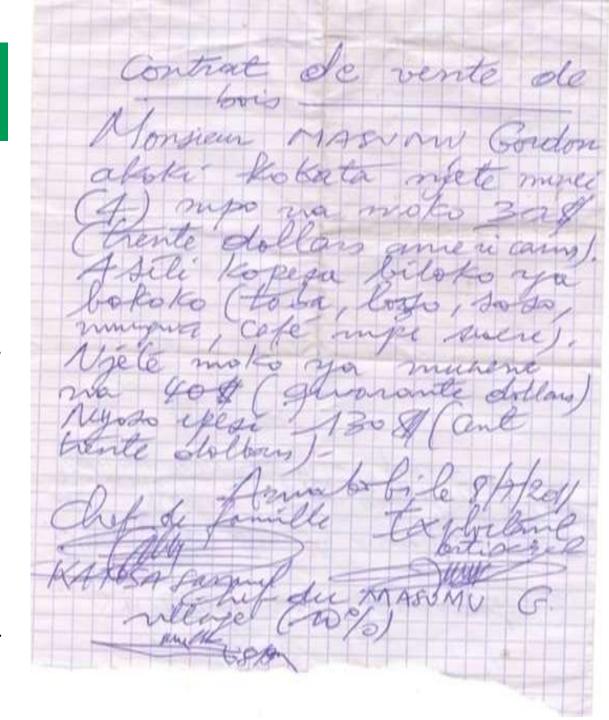


## Contract for timber sale:

Mister MASUMU Gordon has been autorized to cut 4 trees; 3 medium size for 30 US\$ each and 1 big tree for 40 US\$.

Besides that food has been given such as 1 goat, rize, chickens, salt, coffee and sugar.

The total amount paid is 130 US\$. Signed by chief of family, the village chief (10%)



- Local people = victim?
- Artisanal loggers generally preferred over industrial loggers :
  - Artisanal loggers often regionally known and familiarized with communities
  - Payments can be negotiated directly
  - Secondary conditions can be negotiated directly
  - Community can enforce compliance (denounce or boycott logger, they know whereabouts)
  - Influence on where which trees are logged
  - They do not loose access to land and forest resources



Conflicts arise when populations feels that benefits are not distributed:

- Protest
- Pressure
- New arrangements develop
- Biggest problem: loggers too powerful to contest (politicians, military)
- Confusion between land rights and logging rights





#### Government officials

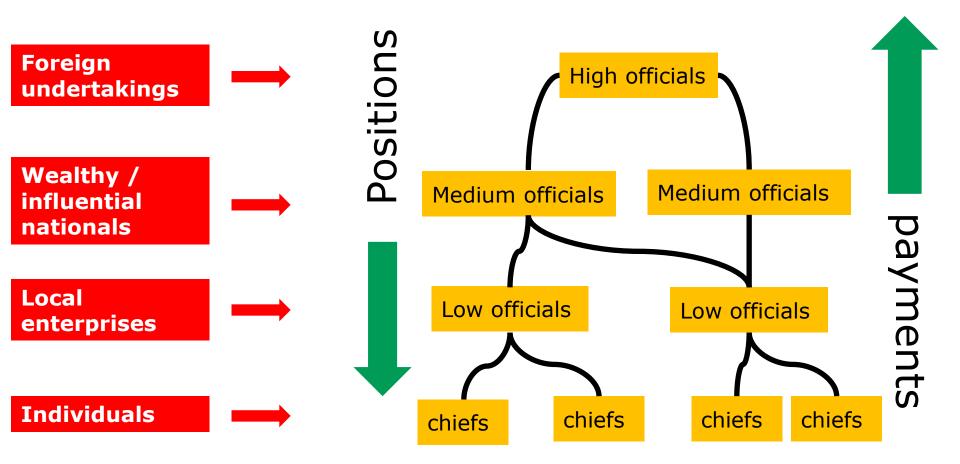
- 1. Issuing of licenses for artisanal logging
- 2. Protection of clients
- 3. Collection of multiple formal and informal taxes
- 4. Owners financers of logging operators

- Competition between national, provincial and local level government agencies
- Competition between different government services





## Fending for oneself





Providers of licenses	Type of permit	Status	Clients
MECNT at national level	Artisanal logging	Illegal	Loggers with investment power (foreign enterprises & high level officers)
Provincial governor	Artisanal logging	Legal	high/medium level loggers
Provincial ministry of environment	Trees from farms	Illegal	Medium level loggers
Coordination of MECNT at provincial level	Trees from farms	Legal (but not regulated)	Medium level loggers
Land administrators and district level officers	Concession, contrat, permis	Illegal	Medium and low level loggers



	<b>N</b> °	Libellés	Qualité	Prix	Service
2 3		Renseignement	Non officielle	Négociable	ANR
		Migration	Non officielle	Négociable	DGM
		Douane	Non officielle	Négociable	DGRAD
	Droit d'accès à la ressource  Licence de vente et d'achat  Note de débit  Patente IPMEA  Permis de coupe		Officielle	250 USD	Division MECNT
			Officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
			Officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
			Non officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
			Officielle	250 USD/Trimestre	Division MECNT
	9	Permis d'exploitation	Officielle	750 USD/an	Gouvernorat
10		Redevance forestière	Non officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
	11	Statistique	Officielle	Négociable	Gouvernorat
	12	Taxe d'agrément	Officielle	250 USD/an	Gouvernorat
	13	Taxe d'accostage	Non officielle	Chargement	Commune
	14	Taxe de chargement	Non officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
	15	Taxe de fonctionnement de services	Non officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
	16	Taxe provinciale	Officielle	Négociable	DRPO
	17 Taxe de l'environnement		Officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
	18	Taxe de cubage	Officielle	1,5 USD/m <sup>3</sup>	Division MECNT
19 20		Taxe de Migration	Non officielle	50 USD/an	DGM
		Taxe de reboisement	Non officielle	50 USD/an	Division MECNT
	21	Taxe de rémunération	Officielle	Négociable	Division MECNT
22		Taxe de superficie	Officielle	50 USD/ ha	Gouvernorat
	23	Taxe d'ETD	Non officielle	Négociable	ETD
	24	Taxe sur les abattus	Officielle	2 USD/m <sup>3</sup>	Division MECNT

TROPENDOS INTERNATIONAL

## Functioning of SFE

- No rules or legal procedures
- Key = network of relations
- Constant negotiations
  - To have access to capital (network)
  - To get access to trees (chiefs and population)
  - To get trees out of the forest (population)
  - To get timber to the markets (truck or canoe owners)
  - To sell (sawmill owners and market associations)
  - To export (border control) (disabled people do not pay!)
  - To reduce tax payments (government officials)







#### Discussion

- Local arrangements have developed over long time ('91 already largest producer of timber in DRC, WB)
- Based on existence of property rights (albeit informal) and (local) timber markets
- Existing local arrangments = outcome of negotiations
- Changing power-bases, change the outcomes of negotiations (see also Lescuyer et al 2013)
- Changes can be realized only based on what exists
- Governments may be able to guide but do not define (surely not DRC)
- Current international legal framework is not coherent with local conditions (Heeswijk en Turnhout 2013)

#### **MISMATCH**



## Outcome depends on input









## Message: "Governance is about process"

#### Peters and Pierre, 1998:

- "Processes of reform are path dependent and reflect the social and political history and culture of a country".
- "Reform strategies are shaped more by what already exists rather than by the desired model of public administration
- "Understanding governance—its direction, practices, and outcomes—is largely a matter of observing and interpreting the process through which it evolves and what is the relative clout of the actors involved therein"



#### Consideration

#### DRC = "Governance"???

- 'State has lost capacity for direct control but can influence'
- 'Government actors are in a continual process of bargaining with the members of relevant networks'
- 'Government actors bargain as relative equals'
- 'They cannot resort always to power if the decision that is made is not what they want'

(Peters & Pierre 1998)







## Legalizing artisanal logging?

## Artisanal logging could be viewed positively:

- Rebuilding the country
- Collaboration between public and private sector
- Recognizing rights and capacities of local communities
- Development of SMFE
- Direct economic gain for all stakeholders





## How to legalize artisanal logging?

#### **Copy current practices**

- Artisanal loggers log in community forests, as foreseen by the law
- Already decentralized as foreseen by the law
- Compliance with most regulations on forest management out of pure economic need and limited access
- Governance models developed in communities that are adequate and interesting

#### Improve where necessary!

- Watch out for power abuse (military, politicians, chiefs)
- Government officers should be more than tax collectors!
- Clarify issuing of permits
- Clarify tax regime
- Attention for forest management



#### **TROPENBOS INTERNATIONAL**

## Merci!

Pour des plus amples informations: www.tropenbos.org



## Readings

- Murphy and Schindler (2009) Globalizing development in Bolivia? Alternative networks and value-capture challenges in the wood products industry. Journal of Economic Geography, pp. 1–25
- Lescuyer, Cerutti, Robiglio (2013) Artisanal chainsaw milling to support decentralized management of timber in Central Africa? An analysis through the theory of access. Forest Policy and Economics, 32, pp. 68-77
- Heeswijk and Turnhout (2013) he discursive structure of FLEGT (Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade): The negotiation and interpretation of legality in the EU and Indonesia, 32, pp. 6-13
- German, Schoneveld, Mwangi (2013) Contemporary Processes of Large-Scale Land Acquisition in Sub-Saharan Africa: Legal Deficiency or Elite Capture of the Rule of Law? World Development, 48, pp. 1-18
- Peters, B.G., Pierre, J., 1998. Governance without government? Rethinking public administration. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 8, 223–243.

















## People first in Tropical forests? Are we on the right track?

- Community based natural resource management (forest, farm or fish) emerged with promise and hope but often ended in less than ideal outcomes
- What are the pitfalls and best practices?
- Are we on the right track?

## Pitfalls and best practices

- Charlotte Benneker DR Congo
- Local realities (social, political and economic) affect access to resources and distribution of benefits
- Changes in regulations lead to changes in negotiation power (government vs local actors) and distribution of benefits (more or more complex regulations lead to increase share of benefits for government (employee)

## Are we on the right track?

- Jaap van der Waarde Gabon & Cameroon
- Half of Cameroon's timber production comes from chainsaw milling
- First in establishing legal framework for community forestry – potential for additional income (legal timber for domestic market)
- But heavy bureaucracy increases costs and reduces benefits from communal forests.

•

## Pitfalls and best practices

- Sola Abulu Nigeria
- SPDC and partners invest in agricultural development, health care, road, water projects, small business and education
- In 2006 SPDC introduces Global MoU

  emphasis
  on transparency, accountability, sustainability,
  conflict prevention
- Communities decide on projects and manage them; SPDC provide secure funding and support (instead of SPDC managing hundreds of projects directly and separately)

## Pitfall and best practices

- Anton Stortelder Philippines
- Reforestation project in Malindang
- Integrated approach implementation with local people; payment for establishing plantations and forest maintenance
- Frequent evaluations (for adjusting/improving project)
- Project has improved economic and social conditions of people involved

# Pitfall and benefits additional examples

- Bolivia
- New forest law in 1996
- Communities faced difficulties to comply with technical and administrative requirements.
- A long process (until now) adjusting regulations followed.

# Pitfall and benefits additional examples

- Certification initially focused on large forest concessions (export market); small forest users difficult to comply; relatively high costs (and no direct incentive when producing for the domestic market)
- REDD+ Monitoring, reporting and verification represent high costs reducing potential (financial) benefits

## Summary

- Charlotte Benneker understanding local realities
- Jaap van der Waarde heavy bureaucracies (multiple requirements and objectives)
- Sola Abulu Ownership
- Anton Stortelder Adaptive approaches (evaluation and adaptation)

### A closer look at local realities

- CBNRM initiatives driven by ideals, philosophies and concepts but with insufficient recognition of local realities (politics, power, institutions and administrative realities) are less likely to be successful – disconnect between theory and practice
- While social justice may still be a strong motive actions often caught up in bureaucracies and competing objectives (political and management)

## A closer look at realities 2

- Livelihood strategies that aim to increase assets and reduce risks (multiple sources of income) are often poorly appreciated in CBNRM
- Formalizing customary practices remains imperative for governments to work better with bureaucracies, laws, policies and markets but there is often a mismatch between them

## A closer look at realities 3

 Religion often not taken into account but in many areas and countries local religious organizations strongly influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. Same for family and clan connections.

## Concluding remark

- For implementing policies, regulations, and development projects to promote community forestry it is important to understand local realities – not one size fits all.
- So what does that mean for national and international policies? And initiatives from the private sector and civil society?