

## Participation in the Caribbean

### A review of Grenada's forest policy process

A new era in forest policy – a participatory one – has emerged out of local need and imagination in Grenada. To concerned individuals, the increasingly evident failure of previous forest policies – based on the preoccupations of foresters, politicians and foreign consultants – made it clear that a turn-around was needed, linked strongly to stakeholders' values. A consultative process was designed locally. Reaching every parish, this enabled a wider forest policy 'community' to form. It revealed that the major forest values were environmental services and agricultural and recreation support systems, rather than timber as before. This independent study traces the lessons of that participatory policy process, analysing *context, actors, policy processes, policy contents, and impacts*, and identifies ways to implement that policy, based on a continuing participatory approach.

*It is our hope that this study of our experience may help other small island states if they choose to embark on a similar journey.*

**Alan Joseph, Chief Forestry Officer**

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This report was financed by the UK Department for International Development (DFID)

ISSN: 1028-8228



**International  
Institute for  
Environment and  
Development**

Forestry and Land Use  
Programme

Policy that works for forests and people no.10  
Discussion paper

# Participation in the Caribbean

A review of Grenada's forest policy process

**Stephen Bass**



Policy that works for forests and people series no.10

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A review of Grenada's  
forest policy process

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2000

## Copies of this report are available from:

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**Citation:** Bass, S. 2000. *Participation in the Caribbean: A review of Grenada's forest policy process*. Policy That Works for Forests and People series no.10. International Institute for Environment and Development, London

Design and production by Eileen Higgins at IIED Layout by Bridget Tisdall  
Illustration © Christine Bass.  
Photos: Forestry and National Parks Department, Grenada  
Printed by Russell Press, Nottingham, UK  
Printed on Highland Velvet Pro 115gsm, 100% chlorine free

*Policy that Works for Forests and People* is a project coordinated by the Forestry and Land Use Programme of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the UK Department for International Development. The *Policy that Works for Forests and People Series*, which is edited by James Mayers, derives from this project. Other studies in the series to date are:

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# Message from Prime Minister Keith Mitchell



Public consultation has evolved into a major cornerstone of the Government of Grenada during the past five years and, in this regard, the Forestry Policy is one of the finest examples of this process. As we seek to improve our infrastructure and modernize the Grenadian society while, at the same time, preserve and protect our natural assets, the need for a balanced and visionary approach to development becomes increasingly important.

Moreover, we are living in a global village in which open borders and fierce competition are the norm. Grenada and other small island developing nations with limited resources must address new challenges with respect to providing effective educational opportunities, health care and other social services for our citizens.

Addressing these and other challenges of the twenty-first century is achieved with much greater innovation when all our social partners are involved. That is why I am so pleased with the Forestry Policy and the long-term implications this policy has for our Nation as a whole. We can utilize this model for other developmental processes; for example, the vital area of land use and the formulation of a national land use policy.

The ultimate success of the Forestry Policy will be in the implementation. I take this opportunity to place on record Government's unwavering commitment to implementing the Policy and our overall pledge to maintaining and enhancing our forests and other natural resources for future generations.



# Forest Management project

Grenadian forests are an important natural resource, providing a wide variety of services. The project is supported by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and started with the arrival of Robert Dunn in mid-1997. ODA's contribution is valued, as one of the

## Praise for forestry department



Michael Baptiste, Agriculture and Forestry Minister, keynote address at the opening of a three day

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Vol. 28 No. 20 St. John's, Grenada, September 26, 1998 Page 21

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## Forest Policy launched

The proposed National Forest Policy, which is intended to provide guidance to all stakeholders concerned with the wise use and sound management of the island's forest resources, was approved by cabinet recently.

The goal of the policy is to maintain a sustainable relationship between the Grenadians and their forest environment. A number of important directions have been identified in the policy, including the need to conserve the forest and its resources, to play an essential role in the economic, social and cultural development of the island and the conservation of the forest and its resources.



## New National Forestry Policy approved by Cabinet

The proposed National Forest Policy, which is intended to provide guidance to all stakeholders concerned with the wise use and sound management of the island's forest resources, was approved by cabinet recently.

The goal of the policy is to maintain a sustainable relationship between the Grenadians and their forest environment. A number of important directions have been identified in the policy, including the need to conserve the forest and its resources, to play an essential role in the economic, social and cultural development of the island and the conservation of the forest and its resources.

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## Women talk about Forestry Policy

About twenty seven women attended a seminar at the PWU conference room last Monday to voice their views on the proposed National Forest Policy. The seminar was held at the PWU conference room last Monday to voice their views on the proposed National Forest Policy.

## Forestry Policy receives high praise

The proposed National Forest Policy has received high praise from stakeholders. The policy is seen as a landmark document that will guide the management of the island's forest resources.

## Draft forest policy finalised

After almost one year of consultation with different stakeholders regarding a new forest policy for the island, the Forestry Department will soon be presenting the final draft of the policy. The final discussions on the new policy were held on Wednesday at the Renaissance Grenada Resort with a wide cross section of the forest and its resources play an essential role in the economic, social and cultural development of the island and the conservation of the forest and its resources.

Finally approved by Cabinet in February this year.

## National forestry policy workshop

A national forestry policy workshop was held at the Renaissance Grenada Resort. The workshop was held at the Renaissance Grenada Resort. The workshop was held at the Renaissance Grenada Resort. The workshop was held at the Renaissance Grenada Resort.



# Foreword



In recent years, Forest Department staff have recognized that deforestation, soil erosion, and natural resources degradation take place both within designated Forest Reserves and outside them. It has also become clear that many of these problems result from people trying to obtain their livelihoods. Thus forest management is not only about the production of timber in Reserves, but also about multiple forest uses on lands of many legal categories – many of which must involve people in one way or another.

Yet an early Forest Policy review (1984), prepared by external consultants and a few senior Forestry Officials, ignored this. It led the Department until recently to work only in Reserves, and to take little account of people's legitimate needs from forests. People were obliged to be part of the problem, since they were excluded from possible solutions. The lack of success meant that the thinking of the Forest Department started to change. It took a significant leap forward with the recent Forest Policy Development Process – the subject of this publication – in which people were fully involved, and foresters looked beyond the Reserves.

The period of Forest Policy development, from 1997-99, was an exciting time for Forest Department staff and other stakeholders. The Forest Policy Process Development Committee made every effort to ensure that as many people were involved as possible. We found that the involvement of all interest groups and the public in general in the development process created a strong sense of ownership of the policy. This use of consensus during Forest Policy development has been a major reason for the strong political support which the Policy has received throughout government.

For all involved, the Forest Policy Development Process was a time of intense learning. There were no models to follow. None of the participants had experienced a similar process in the past. But everyone was willing to learn and change as we proceeded. The atmosphere during meetings of the Forest Policy Process Development Committee was always highly charged. The Forest Department staff showed strong motivation throughout as they

took on extra tasks, beyond their normal workloads, to make the process reach a successful conclusion.

The continued flexible support and in-country assistance provided by DFID throughout was key to the success of the process as it enabled an iterative approach to be taken. In addition, competent facilitation during Forest Policy Development meetings was provided by an objective third party, in the form of Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI) staff, which allowed for the development of consensus at different stages of the process. Although Forest Department staff have a strong technical base, provision of guidance regarding facilitation and consultation was crucial to the development of skills appropriate to both the development and implementation of the National Forest Policy.

From a personal point of view, as Chief Forestry Officer, both the staff within the Forest Department and I benefited from involvement in the Forest Policy Development Process. The experience seemed to bring people closer together, and self-confidence was increased through the acquisition of new skills. In response to the new Forest Policy, the Forest Department has developed a 10-year strategic plan. With our new shared vision and strong team spirit we feel competent to achieve all that is now being asked of the Forest Department.

As this is such a unique process we are happy that an excellent independent review has been written which will enable others to learn from our experiences. The author has clearly encapsulated the whole process, both positive and negative aspects, which has created a useful learning tool.

At the outset the development of a new National Forest Policy seemed a mammoth and almost insurmountable task, but by approaching it in small steps, and taking note of small successes along the way, we have been able to achieve a relevant and up-to-date Forest Policy for Grenada. It is our hope that this experience may help other small island states if they choose to embark on a similar journey.

**Alan Joseph**  
Chief Forestry Officer  
St Georges

April 2000

# Executive summary



Early forest policy in the tropics reflected the intentions of governments and their professional foresters, far more than the needs of people who live in or near forests. This anomalous legacy frequently remains today. With subsequent crises in land and timber supplies, such formal policy may have become submerged, or at least obfuscated, by piecemeal political decrees and the actions of powerful people. And more latterly, with the perception of tropical forest 'crisis' reaching international levels in the 1980s, global initiatives were set in train to develop formal policies. These policies were often written by foreign 'experts', based on international precepts. It is significant that none of these overlapping 'eras' of policy – the normative, the piecemeal, and the globalised – have been characterised by public engagement.

This has been the case in Grenada. As a result, stakeholders do not have rights, responsibilities and incentives to manage forests well. To concerned individuals in the Forest Department and elsewhere, the evident failure of previous policies made it clear that any effective forest policy would have to be strongly linked to stakeholders' values – rather than those of foresters, politicians or foreign consultants alone. Consequently a new era in forest policy – a participatory one – has emerged out of local need and imagination.

During 1997 and 1998, Grenadian forest stakeholders worked together to develop a new national Forest Policy. To its credit, the Forest Department (FD) encouraged and organised such an approach. Unlike recent forest policy reviews in many countries, the process chose to emphasise facilitation to reveal many stakeholders' views. This facilitation received perhaps more attention than the harnessing of expert knowledge and planning which more usually preoccupies formal review processes. The participatory process to prepare the forest policy involved community meetings, cross-sectoral committees, expert study groups and public surveys and hearings.

The resulting policy presents the FD with a major new mandate. Instead of continuing very small-scale forestry and sawmilling operations unlinked to



demand, it will now facilitate a variety of stakeholders in understanding, realising and sustaining the true values of Grenada's forests. The participatory process allowed a beginning to be made at inventorying and ranking the forest values. This revealed that the major values were environmental services: water supplies for domestic use and the rapidly-developing tourism industry; landscape and biodiversity as a basis for both local recreation and tourism; and agricultural support systems (soil and water conservation, collection and hunting of non-timber forest products, and potentials for agroforestry).

Even prior to full implementation, Grenada's new forest policy is already having broader impacts. Senior officials and politicians consider it to have opened up models for participatory policy making in general, and there are already plans for similar approaches in the areas of agriculture and land use.

The situation now is that a much wider forest policy 'community' has formed, and forests have potentially been opened up to management by more stakeholders. But it is now critical to determine how to divide or share responsibility for participatory policy. The challenge is to realise the synergies but to avoid the overlaps, gaps and ambiguities that might spark off 'turf' battles. This may involve:

1. *Re-equipping the FD as coordinator.* Formalising the FD's new role and structure, to balance the need for continued leadership with the need for partnerships and delegation to other stakeholders. This is being tackled through a 10-year strategic plan for the FD, which needs to be followed by capacity development, through practical means such as exchanges with other Caribbean forest authorities and NGOs.
2. *Encouraging other institutions to respond to the forest policy, and strengthening their capacity.* This has been taking place only at a low level, pending strengthening of the FD. A major communications effort will be needed – any new policy needs promotion for some time to come. Civil society partners in sustainable forest use will need special attention.
3. *Extending the 'forest teamwork' approach from the office and workshop to the field.* This is likely to require training of all concerned, government and NGOs alike, together with local forest user groups, in participatory approaches.
4. *Developing models for collaborative approaches to forest management.* Such approaches need to yield direct socio-economic benefits to local

communities. The weak link, apart from experience, is that there are no obvious local organisations with which to work. An experimental approach, which acknowledges peoples' diverse livelihood strategies, may be needed first. This might entail determining who the best local groups would be, helping them to organise where necessary, conducting participatory appraisal and planning, operating management agreements, participatory monitoring, and then scaling up. Perhaps a further 'policy era' is being heralded – one where local level bodies have a special role in forging coherence amongst forest-related institutions.

- 5 *Finding a permanent mechanism to sustain the new policy community.* The participatory approach cannot stop with a one-off policy. The policy will need to be monitored, reviewed and kept up to date, and priorities gradually defined from amongst the many objectives. Building on a multi-stakeholder forum is one option – or developing a special forest forum if necessary. Positive but independent monitoring of policy implementation might be encouraged by NGOs or academic bodies.
6. *Ensuring policy coherence with other sectors.* There will be a need to identify 'higher-level' or 'umbrella' mechanisms for dealing with the extra-sectoral policies and markets which affect forests. One might be the so-far-missing broader natural resources or lands policy, which the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries (MALFF) is considering along the lines of the forestry process. Or it could be an existing mechanism designed to achieve coherence in sustainable development, such as the Multi-Partite Commission, which brings together government, civil society, labour and private sector players.
7. *Getting engaged internationally.* A requirement now is to deal more consistently with international conventions (notably in biodiversity and climate change) and market opportunities, some of which are associated with the conventions but others with market niches such as ecotourism and organic production. This requires a more informed and integrated approach to international policy.

This paper tells the story to date. Whilst context is all-important (and here it should be clear that Grenada is not a country where forests or livelihoods are in crisis, and so opportunities are many) the story presents several lessons for other small states, and for islands in particular. It also offers suggestions for further ways forward in Grenada, towards a policy that will work for both forests and people.

## Acknowledgements

Whilst this is an independent review, it cannot have been prepared without the benefit of the considerable knowledge and insights of many people who took time to talk with the author. Two trips were made to Grenada: in April 1999 to review the policy process; and in February 2000 to take stock of the strategic plan and impacts to date. Special thanks are due to Alan Joseph, Chief Forestry Officer, and Robert Dunn, DFID Technical Cooperation Officer for the Forest Management Project, for smoothing the path by arranging the great majority of interviews and discussions. Many people at very senior level, and especially the Hon Keith Mitchell, Prime Minister of Grenada and the Hon Claris Charles, Minister of Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries, generously shared their views and perspectives. Thanks are due to the following:

Beryl Isaac, Permanent Secretary, Min. of Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries (MALFF)  
Michael Church, Chief Technical Officer, MALFF  
Denise Peters, Chief Planning Officer, MALFF  
Aaron Francois, Planning Officer, MALFF  
Alan Joseph, Chief Forestry Officer  
Rolax Frederick, Acting Chief Forestry Officer (during one year of the policy process)  
Augustus Thomas, Senior Forestry Officer  
Gordon Paterson, Senior Forestry Officer  
Mike Phillip, Senior Forestry Officer  
Wilan Hamilton, Junior Forestry Officer  
Martin Barriteau, Junior Forestry Officer  
Aden Forteau, Forestry Officer  
Kester Charles, Forest Guard  
Rosalyn Wilkinson, environmental lawyer (law consultant to Project)  
Bonnie Rusk, GEF-funded Grenada Dove / Dry Forest Biodiversity Projects  
Michael Mason, Land Use Division  
Trevor Thompson, Land Use Division  
Bernadette Lendore Sylvester, Permanent Secretary, Min. of Carriacou & Petit Martinique Affairs (MCPMA)  
Bernard MacIntosh, Head, Agricultural Division, MCPMA  
Benson Patrice, Forester, Agricultural Division, MCPMA  
Sharon Roberts, Petit Martinique Coordinator, MCPMA  
Lima Frederick, Chief Technical Officer, Ministry of Tourism  
Ester Thomas, Grenada Board of Tourism  
Ricky Morain, Grenada Board of Tourism

Spencer Thomas, Chairman of the Sustainable Development Council,  
Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance (MoF)  
Timothy Antoine, Deputy Head of Planning Unit, MoF  
Ycocie Antoine, MoF  
Jocelyn Paul, Planning Unit, MoF  
Wayne Radix, Department for Human Resources (DHR)  
Rita Joseph, DHR  
Wendy Grenade, DHR  
David Miller, Resident Acting High Commissioner, British High  
Commission  
Egbert Barrett, President of the Productive Farmers' Union  
Errol Williams, President of the Exclusive Hunting and Fishing Association  
Clement McLeish, tree grower, logger, furniture maker and farmer, Snell  
Hall  
Ester Fleary, Hospital Administrator, Carriacou  
Anslem James, Cable and Wireless, Carriacou  
Paul MacIntosh, Farmer, Carriacou  
Sandra Ferguson, ART  
Faye Andall, ART  
Byron Campbell, ART Committee member  
Judy Williams, GRENCODA  
Christine Braithwaite - GRENSAVE  
Joseph Antoine, President, Friends of the Earth  
Akima Paul, Friends of the Earth  
Yves Renard, Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI), St Lucia  
Vijay Krishnarayan, CANARI  
Tighe Geoghegan, CANARI  
Robert Dunn, DFID Technical Cooperation Officer for the Forest  
Management Project  
Justine Dunn, DFID consultant  
John Palmer, Manager, DFID Forestry Research Programme, NR  
International  
Graham Chaplin, Natural Resources Advisor, DFID-Caribbean  
John Hudson, Senior Forestry Advisor, DFID

# Contents

<b>Message from the Prime Minister</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Foreword from the Chief Forestry Officer</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2 What to look for in ‘policy’</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3 Setting the scene</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>4 Stakeholders in concert: the new forest policy process</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>5 A quick look at what the policy says</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>6 Overhauling the engine: the Forest Department’s strategic plan</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>7 Early impacts of the policy process and strategic planning</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>8 Bringing back the stakeholders – how can other institutions respond to the policy?</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>9 Reflections – why did the process work? And will the policy work in future?</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Annexes</b>	<b>42</b>
1 Pool of questions for semi-structured interviews on Grenada’s Forest Policy process	42
2 Forest Policy for Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique	45
3 Forest Policy questionnaire	49
4 Content of Grenada’s new Forest Policy, compared to international initiatives for SFM	51
<b>Tables</b>	
7.1 Institutional change through the Forest Policy process	28
<b>Figures</b>	
3.1 Good policies require stakeholder participation and information	9
4.1 The process of formulating Grenada’s Forest Policy	12
<b>Boxes</b>	
4.1 Forest Policy Process Committee	14
4.2 Priorities revealed by 420 returned Forest Policy questionnaires	17
6.1 Forestry and National Parks Department’s Vision, Mission and Objectives	24



# Introduction



The story of an about-turn. Forest policy in much of the tropics tended originally to be set by government officers, often from colonial powers. Formal policies reflected normative and often technocratic visions of how forests should be used, and of what was ‘good for the people’. Over the years, as forest goods and services – or the land occupied by forests – became scarcer, such formal forest policies became submerged by piecemeal political solutions, often favouring specific groups. The cumulative result has often been an ‘inflation’ of incompatible policies of varying status and clashing rationales, which stymied progress.

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*“This is not the  
Department’s policy.  
We all own it.”*

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The international perception of tropical forest ‘crisis’ in the 1980s gave rise to a current of opinion that tropical forests were a heritage of all mankind and should be conserved for their global values – such as biodiversity and climate moderation. Attempts were made to re-write formal policy through rapid exercises by ‘expert’ consultants, frequently outsiders who were charged with ‘fitting’ a country to an international precept. This was the case with the Tropical Forest Action Plan (TFAP), a global initiative through which Grenada produced a draft policy in the early 1990s.

But this TFAP policy was not adopted. In contrast, the TFAP exercise helped to reveal what kind of forest policy was *not* required.<sup>1</sup> Partly as a result of this, Grenada recently undertook a completely homegrown approach to preparing policy – a participatory process involving all stakeholder groups including the general public. It is undoubtedly this process which has resulted, as we shall see, in a new national forest policy being widely ‘owned’ by stakeholders. This local ‘ownership’ suggests that the policy is more likely both to be implemented, and to be kept under scrutiny by stakeholders, so as to keep it up to date.

The policy process took place during 1997 and 1998. It was achieved through a combination of studies and consultation, guided by a multi-stakeholder Forest

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<sup>1</sup> This realisation is not confined to Grenada. The importance of involving stakeholders in forest policy development is enshrined in the UNCED Forest Principles: “Governments should promote and provide opportunities for the participation of interested parties, including local communities and indigenous people, industries, labour, non-governmental organisations and individuals, forest dwellers and women, in the development, implementation and planning of national forest policies.” (UNCED Forest Principles Annex 3, section 2d).

Policy Process Committee. The design and the conduct of the work was very much a Grenadian affair, with the Forest Department (FD) playing a coordinating role, and with facilitation skills and services provided by a DFID forestry project and by the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI).

The resulting Forest Policy was submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries (MALFF) by the Forestry Department in November 1998 and thence to the Cabinet in March 1999, where it was immediately approved. The policy was officially launched by the Prime Minister in September 1999.

The Policy recognises the rights and responsibilities of forest stakeholders, and calls for action from them. It is unique in Grenada in its broad participation, in both formulating and implementing the policy objectives. Consequently, it implies a new approach on the part of the FD, which hitherto had been the sole actor in previous policy. Acknowledging this central role – now a facilitatory one – from 1998 to 1999 the FD developed a 10-year strategic plan as its response to the Policy. This involved a close examination and revision of the Department’s vision, mission, objectives, skills and structure. The process involved staff from the highest to the lowest level in the FD, again a first for a Grenadian government body.

With a novel, participatory policy process formally approved, and with the central authority having completed its strategic response, the FD and DFID considered this to be a timely moment to take stock. This is especially because it is now time for other forest stakeholders in Grenada to respond to the new policy. And, further afield, other Caribbean nations and small states everywhere which are aiming for participatory natural resource policy development could learn from Grenada’s bold steps. Hence this paper, which seeks to:<sup>2</sup>

1. Review Grenada’s recent national forestry policy development process;
2. Review the FD’s strategic planning process as a response to the Policy;
3. Reflect these processes against relevant experience elsewhere; and
4. Provide ideas on further challenges and targets for the ‘next steps’.

As a brief review, made so soon after policy approval, the paper cannot be conclusive on how the new policy itself has changed forests and stakeholders. Instead, it covers the processes of debating and preparing the policy and planning its implementation, and the potential suitability of policy contents to local needs. It concentrates on picking up the perspectives of the many stakeholders involved.<sup>3</sup> The author is grateful to many people who provided fragments of history, insights and observations during two trips to Grenada, but any factual errors or inappropriate conclusions are those of the author.

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<sup>2</sup> From DFID’s terms of reference for IIED.

<sup>3</sup> Many quotes are given throughout this paper, but are left unattributed.



# What to look for in 'policy'

*Policy is a story with multiple plots.* The idea of policy can seem to be a slippery one. Many different forms of policy emerge at different times – as documents, speeches or unwritten 'rules'. Each of these forms may or may not be recognised or adhered to by specific stakeholders. Some stick, and some are ephemeral. They include:

- legal documents, produced very irregularly, which express government intention – but which often represent technocratic or bureaucratic viewpoints only and become increasingly out of date
- unwritten norms or ways of doing things which are generally understood – but which tend not to be able to cope in times of major change
- political bargaining between interest groups – which can lead to very piecemeal solutions, or inequitable results
- new trials and programmes which set the tone for the future – but which may remain 'islands' of success because they require special resources, such as aid
- incremental 'muddling along' – accretion, improvisation, mutual adjustment – but which suffer lack of long-term vision

In effect, in every country most of these forms of policy, and more, may be present in multiple layers, with actual policy decisions reflecting an interaction between them. Informal approaches may turn out to be as influential as formal policy: the results are invariably coloured by power relations. Decisions tend to be made by a relatively few influential people – 'policy holders' – principally in government, and thus reflect their interests, unless space can be made for other stakeholders to get involved.

*Getting to grips with the 'scene', the 'actors', the 'plots' – and the audience appreciation.* With such complexity, an analytical framework is clearly going to be useful in assessing policy. Building on Mayers and Bass (1999)<sup>4</sup> we suggest the need to examine:

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<sup>4</sup> Mayers J. and S. Bass. 1999. Policy that works for forests and people. IIED, London.

1. *Context*: the historical, economic, social and political forces within which policy emerges and operates; and the environmental and biophysical conditions affecting forest assets
2. *Actors*: the stakeholders in forest use; the 'holders' of policy; and their motivations and relative powers
3. *Policy processes*: the means for representation of stakeholders; the 'language' of debate; how decisions come to be made; and the kinds of institutions and mechanisms which bring stakeholders together or drive them apart;
4. *Policy contents*: their coverage of the various dimensions of sustainable forest management; the types of instrument for implementing them; and their coherence with other policies and norms
5. *Impacts of policy*: on forest assets and on stakeholders' rights and needs; who gains, who loses, and who bears risks for the future

The policy *process*, which is the main subject of this paper, can only be explained well if both the *context* and the *actors* are well understood. Whilst it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse the policy *content*, some observations were considered worthwhile, notably a brief assessment of how these match up with new global norms, as expressed in the varying sets of criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management (SFM), and a comment on the consistency of the various components of policy. Since the policy is so new, it is too early to say much about *impacts*; except that a brief note can be offered on early changes observed by stakeholders as a result of the participatory *process* itself.

This paper was prepared by:

1. Assessing extensive FD and DFID project documentation.
2. Developing a 'pool' of questions, based on the five-part framework for understanding policy process (above) and on the background reading. This is given in Annex 1.
3. Semi-structured interviews in April 1999 of many stakeholders involved in the policy process (and a few who were not involved), using the pool of questions.
4. A small workshop of senior FD officials at which to test early findings, and explore strategic planning challenges.
5. Preparation of draft findings, for feedback from FD, DFID and selected key stakeholders.
6. Individual and group interviews in February 2000 with FD on its strategic planning process and outcome; and supplementary interviews with other key stakeholders regarding responses to implementing the strategy.
7. Preparation and peer review of the final review paper.



# Setting the scene

## Forests and stakeholders

*Grenada still has much forest potential left.* In many parts of the world, forest policy reform has been precipitated by perceived crises – such as by floods, droughts, the displacement of people and deforestation. But in Grenada, forests and other tree resources are still in reasonable shape. They do not hold major reserves of commercial timber and thus, although land is in demand, it seems that nobody is about to abuse forests by stripping out forest assets on a large scale.

*Forest use is a ‘public behaviour’ issue.* In contrast to many countries, known threats to Grenada’s forests are constituted by a myriad of individual small decisions: piecemeal clearance for housing, cutting for charcoal or domestic timber use, polluting of watercourses, over-exploitation of wild meat, dumping and fire-lighting, etc. These problems are not neatly confined to the traditional domain of state forest lands, as they are in many countries. Rather, they are also experienced in mangrove areas, housing subdivisions, and watersheds covering lands under the ownership of many people and institutions.

To the general public – as we shall see – Grenada’s forests are valued principally for their public environmental services, notably water supplies and recreation. But they also support the livelihoods of some rural groups, especially basket makers, professional wild meat hunters, sawmillers and an increasing number of trekking guides (although relatively few people depend entirely upon forests). Forest policy is therefore very much a ‘public behaviour’ issue, rather than one of controlling a distinct group of stakeholders such as logging companies. It implies the need to keep track of how the public perceives and uses forests, as well as their desires and ideas; and it also implies the need for better public awareness and reconciliation of different groups’ forest values, potentials and vulnerabilities. However, these needs were unfulfilled prior to the recent policy process.



## Grenada Country Profile

### Forest

- Forest and woodland covers approximately 10,000 ha, or 30%, of Grenada's total land area. In mainland Grenada, drier coastal woodlands are generally separated by 'middle' elevation agricultural lands from the montane and closed evergreen rainforests which dominate in the higher, wetter elevations.
- Most plantations – predominantly Blue Mahoe – were established after Hurricane Janet in 1955, and cover 220 ha.

### People

- The population is about 97,000 – with an average density of 300 people per km<sup>2</sup> – the highest density in the Eastern Caribbean.
- 48% are under 21 years old and approximately one-third live in the capital, St. George's.
- The annual growth rate is estimated to be 0.6%.

### Tenure

- Currently around 30% of the forests and woodland are State-owned, a mixture of forest reserves, national parks and, less protected, crown land. The remainder is privately owned.
- Apart from State-owned forest areas, theoretically managed for the socio-economic benefit of Grenadians, there are areas of communally owned and managed forest.
- The Constitution gives land owners the authority to manage the vegetation on their land as they see fit and the State is legally unable to intervene, although compulsory land acquisition is possible.
- Access to crown land is unrestricted and collection of NTFPs (e.g. wild meat, bamboo, medicinal plants, and seeds to decorate spice baskets) is permitted.

### Forest economy

- Only around six small sawmills operate in Grenada producing small volumes of lumber, mainly for furniture production.
- Approximately 99% of Grenada's wood product requirements is imported – 12 500 tonnes each year.
- Currently the small area of plantations in forest reserves is not being harvested due to their location in critical watershed areas and the Forestry Department's recent decision to phase out its harvesting / processing activities.
- Apart from being critical for water production, as all dams have small capacities, forests are important for recreation and eco-tourism, and as a source of NTFPs (particularly for spice baskets, poles for construction and charcoal production).
- The remaining 200 ha. of mangroves also contribute through oysters, crabs, charcoal and as a nursery for many fish species.
- Logging of natural forests within forest reserves and national parks will be unlikely with the recent approval of a new National Forest Policy.

### Pressure on Forests and People

- Most forests on viable agricultural lands (with appropriate soils, rainfall and slope) have already been cleared.
- Currently there is significant clearance of drier woodlands near the coast, particularly in the SW area near St. George's, for construction. These woodlands form the habitat of the Grenada Dove and a sub-species of the Hook Billed Kite, both endemic, and numbering less than 100 specimens each.

- The increased use of bottled gas has reduced the demand for fuelwood.
- Uncontrolled hunting is threatening many species including the armadillo, the opossum, the Mona monkey and the iguana.

**Key policy issues**

- No comprehensive Lands Policy to guide sustainable development and determine appropriate uses of land.
- Difficulty of positively influencing forest management in privately-owned forested areas.
- Linking local learning to policy and capacity development.

Source: information provided by Robert Dunn, DFID TCO, and Forest Department, Grenada

*Forests are a fundamental asset for tourism and agriculture development.* If forests are important for many Grenadian livelihoods, they are crucial to the major economic sectors, tourism and agriculture. Forests' indirect use values – water, landscape, biodiversity and cultural heritage – support the tourism industry. Water supplies, soil conservation and shelter are important for agriculture. Those who make decisions about tourism and agriculture do not appear to fully appreciate this dependence. These industries are both facing tremendous international pressures to be competitive, and are highly circumscribed by market and political decisions made in North America and Europe. It is not surprising that forest issues *per se* seem to come second to these international pressures. Yet new markets are developing – for 'green' tourism as well as the niche 'ecotourism', and for organic agriculture – which require conserved natural landscapes in their certification standards. Furthermore, there are also international agreements regarding forests and biodiversity to which Grenada has signed up.

Forest policy is, therefore, a cross-sectoral issue. It implies the need for forestry, tourism, and agriculture sectors to communicate better, to examine mutual dependence, to consider cost- and benefit-sharing regarding the forests which underpin these important industries, and to factor forest issues into international relations.

*But a 'frontier' attitude to forests has prevailed, ignoring many forest values and encouraging forest clearance.* Forests constitute a large proportion (~25%) of Grenada's land. Whilst nobody will get rich exploiting Grenada's timber resources, forest land sales do offer potentially large profits. There is a continuous threat of major damage to forests from large land developments, for which controls on environmental and social outcomes are missing or have been weakly applied, if at all. This implies the need for better understanding at the highest levels of forest potentials and vulnerabilities, and popular support for wise use of land.

Until recently the FD has been on the side-lines, if not quite 'invisible', to all these powerful forces, both positive and negative. It has been preoccupied with traditional forestry activities such as plantation establishment and forest product sales. It has had few effective relations with the real centres of political and market power, or with positive social movements for wise resource use.

## **How 'policy' has been practised in Grenada to date**

*Previous forest policy was merely a statement of government intentions.* It is notable how the previous forest policy (dating from 1984) was considered by most interviewees for this study to be the 'property' of government. This policy laid out the mandate of the FD, and its objectives reflected the perspectives and intentions of FD officers. Indeed, it had been written by a few government officials alone. In spite of such FD 'leadership' in the 1984 policy, few FD staff interviewed actually knew the details of the policy, or of relevant legislation – in part because they perceived much to be irrelevant to today's needs. Subsequently, the 1992 Tropical Forest Action Plan followed the pattern of most internationally-organised environmental/natural resource review processes by setting out elements for a new policy that were developed largely by international consultants, with a few FD insiders. There was little 'ownership' by FD staff, and still less by any other stakeholders. In short – until the 1997-9 policy exercise – there has been very little interaction between the broad group of forest stakeholders, and the narrow group of formal forest 'policy-holders'.

*Formal long-term policies in Grenada have, until recently, been technocratic or externally-driven, rather than consultative or cross-sectoral.* The current forest policy exercise has considerably enriched the recent growth in Grenada of participatory policy initiatives (see below). Until the mid-1990s, external reasons for revising policy were often predominant e.g. World Bank preoccupation with structural adjustment. Once initiated, any new policy initiatives have tended to be structured afresh, perhaps following a donor's process guidelines, rather than through a routine Grenadian procedure of participation. Likewise, the national development strategy has tended to be largely targeted at external aid, and less well-linked to livelihood and market realities.

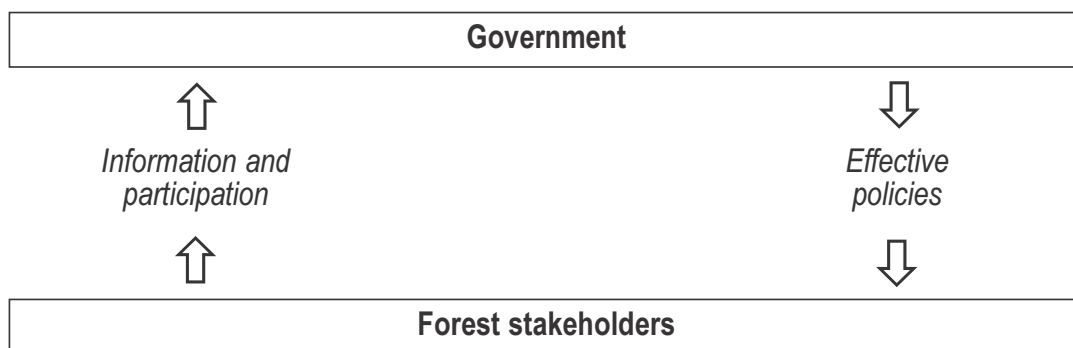
*'Real' policy seems to be short-term in nature.* The annual budgetary process, in contrast, is a stronger process: although dealing only with shorter-term policy/plans, it is switched in to sectoral government, business, and politics. It incorporates a well-understood inter-sectoral mechanism for assessing and coordinating priorities (with the Ministry of Finance at the centre). And, as

we shall see, there is a new participatory approach. There is a sense, then, in which 'real' policy – in terms of deliberate decisions that affect land, labour, capital and rights – is very much a short-term affair.

## Governance that affects forests and forest stakeholders

*There has recently been a growth in integrating approaches.* There need to be good 'top-down'-'bottom-up' links if stakeholders' needs and conflicts are to be addressed by policy and its implementation (Figure 3.1). Good policy similarly also needs cross-sectoral co-ordination.

**Figure 3.1 Good policies require stakeholder participation and information**



In terms of 'top-bottom' links, the NNP Government has sought to enhance public consultation since the June 1995 election. The first ever national consultation on the economy was initiated in preparation for the 1996 Budget. This instituted a telephone Budget hotline for citizens to call in and make recommendations. Public meetings were held in all parishes. In August 1997 a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Trades Union Council and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce was signed to ensure the labour movement and the private sector were involved in policy formulation. Furthermore, a 'Face To Face' approach has been developed, from meetings in 1997 between the Prime Minister and students and farmers, to more extensive village level sessions. 'Face to Face' now includes all Ministries of Government to ensure that members of the public service, as well as the public, can express views and concerns to the Prime Minister and the relevant ministers.

In terms of *cross-sectoral coordination*, in 1998, another MoU was signed that created a Multi-Partite Committee comprising Government, the private sector, the labour movement and the non-governmental community. This advises government on policy, particularly if there are anticipated problems with 'winners' and 'losers' from a possible policy option. The Sustainable Development Council (SDC) makes inputs to the Committee: it comprises

senior technical officials and expertise from civil society and acts as a 'think tank'. However, both the SDC and the Multi-Partite Committee as yet seem to react to agendas placed by government rather than taking a proactive stance to issues.

Forest stakeholders widely view the new forest policy process as one of the more significant contributions to this new set of approaches, especially as it takes a non-political – but equity-based – longer term view.

*But there is still no national forum to allow forest stakeholders to meet.* Although forest issues are both 'public behaviour' and inter-sectoral affairs, there are no 'institutions' bringing forest stakeholders together to resolve problems and realise potentials. Promising though the Multi-Partite Committee and the SDC might be, they have yet to deal with forest issues. Nonetheless, FD officers are not loners: they have interacted informally, one-on-one with many individuals both at 'policy' level and in the field, and this has greatly increased with the new forest policy process.

*Weaknesses in local institutions are a bottleneck to policy reform and implementation.* It seems that in Grenada the party political system is well mobilised, which perhaps has meant that other forms of local institution are less well developed. For example, agricultural co-operatives are not very effective except, apparently, in Carriacou. In contrast, there is a strongly individualistic approach; the local associations that do exist e.g. for farmers and hunters, are voluntary and partly social in nature. With the newly-proposed decentralisation of authority for forest management to communities, the current weakness of local institutions limits what can be done to take up, e.g., forest co-management, benefit-sharing or other ambitions for involvement of local stakeholders. More importantly, it means there is only a weak bottom-up 'pull' on government departments and ministries to coordinate amongst themselves better and so deliver integrated services locally. In other words, government's 'clients' are not well-organised.





# Stakeholders in concert: the new forest policy process

*Tearing up the old score.* International agencies and donors have been the catalyst for forest policy reform in many developing countries. However, such reform usually proceeds complete with the baggage of international preconceptions, frameworks, consultants, deadlines and even conditionalities. The DFID/Government of Grenada Forest Management Project was indeed a catalyst for the forest policy process, but in the true sense of a catalyst – enabling active local ingredients to react together. FD staff in particular were ready for change. Whilst the continued project funding of DFID contributed some ‘energy’ to the process, DFID did not impose process or timing constraints.

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*“This new policy is good. It will endure party political changes. It is a policy for the resource and for ordinary people – not one to suit just some high-up person”*

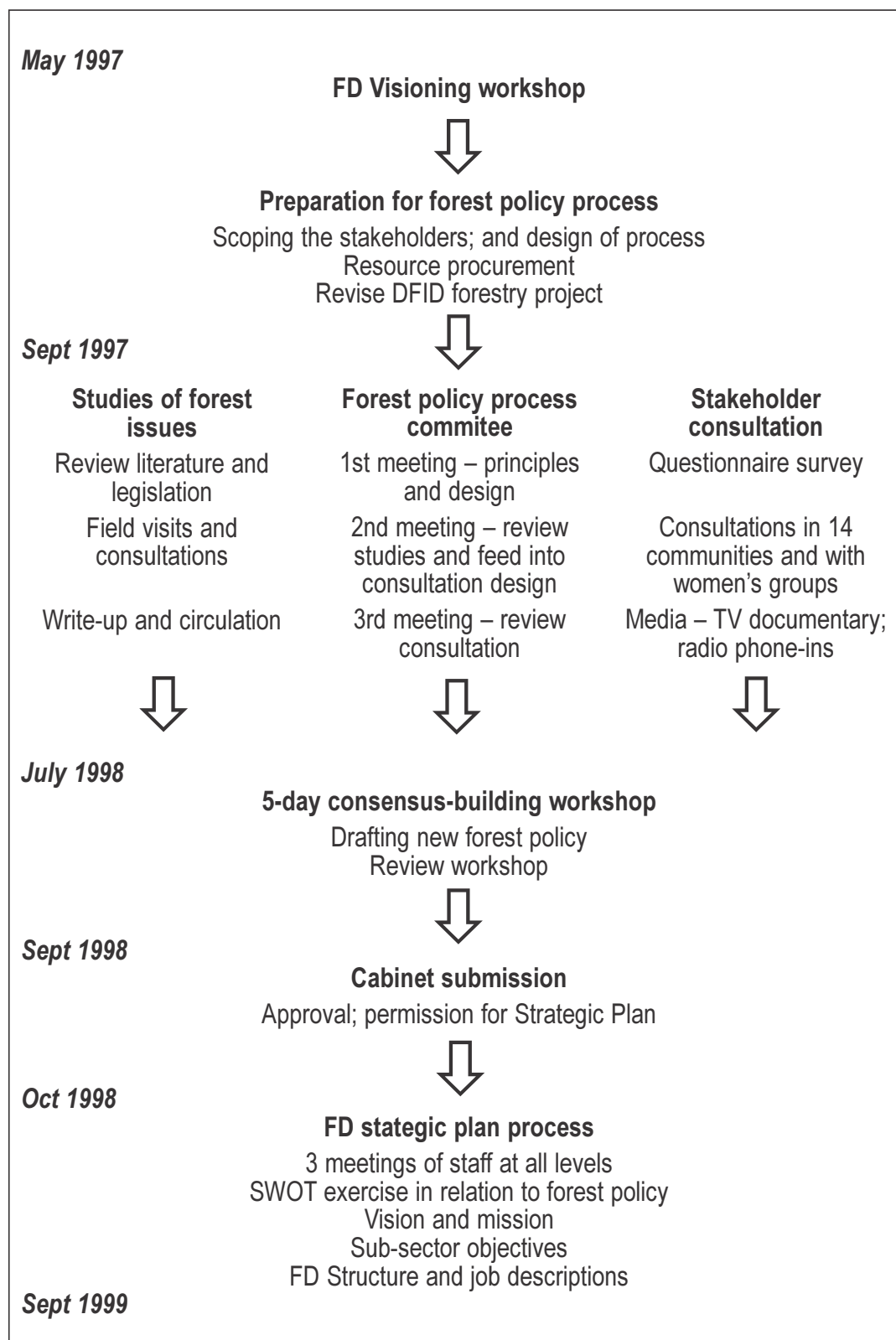
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The original Forest Management Project had been designed in 1995, to improve the management of State-controlled forest areas through creating new forest reserves, developing forest management plans, staff training, enacting previously developed legislation, and developing an awareness campaign which would result in the ‘general public actively involved in protecting forest’. It had made some significant assumptions:

- that the TFAP’s recommended Forest Policy (1992) would be adopted
- that an environmental legislation review would have been carried out by the Physical Planning Unit (Ministry of Finance) with UNDP/UNCHS prior to the start of the Project

*The players band together in a forest policy community.* In practice the TFAP’s recommended policy was not accepted, at either FD or Cabinet level, and the legislation project never took place. This became evident by 1997 when, between the FD, MALFF and DFID, a new, participatory approach was designed to result in the development of a forest policy and a subsequent strategic plan for the Forestry Department. The process was led from start to

**Figure 4.1 The process of formulating Grenada's forest policy**



finish by Grenadians. It was based on very little precedent in the country, and involved no formal policy or strategic planning skills. In essence, it was agreed that what was lacking in skills at the 'centre' would be made up for by engaging stakeholders more broadly. Over 18 months, the FD and others went through the following steps (Figure 4.1):

1. Identified the need for a new policy at a visioning workshop
2. Identified stakeholders to form a committee to design the process. Apart from the facilitator chairperson (the Executive Director of CANARI, St. Lucia) all members of the committee were Grenadian, with only two of the 17 being foresters
3. Researched and wrote ten sub-sector policy studies
4. Designed and circulated five different questionnaires, one of which was completed by over 420 members of the general public
5. Conducted four radio phone-in programmes on forest issues
6. Organised, chaired and kept minutes for 14 community consultation meetings, five in the islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique
7. Facilitated a five-day 'Consensus-building' workshop to discuss and propose a draft for a 'vision' and broad forest policy objectives, a 'process' for policy implementation, and objectives and recommended actions for nine sub-sectors. The workshop had over 180 participants, approximately half of whom were members of the general public
8. Generated a draft policy through a 'Drafting Committee' comprising four Grenadians and the Chairman
9. Informed all participants, and the general public, of the evolving process through local newspapers, radio and television
10. Held a one-day feedback workshop to review and comments on the draft policy

Assistance from the DFID-supported project included facilitation skills provided by CANARI, and organisational support provided by the DFID Forestry Adviser. The latter took no active part in the generation of the policy contents, but provided resources, logistical support and peer review throughout the process.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the whole forest policy 'performance' entailed an enormous exertion of local energy, especially by the FD in a coordinating role, but it generated further energy in a wider group. Observations on the 'performance' follow below, informed by many interviews as well as the many documents which recorded the process.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> It should be acknowledged that it is a bold thing for a DFID Technical Cooperation Officer to take a 'hands-off', facilitating role rather than the traditional role of 'expert'. In spite of all the latest guidance in the aid system to do this, it is still far easier to make a career mark through producing self-authored reports, plans and maps.

<sup>6</sup> It is often said that policy processes should be well-documented. This has certainly been the case in this Grenadian example.

#### Box 4.1 Forest Policy Process Committee

David Antoine	Ministry of Finance
Raymond Baptiste	Land Use Division, MALFF
Egbert Barrett	Productive Farmers' Union
Byron Campbell	Agency for Rural Transformation (ART) NGO
Michael Church	Chief Technical Officer, MALFF
Rolax Frederick	Acting Chief Forestry Officer, FD
Clement McLeish	Logger / furniture manufacturer
Vincent Morain	Ministry of Education
Leroy Neckles	NAWASA (water and sanitation)
Denise Peters	Agricultural Extension Division
Paul Phillip	Fisheries Division, MALFF
Lynden Robertson	Ministry of Health and Environment
Bernadette L. Sylvester	Ministry of Carriacou and Petit Martinique Affairs
Augustus Thomas	Senior Forest Officer, FD
Ester Thomas	Board of Tourism
Judy Williams	Grenada Community Development Agency (GRENCODA) NGO
Raymond Walker	National Parks Division, Ministry of Tourism
Errol Williams	Exclusive Hunting and Fishing Association

*Dancing to our own tune.* It was very clear from interviews that the process was not dominated by DFID, by CANARI, or by foreign precepts:

- The *need* for the process was determined by local stakeholders – albeit primarily government officials.
- The process was *designed* as a comprehensive package by stakeholders in Grenada – and not by foreigners. Time and space was deliberately given for stakeholders to learn one another’s perspectives and to change their minds. Many people consulted felt that they played key roles, although the support contributions of CANARI and DFID were acknowledged and appreciated
- The *outputs* of the process, notably the resulting policy, are widely ‘owned’. The policy was variously described by interviewees as the ‘nation’s policy’, the ‘people’s policy’, or (in two localities visited) the ‘policy of poor people’; and equally was qualified as being more than the property of the FD or government.

*Occasional weak playing has not yet spoiled appreciation of the performance.* Most of the sub-sector studies were prepared by FD officers. Most of these authors

welcomed the opportunity to rethink the rationale for their work in the FD, and to put down on paper the problems and potentials about which they may have been aware for many years, but had as yet no forum in which to express them. Almost all of them built in special consultations with relevant stakeholders (as advised by the policy committee) and so the papers were more than just a rehash of personal knowledge and prejudices. DFID project staff lent a hand in ensuring good structure and purposefulness of some studies, but resisted the temptation to suggest much in terms of content. Inevitably, this means that some reports hardly reflect international state-of-the-art forestry understanding. There is clearly more work to be done to develop the best technical responses to issues raised. But at this stage, the strong sense of personal involvement in preparing the analyses, the commitment to doing something about them, and the new opportunity to design practical action based on the policy, is far more important. Equally, the process has not reached the stage of 'paralysis through too much analysis' which bedevils many externally-driven policy reviews.

*A demand for more sophisticated playing will develop.* There are down-sides to a self-sufficient approach to analysis, which will become more evident if it continues. It is notable that the list of issues defined originally for analysis remained unaltered right through to the policy-writing stage: no issues were substantially dropped and no major issues were added.<sup>7</sup> There seems to have been little peer review – and few challenges to the assumptions, findings and recommendations of the study authors. As the component analyses are more strongly associated with their individual (FD) authors than with anyone else, any idiosyncracies (and implicit claims to professional and institutional 'turf') might prove problematic as policy implementation and FD restructuring gets under way. Thus there should be a continuing eye on the scope of issues, and a broadening of the community of people entitled to, and capable of, comment. There will come a time when there is a need to bring in state-of-the-art expertise, or missing expertise, to address evident priorities. One example may be economics skills to assess and express the value of forests to water supplies, tourism and agriculture.

*Others have been welcome to join in.* The question of who should be involved in the process was perhaps rather simpler than in large countries when people have to be selected from large groups. Stakeholder representation and identity (i.e. with which issues they are most identified), and to whom they are accountable, are simpler issues in Grenada but still require much work. Initially, stakeholder identification was done rather simply – a list of people

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<sup>7</sup> As issues were identified they were 'slotted into' one of the sub-sectors; for example fire issues found their way into the 'biodiversity and forest loss' study, and littering/dumping into 'forest recreation'





**Forest Department staff at all levels worked with stakeholders to identify new directions for forestry**

known to the process design committee. CANARI rightly insisted on a group of people whose experience and views would be representative of most sectors, so that a wide diversity was obtained (but without the burden of such people having to formally represent stakeholders.) As a result, NGOs were included, where the committee had not initially done so. Later, in preparation for the consensus-building workshop – the stage where it was becoming both important and possible to have representation – CANARI ensured that the Committee conducted a full stakeholder identification exercise. This was done by first listing all the functions of the forest, and then identifying, for each of these functions, the various groups, sectors, communities and organisations who were affected by or had an impact on it. Thus the process has demonstrated a reasonably inclusive approach. For example, whilst Friends of the Earth was left out of the Forest Policy Process Committee, its request to be involved was later accepted for the Consensus-Building Workshop.

For the future, when forest policy implementation implies a bottom-up approach, where co-managers of forests will be sought, and where there will be local losers who may need ‘compensation’, there may need to be a more active, rigorous process for bringing in more marginal (sub)groups such as women and the landless.

*The right instruments?* We have noted how few traditional or governmental systems for consultation and participation are available, or are regularly used.<sup>8</sup> Hence the methodologies used for the process had to be specially introduced: strings of meetings of various types, one-off studies linked to consultative groups, questionnaires, radio phone-ins, and school lessons. People found this easy to accept. It appears that written material often had less impact than expected – whereas meetings, workshops and interviews and other oral means worked well.<sup>9</sup> Since the result was a formal policy draft, the existing Cabinet mechanism was wisely used to round off the process in the required formal manner.

Senior FD staff became alert to the fact that few women had been attending the local meetings, and responded with a meeting for thirty representatives from women’s groups. Building on the national predilection for TV and radio, a mix of awareness-raising broadcasts, phone-ins and surveys was carried out, although with limited response. More revealing (of a very wide range of opinions) was the newspaper-based public opinion survey, reproduced in Annex 3. The resulting ranking of ‘forest priorities’ (Box 4.2) may be an artificial construct – a nation-wide view from the more highly educated classes rather than the specific local views of *different* groups. However, acknowledging that respondents do not necessarily cover the full breadth of Grenadian society, little difference was noted between age groups and sexes on the key issues.

**Box 4.2 Priorities revealed by 420 returned Forest Policy questionnaires**

Sub-sector / issue	Ranking	Average score (maximum 5)
Soil / water conservation	1st	4.90
Environmental education	2nd	4.83
Wildlife Conservation	3rd	4.81
Mangrove conservation	4th	4.68
Biodiversity (protection)	5th	4.61
Provision of seedlings	6th	4.54
Eco-tourism / recreation	7th	4.23
Timber production	8th	4.12

<sup>8</sup> If one looks hard enough, invariably there are traditional or informal systems of participation which can be strengthened for the future.

<sup>9</sup> Some questionnaires were filled in through structured interviews e.g. with farmers.

The more significant challenge is to identify the local forms of governance, such as community, social and resource-user groups, with which to work in planning, implementing and monitoring the new policy. Related to this is the need to encourage the FD to empower and facilitate such groups. Whilst there is now considerable will to do so on the part of the FD, there are few means and formal openings. Joint pilot projects, NGO interventions, and FD-wide training would help.

*Allegro ma non troppo*<sup>10</sup> The policy process seems to have been paced just right, at around 14 months to conduct the consultation and four further months to prepare and agree the policy document. This was fast enough to keep momentum going, but not so fast that stakeholders did not have adequate time to consult with their various constituencies, consider others' opinions, and change position where necessary. Equally, the number, length and spread of meetings was adequate to ensure coverage of the issues, without inducing participation 'fatigue'.

*The reason for taking part is changing.* The reason for the process was initially internal to the FD: 'what should the FD do now that forest needs have changed, and now that we have the prospect of DFID support to help us?' Once the Forest Policy Process Committee began work, and the broader land use, tourism and watershed issues were discussed, the rationale externalised somewhat, becoming more of a shared challenge. It became clear that several institutions needed to undergo change. The final policy incorporated many issues from the public consultation, and now the agenda is acknowledged as a truly national one. With such a broad purpose, and a wide range of actors expecting to implement (or at least benefit from) the new policy, further process challenges are now clear and are explored in section 8:

- to internalise the policy again in the FD
- to encourage other institutions to do likewise
- to keep the agenda open to local stakeholders
- to participate amongst international stakeholders
- to look more at future conditions

*A value-for-money performance that is already inspiring others.* The policy process was not particularly expensive. This suggests that something like it could apply in similar contexts, notably other sectors in Grenada and other small islands. In February 2000, the MALFF organised a participatory retreat for its staff with a view to considering similar reorientations of agricultural and lands policy and procedures. Most importantly, some of it could be kept

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<sup>10</sup> Fast but not too much!

as a regular feature for forestry in Grenada, thereby keeping policy responsive and 'alive'.

The resources were judiciously applied: recognising that communication is the 'lifeblood' of the process, resources went into organising transport, refreshments and publication so that the analysis and consultation was efficient and inclusive. Existing government financial procedures meant that this would have been difficult; DFID's flexibility, and the energetic and continuous 'behind-the-scenes' work of DFID staff, were therefore invaluable. The true cost of the process has been participants' time, and the essential facilitation expertise (from both DFID and CANARI). Neither of these should be underestimated. With no exceptions, all interviewees felt that the process had been a good use of their time, although some noted that there would be diminishing returns and a drop-off in interest if action were not soon to become evident.

*The conductor takes a break.* Any consultative process requires considerable efforts of feedback to the players. Whilst this has been quite successful, many of those who have been closely involved (with the exception of FD staff) are not quite clear about what happens next or who is in charge. This



DON'T THINK YOU HAVE NOTHING IMPORTANT TO SAY-  
FILL IN YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE AND MAIL IT!

The whole population was encouraged to have their say. Hundreds of questionnaire responses also helped to identify people with good ideas to invite to consultations

is partly because, at the time of going to press, the new mandate and structure for the FD have not been formally approved, and the FD is reluctant to move without this (section 6). Continued efforts at communications and transparency will be important.

To sum up, much is revealed by the contrast between the TFAP – which was neither widely known, nor accepted as valid by those who did know it – and the new policy. The new policy is perceived not only as a milestone towards a more viable and equitable use of forests, but also as a model for all policy development in Grenada. But what does the new policy actually say?



The policy process has reduced the 'distance' between forest stakeholders and 'policy-makers'





# A quick look at what the policy says

*An innovative process produces a traditional output – a policy document – to be sure of attention.* In spite of the novelty of the forest policy process, its primary output was a conservative one: a draft policy document, put to Cabinet for approval (Annex 2 gives the full text). This helped to get the green light for fundamental change. The policy document differs from the Grenadian norm in making its multi-stakeholder genesis and ownership clear, and in presenting implementation principles. It is clearly more than a shopping list. Putting the policy in a few words on a tee-shirt seems also to have been a good idea.

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*“What is the overall policy message? That forests are for all. All can be winners”*

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More innovative forms of output – publicity and educational material, presentations, seminars, and (perhaps most importantly) the continuation of some type of national forest (or lands) forum and a regular participatory monitoring/ consultation system – would be very useful (section 8).

*Hitting all the right buttons.* As for the specific contents of the policy statement, at this stage all we can do is line them up against emerging international ‘best practice’. A condensation of the latter has been gleaned by comparing the contents of 17 different national, regional, international and civil society forest criteria/indicators and national standards approaches, such as those of ITTO, the Montreal and Helsinki processes, and the Forest Stewardship Council (Nussbaum et al, 1996).<sup>11</sup> Annex 4 presents a brief analysis. It reveals that the new Grenadian forest policy measures up well against the latest international thinking: it is moving the forestry ‘institutional landscape’ towards an enabling approach, encouraging multiple stakeholders to work together, with special emphasis on environmental services. Its formulation is brief and easy to understand and it gives strong indications of the processes needed to implement the policy.

*Look at it another way?* The policy potentially says a lot more than comes across from its list of objectives. It could be reinterpreted in several ways to make more sense to different stakeholders. Certainly, the policy’s structure in terms of forestry functions (mangroves, NTFPs, tree planting, etc) may prove less

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<sup>11</sup> Nussbaum R, Bass S, Morrison E and H Speechly. 1996. Sustainable Forest Management: an analysis of principles, criteria and standards. Towards a Sustainable Paper Cycle Sub-study Series No 4. IIED/WBCSD, London.



effective at encouraging *non-forestry* institutions and stakeholders to respond, than if it were based on social or development functions (food, fibre, recreation, livelihood support, economic development, etc). Furthermore, the time may come when the policy needs to be presented and developed as a series of the people-first, cross-cutting functions that do, in fact, underlie the new policy. Collaborative management, communications, and participatory monitoring are critical for the future, but curiously are mentioned sporadically and under only some of the forestry objectives. There is still scope for these additional articulations to be made.

*Too rich a mix may not help – so who decides who gets what?* On the plus side, the new big mandate means that the FD can do anything that might be required of it by stakeholders. On the other hand, the FD might just slip back into justifying ‘comfortable’ – but less relevant – functions because they are on the agenda. Or it could get side-tracked.

For the public, a big mandate means that they can legitimately get involved in many areas of policy. However, their response may be hard to elicit, or too broad to deal with.

Most critically, by completely opening up the policy to all, one is possibly inviting battles over institutional ‘turf’ by creating too many potential areas for overlap. This is why the FD’s own strategic plan was needed before encouraging other institutions to make their response to the policy.

The root problem is that the policy statement is highly ‘additive’. No-one’s contribution has really been left out, from the FD study authors to those who gave ideas at meetings. It all looks a bit too good to be true – and implies an unrealistic promise of ‘winners all round’. There will, indeed, be win-wins, but many will tend to be enjoyed at the national level or by more influential stakeholders. In individual localities and for specific actors, hard trade-offs are inevitable. Effective mechanisms for identifying trade-offs and dealing with them, such as through conflict resolution, will now be needed (section 8).

*Something always gets left out.* In spite of the broad scope of the policy, some of the ‘bigger’ issues were not really addressed by the analyses and consultations. Attention might be given to them in due course:

- International environmental forces e.g. vulnerability to climate change
- International economic forces e.g. the effects of globalisation and possible new markets, such as carbon offsets and certified forest products
- Futures: the analysis very much revolved around descriptions of the situation now; future scenarios might be worth developing and comparing.



# Overhauling the engine: the Forest Department's strategic plan

*Rewiring a 'top-down' system to work 'bottom-up'.* A bit more context should be given here. The modus operandi of the Forestry Department was set in train after Hurricane Janet in 1955, when significant stands of natural forest were destroyed in many upland catchments. It was believed that ecological and economic objectives would both be served by converting these damaged areas into fast growing exotic plantations, that would not only protect watersheds but also provide timber and employment. To this end, a large work force was engaged by the FD to establish and manage 166 ha. of plantations, most located on steep slopes with poor accessibility. The FD also encouraged planting of mahogany and other trees in private lowlands, by providing seedlings and advice.

During the following decades, the FD worked hard on plantation establishment and management, timber production and revenue generation. This focus was maintained and encouraged by external projects. In addition to cutting and selling lumber, the FD produced and sold posts, poles, split fencing, and Christmas trees, and provided a timber edging / planing service. However, despite the best efforts of the Department, an efficient, profitable system was hampered by the difficulties of working within the many strictures of government.

The FD has also been responsible for protecting the Grand Etang Forest Reserve and some other areas of State-owned forest land. This has been done with a small number of Forest Guards patrolling the boundaries to check on illegal activities. In the late 1980s, the Department started establishing forest recreation trails in Grand Etang. However, with the transferral of 'National Parks' to the Ministry of Tourism this activity ceased. Otherwise, the FD's activities have remained relatively unchanged up until the present.

## Box 6.1 Forestry and National Parks Department's Vision, Mission and Objectives

The following is quoted from the FD Strategic Plan 2000-2009, which represents the response of the Department to the challenges contained in the new Forest Policy:

### The Department's Vision

***Grenada's leading natural resource management institution that ensures the optimum contribution of forests to environmentally-sound social and economic development:***

The following principles will guide the Department in achieving its Vision:

- **Leadership** by acting on its given role in facilitating the implementation of the Policy
- **Accountability** by adopting democratic and transparent approaches to internal and external relationships
- **Trust** by acting as a reliable partner in joint management arrangements

### The Department's Mission

The Department will achieve its Vision through the following mission:

***To facilitate the participation of institutional, community and individual partners in the sustainable management and wise use of Grenada's forest resources.***

In doing so the Department will work as:

- **A facilitator:** initiating the development of linkages and partnerships with stakeholders (the FD interprets its 'facilitatory' role to include both direct and indirect management of forest resources)
- **A partner:** responsive to the needs of collaborating individuals, communities and institutions
- **An advocate:** to develop a broad base of support for the Forest Policy and related initiatives

### The Department's 10-year Objectives

#### **1 Forest Resource Management**

- To facilitate the conservation of forest resources for the benefit of present and future generations

#### **2 Advocacy and partnerships**

- To ensure a clearer understanding and appreciation of forest ecosystems by the public and policy makers and their contribution to forest conservation
- To develop and maintain partnerships with stakeholders

#### **3 Institutional development (internal and external)**

- To build an efficient, reliable, productive and credible Department by 2009
- To develop the Department's capacity to facilitate the wise use of all forest resources by 2009

With the approval of the new Forest Policy, the Department has started preparing itself for a move away from a tree-centred approach in a few government-controlled areas towards a people-centred, facilitatory, multiple-use approach.

It cannot be overstated how different the spirit of the new policy is, to that of the everyday procedures set previously for FD staff. It could, therefore, have been tempting for the FD to develop enormously ambitious plans for new projects and training strategies, so as to implement the policy. In contrast, the right approach in Grenada seems to be to take one step at a time. The next step was felt to be an outline strategic plan that would make the case to the Department for Human Resources (DHR) for structural and personnel change. This is effectively a precondition to enable the FD to develop its new budget and begin new ways of working.

It was realised that this was the first time that the FD – or any department in MALFF – had produced a plan with a horizon beyond one year. It was also the first time that the FD had undertaken anything major through a process that involved junior field staff, as well as the most senior officers, in visioning and planning. Other key institutions were involved as well.

The process for preparing the strategic plan was designed by the FD with CANARI. It essentially focused around three 3-day workshops, facilitated again by CANARI in January, March and June 1999 (Figure 4.1). An early SWOT<sup>12</sup> exercise revealed that most of the perceived Strengths and Opportunities came from the FD's (newly-found) relations with other stakeholders; and most of the Weaknesses and Threats were to do with internal and governmental constraints. This indicated that the policy process had already created an outward-looking approach in the FD.

*One step at a time:* The resulting Strategic Plan covers the basic objectives for the FD as a whole (Box 6.1), and the specific objectives of the different functional units, and lists the stakeholders with whom each unit should be working to achieve these objectives.

Some necessary ingredients are missing, for example, planned sections on institutional culture, ways of working and advocacy. It is almost as if these new dimensions are already taken for granted. Other expected items might be missing because the plan was produced with an emphasis on promoting the new structure and job descriptions to the DHR:

- The FD is described as a 'facilitator, partner and advocate'; but little

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<sup>12</sup> Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats.



**The new policy provides a framework for developing sustainable hunting by communities**

field, collaborative management models and agreements, research, monitoring and evaluation, liaison with other institutions, and staff development. This mirrors the lack of overt promotion of the cross-cutting and developmental perspectives in the new policy (section 5).

Thus essential parts of the justification for the overall FD structure and certain posts have not been fully articulated as yet. The latter point may partly explain why the Strategic Plan has now spent some months with the DHR, awaiting approval. DHR appreciated the forest policy process as providing essential ground work and overall justification for institutional change based on stakeholders' many needs (as opposed to the current Public Sector Development Programme, which is apparently based more on generalised good management principles). However, the Strategic Plan specifies such major changes in both the scope of work of the FD, and in its structure, that this presents more than the usual challenge to DHR, which also explains the long time taken.<sup>13</sup>

mention is made of its other functions such as regulator, monitor, coordinator or forest manager. The message might mistakenly be given that the FD is relinquishing control of forests, although it is clear from the interviews that the FD takes these roles as given.

- There is little sense of what the priority activities are, or of the change process or sequence (critical path) for addressing them e.g. short, medium or long term before 2010.
- Because the strategy focuses on forest functional units, e.g. watershed management or tree establishment, it is not clear how the key cross-cutting functions will develop that are needed for all units in the FD. Perhaps more should be said about those cross-cutting areas which will continue to make a real difference, notably: participation in the

<sup>13</sup> Approval is a necessary hurdle – but is expected soon and has the strong backing of the Minister and Prime Minister.





# Early impacts of the policy process and strategic planning

We said in section 2 that it is too early to assess the impacts of the newly-adopted policy. But an effective policy will begin to have some impact before being fully adopted, as its process has already brought relevant stakeholders together and will be influencing their decisions. This appears to be the case with Grenada's forest policy.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate this is to trace the process of institutional change that appears to have begun in the central player, the FD. Table 7.1 reflects discussions with FD staff and many other stakeholders: it highlights changes made already, and ideas for a desirable trajectory – not all of which are reflected in the strategic plan because they include stakeholders other than the FD.<sup>14</sup>

Section 6 noted the hiatus whilst the FD's Strategic Plan is approved. Bureaucratic hurdles are often used as excuses for inaction. However, an indication of genuine culture change and commitment within the FD is the way in which staff are already implementing, in part, the spirit of the Strategic Plan, if not the full details. Officers are informally consulting with farmers' groups in order to scope future work. Awareness-raising exercises are going on in schools and with other institutions. NGOs are being brought in by the FD to advise on sensitive social issues such as ways to negotiate forest reserve boundaries with communities. And anomalous FD activities are being phased out.

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*“Now there is more love and unity in the Forest Department”*

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<sup>14</sup> It is acknowledged that not all changes can be correlated with the forest policy or strategic plan.

This does not mean that the rest of the government system has been inactive. A major development following the approval of the policy was the return of the National Parks Division from the Ministry of Tourism. The new Forest and National Parks Department is now in a better position to work with the reality that tourism is increasingly important to Grenada's forests.<sup>15</sup> Agreements have been reached with the Land Use Division and NAWASA on sharing responsibilities for watersheds (the FD is now responsible in upper catchments above surface water abstraction points).

**Table 7.1: Institutional change through the Forest Policy process:**

<b>Before the forest policy process</b>	<b>At this stage of process (new policy and FD strategic plan)</b>	<b>Ideas for a desirable future</b>
<b>Scope of forest policy:</b>		
Narrow vision	Broadening vision – now too broad for FD or any stakeholder alone	Focused vision – contributing to SD; and commitment in other stakeholders as well as FD
'Forestry' focus, especially on high forest, but no real plan	Beginning a 'people' focus – all forest types and developmental objectives	Matching forest management to particular people's needs – helping with trade-offs. Forest management planning
Static policy, written internally	Dynamic policy, with many inputs	Continuous improvement of policy based on actual trials, with many inputs; implemented through partnerships
Forests a non-issue to public; an FD-based approach	People realising they are stakeholders	The State realising people are stakeholders and ensuring adequate rights; a stakeholder-based approach
<b>FD rights and responsibilities:</b>		
FD involved directly in managing forests	FD adopting a facilitatory approach and considering 'divestment' of some forest management	FD provides advice, monitoring, review, enforcement of key laws; partnerships for management
FD focuses on 'comfortable' routine operations – nursery and tree planting	Flux – beginning experiments in new areas: eco-tourism, watershed management, mangrove conservation	Stakeholder-driven and – managed activities. Co-management of forests

<sup>15</sup> For simplicity, the FNPd is still referred to as the FD in this paper.

Before the forest policy process	At this stage of process (new policy and FD strategic plan)	Ideas for a desirable future
<p>FD weak at exercising powers</p> <p>FD top-down approach – centralised operations</p> <p>FD backed up by historically anomalous laws (or laws not even known to FD officers)</p>	<p>FD playing a lead role in showing ways forward</p> <p>FD attempting bottom-up procedures</p> <p>Exploring laws to match new mandate</p>	<p>FD a fully-established, respected State body</p> <p>FD balancing top-down professional judgement with judicious participation; decentralised operations</p> <p>Right balance of instruments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• regulation</li> <li>• market incentives (for water/tourism/mangroves)</li> <li>• information</li> <li>• enabling new partnerships</li> </ul>
<b>Relationships between FD and other stakeholders:</b>		
<p>Ambiguity about roles FD invisible</p> <p>FD experiences little pressure for accountability to the public</p> <p>FD gives away trees free – the ‘power’ basis of many relationships</p> <p>FD officers consult with certain groups, but <i>ad hoc</i></p> <p>FD very low international profile; some aid support</p>	<p>Flux – uncertainty FD making links, taking lead, in the media; public expectations high!</p> <p>Public concerned about better forest use</p> <p>Considering rationale for subsidised trees</p> <p>Participation in some decisions by broader constituency, formed through policy process</p> <p>Making regional links through policy process</p>	<p>Clarity – new roles Partnerships, agreed roles, expectations met and/or more realistic; a fully networked FD</p> <p>Systems of transparency and accountability</p> <p>Environmental/social subsidy for trees</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More specific stakeholder analysis and drawing in important (marginalised) groups</li> <li>• Participation routine and integrated</li> </ul> <p>Part of international professional networks; access to support; full understanding and delivery of international obligations; twinning with expertise in other Caribbean countries</p>

*continued overleaf*

Before the forest policy process	At this stage of process (new policy and FD strategic plan)	Ideas for a desirable future
<b><i>FD management/staffing:</i></b>		
<p>Static structure</p> <p>Inertia – know change is needed, but no opportunity / impetus</p> <p>FD officers are ‘junior’ in government system</p> <p>Routine training based on historical preoccupations</p> <p>Low morale from lack of relevant work/pay</p> <p>FD internal meetings irregular, crisis-focused</p>	<p>FD developing new functional units</p> <p>Increasing interest / ideas / debate; can be correlated with DFID project opportunity</p> <p>FD officers developing high-level skills and areas of work</p> <p>Considerable, relevant training in new areas</p> <p>Higher morale from team work and stakeholder interest</p> <p>Many more meetings, purposeful and democratic</p>	<p>Forest sector institutional development needed, as a whole – formalising links</p> <p>Plans for long- and short-term, resources, commitment and action</p> <p>Professional ‘units’ within FD Ranger posts emphasised for bottom-up approach</p> <p>Training with other Depts. and other stakeholders Participatory and learning skills developed within FD</p> <p>Team work in field not just office. Professional and financial incentives for continuing ‘bottom-up’ approach</p> <p>Create regular groups with specific functions and schedules e.g. management issues, strategy issues, external relations</p>
<b><i>Information and learning:</i></b>		
<p>Traditional inventory, but out of date; little stakeholder input</p> <p>Some FD forest activity monitoring</p>	<p>Large self-driven body of analysis (papers); one-off questionnaire and local consultation responses</p> <p>Process inputs – targets and indicators</p>	<p>Integration with other facilities e.g. Land Use GIS; routine participatory monitoring; research programme; national transparent reporting; spin-off international reporting links</p> <p>SFM output and outcome indicators, with participatory monitoring</p>



# Bringing back the stakeholders – how can other institutions respond to the policy?

A spectrum of types of institutional change can generally be observed, from easier approaches to more ambitious exercises (Mayers and Bass, 1999):

- *improving efficiency* of one organisation to better meet existing objectives
- *changing objectives* of one organisation
- *entering partnerships* between an organisation and other stakeholders
- *renegotiating specific institutional roles* within the sector
- *changing the institutional climate* – participation, devolution, legitimacy and accountability of different organisations, and the rules by which they operate

It is notable that Grenada’s forest policy aims to do all of this, from improving the work of the FD to developing a new ‘open and participatory climate’ – in effect, a societal institution for participatory and sustainable forestry. Thus Grenada sits at the ambitious end of the spectrum.

It is not, therefore, surprising that even advocates of major change such as Friends of the Earth-Grenada are giving the government, and the FD in particular, time to set itself on the right path. It is understood that the Chief Forestry Officer and the Minister and Permanent Secretary for Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries have leadership roles to play. In spite of the quiet background efforts to implement the policy, noted in the previous section, it is disconcerting that few agencies and NGOs consulted have as yet seen fit to examine the policy with their staff or constituencies and define their potential roles in implementing it. There remains a clear role for the FD and outside facilitation here. Thus, beyond

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*“The forest policy provides a great framework for NGO collaboration with government. We would not have bothered to approach the Forest Department before this process. Now we are starting things together, in a small way.”*

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the FD's own needs, we might identify seven steps as critical for getting others to respond to the 'nation's policy':

**a. Keep promoting the forest policy**

The forest policy has to stay 'alive' so that it captures particular stakeholders' attention on those issues – and at the times – that are meaningful for them. This means focusing the rather broad message in different ways. It might be useful for the FD to prepare a promotional plan along the lines of:

- what is our basic policy message?
- who needs to hear it – which particular stakeholder groups and why?
- how do we get the message across – what media?
- how can we anticipate following up – what kinds of actions and partnerships might the stakeholder group welcome?

It will also be important to keep abreast of the news on e.g. international trends and local issues and so to 'spin' forest policy messages in a way which keeps the policy alive. Finally, it will be necessary to encourage visible actions and publicise successes. This should be part of the 'political' functions of senior officers in their dealings with others, but it needs to be supported by professional communication skills.

**b. Sort out the institutional roles**

It is not very clear from the forest policy how the FD mandate overlaps with others' mandates – or how it might be undermined by them or supersede

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*“The biggest threat to the success of the forest policy is not getting information through to the stakeholders, and losing our new support among the people”*

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them. Having established the various major stakeholders (point a.), it might be useful to go through a SWOT exercise with each of them in relation to forest issues, to begin to sort out institutional roles in implementing the national policy. This will entail improving mutual understanding of the overall 'institutional landscape'; evolving clear responsibilities with different stakeholders both 'horizontally' and 'vertically'; ensuring good communications between them; and identifying mechanisms to sort out priorities.

*Improving 'horizontal' relations:* Progress in policy is frequently made by finding ways for potential partners in SFM to work together, where before they were separated by metaphorical 'high walls'. Thus the forest policy process needs to influence the policies of other government agencies, sector bodies and NGOs, especially in the area of land use. This requires ways to



make links. Many such links tend to be personalised at present. But the formalisation of existing one-on-one relations is desirable e.g. between FD and NAWASA, to ensure their respective plans are coherent and progress is made even if individual staff move on. The FD needs to be very pro-active here, taking its cue from the national policy.

However, bilateral relations between the FD and individual institutions will not be enough. A more comprehensive approach is also needed for many stakeholders to interact together. A *national forest forum* is the obvious successor to the 1997-9 forest policy process, reviewing and continuing the process of improving forest policy and its coherence with other policies. It might be specially constituted, or preferably be a development of an existing forum. It should meet at least annually.

A *lands policy* is still needed to deal with the hard trade-offs between forest use and e.g. agriculture (for which there is no policy at present) or urban land use (there is a technocratic approach to physical development planning with little participation). More imaginatively, a lands policy is needed to encourage mixed use, especially as many local stakeholders have mixed livelihood systems. It should learn from the forest policy and involve some of the people who formulated it.<sup>16</sup> MALFF has aspirations to develop a lands policy. But it is evident that there is political confusion elsewhere over the purpose of such a policy which may, therefore, take time to develop. Indeed, it could be imagined that this is one participatory policy which does not develop through a government-organised process but which may evolve from civil society pressure.

*Improving 'vertical' relations:* We have noted that weak institutions at local level constrain a demand-driven approach to implementing co-management, or other ambitions of 'bottom-up' policy implementation. Political wedges have tended to be driven into local institutions, dividing them on many issues even where there might be a pressing need to come together. And weak local organisations obviously cannot force 'higher level' agencies to work better together. The FD needs to support the gradual strengthening of local institutions. It might start by getting together with stakeholders to identify such assets as:

- effective methodologies for getting local people to voice forest issues and make demands
- top-bottom links that work – increasing both understanding of local situations and the relevance of response

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<sup>16</sup> The (weaker) stakeholders who depend on forest cover could, in fact, be more strongly represented in a lands policy process than they would have been if the forest policy had not been formulated.



**Sustainable screw-pine management is needed to support the crafts industry**

- methodologies of social planning that are not coercive
- NGOs and others that can be helpful 'brokers'
- local facilitators with the right skills and neutral attributes

Following this, more thought is desirable on:

- representation of stakeholders (issues of identity and accountability to the group)
- establishing rules of engagement and participation – what to expect, who is involved, communications, etc; neither the FD nor NGOs seem yet to have thought through how the policy for 'collaborative forest management' would be implemented, particularly which forms of local organisation, and terms of agreement, licence or concession, to test
- strengthening the role of the Forest Ranger with a defined forest area for which s/he is responsible, readily available transport, a better understanding of policy and law, participatory skills, and various partnership 'models' that can be discussed with local groups

### **c. Start to identify specific local needs and opportunities from forests**

The forest policy process amassed a lot of information about perspectives on forests and stakeholders, but it was all lumped together. Now there is a need to ascertain local needs and opportunities – with the kinds of institutions identified above – on a more rigorous basis, with a focus on action to implement the policy. One important challenge is to improve clarity/acuity

on whom the stakeholders are. It is important to disentangle terms such as 'communities' and their 'needs'. We will need a closer understanding of the dependence of specific stakeholder types (and especially the poor), and of specific economic sectors, on specific forest values. This will help to:

- identify the right stakeholders for implementation
- work with them to identify what forest values are relevant to them – and thus to make their own arguments for involvement
- assess their capacities and needs

#### **d. Build participatory skills in the FD and other stakeholders**

If the jobs (a), (b) and (c) above are to be achieved to everyone's satisfaction, they should be done using participatory approaches. This will ensure that local complexities are identified, more marginal and needy groups' views are heard, and many skills are brought to bear in generating solutions. Furthermore, participation in monitoring and rethinking action will also improve sustainability. This much was recognised by participants to the policy process. We are now faced with a considerable task of skill supplementation. Training of the FD is crucial, but is best done on the job, with other stakeholders. For example, training together would help to strengthen important working links identified at (a); in-field exercises could start to explore collaborative management options (b) and local opportunities (c). Particular skills are needed by government, NGO and local groups alike:

- facilitation of group meetings
- participatory appraisal
- participatory monitoring and evaluation

Other capacities will be needed for implementing the strategy – especially ways of increasing practical experience in important technical areas. One way to do this is through attachments or job shadowing between FD officers and highly experienced counterparts in other Caribbean countries e.g. watershed management is excellent in Jamaica; and Grenada might offer forest policy attachments in return.

#### **e. Treat the forest policy as a process of continuous improvement**

In general, the 'style' of the process to date has been effective and most people would not want to change it. The 'style' might be summarised by:

- Stakeholder 'ownership' and participation in the process
- Communication (the 'heartbeat' of the process) to elicit good stakeholder responses

- Full transparency about what is happening and the results to date
- Facilitation and brokerage
- Emphasis on (joint) skills development
- Adopting a stepwise approach – being tactical in deciding each target, celebrating its achievement, and learning from each step

In effect, a continuous improvement (CI) approach has begun. This is the kind of approach used by organisations and corporations to ensure quality control (e.g. ISO 9000), or to ‘learn’ its way into complex or new subject areas (such as environmental management systems e.g. ISO 14000). The key aspect of any CI approach is to think in terms of modest, practical steps in a ‘cyclical’ learning approach – not a linear process towards a ‘grand design’. The FD has initiated many of the right ingredients, but may need to give extra attention to:

- Setting priorities from the huge agenda (f. below)
- Establishing milestones that have good stakeholder support, as otherwise the process will seem interminable
- Getting something visible done (not just talk!)
- Setting up a simple learning (monitoring and evaluation) system shared with other stakeholders – necessitating an improving database which will help implementation and monitoring, and means to feed back to policy (including participatory stakeholder monitoring and a forest forum)
- Active management of institutional change, rather than ‘letting things happen’ vaguely according to the policy

There will be several challenges presented by a CI approach. With frequent changes of officer, incentives to keep a change process going may be few. Government staff appraisals tend to look for, and reward, physical performance objectives (the ‘cog in the machine’) rather than improving relationships with stakeholders and responsiveness to them.

#### **f. Focus the broad agenda**

*Establish criteria for setting priorities:* We have noted (section 5.) that any broad policy agenda will have both pros and cons. It is important to:

- *avoid alienating those who see themselves as ‘losers’ in the new policy.* This entails education to demonstrate the long-run ‘winning’ possibilities.
- *avoid over-complexity* – the ‘policy inflation / capacity collapse’ syndrome that means people cannot effectively get started without over-planning and consulting. Starting with second-best is often more effective than imposing procedures for an unattainable perfection.

No matter how legitimate a comprehensive policy might be, it is important to be tactical and avoid being 'paralysed' by its huge breadth of coverage. *Priority-setting criteria* need to be set, e.g.:

- demand from the stakeholders who count most (in terms of their rights, needs, knowledge)
- visibility of the proposed action to the public
- probable extension / multiplier effect
- whether the proposal exercises and builds local capacity
- effect on equity (and relevant poverty / human rights criteria)
- degree of environmental hazard (precautionary principle)
- level of transaction costs (the 'institutional economics' of all the participation, integration, and negotiation)
- relation to forest asset valuation – increase or decrease?
- whether FD / others can do it alone with existing budgets (as opposed to needing new funds, or foreign aid)
- whether it builds on good existing work (especially shared areas of work)

Such a list of criteria can only be a guideline. Most important is its application through continued consultation with stakeholders, which will trend to 'weed out' the lower priorities or the issues which are too intractable at present. It also entails improving FD staff's technical skills and freedom from conflicts of interest, so that best professional judgements can be made. At the local level, representative committees or groups could be developed to resolve conflicts (with FD support). The development of Criteria and Indicators for SFM, or codes of practice for forest use, can be a good way of bringing together different expertise, and different stakeholders' expectations of what forest management should look like in practice.

#### **g. Prepare the DFID exit strategy**

*DFID has been a welcome partner.* There has been strong appreciation of DFID's flexible, supportive approach to the policy process. It certainly cannot be accused of calling all the shots. This is complemented by almost universal pleas for this support to continue, but also to move to more focused training and technical roles in the implementation phase.

DFID support has been given through just one segment of the 'policy cycle' – albeit a large and significant one, i.e. realising the need for change, then consultation, information collection, analysis, debate and formulation of policy. DFID needs to stay with this process through further segments of planning, training, local needs assessment, institutional development and



formation of institutional links, design of policy instruments and programmes, implementation, participatory monitoring and review. A gradual tail-off in external support is required, but the productive relationship cannot be halted abruptly. As we have noted, the timing and pace of policy and institutional change rarely matches that of the cut and thrust of donor-recipient 'project time'.

*Keep external agencies 'on tap', not 'on top'.* The FD may find itself needing to manage a donor escalation problem – possibly sooner rather than later. Apparent policy success can bring a rash of external agencies all demanding to work with the local 'stars', diverting from the real agenda, seriously pressurising limited manpower, or imposing conditionalities that dilute Grenadian stakeholders' needs and values.



**Participatory work in the future will not remain focused on the timber resource alone**





# Reflections – why did the process work? And will the policy work in future?

Given the title of this IIED series, *Policy that works for forests and people*, it would seem right to reflect on what has worked and why, acknowledging the warning in the introduction that it is too early to be sure of all the impacts. Previous sections offer many detailed observations. But what does it all add up to?

*It's the process that makes the policy.* At this early stage, perhaps the best we can do is to line Grenada's experience up against what appears to be 'best practice' generally. IIED's research into policy processes in many countries reveals that 'policy that works' tends to be based on processes which:

1. recognise multiple perspectives on forests
2. take special efforts to consult widely
3. get people to the negotiating table
4. make space to disagree and experiment, and
5. forge activities that draw policy intentions and practice ever-closer (Mayers and Bass 1999).

The challenge is to find – or to create – mechanisms that can achieve this in practice. Real examples where this has been done as a concerted effort are rare. Those that exist are often tied to the procedures and resources deployed by international agencies, and may not be locally sustainable. In contrast, local 'ownership' of Grenada's 1997-9 forest policy process and its outputs is high, although the fact that many costs have been borne by DFID should not go unnoticed. None the less, solid approaches have been achieved in Grenada for the first four processes; the challenge now is the fifth. But why has there been such an apparently rapid bringing together of the right processes?

*The right time, place and style.* Again, the experience of several countries helps us to identify important conditions for smoothing the path for a process of policy development (*ibid.*). These conditions all seem to have been in place in Grenada, or were generated by the process itself – which may go a long way to explaining stakeholder judgements of success within a short time:

- a. *Timeliness* – key players must feel the need for some change. This was very evidently the case with senior FD officers. They knew the old policy and mandate was not up to new stakeholder expectations.
- b. *Reason* – a clear need and purpose should be evident. This means identifying the real issues, which was done very early in Grenada with many stakeholders. Thus the policy got to grips with the things that matter to many, rather than to a few powerful people.
- c. *Locus* – an independent but influential institutional location is needed for coordinating policy work affecting a wide range of stakeholders. This was not directly the case in Grenada. However, ‘influence’ was conferred through involvement of high-level people in government and civil society. ‘Independence’ was provided by the highly experienced chairman, CANARI’s Executive Director, and by the DFID and CANARI facilitation.
- d. *High-level support and expectation* – so that the work will lead to significant changes in important matters such as governance, policy and investment. This was provided by the early ministerial approval for the policy process, by the final submission of the Policy to Cabinet, and by the launching of the policy by the Prime Minister.
- e. *Commitment of key participants* – so that follow-through is achieved. This was evident from the beginning. The novelty may have played a role. The fact that the country is small and stakeholders can be reached relatively easily must have helped (indeed, the Grenadian case may tell us something about the right ‘size’ of territory for doing policy work).
- f. *Facilitation skills and services* – Traditional policy processes depend upon planning skills, but facilitation is far more significant in a multi-stakeholder process. Grenada has been well-served by CANARI facilitation in terms of thinking through the issues, and by DFID facilitation in terms of managing the critical multi-stakeholder processes
- g. *‘Political’ skills* – there needs to be a reasonable idea of the tactics required for influencing those who need to agree changes. Policy reviews are mere

'planners' dreams' without this. This process was designed by Grenadians working within the Grenadian system. Indeed, the process worked in spite of the lack of any formal 'strategic planning' skills and experience.

An obvious point, albeit one worth stressing, is that the process of preparing the policy was but one segment of a longer 'cycle' that can be discerned. This covers realising the need to change, to consultations, to preparing a new policy, to successfully internalising it amongst stakeholders, and implementing it routinely. This full process will nearly always take many years. Hence there will usually be a mismatch between this 'natural' pace of change and any 'aid' project (of say 2-3 years). The DFID project came in at the right time, prior to which senior FD staff had already 'unfrozen' to the idea of the need for change. But internalisation and routine implementation of the approach has not yet happened. It would be a mistake to extrapolate, from this fortunate example, that a major process of change can always be achieved in a short time.

So what will all of this participatory process achieve?

It has been suggested that good policy will (*ibid.*):

1. Provide shared vision, but avoid over-complexity
2. Highlight and reinforce forest interest groups' objectives
3. Give due weight to the objectives of weaker but forest-dependent groups
4. Include active communication/education to 'drive' it all
  
5. Clarify the major responsibilities and partnerships for implementation
6. Provide signals to all those involved on how they will be held accountable
7. Clarify how to integrate or choose between different objectives
8. Help determine how costs and benefits should be shared between groups, levels (local to global) and generations
  
9. Define how to deal with change and risk when information is incomplete and resources are limited
10. Increase the capacity to continually improve and practice effective policy
11. Produce forests that people want, and are prepared to manage and pay for

From this brief review, it is suggested that: 1-4 are already well in progress in Grenada; 5-8 should command attention in the next few years; and 9-11 will evolve if all the others are in place. With the process having been set off on the right footing, all the signs are good that the policy will work for Grenada's forests and stakeholders.

# Annexes

## Annex 1: Pool of questions for semi-structured interviews on Grenada's Forest Policy process

### 1 Interviewee

- your role in Grenada's forests? (proximity, dependence, knowledge)
- forest goods/services/attributes most valued by you?
- policies/institutions affecting your role/enjoyment of forest

### 2 Policy process – the actors

- how did you get engaged in the process?
- your role in process?
- whose idea do you think the process was? why did it come about – opportunity, problem, new actors?
- solution people/problem people?
- who do you think the process aimed to influence?
- have you taken part in/influenced any 'policy' in Grenada before?

### 3 Policy process – participation and consultation

- what methods worked/didn't?
- precedents?
- any useful precedents not used?
- important stakeholders left out?
- pace/time to consult and develop positions?
- level of expectations raised?
- process clear or confusing?
- new understanding/relationships gained?
- downside of a 'process approach'?

### 4 Policy process – the studies

- right agenda/themes? anything missing?
- how was study prepared?
- who read/commented and what difference did this make?
- what was good/poor in study – description/conclusions/recommendations?
- does the study adequately look to the future/wider context?

## **5 Policy content in context**

- Does the final policy adequately reflect the studies and participation process?
- Does it reflect what actually goes on in terms of real forestry stakeholders and their decisions?
- What are the priorities in its large agenda?
- Are there any conflicts, inconsistencies and uncertainties in the policy?
- What is its coherence with other policy within Grenada?
- What is its policy coherence internationally?
- Does it adequately deal with private and public distinctions?
- How does the policy compare with the TFAP and 1984 policy?
- Are the 'products' in terms of papers, campaigns, etc, clear and well-presented?
- How will the new policy help your forest role/needs?
- How will it help you deal with change and extra-sectoral forces (ag, tourism, privatisation, down-sizing, investment...) and vulnerability?

## **6 Policy 'ownership'**

- Whose policy is it?
- Does it adequately take account of locality/stakeholder differences?
- Who are the winners and losers?
- Who is threatened by new policy?
- What is the understanding of 'policy' and 'stakeholder' in this policy?
- How does this differ from previous 'policy' and policy actors?

## **7 Next policy process steps**

- What is needed to make policy work?
- How will it influence the so-far 'missing' lands/agric/development policies?
- What future for participation (Committee)? and consultation (stakeholder mechanisms)?
- What priority-setting/ conflict resolution procedures are now needed?
- What forms of local governance might best carry on the bottom-up approach?
- Events/initiatives upcoming that need to be addressed?
- (How) will the policy be monitored, debated and revised in future?

## **8 FD and other institutions' responses to the policy**

- What made FD/other institution open to process? (internal/external pressures)?
- Pressures still on FD (finance, down-size, politics, NGO/media, aid...)?
- Pockets of resistance to change?
- What was learned by FD/other through process?
- What kinds of change are not possible?
- Ideas on strategy for policy implementation – matching policy with capacity:
  - changes in FD/others' roles/responsibilities/leadership?
  - new capacities needed to do this?
  - new relations/partners needed to do this? and incentives/goals/team?
  - legal changes required – prohibitive; enabling?

- other policy instruments required?
- institutional change management:
  - bottom-up orientation – provisions?
  - cross-sectoral orientation – provisions?
  - design of institutional links
  - organisation structure and team-building?
  - HRD – staff job descriptions, appraisals, training and incentives?
  - key practical pilot projects?
  - milestones and real-life indicators?
  - (participatory) monitoring?
  - other continuous-improvement management ?
  - efficiency/finance changes?
  - transparency/accountability changes?

## **9 DFID**

- (In)appropriate roles undertaken by DFID in process?
- How should DFID's role change?
- At what stage should DFID complete its support?
- Other international links needed?

## **10 How do you see yourself engaging with the forest policy process in future?**



## Annex 2: Forest Policy for Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique

### An introduction by Hon. M. Baptiste

Minister for Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries.

Dear friends,

*On behalf of everyone in the Ministry of Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries, I would like to thank the many hundreds of people from Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique who gave so generously of their time and ideas to develop our new National Forest Policy. It has been a magnificent achievement.*

*Early in the development process some people raised doubts that all the meetings were just another 'talk shop'. I hope that this Cabinet-approved document illustrates our genuine commitment.*

*The policy development process has been so participatory that numerous international agencies are studying our methods to learn from them. It is truly a policy made by The People for The People and has had political support since the concept was proposed in mid-1997. I believe the approval of this policy clearly illustrates the government's commitment to environmental protection, sustainable development and participatory democracy.*

*We hope that everyone, from large institutions to concerned individuals, will use this policy to help guide them on the right path in valuing, managing and protecting our beautiful natural vegetation, on which we all rely for so many different goods and services.*

Yours faithfully,

Hon. M. Baptiste

Minister for Agriculture, Lands, Forestry and Fisheries.

## Forest Policy for Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique

### 1 Preamble

Forests and forest resources play an essential role in the economic, social and cultural development of Grenada<sup>17</sup>. They provide essential goods and services, and are an integral part of the national heritage. The conservation of the country's forest resources is an economic, social and moral imperative. It should contribute to national development objectives, including the elimination of poverty.

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<sup>17</sup> In this document 'Grenada' means 'Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique'

Grenadians require an environment which is clean, safe and healthy for all (people, plants and animals), and which is well-managed for its economic, social, cultural, aesthetic and other benefits, with the maintenance of its full natural productive capacity.

This policy is intended to provide guidance to all stakeholders concerned with the wise use and sound management of the nation's forest resources. 'Forest' is understood to include all forest ecosystems<sup>18</sup> and non-agricultural trees, as well as the goods and services that they provide.

## **2 Goal**

Maximise the contribution of forests to environmentally-sound social and economic development.

## **3 Objectives**

- a. conserve species, ecosystems, and genetic diversity
- b. maintain, enhance and restore the ability of forests to provide goods and services on a sustainable basis
- c. optimise the contribution of forest resources to social and economic development
- d. maintain a positive relationship between the Grenadian people and their forest environment

## **4 Strategic directions**

A number of important directions have been identified, to guide the implementation of the objectives in a number of sub-sectors (in alphabetical order – apart from Carriacou and Petit Martinique):

### **4.1 Biodiversity**

- a. maintain representative samples of all forest ecosystems
- b. protect all species which are important because of their endemism, rarity or value
- c. establish and maintain a base of knowledge on Grenada's biodiversity
- d. build awareness and appreciation of biodiversity and its importance
- e. promote the sustainable use of genetic resources for social, spiritual and economic benefits
- f. build the capacity of Grenadian institutions to participate in the conservation and management of the country's biodiversity
- g. create incentives and other mechanisms to encourage the conservation of privately-owned forests
- h. encourage the participation of government and community stakeholders in programmes for biodiversity conservation
- i. minimise conversion of natural forest into plantations, particularly in upland areas
- j. minimise and control all burning and wild fires in forest areas

### **4.2 Mangroves**

- a. develop a positive perception of mangroves
- b. promote sustainable uses of mangroves
- c. develop and establish a structured collaborative management system with clearly defined roles and responsibilities

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<sup>18</sup> From coastal scrub and mangroves through to cloud forests.

- d. develop legislation to control the use of mangroves and to allow for contractual agreements between owners, users and government

#### 4.3 Non-timber forest products

- a. promote the incorporation of non-timber forest product management in all forest areas
- b. establish collaborative management arrangements between users and owners, where appropriate
- c. conduct research into the traditional, modern and potential uses of non-timber forest products
- d. increase the supply of raw materials for arts and craft

#### 4.4 Recreation and eco-tourism

- a. provide opportunities for forest-based recreation
- b. enhance and diversify the nation's tourism product
- c. bring social and economic benefits to communities located near forest areas
- d. minimise negative impacts of recreational and touristic uses on the forest
- e. involve communities in the development and management of eco-tourism sites
- f. review institutional arrangements for the management of protected forest areas to ensure that it is integrated, effective and efficient

#### 4.5 Timber production

- a. rationalise the production of timber
- b. meet the local demand for high-value hard wood for the furniture industry
- c. develop and use a Code of Practice for all timber harvesting and extraction on State land

#### 4.6 Tree planting

- a. encourage tree planting to reduce soil erosion, improve soil fertility, beautify and enhance the environment, provide timber and other products and maintain biodiversity
- b. develop programmes to encourage stakeholders (e.g. schools and other community groups / organisations) in tree planting in urban and rural areas
- c. create incentives for tree planting on private lands

#### 4.7 Watershed management

- a. adopt an integrated approach to watershed management, with appropriate institutional arrangements
- b. conserve all ground and surface water resources and protect from pollution and depletion
- c. maximise soil cover and prevent deforestation, as far as possible, in all watershed areas
- d. minimise soil erosion and sedimentation, particularly for the benefit of aquatic species and ecosystems (both freshwater and marine)
- e. control infra-structural development and improve farming practices in catchment areas
- f. develop incentives for proper watershed management practices
- g. identify and recommend alternatives for activities detrimental to watersheds

#### 4.8 Wildlife management

- a. conserve wildlife for the benefit of public education, hunting, recreation and biodiversity
- b. limit the negative impacts of wildlife on agriculture
- c. conduct research on population dynamics of important wildlife species
- d. develop effective systems to control hunting and the sale of wild meat

#### 4.9 Carriacou and Petit Martinique

- a. ensure that the specificity of Carriacou and Petit Martinique is taken into account in the implementation of all aspects of this policy
- b. develop effective systems for the control of grazing and the movement of animals

### 5 Requirements for implementation

The attainment of the goal, objectives and strategic directions will require the following elements:

- a. adoption of the policy by the Government of Grenada
- b. commitment of the Government of Grenada and all other stakeholders to its effective implementation
- c. participation of people and institutions in all aspects of implementation, on the basis of a full and informed understanding of the rationale for and contents of the policy
- d. greater public awareness of the importance of the forest and the requirements for its conservation at all levels through effective environmental education
- e. use of effective, workable and practical approaches and tools, compatible with other policy instruments
- f. transparency and accountability, with an adequate flow of information among all concerned parties, and with mechanisms for feedback
- g. clear definition of the roles and responsibilities of the various partners in the implementation of the policy
- h. integration, institutional linkages and collaborative arrangements among relevant governmental agencies, as well as between government and civil society, including the establishment of co-ordinating bodies for key areas such as environmental education and watershed management
- i. respect for and compatibility with internationally accepted norms and practices and participation in relevant international agreements
- j. establishment of procedures and indicators for on-going monitoring and evaluation of impacts and external factors, and for adaptation of policy directions and instruments on that basis
- k. adequate capacity within all relevant institutions
- l. appropriate financing from:
  - government
  - other sources (NGO-sourced, grants, etc.)
  - revenue generation (e.g. user fees)
- m. adoption of a facilitatory role by key Government departments, in particular the Forestry Department (Ministry of Agriculture) and the Agriculture Division (Ministry of Carriacou and Petit Martinique Affairs)
- n. review of forest-related legislation and to ensure its conformity with the terms of the policy and enforcement of all forest-related legislation
- o. formulation and effective implementation of strategic plans, programmes and projects

## Annex 3: Forest Policy Questionnaire

### If Grenada's environment is important to you please take time to complete this: FOREST POLICY QUESTIONNAIRE

Complete and return to enter a FREE PRIZE DRAW (details at bottom of page)

The Forestry Department (FD) is currently managing a wide-ranging and participatory Forest Policy review process, with assistance from the British Government, and we would like your ideas and opinions. This 'policy' is being developed for use by all Grenadian individuals and institutions, not only the FD, who have an interest in the goods and services that the country's forests and trees provide. The FD is one of the institutions that looks forward to using the new policy to develop and implement a new and responsive strategy to manage forested State areas and assist private land owners, as requested, in forest management issues. The new Forest Policy will also generate new laws and will, hopefully, make a positive impact on everyone who lives here.

The policy development process is being managed by a Committee made up of a wide variety of both Government and non-Government representatives covering areas such as: farming, fisheries, education, hunting, land-use, Carriacou and Petit Martinique, development, extension, water, tourism and others. We, the Committee, invite you to tell us what you think about any issues that concern forests and forest use. Your comments will be highly valued. The questionnaire below is designed to cover many of the issues but please write and tell us what you think about any other forestry matters. This is the only time that such a questionnaire will be published. Please write clearly.

In helping us develop Forest Policy you are directly helping manage and protect our natural forest heritage so that our children's children can enjoy the benefits of a healthy environment that our grandparents passed on to us.

Score the questions below between 1 (unimportant) and 5 (important) Please circle

1) Should the FD be managing State forest in the hilly lands for the following:

	Unimportant			Important	
a. Wildlife conservation.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Soil and water conservation.....	1	2	3	4	5
c. Biodiversity (protection).....	1	2	3	4	5
d. Eco-tourism / recreation.....	1	2	3	4	5
e. Timber production.....	1	2	3	4	5
f. Non-timber products.....	1	2	3	4	5
2) Should the FD be concerned with safe-guarding mangroves?	1	2	3	4	5
3) Should the FD expand its provision of tree seedlings to farmers or others?	1	2	3	4	5
4) Should the FD be working with farmers to help reduce soil erosion?	1	2	3	4	5
5) Should the FD be working with hunters to jointly manage wildlife populations?	1	2	3	4	5

- 6) Should the FD improve / create hiking trails and recreational opportunities in forest reserves? 1 2 3 4 5
- 7) Should the FD be more involved in environmental education in schools? 1 2 3 4 5
- 8) Have you bought timber / fence posts / fencing from the FD in recent years?  
YES / NO (please circle)
- 9) If 'YES' then: Was the quality: Good \* Adequate \* Poor \*  
Did the price seem: High \* Reasonable \* Low \*
- 10) If you have not bought such items from the FD, why not? Please 'tick'  
Do not buy timber / posts etc. \* Did not know that FD sold timber / posts etc. \*  
Erratic quality \* Timber not dried \* Limited variety of species \* Limited variety of sizes \*  
Too expensive \* Other:

Questions 11 - 14 all ask for the answer YES/NO/please give details

- 11) Are there other products or services that you would like to see the FD provide? YES / NO
- 12) Should forest products that are sold by Government be subsidised? YES / NO
- 13) Do you have particular problems in your area that you would like FD to address? YES / NO
- 14) Do you depend on the forest for your livelihood or for some of your income? YES / NO
- 15) Do you visit forest areas for recreation? YES / NO  
If 'YES' what activity: Walking / hiking \* Picnicking \* Hunting \*  
Bird watching \* Other activities:
- 16) If you do use forest areas for recreation how often do you do these activities?  
At least once a week \* 2-3 times a month \* 4-10 times a year \*  
1-3 times each year \* Comments:
- 17) Do you see much garbage or litter in forest areas? YES / NO  
If 'YES' should anything be done about it and if so what?
- 18) Is soil erosion a problem in Grenada? YES / NO  
If 'YES' please tick what the major causes are: Poor agricultural practices \*  
Clearance of vegetation for construction \* Lack of awareness of problem \*  
Lack of Government control in upland areas \* Other:
- 19) Does soil erosion affect you in any way? YES / NO  
What should be done about it?
- 20) Please add your thoughts or comments about any forestry or forest-related issues, below (or on an attached sheet):
- 21) How important is it for the public to be invited to contribute to the development of Grenada's various national policies?  
Unimportant Important  
1 2 3 4 5

Your name and address: (optional but required for entry in the Prize Draw:

Any information you can provide about yourself would be useful:

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Nationality: Grenadian \* Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: M / F (please circle)

Age group: Under 20 \* 20 - 29 \* 30 - 39 \* 40 - 49 \* Above 50 \*



## Annex 4: Content of Grenada's new forest policy compared to international initiatives for SFM

Common element of SFM standards	New policy	Recent innovations in Grenada	Remaining challenges for Grenada
<b>Framework conditions:</b>			
• Compliance with relevant legislation and regulation	+	Need to implement international obligations. Calls for rationalisation. Emphasises stakeholder commitment.	Getting the right mix of enforcing and enabling legislation, especially for collaborative approaches. Widespread education on rights and restrictions
• Secure/transferable tenure and use rights	0	Not really addressed – but need for clearly-defined roles is addressed	Assessment of forest rights in relation to multiple values and objectives
• Transparency and accountability	++	Called for – with feedback mechanisms	Finding the mechanisms and incentives
• Dealing with extra-sectoral pressures	+	Control of grazing and provision for recreation mentioned	Lands policy, and links to wider sustainable development policy needed
• Clear roles of authorities	+	Rationalisation called for; emphasis on authorities becoming 'facilitators'. But potential turf battles	Dealing with 'fiefdoms' and losers from new policy
• Policy commitment to SFM	++	Balance of social, economic and environmental stressed. But means to integrate and make trade-offs not defined – suggests too much 'win-win'.	Need to sort out how to deal with priorities and trade-offs
<b>Sustained and optimal production of forest products:</b>			
• Sustained yield of forest products	++	Useful signals to right-size timber production. Code of Practice called for	Defining this for different products, and for mixtures
• Management planning	++	Idea of co-management introduced (but only for NTFPs and mangrove)	Defining this for different products, and for mixtures
• Monitoring the effects of management	++	Calls for indicators, regular monitoring and feedback to policy	Finding effective mechanisms, and integrating with like for other land uses
• Protection of the forest from illegal activities	+	Calls for education on, and enforcement of, legislation	Clear balance of informational, enforcement and self-regulation instruments

Common element of SFM standards	New policy	Recent innovations in Grenada	Remaining challenges for Grenada
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Optimising benefits from the forest</li> </ul>	+	Implied – win-win co-management an apparent solution	Mechanisms to make priorities and decisions to be clarified
<b>Well-being of the environment:</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Environmental impact assessment</li> </ul>	0	Not explicitly called for	Integrate with lands policy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conservation of biodiversity</li> </ul>	+++	Strong emphasis, with many useful principles	Incentives and/or protection measures; database on bioquality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Valuation and protection of ecosystem services</li> </ul>	++	Strong emphasis, with many useful principles	Means for valuation and payment for ecosystem conservation. Integrate with lands policy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hazard (waste and chemicals) management</li> </ul>	+	Clean, safe, healthy environment stressed. Pollution well-covered under watershed	Education
<b>Well-being of people:</b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regular consultation and participation processes</li> </ul>	+	Calls for informed participation in implementation	Finding efficient and equitable mechanisms; locating right local groups; knowing how much is enough
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social impact assessment</li> </ul>	0	Not explicitly covered – policy is focused on forest functions, not stakeholders or developmental functions.	A consideration of equity issues; continued consultation with stakeholder groups; database of their values and knowledge
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recognition of rights and culture</li> </ul>	0	See above Positive relations between people and forest covered	See above
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gender and minorities</li> </ul>	0	Not covered	See above
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relations with forestry employees</li> </ul>	0	Not covered	See above
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Contribution to socio-economic development</li> </ul>	++	Elimination of poverty, educational, recreational and water supply benefits stressed (reflecting public survey). Big change from 1984 FD-focused policy	Policy still focused on forest issues, rather than livelihood/development issues. More to be done to demonstrate forest values to development.

0 no change on previous policy      +++ very positive change

**Innovations.** Features of the policy which seem particularly apposite

**Challenges.** Potential gaps or issues in need of further policy or legislative attention.