Big ideas in development

Investing in locally controlled forestry

natural protection for people and planet
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Contributors
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Big ideas in development series

As a policy research organisation, the International Institute for Environment and Development has evolved key concepts, theories and ways of working in sustainable development since 1973. The big idea we explore here is **investing in locally controlled forestry.**

This approach rests on the fact that people living in or near forests – families, communities and indigenous peoples – have significant interest in ensuring the sustainability of the forest resources on which they depend. By supporting these communities’ long-term stewardship of forested land, we can tackle two urgent global issues – forest loss and insecure livelihoods – together.

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Living beyond our trees

Forests mean different things to different people. For some, they are a haven — somewhere to go to marvel at the wonder of nature. For others, they are a home and source of livelihood and culture. But whether we live in concrete cities or tropical jungles, forests are vital to the survival and wellbeing of each and every one of us. They purify the air we breathe, protect and clean the water we drink, and keep our planet cool and habitable.

The earliest humans gathered food and made their dwellings in ancient forests. Today, we still rely on forests for food, fuel, shelter, medicine and fun. But, with a global population of seven billion wanting to consume an ever-growing mass of goods, our demands are far more exacting.

Every day in the life of the modern consumer includes a myriad of hidden demands on the world’s forests. From the wood in your floorboards or the paper on your desk to the cocoa in your cup, the palm oil in your face cream or the cinnamon in your spice rack, forests provide the raw ingredients for many of our daily desires. The profit potential of catering to this insatiable appetite is huge — global trade in primary wood products (such as pulp, plywood and lumber) alone is worth an estimated US$235 billion, and demands for energy and food far exceed this.

But it comes at a price. Since 1990, the area of old-growth forests has decreased by 300 million hectares — an area larger than Argentina. Deforestation could account for the loss of as many as 100 species a day. And it is a major source of the carbon emissions that are driving climate change.

Excessive global consumption is eating into a dwindling resource base, with current patterns exceeding the Earth’s capacity to provide natural resources and absorb waste by more than 50 per cent. How can we ensure that forests survive the squeeze? We believe the answer lies in putting commercial control of forests into the hands of local people, who generally value forests for more than cash or commodities alone.

In this booklet we examine the thinking behind investing in such locally controlled forestry. We explore how forests are valued by local people; show why forests thrive under local control; and consider how policymakers, banks and businesses can invest in the idea.
Trees of life: the links between forests and local people

Forests cover nearly one-third of the world’s land surface and come in all shapes and sizes, from tropical rainforests that have stood for thousands of years to newly planted rows of eucalyptus. Some are smaller than a football field. Others are bigger than entire countries: the Amazon rainforest, for example, extends over 550 million hectares, making it nearly five times the size of South Africa or ten times the size of France.

Big or small, forests provide a habitat for plants and animals, protect soils and water supplies and help maintain a stable climate. And while forests are expanding in some areas, such as China – mostly through monoculture plantations – the overall extent of the world’s forests is shrinking. Every year, millions of hectares of natural forest are converted to more financially lucrative uses such as soybean, palm oil, cattle ranching or plantation forestry. Many more are being degraded by unsustainable or illegal logging and other poor land-use practices; or by changing climates, which create more erratic weather patterns, more severe floods and fires and more frequent pest and disease outbreaks. What do these changes in forests mean for people and planet? »
Pushing planetary boundaries

The decline of forests is pushing us ever closer to the limits of environmental stress. In 2009, a team of renowned Earth-system scientists defined nine ‘planetary boundaries’ that, if passed, would cause catastrophic and irreversible environmental change. The boundaries are based on Earth-system processes and cover: climate change, stratospheric ozone, land use change, freshwater use, biodiversity, ocean acidification, nitrogen and phosphorus use, aerosol loading and chemical pollution.

We have already passed three of these – for climate change, biodiversity loss and nitrogen use. And deforestation and forest degradation have contributed significantly to the breach. Intact, forests soak up vast amounts of carbon dioxide – the main climate-altering gas in the atmosphere – and ‘breathe out’ oxygen. When they are cleared or converted to other uses they not only lose their ability to be the lungs of the Earth, they also release the carbon that had been safely locked away over years past. Combined, deforestation and forest degradation account for around 17 per cent of the carbon emissions that are fuelling climate change. They are also a major driver of biodiversity loss, contributing to the extinction of a wide range of plants and animals, from small insects to big mammals and from tiny mosses to large trees.
Forests are home to more than 80 per cent of terrestrial biodiversity. From the Black Andean Toad of Ecuador — last seen in 1988 — to the St Helena Olive tree, which perished in 2003, deforestation has been linked to the extinction of many different species of flora and fauna.

The planetary boundary for atmospheric carbon dioxide is 350 parts per million (ppm); in April 2011, this indicator reached 391.92 ppm. Scientists believe crossing this boundary can increase the risk of irreversible damage, such as the loss of major ice sheets, rapid sea level rise and weather-related damage to forest ecosystems, from which they cannot recover.

Extensive deforestation in the Amazon has made the remaining forest more susceptible to severe droughts and more frequent fires, and in danger of giving way to savannah-like ecosystems.

Forgotten forests

Mangrove forests fringe the coasts of more than 100 countries in the global South, where they have long protected local communities from storms and floods, provided nurseries and breeding grounds for fish, and been a source of many terrestrial goods, such as firewood. These forests — which have decreased by 30 to 50 per cent over the past half-century — also provide key ‘natural’ services. More than terrestrial forests, mangroves suck up carbon from the atmosphere and store it safely underground in their roots and the surrounding soil.

Protecting and promoting the carbon storage potential of mangroves is vital to reducing carbon emissions and combating climate change. But it can also help reduce poverty. In Gazi Bay, Kenya, a group of researchers is working with local village residents and an international ‘carbon credit’ scheme to sell the carbon storage created by protecting and restoring mangroves. The income, worth US$15,000 each year, will be used to fund continued conservation as well as village improvements chosen by the community.


Critical connections

If keeping forests intact is important to respect planetary boundaries, it is also vital to protect livelihoods and reduce poverty.

The ties that bind the global consumer society to forests are strong. Driven largely by the richest consumers’ desire to uphold their lifestyle choices, there are now growing expectations from the vast middle class that they will be able to jump on the consumer bandwagon.

For those who live in and around forests — including many of the world’s poorest people — the ties are made of a far more complex mesh of life-supporting values.

To many of them, forests mean material goods to survive day to day, and a safety net against natural hazards, unstable environments and food scarcity. Forests are also an important source of decent jobs and income. And they are almost always critical in providing a sense of identity, purpose, fulfilment and social connectedness.

In short, local forest people tend to value the full spectrum of what their environment has to offer — seeing forests as more than just a cash cow to be milked to satisfy distant consumer demands through clearance or conversion.
Green goods

An estimated 1.6 billion people around the world depend on forests for their livelihoods and daily subsistence needs. Many live in houses built of forest timber and roofing materials and cook their food using collected fuelwood. The surrounding forests are home to wild animals that provide meat for hunters and their families. They also supply fruits, grains, nuts, seeds and berries, as well as vegetation for livestock. Some forest-dependent people rely entirely on forest foraging to survive; others use it as a back-up to plug seasonal gaps in the crop cycle or shortfalls during times of major hardship, such as drought. In both cases, forest foods underpin a healthy diet (see Natural nutrition, overleaf).

Forests keep local people healthy in other ways too. Traditional medicine is based on the skilled use of wild plants and fungi. Such forest fauna and flora also lie at the heart of more than a quarter of all modern medicines.

The world’s most effective malaria drugs are made with artemisinin extracted from Chinese sweet wormwood — a plant that has been used to treat chills and fevers in China for some 2,000 years.

Beyond food and medicine, forests provide local people with many other ‘green goods’, from fuelwood and water to tannins and dyes.
Local life support

**Food**
Forest provide more than 4,000 species of edible fruits and vegetables. They are also home to nuts (such as cashews), oils (including palm and coconut), and spices (such as cinnamon, paprika, pepper and vanilla).

**Energy**
Woody vegetation from forests is used to produce firewood and charcoal. Global demands for wood chips are growing too, driven by the push for renewable energy.

**Clothing**
Forest-dependent people use tannins in the bark, roots, seeds and leaves of many plants to cure leather; they use dyes from the bark or leaves of trees such as the brazilwood to colour fabrics.

**Water**
Forest streams and rivers provide the primary source of drinking water for most people living in rural and urban water catchments, and often underpin local agriculture.


**Medicine**
Chemicals derived from tropical forest plants are used by local people as pain relief and to treat or cure chills, fevers, asthma, inflammation, diabetes, malaria, skin diseases and hundreds of other illnesses.

**Shelter**
Forest-dependent people cut tree trunks into planks or use them as poles; they often use branches and grasses to make huts or roofs for wooden structures. City dwellers also look to wooden construction materials as a low-carbon alternative to cement, brick and plastic.

Natural nutrition

Forest fauna and flora underpin the nutrition of most forest-dependent people. Wild animals offer an irreplaceable source of protein and in rural areas of the Congo Basin hunted game makes up as much as 80 per cent of the proteins in people’s diets. Seeds, nuts, roots and tubers supply fats and carbohydrates. Fungi and saps provide protein and minerals. And forest fruits and vegetables offer a rich supply of vital vitamins and micronutrients – the fruit of the baobab tree, for example, contains more than six times the amount of vitamin C than an orange; and mango fruit are very high in vitamin A. Forests not only supply foods directly, but also provide habitats for animals, insects and plants that indirectly support human nutrition. Floodplain forests, for example, maintain fish stocks; while fodder for animals collected from forests and trees enhances meat and dairy production.

Natural ‘services’

The products people get from forests, including food, fuel, fibre and fresh water, are just one of four sets of key ‘ecosystem services’ provided by forests (see Forests at our service). From enriching soils to filtering freshwater, and from harbouring wild pollinators to attracting tourists, forests serve the interests of the people living in and around them.

Such services clearly also benefit the world at large. Yet they tend to be hugely undervalued by far-off investors or finance ministers, who are used to assessing value in economic terms. Although some services, such as timber or tourism, have market prices that can be used to estimate their value, many more — especially regulating or supporting services — are not traded or priced in any market. They are economically ‘invisible’ and do not generally figure in the national accounts that measure a country’s economic activity and wealth.

Putting a price on nature and developing ‘green accounts’ that capture the full value of natural goods and services can help governments and investors make better decisions about forests and forest management. They might think twice about converting rainforest land in the Amazon, for example, if they knew that it contributes up to US$3 billion to South America’s agricultural output by regulating the continental water cycle. Or that its role in preventing the region’s hydropower reservoirs from silting up is worth anything from US$60 million to US$600 million every year — estimates made by the UN-backed initiative, The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of services</th>
<th>Examples of what forests offer</th>
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<tr>
<td>Provisioning</td>
<td>Fibre, Fuel, Non-timber forest products</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regulating</td>
<td>Flood and landslide prevention, Water regulation, Carbon capture and storage, Erosion control</td>
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<td>Supporting</td>
<td>Oxygen production, Soil formation, Biodiversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Aesthetic beauty, Spiritual beliefs, Education, Recreation and tourism</td>
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**Decent jobs**

The people who live in and near forests value them not only for their goods and services but also for their contribution, on average, to more than a fifth of household income. Some people use forest income to ‘top up’ what they get from other activities such as farming crops. But for others the forest is their main business.

Small- and medium-sized forest enterprises make up more than 90 per cent of forest enterprise numbers and more than half of forest sector employment in most countries. Most are tied to local communities in one way or another but can be arranged as sole traders, partnerships, companies, cooperatives or associations.

Combined, small- and medium-sized forest enterprises employ many more than 20 million people; a figure that could rise more than five-fold if you consider the informal sector (see Working in the shadows). Their capacity to do business sustainably does, of course, depend on local contexts: the security of access rights to forest resources, the level of organisation and the base of technical and business skills available. But there is no lack of success stories and experience points to a number of viable business models that not only make a healthy profit but also offer decent jobs, reduce resource-based conflicts, give life to communities, respect local culture and maintain the long-term health of forests.

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**Working in the shadows**

The scale of the informal, or ‘shadow’, forest sector is very difficult to pin down as there are no official data; estimates of the number of people involved vary from 30 to 120 million, most of whom work in microenterprises in the global South where their incomes go unreported to, or undetected by, authorities. Informal forest work is complex, covering anything from employers who subcontract family members or other workers informally to illegal chainsaw loggers or simply women collecting forest goods to sell or use for their own subsistence.

Not all informal work is unlawful but much of it is dangerous and — as in the case of chainsaw logging or artisanal gold mining — can destroy the forest and local people’s environment, ecosystem and land. Lack of alternatives and poor governance contribute to unsustainable practices in the informal forest sector.

Forest culture
If forests are valued by local people for the security and material wellbeing they bring, they are also valued for their sociocultural benefits. These ecosystems are appreciated for their diversity and beauty. They underpin spiritual beliefs and practices (see Tree of knowledge). And they are a social landscape in which people share a connection with nature, remembering their dependence and mortality. They frame the tapestry of work and recreation that enriches communities, shapes stories and traditions, and fosters a sense of collective responsibility and stewardship. In short, forests underpin local communities’ sense of identity and purpose.

In the United Kingdom, the National Trust was founded in 1884 so that an increasingly urban society could enjoy ‘the life-enhancing virtues of pure earth, clean air and blue sky’. Their raison d’être is to inspire a closer connection with nature; and so combat the primarily urban malaise that some psychologists have called ‘nature deficit disorder’. Connections of this sort are a given for people living in or close to forests. And these local people do not see such values selfishly: their children and their grandchildren matter too. Family forest owners in Sweden have a popular saying: ‘we live poor to die rich’. It is shorthand for saying both that there is more to forests than money, and also that they must be preserved for future generations.

Tree of knowledge
In the hot and humid rainforests of Gabon, a single tree — the Iboga — lies at the heart of a whole belief system. The plant, whose roots are a powerful hallucinogenic, is worshipped by the Babongo forest peoples as the source of spiritual knowledge. They believe that eating Iboga sets their soul free to wander through the forest and speak with the plant and animal spirits that live there.

It is also a key part of many rituals, ceremonies and rites of passage. When a Babongo boy becomes a man, he spends three days eating Iboga roots to entice forest spirits out of the shadows to offer sacred knowledge of the past, present and future.


Something different
We’ve now seen the multiple roles that forests play in peoples’ lives and how these are valued. We’ve seen that the fate of the world’s forests matters to us all. This is not particularly newsworthy. The need to safeguard forests into the next century and beyond is increasingly recognised and is an issue fast-rising up the international political agenda.

In some ways, we’ve been here before. Amid striking satellite images of fast-spreading ‘fishbone’ deforestation in the Amazon rainforest during the 1980s, governments and international donors spent billions of dollars to try and halt the damage. But while the rate of deforestation is slowing down, our forests continue to be lost, at a rate of more than five million hectares — an area the size of Ireland — every year.

It’s time to look for an alternative approach to defending our forests. Perhaps it’s time to invest in local control. 😊
Going local: the where, why and how of local forest control

A long time ago — centuries before the words consumption or deforestation were even invented — forests belonged to the people that lived in and around them. But by the turn of the 20th century, most of the world’s forests were owned by governments. From 1850 onwards — against a backdrop of industrial expansion, colonialism and rising government capacity, and in the name of forest conservation and better management — governments across the world asserted control over nearly three-quarters of the Earth’s forests. Local communities were left out in the cold as their lands were grabbed by state officials who failed to enforce their own regulations against deforestation and, in many cases, handed the forests over to corporations for logging.

Locally controlled forestry challenges the dominant centralised approach, offering an alternative that is better for local people, and better for forests.
The right to decide

Control is all about being able to make decisions, implement them and distribute any resulting benefits. In the world of forestry, practical questions — about what resources can be harvested by whom, what practices can be used, how planning and monitoring should be done, how income is spent, and what happens if rules are broken — are all underpinned by the bigger question: who decides?

The answer in many instances is governments or corporations. But that’s not always the case. Indigenous peoples have long-exercised control of forests, governed by a wide range of local institutions and customs. The same is true for many other forest communities. And family forest owners — where ownership often extends over generations — are also common. For these latter people, decision making is largely a family matter although local customs may have significant influence in how forests are managed and local associations can reinforce standards through education and participation in forest certification programmes.

In all cases, the idea and reality of locally controlled forests rests first and foremost on the existence of secure commercial forest rights, and the political and legal recognition of those rights. It is the strength and extent of such rights that ultimately determines ‘who decides’ how the land of the people, community or family will be used and cared for.

There are many degrees of local control. Families or communities may own all the forest resources and uses outright. Or they may have very restricted rights to use just one minor resource. Between these extremes lie a wide range of legal and customary arrangements that combine more or fewer resources and uses, and grant stronger or weaker management rights and responsibilities.

Defining rights and responsibilities

Whether you are talking about indigenous peoples, forest communities or family forest owners, locally controlled forestry means granting the right to:

- decide forest management and broader land use, including freedom of association;
- secure land tenure; and
- commercial use of forest resources and access markets and technology.

It also means allowing these people to assume responsibility for:

- sustainably managing forests in a way that improves livelihoods;
- providing, through local enterprise, forest products and services that benefit society; and
- respecting the customary use and traditional knowledge of forest communities, families and peoples.


Tried and tested

Efforts to promote greater local control can be found in many countries — from indigenous peoples fighting to regain rights to the forests they have managed for millennia to relatively ‘new’ communities demanding a greater say in what happens to their forests.

Many stakeholders — state officials, large businesses and even development professionals — remain unconvinced that giving strong rights to local people leads to at once profitable and sustainable forestry. They are quick to point to the continued forest loss caused by ‘slash-and-burn’ agriculture or the widespread degradation caused by charcoal burning.

But the evidence tends to rest in favour of locally controlled forestry, not the sceptics. There is increasing proof that various different forms of local control reduce poverty and boost economies. In the United States, research shows that small, local businesses deliver stronger economic benefits than their larger counterparts (see The economic multiplier). And across cities and towns in the developing world empowering local groups to take control of their own environments — to set priorities, design strategies and implement solutions — is helping them to improve their living conditions and become more accountable for what happens to their environment.

When it comes to forests, millions of hectares are already owned by, or designated for use by, local communities and families (see Mapping community control, overleaf). And where locals have been given control, they’ve more than proved their worth — both economically and environmentally.

Researchers have shown that in cases where local people have claimed — or been clearly granted — forest tenure rights, entire regions have evolved towards stable, long-term forest-agriculture landscapes, in which local businesses supply a wide range of forest products and services that benefit not only local society, but also the global public good. We explore some of these cases below.

The economic multiplier

Growing evidence suggests that every dollar spent at a locally owned business generates two to four times more economic benefit — measured in income, wealth, jobs and tax revenue — than a dollar spent at a globally owned business. That is because businesses owned locally spend much more of their money locally and thereby pump up the so-called economic multiplier. They are also more likely to stick around, adapting to economic realities rather than simply pulling out when competitive advantages change. And proximity means that economic success is less likely to come through taking social or environmental shortcuts — local business owners have to live both with the effects of their actions and their neighbours. Beyond economic multipliers, other studies suggest that locally owned businesses are generally good for entrepreneurship, social equality, charitable giving and political participation.

Mapping community control

Governments remain by far the biggest owner of forested land with 77% of the total. Such centralised ownership is perhaps forests’ greatest threat. A century of government control over forests – during which the extent of forested areas nearly halved – has proved woefully inadequate at defying powerful corporate interests.

Forest tenure distribution by region.

- Government administered
- Reserved for communities and indigenous groups
- Owned by communities and indigenous groups
- Owned by individuals and firms

Area owned by, or reserved for, communities and indigenous groups (in million hectares) in 40 countries

- 0
- <1
- 1–5
- 5–10
- 10–50
- 50–100
- 100–500

NB: Although not recorded in this graphic, many of the privately owned family forests in countries such as Sweden and Finland are managed through a cooperative system that depends on strong tradition of community forestry.

Source: Rights and Resources Initiative. Statutory forest tenure data. www.rightsandresources.org/documents/country_data.php
Indigenous defence

Satellite imagery of indigenous land in Brazil shows near total prevention of forest loss in these areas despite high deforestation rates along their borders. Even after centuries of engagement with the national society, the forests here remain 98.3 per cent preserved.

In the Amazon, indigenous lands are the only places where the arrival of roads has not brought deforestation. The Mãe Maria reserve of the Gaviões people hosts both a highway and a power line, and it borders an iron ore railway. But strong local leadership negotiated compensation for the works and keeps vigilant watch over its reserve boundaries to ensure they are not violated. Many other indigenous groups — both within and beyond the Amazon — take a similarly active role, including through force and legal means, in defending the natural resources on their lands from exploitation by outsiders.


Protection power

Forest-dependent people have long learned to watch their surroundings and understand the intricacies of their environment. Locally controlled forestry is built on experienced management. Over generations local people have accumulated a wealth of traditional knowledge about the plants and animals that live in their forests as well as a complex set of strategies to ensure that forest resources are not overused. By selectively harvesting medicinal herbs, managing high-value trees within natural forests and setting aside sacred groves, local people enhance the productivity of their forests and protect their integrity for future generations.

This power to conserve is one of local control’s greatest strengths. Researchers estimate that rural communities invest around US$2.6 billion in forest management and conservation activities every year. A study published by the Center for International Forestry Research suggests that community-managed forests are just as effective at conserving forests as state-controlled protected areas — and more so when you consider the social benefits as well.

More than conservation, locally controlled forestry can also help restore degraded forests. In Java, Indonesia, community-based forestry played a key role in increasing forest cover by six million hectares from 1985 to 1997.
Roots to development

Local control doesn’t just conserve or restore forests; it opens the door to fair development. The evidence shows that investing in locally controlled forests can not only boost incomes and reduce environmental damage but also promote good governance, strengthen local capacity for commercial forest management and support the most marginalised community members, including women, to lift themselves out of poverty.

In some cases it’s family forest owners reaping the benefits of locally controlled forestry (see Family business). In others, it’s communities (see Community restoration, overleaf), or subsections of communities.

Take, for example, the parkland in the Sissili and Ziro provinces of Burkina Faso. The landscape here is dominated by the shea tree, whose nut provides the source of shea butter – a fat widely used in cosmetics, cooking and medicine. Since 2001, women’s groups across the parkland have worked together to collect shea nuts, turn them into shea butter, and harvest social and economic benefits. Organised as a cooperative with customary rights, the Federation NUNUNA includes 101 groups of women producers that have more than doubled their income from shea production and improved their position and workload. The women and their families are also benefiting from federation-financed health insurance and education. In part, this success lies in organisation, built on traditional community structures that support women both as producers and as mothers and homemakers. But success is also due to good governance, with members effectively in control of decisions; as well as investment – both by external groups and the cooperative members themselves. A government loan helped the cooperative buy processing machinery to improve butter quality; and the cooperative has invested in storage facilities, waste reduction, marketing, education and a carbon-neutral production line.

Family business

Nearly three-quarters of all Sweden’s forests is privately owned, largely by individual families who manage them for the production of various food and timber products that can be sold to support household incomes. The tenure rights of some family forest owners include control of public access for hunting and selling hunting permits may be a further source of revenue. Most recently, a growing number of local, national and Europe-wide programmes are beginning to compensate family forest owners for the value of the environmental services their forests provide, and the cost of the careful forest management that generates them.

In the Swedish case, family forest owners have established processing industries through their associations and cooperatives, including sawmills, pulp and paper mills. These provide families with a market for forest goods over which they share control with fellow members; they can be very profitable. For example, Södra – a cooperative of 52,000 family forest owners – has annual revenues of 18 billion Swedish Krona (US$2.7 billion). The cooperative, which was formed in 1938, produces pulp, sawn timber, furniture and biofuels and sells them largely to an international market. It is committed to sustainable forest management and processing practices and members are usually certified, by both the Forest Stewardship Council and the Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification.

Community restoration

In 1978, amid failure to curb widespread deforestation of state-owned forests, the government of Nepal legitimised community forestry, paving the way for legally handing over forested land to local communities. Community-owned forest now makes up around a fifth of all forested land in the country, with 17,685 groups of local community members managing more than 1.6 million hectares.

More than two million households are benefiting from the change, with enhanced access to forest products, stronger local institutions, community development and more business opportunities. Across the country, community forestry is helping to conserve biodiversity and improve ecological conditions in Nepal’s forests – turning barren mountains into green ones and reversing one of the worst cases of deforestation in recent history.

Amritdhara, in the central region of Nepal, is just one example. Established in 1996, this community forest is managed by a group of 814 households that have worked hard to restore degraded forest land. Through sustainable harvesting and silviculture, the group earns approximately three million Nepalese Rupees (US$36,179) every year – a large part of which is re-invested in forest management or used to support local community development projects.

Bigger isn’t better

The argument for investing in locally controlled forestry is not just that it works – evidence shows that in some cases it can actually work better than the bigger alternatives. A 2007 global review led by the International Tropical Timber Organisation found that, compared with private-sector counterparts, community forest businesses tend to invest more in the local economy, building schools, roads and health facilities to benefit the community and strengthen its social infrastructure.

The review also found that these businesses foster greater inclusion of marginalised groups, lead to longer-term equity, and are better at conserving biodiversity. The fact that many community forest businesses can coexist using products or services derived from the same forest also provides a diversity and flexibility of goods and services that larger, often nationally or internationally managed, enterprises do not.

If local control is proven to work, why does it remain on the margins of forestry action and debate? What will it take to step up the level of investment in locally controlled forestry and make the approach ‘go viral’? We find out in the next chapter. ☛
Investment pillars: how to enable locally controlled forestry

The battle for control over forests is not an even one. The ‘big guns’ are operated by distant consumers, investors and corporations — often working with members of local elites — who want more than their fair share of material wealth and are backing an economic model that reaches over geographical borders to grab the land they need to produce it for them. With the global trade in forest products estimated to be worth around US$40 billion, these people have power and money on their side.

Their opponents tend to have neither. Local communities may desperately want to win, or take back, control over the forests they live and work in but they are fighting with few legal rights, little or no say in how or why decisions get made, limited business skills for larger-scale enterprises and very few funds. It is not surprising that the prevailing business models, trade laws, policies and regulations that govern forests all favour the other side.

Shifting the balance requires action on four fronts: rights, organisation, business capacity and finance. Family forest owners, indigenous peoples and forest communities are all agreed that these form the pillars of investment in locally controlled forestry. Let’s take a closer look at each in turn. ❯
Securing commercial forest rights

Locally controlled forestry is a process, and one that requires political backing. It is most readily spread in countries where just forest governance prevails – where the rights of people in and around the forest are prioritised over government elites or distant investors, however deep their pockets.

The lack of clear forest tenure rights makes forest communities particularly vulnerable to dispossession and dislocation through ‘land grabs’ by outside investors. Some communities fight for decades to obtain their land titles, patiently mapping out their traditional lands and patrolling their boundaries on foot to keep encroaching settlers or companies out. Others continue to face up to land grabbers – such as Nanda Devi Kunwar, chair of Madhumalati Community Forest in Nepal, despite nearly losing both hands in a reprisal attack after filing a legal complaint.

But it is not just the allocation of commercial forest rights that is important, it is also the clarity with which obligations towards sustainable management are prescribed, supported through appropriate incentives and fairly enforced – good forest governance – that makes locally controlled forestry flourish.

Security essentials: what makes commercial rights ‘secure’?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Essentials</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Rights last long enough to make investing in sustainable forest business worthwhile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assurance</td>
<td>Rights guarantee that communities benefit from the returns or their investment free from interference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robustness</td>
<td>Rights are enforced and easy to defend in a court of law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusivity</td>
<td>Rights in no way overlap with the rights of external investors or government agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simplicity</td>
<td>Rights are simple to acquire; free of excessive bureaucracy and costly registration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Getting organised

Compared with governments and large corporations, forest families, communities and indigenous peoples have little influence in the forestry sector. They are largely ‘invisible’ to politicians and distant city dwellers who little understand the depth and variety of forests and how they are managed and used.

Beyond securing forest tenure and commercial rights, investing in locally controlled forestry means helping these forest-dependent people gain visibility and find a place at the table where the decisions that affect them are made. In practice, this can be done by supporting those living in or near forests to organise themselves through associations and cooperatives, local, national and international.

Such organisations allow members to share experience and knowhow, identify shared priorities and express common concerns. In short, they enable a large number of individual forest-dependent people to ‘speak with one voice’, which helps ensure that their needs are better heard, understood and met (see United forest voices).

United forest voices

There has been a history of useful but separate work on family forestry, community forestry and indigenous forest rights. But in 2009, the Three Rights Holders’ Group, or G3, was formed, bringing together three global alliances of forest-dependent people that combined manage a quarter of the world’s forested area. Through the G3, these alliances – the Global Alliance for Community Forestry, the International Alliance for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of Tropical Forests, and the International Family Forestry Alliance – have learnt that they all have similar policy priorities: secure land tenure, freedom to form associations, fair market access and availability of good quality extension and other support services. The umbrella term ‘locally controlled forestry’ began to be used as shorthand for this common agenda.

Each member of the G3 seeks to strengthen the expression of these priorities in key decision-making arenas themselves. Together, they have developed a joint action plan to influence global policy and they have effectively pushed the locally controlled forestry agenda forward in key UN forums including the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the UN Forum on Forests, the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Conference on Sustainable Development.

**Building business skills**

For many local forest people, limited literacy or education opportunities and geographic isolation conspire against the development of business skills. That is not to say that these communities lack the capacity to assess value or trade, but rather that their practical experience does not include basic frameworks of larger-scale business organisation, strategy, accounting and marketing that would enable them to compete in market economies. And unless they can run profitable forest businesses, they will lack that crucial financial incentive to keep the forest standing.

For example, they might not spot potential cash flow problems, or the advantages of scale efficiencies or the need for product design and upgrading. This means that there is often a need to develop business capacity — through training, exchange visits or market exposure — before locally controlled forestry can truly blossom. Supporting small forest enterprises is therefore both important and necessary (see Forest Connect).

**Forest Connect**

Take, for example, a coffee enterprise in rural Ethiopia. Local farmers collect coffee beans from bushes in the understory of natural rainforest, dry them and transport them by donkey to local markets. The quality of the beans they collect is variable; the drying and roasting processes vary hugely; and the price they get on the market is low. With little organisation, access to credit, market information and technology, it’s difficult to provide training in coffee collection, build modern drying and storage facilities and find lucrative overseas buyers.

Supporting small forest businesses to overcome such challenges is an important part of securing locally controlled forestry. And it is to this end that Forest Connect — an ad hoc alliance of institutions in 13 countries — was established in 2007. Alliance members meet online and face-to-face to exchange experience and expertise in how best to build business skills and capacity. In countries like China, Ethiopia and Mozambique, it has helped build or strengthen associations for forest product users and improve their business knowledge.

From innovative use of mobile phones in Burkina Faso to product design workshops in Guyana and building marketing websites in Laos, the alliance has helped small forest businesses link to one another, get the business expertise they need and crack market access.


**Committing hard cash**

Alongside grant-based or ‘soft’ investment in securing rights, fostering organisation and building business capacity locally controlled forestry needs ‘hard’ financial investment — money that expects a return in cash or saleable product. This is not business as usual based on capital in search of forest resources and needing only local labour. Instead of being led by resources, investment models for locally controlled forestry must be led by rights, based on rights holders managing forest resources and seeking capital and partnerships.

The trick is to build mutual understanding between investors and forest rights holders. On the one hand, investors need acceptable returns provided by viable business entities. They look for investments that are relatively low risk, provide returns fairly quickly, can be exited quickly if needs be and carry acceptable transaction costs. On the other hand, rights holders need stronger local control over land, forests and enterprises such that

their more holistic aspirations can be furthered on their own terms. Achieving both sets of needs at once usually requires a four-fold partnership that brings together not only rights holders and investors, but also supportive government authorities and intermediaries who can matchmake and contribute to the necessary ‘soft’ investment to build investment portfolios good enough and big enough to attract the right kind of investors. Done right, hard investment in locally controlled forestry can start to flow, benefiting government, investors and forest rights holders alike (see Hard benefits: values of investing).

Convincing people to part with money for locally controlled forestry depends on getting the process right — establishing the right kinds of four-fold partnership, attracting sufficient ‘soft’ investment over sufficient time to build attractive investment proposals, negotiating deals with due diligence on all sides, and establishing performance management systems.

There’s no shortage of cash — more than US$20 billion has been pledged to forest climate funds alone. If this ‘soft’ investment could prepare the ground for ‘hard’ investment in locally controlled forestry, it might be fit for purpose. $%

**REDD+ money**

Schemes that financially reward countries for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conservation, sustainable forest management and enhancement of forest carbon stocks (REDD+) have the potential to offer significant, stable flows of funding to locally controlled forestry. But there is a risk that carbon money will lead to a dependency syndrome — local people getting cash for keeping the forests as they are. Investing in locally controlled forestry provides an alternative, more entrepreneurial approach. REDD+ money can be channelled as ‘soft’ investment to secure commercial forest rights, help local people organise, and develop the business skills required to attract ‘hard’ financial investment into sustainable forest businesses. That way the legacy is entrepreneurs and business, not dependency.

In some countries, the prospect of gaining lucrative carbon credits from running REDD+ projects is causing a ‘carbon rush’ from private investors who are falling over themselves to acquire land on a massive scale. Private sector interest in land for REDD+ in Mozambique, for example, covers more than one fifth of the country, including nearly 42 per cent of its forests. Unless the government acts quickly to establish clear policies for locally controlled forestry, REDD+ could pave the way for private protected areas that trump forest communities’ rights and exacerbate poverty, rather than alleviating it.

**Source:** Nhantumbo, I. 2011. REDD+: Ready to engage private investors? IIED Briefing. IIED, London.

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**Hard benefits: values of investing**

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<th>Government</th>
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<td>Empowerment and autonomy</td>
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<td>Lower transaction costs</td>
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<td>Achieved emissions targets</td>
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Our forests have a chance only if you, the consumer and investor, choose to give them one. In an age of plenty, the stark divide between the haves and have-nots should prompt us to ask ourselves: how much is enough? There may be enough to meet everyone’s basic needs but there is definitely not enough for everyone to consume as we, in the global North, tend to do.

The difference between consumption by the rich and poor is remarkable: the world’s wealthiest 20 per cent of people consume around 80 per cent of the world’s natural resources. From the frothy cappuccino we drink in the morning to the fluffy tissue paper we flush down the toilet, many of our lifestyle choices are squeezing the life out of the world’s forests and affecting the livelihoods of people who step far more lightly upon the Earth.

Groups championing locally controlled forestry are not intrinsically hostile to large-scale export-oriented firms — indeed many hope that local forest businesses might become just that. Rather they voice the belief that the funds used to lure large external corporations might be better spent fostering a mosaic of locally controlled firms. Some of these will inevitably fail while others will flourish as engines of development. All are more likely to invest profits locally over the long term to enhance wellbeing, security, decent work and a sense of community identity and social and environmental accountability. Ceding control may ultimately mean that local needs are preferentially met over those of distant consumers, but it’s our only just option.

The bottom line for each and every one of us is that we must invest in locally controlled forestry. But even changing the way we buy goods to reduce unsustainable demands on finite land resources...
There are several practical things that you can do to ensure the future of our forests.

Get involved
Find out where there are examples of locally controlled forests in your own country and ask what you can do to promote them, buy from them, or even join them.

Give generously
Support charities that are working to help those living in or near forests overseas. Two good examples are TreeAid (www.treeaid.org.uk), which operates across the drylands of Africa, or the Forest People’s Programme (www.forestpeoples.org), which works with forest peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Invest wisely
Be responsible about your investments and check that these have social and environmental criteria that ensure your money is not going towards the destruction or conversion of forests. Encourage those responsible for your investments to seek opportunities to invest in locally controlled forest enterprises.

Consume smart
This, in short, means buying less. When you have to, look and ask for renewable local products, like wood rather than cement or plastic. And buy from cooperatives and other locally controlled businesses to spread benefits to those in need rather than line wealthy pockets.

Rio+20: put forests centre stage
In 1992, 172 governments met in Rio de Janeiro for the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) to discuss sustainable development and both the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Framework Convention on Climate Change were launched. Forests were high up on the agenda and, alongside these two legally binding documents, another three sets of guiding principles were agreed: the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, and the ‘Forest Principles’. Twenty years on, as heads of state return to Brazil for Rio+20, there is concern that forests have slipped from the limelight.
And yet, as we’ve seen in this booklet, forests have a huge role to play in enhancing people’s livelihoods while respecting environments. With programmes such as REDD+ placing forests firmly at the heart of possible solutions to climate change and locally controlled forestry providing concrete ways of ensuring profit without plunder, it is essential that Rio+20 shine the spotlight back on the world’s forests and the people and communities who depend on them.
References & further reading


The Three Rights Holders Group www.v3forest.org

Growing Forest Partnership www.growingforestpartnerships.org

The Forests Dialogue http://environment.yale.edu/tfd

Forest Connect www.forestconnect.ning.com

Rights and Resources Initiative www.rightsandresources.org

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The Three Rights Holders’ Group, or G3, brings together three global networks of forest-dependent people that, combined, manage a quarter of the world’s forested area. Through the G3, these alliances – the Global Alliance for Community Forestry, the International Alliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests, and the International Family Forestry Alliance – cooperate to promote locally controlled forestry, sustainable forest management, and improving the future of the forests on which they depend is the only sure way of improving their livelihoods. But they face an uphill battle in their task: their rights to own or use forested land are largely insecure, they have little say in the decisions that affect them, their business skills are often weak and funds are almost always scarce.

Breaking down these barriers requires investment. As this pocketbook shows, investing in locally controlled forestry not only helps the long-term stewards of our forests stay on the right side of poverty, it also makes social, economic and environmental sense.

Investing in people and planet

The fate of forests matters to us all – for forests purify the air we breathe, protect and clean the water we drink, and keep our planet cool and habitable. And yet we continue to destroy or degrade them to satisfy our ever-growing demands for food, fuel and fibre.

For those who live in or near forests, including family forest owners, forest communities and indigenous peoples, safeguarding the future of the forests on which they depend is the only sure way of improving their livelihoods. But they face an uphill battle in their task: their rights to own or use forested land are largely insecure, they have little say in the decisions that affect them, their business skills are often weak and funds are almost always scarce.

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