

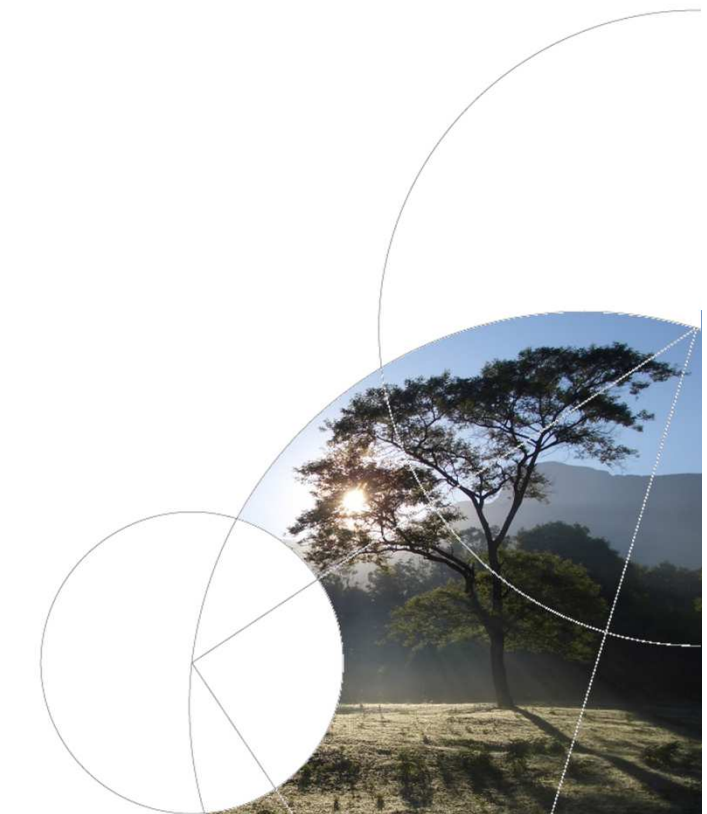


On the possibility of responsive and deliberative natural resources governance in an era of professionalization

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<http://www.ifro.ku.dk/scifor>



Deliberative and responsive governance

Deliberative governance as:

"... debate and discussion aimed at producing reasonable, well-informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new information, and claims made by fellow participants."

Responsive governance as:

"... a government that is open and responsive to civil society and the private sector, one that is more accountable, and better regulated by external watchdogs and the law."



What do I mean by 'professionalization'?



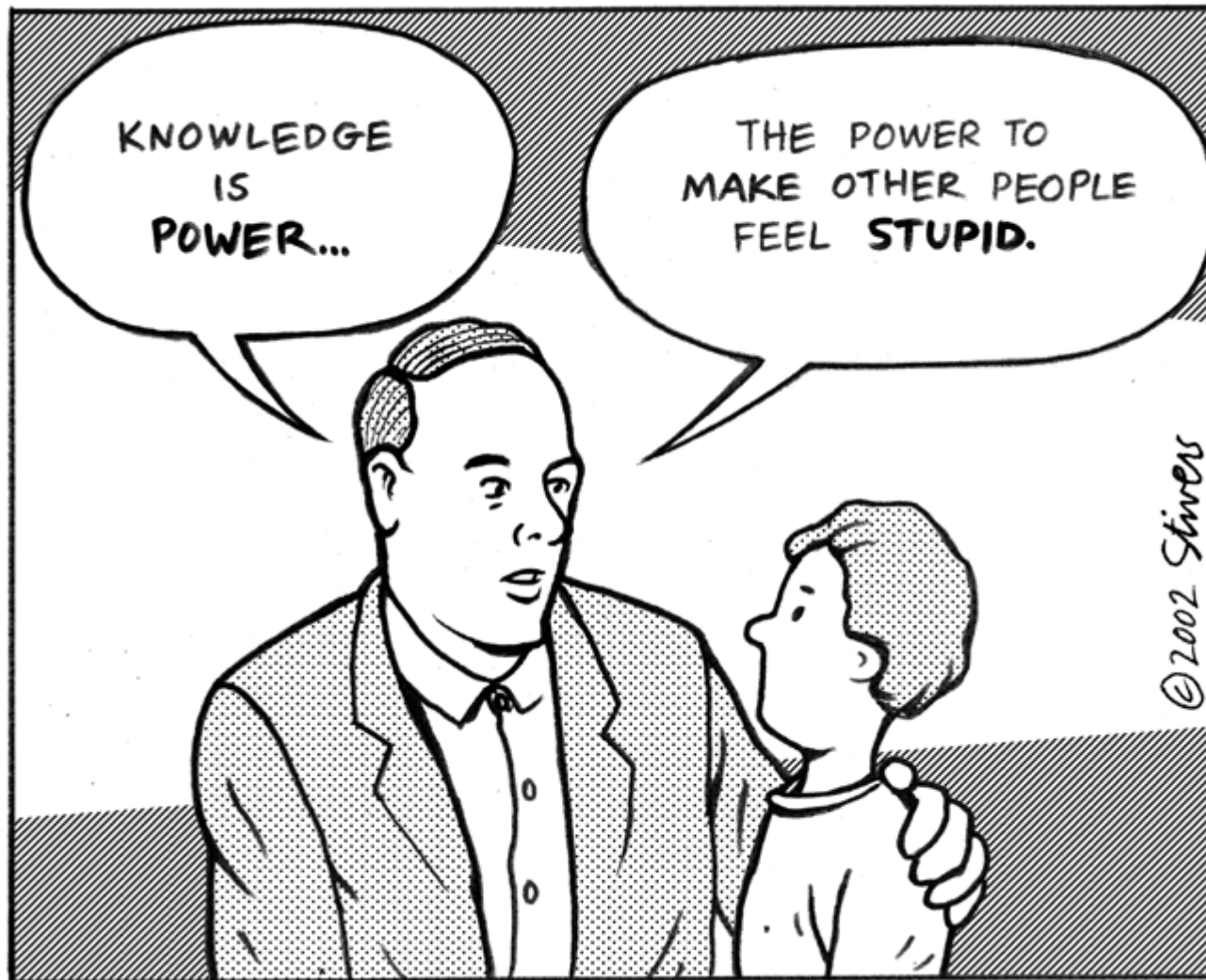
<http://www.wri.org/blog/2014/02/9-maps-explain-worlds-forests>

How does professionalization manifest itself in NRG?

1. Management plans
2. Detailed and bureaucratic procedures for monitoring, record keeping and information dissemination
3. Links to wider networks of information gathering for national and international statistics
4. Capacity building needs

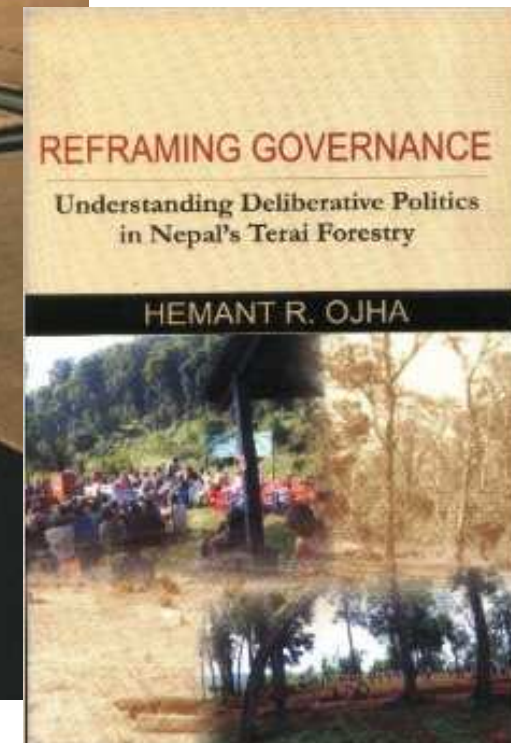
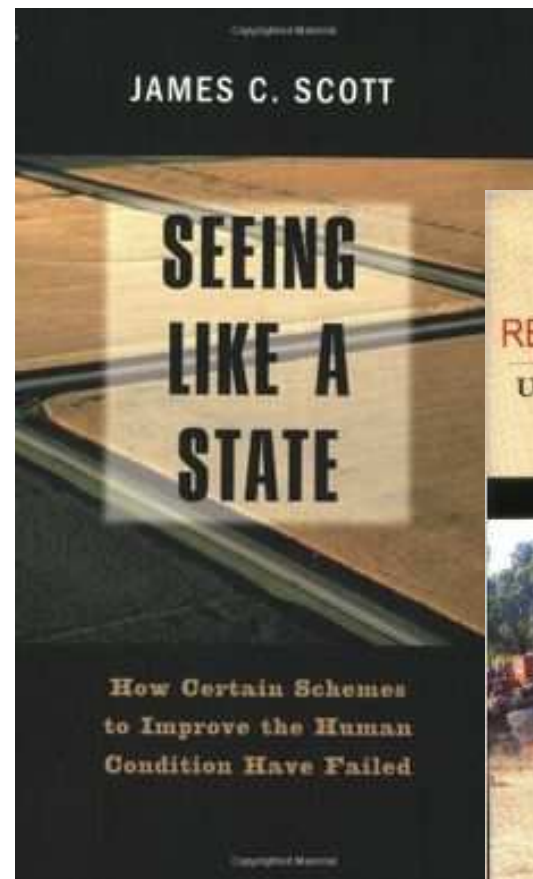


What does professionalization do to the possibility of responsive and deliberative governance?



Why is professionalization prominent in processes of NRG?

Techno-bureaucratic doxa of natural resources professionals



Why is professionalization prominent in processes of NRG?

Neoliberal environmental policy

PES, REDD+, FLEG-T etc.



http://www.wwfguianas.org/our_work/payment_for_ecosystem_services/

Why is professionalization prominent in processes of NRG?

International development aid



Challenging professionalization: some examples



Rethinking 'expert' knowledge in community forest management in Tanzania[☆]

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 Knowledge
 Power

ABSTRACT

From the 1980s great hopes have been placed on community forest management to promote socio-economic development along with forest protection. Empirical research has shown, however, that while community forest management has often improved forest conditions, the goals of poverty alleviation and local empowerment have not been fully attained. The wide gap between theory and practice of community forest management has caused scholars to emphasise the role of power and politics in the design, practice and outcome of decentralisation. More recently, the roles of techno-bureaucratic values, practices and the authority given to 'expert' knowledge have been highlighted as important factors impeding its successful implementation. Building on these insights, this paper, conjoined with other contributions to this special issue, aims to examine the role of professionalisation and 'expert' knowledge in community-based forest management in Tanzania, particularly with regard to its economic development and local empowerment benefits. Drawing on long-term research in the Aungwi village land forest reserve in Liwale, Lindi Region, Tanzania, this paper illustrates how almost 20 years after the inception of community-based forest management, villagers are still waiting for the promised political and economic benefits to materialise. We argue that professionalisation and the privileged role of 'expert' knowledge hampered forest decentralisation. Based on our findings, we join other authors of this special issue in calling for less technically and bureaucratically demanding ways of forest management and planning to allow local communities to fully take over ownership and control of forest resources and to relieve state and non-state actors of cumbersome and overburdening development requirements.

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1. Introduction

Starting in the 1980s community forest management has gained popular support globally and especially in the developing South (Charnley and Poe, 2007; Sunderlin et al., 2008). As with community based natural resource management (CBNRM) in general, the premise underlying their wide adoption is that the involvement of local communities in the governance and management of forests will bring about socio-economic development and ecological sustainability (Agrawal, 2007; Maryudi et al., 2012). While a number of social, economic and political factors contributed to their increasing popularity (Charnley and Poe, 2007; Nelson and Agrawal, 2008), they also emerged as a response to exclusionary 'fortress' conservation strategies (Brockington, 2002; Lele et al., 2010), which caused social injustice and often failed to achieve conservation outcomes (Agrawal and Redford, 2009; Brockington and Igoe, 2006; Porter-Bolland et al., 2012; Sunseri, 2009). Great hopes were therefore laid in participatory strategies as advocates argued that local authorities are able to manage natural

resources in a more sustainable, efficient and equitable way (Dressler et al., 2010; Hayes and Ostrom, 2005; Ribot et al., 2010). Especially the institutionalisation of local participation via democratic decentralisation reforms was thought to promote empowerment and democracy among rural populations with positive outcomes for long-term sustainability (Ribot, 2004; Wily and Dewees, 2001).

In this context developing country governments have extended community forest management regimes to over a tenth of the world's forests in the past decade (RRI, 2014). In a number of cases they have contributed to local livelihood benefits, the protection of forests and the transfer of political powers to local communities (Cronkleton et al., 2013; Larson and Ribot, 2007; Ribot et al., 2010). In many more instances, however, the core objectives of poverty alleviation, empowerment and improved forest conditions have not been attained (Cronkleton et al., 2013; Dressler et al., 2010; Maryudi et al., 2012; Nelson and Agrawal, 2008). In contrast, community forest management initiatives resulted in inequitable benefit sharing across local stakeholders, elite capture of benefits, and conflicts over access to natural resources that left less powerful forest users more marginalised than prior to the intervention (Charnley and Poe, 2007; Ribot et al., 2006, 2010; Schreckenberg and Luttrell, 2009; Tacconi, 2007).

The mixed results and wide gap between theory and practice of community forest management have caused scholars to specifically

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Challenging professionalization: some examples

Linking the technical framing of participatory forestry to processes of elite capture at the village level



The politics of expertise in participatory forestry: a case from Tanzania[☆]

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we show how the framing of a community-based forest management (CBFM) intervention implies the professionalization of forest management and the privileging of certain forms of knowledge in a village in Tanzania. We describe how the framing of CBFM in technical and procedural terms, and the subsequent construction of expertise by implementers through training, combine with existing signifiers of social stratification to shape struggles over participation and access to benefits from forest use and management. We also describe how the perceived necessity of expertise is not questioned by village residents, only the exclusive and anti-democratic consequences of the way it comes to be reproduced. Based on our study, we call for a careful reconsideration of the framing of participatory forestry approaches as professionalization to strike a balance between the need for expertise and the costs and potential excluding effects associated with meeting this need.

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1. Introduction

Thirty years of experience with participatory natural resource management interventions have revealed mixed results; discussions of the gap between theory and practice of such participatory interventions are common, and the reality of participatory natural resource management has long been recognised as complex and messy processes that are inherently political (Williams, 2004a,b). Studies have shown how patterns of participation in and livelihood outcomes of such processes have largely mapped themselves onto existing social differences along lines of ethnicity and socio-economic status, which has led to criticism of participatory natural resource management approaches as being susceptible to elite capture (Kumar, 2002; Rantala and German, 2013; Lund and Saito-Jensen, 2013). In this paper, we seek to explore how the details of design in participatory natural resource management processes, in terms of technical procedures and artefacts, may play an important part in shaping participation and access to benefits from forest use and management. Through this, we seek to illustrate how the details of design in participatory processes matter to the resulting patterns of participation and benefit distribution. We pose that framings invoking technical and procedural requirements may lend themselves more willingly to elite capture and inequitable

outcomes by favouring a domain of technicality and expertise, and by slanting the playing field of participation towards the literate and numerate and those with procedural knowledge.

Our attempt at examining what we call 'the politics of expertise' in participatory forestry draws on two large bodies of literature. The first has focused on power in participatory natural resource management, both in terms of how power is devolved in such interventions (e.g. Ribot et al., 2006) and how natural resources management takes place within a context of power dynamics, including the micro-politics of the local level (e.g. Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Kapoor, 2005; Kesby, 2005, 2007). Larson and Ribot (2007) discussed how participatory natural resource management takes place within an 'uneven playing field' of policy and practice, representing multiple and competing interests that underpin, for example, the selective allocation of licenses, quotas and permits by powerful actors within the state, as well as corrupt practice. They advocate a minimum standards approach that deliberately slants the field of access in favour of local communities by creating policies that require only these minimum protections to sustain the resource, thereby maximising community control (Larson and Ribot, 2007). The second body of literature lends from Science and Technology studies in the sense of its focus on relationships between power, knowledge and science (Jasanoff, 2004). This view starts from the premise that all knowledge is political and cannot be separated from society (Grundmann, 2009) to 'undress' science, rejecting its representation as an objective reality devoid of politics, and re-conceptualising it as a privileged knowledge system (Nader, 1996). We draw on Sheila Jasanoff's (2004) concept of coproduction be-

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The monitoring system

Matumizi Endelevu ya Misituyu Asili (MEMA) No: _____
 Iringa District (Rural) Date: _____

Receipt
 This village has special sustainable utilisation of its forest.

Forest: _____ Village: _____
 Name of buyer: _____ P.O. Box: _____
 Address: _____ Matumizi Endelevu ya Misituyu Asili (MEMA) Voucher No: _____
 Iringa District (Rural) Date: _____

Payment Voucher
 This village has special sustainable utilisation of its forest.

Forest: _____ Matumizi Endelevu ya Misituyu Asili (MEMA) Permit No: _____
 Receiver: _____ Iringa District (Rural) Date: _____
 Address: _____

Permit
 This village has special sustainable utilisation of its forest.

Receiver: _____ Type of payment: _____ Forest: _____ Village: _____
 Title: _____ Name: _____ P.O. Box: _____
 Signature: _____ Address: _____
Prepared by MEMA-Project [Village stamp]

Total	Products / Services	Quantity	Area

Payer: _____
 Title: _____
 Signature: _____
Prepared by MEMA-Project

Tarehe ya mwisho ya kutumika kibali hiki: _____
 Issued by: _____ Approved by: _____
 Title: _____ Title: _____
 Signature: _____ Signature: _____
Printed by Multi-biz Systems & Supplies, P.O. Box 1386, Iringa

To: District Lands, Natural Resources and Environment Office
 Copy to: Ward Executive Officer
 Divisional Secretary

Report from Village Natural Resource Committee		Village:		Month and year:
Names and positions of committee members	Females	Males		
	1.	1.		
	2.	2.		
	3.	3.		
	4.	4.		
	5.	5.		
	6.	6.		
Positions: Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Patrol Commander, Interview Chairman, others.	7.	7.		
Meetings/ Training	Date	No of attendants (Females)	No of attendants (Males)	Issues related to natural resources
Village Natural Resource Committee meetings				
Village General Assemblies				
Training/ Workshops				
No of Permits, Revenue from resource/services, revenue from fines and Expenditure				
Natural resource / Service from forest	No of permits	Revenue Tshs.	Fines	
			Number of fines	
			Revenue from fines (Tshs)	
			Expenditure (Tshs)	
			Natural resources expenditure (Tshs)	
			Village expenditure (Tshs)	
Total number of permits and revenue from forest resources/services	Total number of permits	Total revenue from resources/services	Total expenditure (Tshs)	
Remarks:				
Date:	Date:	Date:		
Signature VNRC Secretary	Signature VNRC Chairman	Signature Village Chairman		



Challenging professionalization: some examples

Questioning the scientific rigor and usefulness of management plans to participatory forest management



The scientific framing of forestry decentralization in Nepal[☆]

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ABSTRACT

Technical forest management plans have become a precondition for transferring authority to local institutions in processes of participatory forest management. The plans are intended to safeguard environmental values and are justified by their relevance in daily forest management. To serve these functions, the plans must be informed by accurate information about the forest and be actively used by local communities. Based on studies in Nepal, this paper seeks to further our understanding of the role of so-called scientific planning in community-level management through time series analyses of remote sensing images, detailed forest inventories and interviews with community forest managers and public forest authorities. Results indicate that technical forest management plans have been elaborated haphazardly and that local communities base their management on other sources of knowledge. Further, community-level managers appear well-informed about forest condition and their practices contribute to sustainable forest development. We suggest the need to further scrutinize the regime of scientific management planning as its practical relevance appears questionable.

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1. Introduction

Participatory forestry entails decentralized governance approaches that involve local communities in the management of forests they live in and around, and is expected to improve forest conservation as well as forest users' livelihoods (Pokharel et al., 2007; Hobley, 1996). A global advancement of participatory forestry in 'developing' countries has characterized the past 20 years (Ribot et al., 2008; Sunderlin et al., 2008). However, this trend has not overturned the predominance of 'technocratic' values and practices in environmental decision-making especially in the Global South (Faye, 2014; Scheba et al., 2014; Ojha, 2006; Ojha et al., 2005). Such centralized 'technical knowledge' is often at odds with the forms of knowledge situated at the level of rural communities, i.e. 'local/indigenous knowledge' (Hull et al., 2010) and ultimately appears to represent a stalling or reversal of trends toward greater autonomy and representation of rural people (Sunam et al., 2013; Ribot et al., 2006).

The rationale behind such actions may be a result of what Ojha et al. (2009) refer to as 'techno-bureaucratic doxa', that is, a generally

unchallenged worldview of technocrats, bureaucrats and scientists that tends to overlook the knowledge and practices of regular people. In other words, the continued reliance on scientific and technical (i.e. applied science) knowledge among e.g. forest bureaucracies may be explained by the self-understandings of forest bureaucrats whose worldview has been consciously as well as subconsciously shaped by the discourses and tools they adopt as part of their academic training and professional culture. Accordingly, the knowledge and power bases of techno-bureaucrats are closely interwoven in ways that are likely to blur boundaries between the two – even to the techno-bureaucrats themselves.

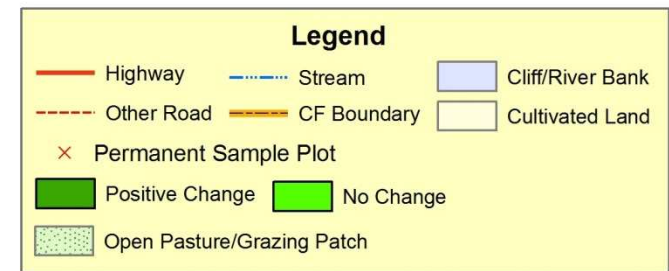
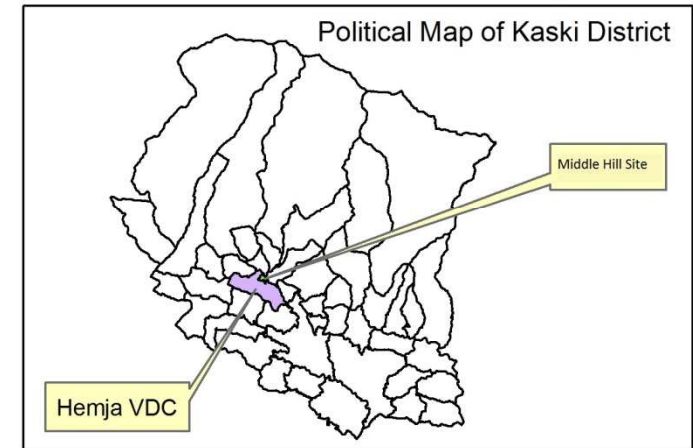
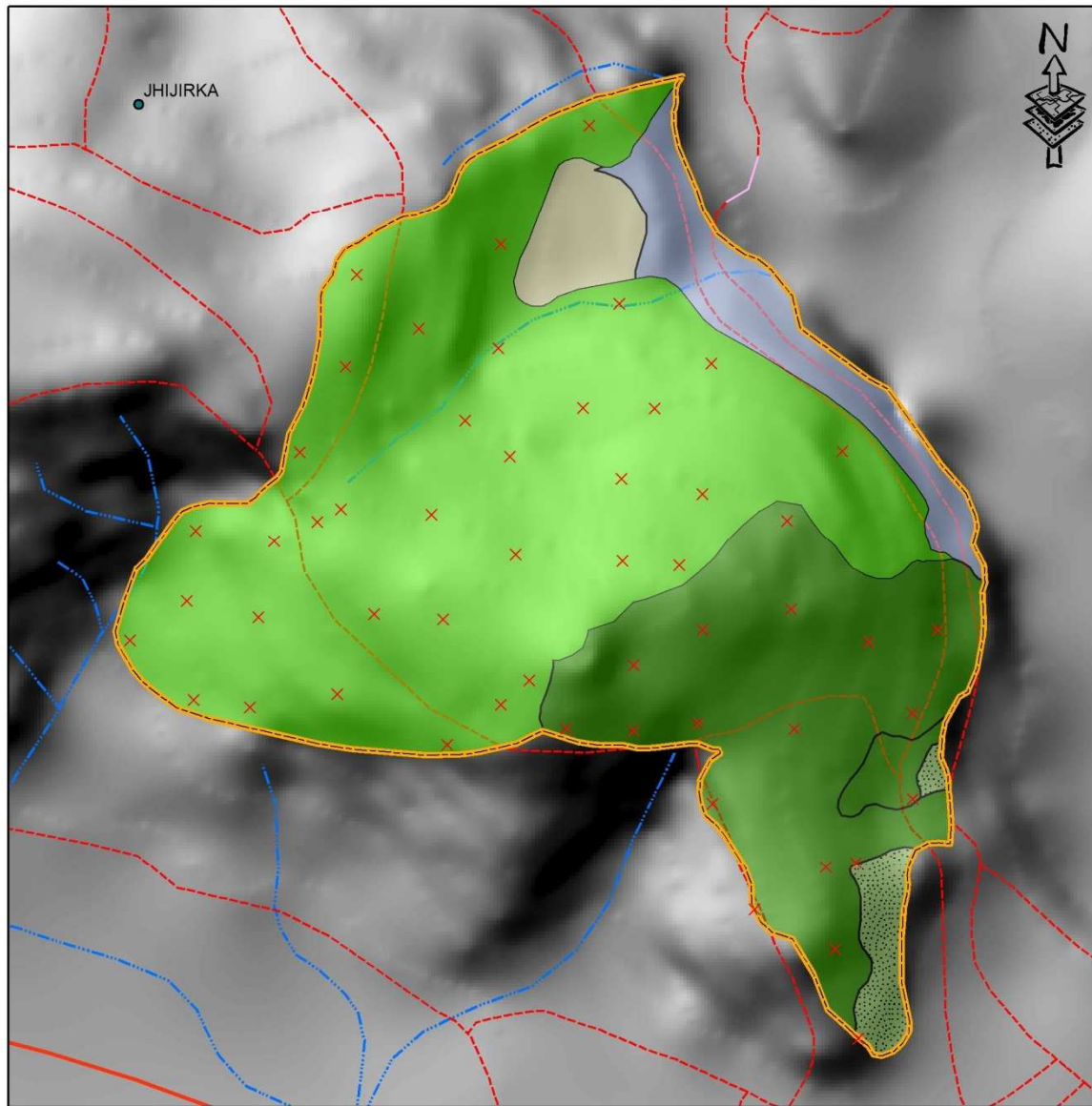
Along a more instrumental line of thinking, Heller (2001: 135) points out that handing over power to lower levels will 'shake up existing patterns of political control and patronage'. He notes that despite the best efforts by the international community to drive decentralization, the associated threat of a loss of control is a primary reason for state bureaucracies to resist in practice. Accordingly, Ribot and Oyono (2005) refer to the widespread use of 'scientific' arguments, or specious technical reasons, as a means of retaining central control despite de jure efforts toward the decentralization of natural resources.

A prevalent manifestation of technical knowledge in forestry is the concept of scientific forest management planning. Technical management plans based on traditional forestry science have broadly become a precondition for transferring rights to local institutions, and are justified by forest authorities' expressed concern over local communities' lack

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Forest Structure Change Map of Middle Hill site - (1998-2012)
Kaski District



Data Source: GPS Survey; Topographic Data

Concluding remarks

1. Professionalization presents a challenge to ideals of responsive and deliberative governance
2. The logic of professionalization in NRG is promoted by neo-liberal environmental policies and the logics of development organizations and state bureaucracies
3. Social scientists have typically challenged professionalization tendencies by pointing to its social consequences (political ecology)
4. Another – more radical – approach is to question its basic foundation as rigorous, relevant and useful to NRG (STS) and/or its coevolution with processes of socialization in professional organizations and training facilities (ethnography of development, STS)

