

**FORESTRY, BUSHMEAT AND LIVELIHOODS:
EXPLORING THE COVERAGE IN PRSPS**

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Acronyms used in this report

CAS	Country Assistance Strategy (of the World Bank)
EFI	European Forestry Institute
HIPC	Heavily-Indebted Poor Country
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I-PRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
JSA	Joint Staff Assessment (of the World Bank and the IMF)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MTEF	Medium-Term Expenditure Framework
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment & Development Strategy (of Nigeria)
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
nfp	National Forestry Programme
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Product
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSIA	Poverty and Social Impact Assessment
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
SWAp	Sector-Wide Approach
ZSL	Zoological Society of London

Summary

The treatment of forestry and bushmeat issues within the **Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers** of 16 countries was reviewed¹. The countries selected have extensive forest cover², and are known range states where the consumption of bushmeat is significant. The majority of the countries are in West and Central Africa; some countries from the neotropics and South-East Asia were also included.

The **method used** was to carry out word searches based on keywords associated with forestry and bushmeat and then to categorise the extracted phrases according to the context in which they appeared.

This yielded the following **results**:

- i) Both forestry and bushmeat were marginal issues within most of the PRSPs reviewed, although forestry coverage was more extensive.
- ii) It is noteworthy that the trends in coverage are similar for both bushmeat and forestry issues:
 - a. PRSPs described policy responses to both forestry and bushmeat issues more frequently than they discussed or assessed the extent of the problems that the responses were meant to address.
 - b. Very few of the papers examine the links between poverty and the use of forest resources (including bushmeat) in any detail.
 - c. There is little exploration of the links between poverty reduction processes and national sectoral processes, e.g. national forest programmes.
- iii) Responses concerning bushmeat tended to be more process than outcome-orientated, relative to forestry responses. While bushmeat policy recommendations are usually limited to increasing participation or supporting community management initiatives, forestry policy recommendations often include more concrete targets such as revenue goals, institutional reforms, or areas of forest to protect.
- iv) Timber products are frequently considered a productive resource, with some potential to support poverty reduction. In contrast, the consumptive use of bushmeat is almost never discussed as a productive resource in PRSPs.

Possible **causes** of low coverage include:

- The low visibility of those who rely on forest goods and services (including bushmeat) for their livelihoods.
- The fact that the poor themselves do not list natural resources as a main concern during participatory poverty assessments. (This may be due to their reticence to talk about illegal activities, or other discursive obstacles inherent in the consultation methodologies.)
- The low impact of these activities on national-level poverty levels.
- The inherent difficulty in measuring sustainable off-take levels.
- The fact that the utilisation of wild resources has rarely figured in national statistics even before PRSPs, despite longstanding calls to this effect³.
- The fact that the utilization of bushmeat (and to a lesser degree natural forests), continues to be seen by some as not being a legitimate productive activity. This may

¹ In this context, 'forestry' relates principally to timber harvesting and use, and to some non-timber forest products (NTFPs). Bushmeat refers to any meat killed for consumption or sale that was not raised domestically.

² See Duthie, 2002 for an overview of forest coverage in different African regions.

³ See, for example, Asibey, 1977.

account for the general unwillingness to highlight these commodities in documents that aim to leverage donor support.

These deficiencies are consistent with a generally poor level of coverage of natural resource issues in PRSPs. There may be many reasons for this, most notably the fact that it is much easier for governments to present a positive image of themselves, and the partnerships they favour, when presenting social sector poverty alleviation strategies (health, education, etc.) than natural resource based ones. By the same token, there is less controversy as to the legitimate role of the state, and the necessity and benefits of state intervention.

An important **consequence** of the low coverage of these issues is that they will not appear high on the national political agenda, which is much influenced by the poverty reduction debate at present. As a result of this, there is reduced scope to secure public funds and the much needed cross-sectoral coordination across government that the management of natural resources desperately need.

In relation to the findings of Oksanen and Mersmann⁴, this report agrees that there is limited coverage of forestry and wildlife in PRSPs. Building on that report, this research suggests that sustainable forestry and wildlife use can probably play only a limited - but arguably significant - role in a growth-oriented, nationally accountable poverty reduction strategy.

⁴ Oksanen and Mersmann, 2003

Recommendations

Setting the priorities of pro-poor forestry policy

- **Promote vulnerability reduction, not just economic growth.** The revenue from forest resources may be low or seasonal, and have little potential to lift the rural poor out of poverty. However, they are vital to the welfare of the poor, as mismanagement and depletion of these resources can often be devastating. The benefits of sound forest management should be valued in terms of harm avoided, as well as of benefits gained. (Section 4.6)
- **Give attention to tenure reform.** The ambiguous nature of forest tenure in many countries, where the state continues to hold claims over forest lands, needs to be resolved so that the poor can claim ownership or precisely-defined rights over forest resources. Without such rights established there is very little incentive for poor people to invest in forest management. (Section 4.4)
- **Assess national vs. local trade-offs.** There is a trade-off between the national benefits derived from commercial timber harvesting and local benefits derived from small-scale forest management initiatives, which tend to emphasize a wider range of forest goods and services (including wildlife management). The magnitude of this trade-off needs to be measured in terms of the relative poverty reduction impact of both strategies. (Section 3.5)

Collecting and assessing data

- **Quantify the subsistence value of forestry for the very poor.** More attention should be given to the subsistence values of forest resources, which underpin many strategies for economic growth. The cash savings made possible by subsistence use of forest goods allow the rural poor secure other household needs. This has a knock-on effect on government resources, which can then focus on the delivery of other welfare benefits in rural areas. (Section 6.6)
- **Assess informal trade.** The informal trade in forestry products needs to be carefully assessed in order to understand both the threat to the natural resource base and the implications for livelihoods and poverty alleviation. This is easier to do if some resource harvesting is legal, as the illicit trade is obviously more difficult to monitor. (Section 4.1)
- **Determine sustainable off-take levels.** Sustainable harvest levels for forest goods of importance to the poor (e.g. medicinal plants, firewood) need to be determined. Although sustainable timber off-take levels are known to some degree, much less is known about the impact of harvesting levels for other forest goods. (Section 4.3)
- **Strengthen consultation methods to highlight forestry dependency.** The methodology of data collection during participatory poverty assessments needs to ensure that due coverage is given to forestry issues. Assessments conducted as part of poverty reduction strategies to-date have not revealed explicit concern for forestry or wildlife issues among the poor. There are undoubtedly strong poverty alleviation benefits to be gained from sustainable forest management, but existing PPA consultations has not yet highlighted this link. (Section 5. 4)

Linking with other processes

- ***Use forestry experience to develop poverty-related indicators.*** Attempts should be made to define more outcome-related poverty indicators for forestry (including bushmeat). There is potential synergy to be created with the considerable amount of work that has been invested in recent years to define criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management. (Section 3.4)
- ***Strengthen PRSP follow-up.*** The linkage between the PRSP and government expenditure plans (e.g. the medium-term expenditure framework), needs to be strengthened to ensure implementation success. The spending plans detailed in a MTEF should reflect the policy priorities established within the PRSP. (Section 6.1)
- ***Strengthen links to sectoral planning.*** Linkages between poverty reduction strategies and national forestry programmes, which represent the major sectoral planning framework in many countries, need strengthening. Initial support to nfps may help national forest authorities and other key sector stakeholders make a stronger case in poverty reduction fora. Improved management practices of natural resources may best come through sector-led frameworks, such as nfps. (Section 6.7)
- ***Integrate existing forestry/livelihood research.*** The work carried out by conservation organisations on bushmeat, forestry and livelihoods could legitimately be used as components of PSIAs. This could further benefit an increased recognition of non-monetary welfare indicators in the context of PRSPs. It may also improve the status of programmes whose benefits are very localised. (Section 3.4)

1. BACKGROUND ON THE PRSP PROCESS AND ITS RELEVANCE TO FORESTS AND BUSHMEAT

1.1 The PRSP process

Since 1999, Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS), as documented in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), have become the national development framework in many countries. This World Bank and IMF initiative has now been endorsed by other multi-lateral and bilateral donors, and forms the framework for much international development assistance. PRSPs are intended to be country-owned documents, implying the leadership of national governments and the involvement of civil society, the private sector and other national stakeholders. They are designed to improve the comprehensiveness of poverty reduction measures over past efforts, in an effort to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Over fifty countries have prepared PRSPs. Originally set as a requirement for debt relief under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, many non-HIPC countries have also invested in preparing these plans. Additionally, access to the IMF's PRGF resources is now conditional on a nationally-owned PRSP. Key policy measures and structural reforms aimed at poverty reduction and growth are identified and prioritised during the PRSP process, and their budgetary costs are assessed. Countries' budgets under PRGF-supported programmes then reflect this analysis.

The PRSP is thus a formal representation of a nation's development policies, and helps determine the attitude of the international community towards national efforts. Although not in itself a guarantee of funding, inclusion in the PRSP is a necessary platform to gain political prominence. Whether an issue is included in these documents consequently has a bearing on the likelihood of implementation and success of any given initiative. The treatment of forestry and bushmeat within PRSPs is therefore important.

1.2 Forestry and bushmeat

Degradation of natural resources is now recognised in almost all PRSPs. However, the treatment of forestry issues is complicated by the fact that forestry is neither wholly a productive sector nor a social one. In fact, three quite different strands of how forestry activities impact on the lives of poor people can be identified:

- Large-scale, commercial timber harvesting is an established industry in many countries, providing employment and significant social provision (in terms of housing, schools, health clinics etc.). These basic services would be put at risk in the absence of the timber industry. The provision of employment in remote, rural areas and the revenue generation that is forthcoming from timber production are important national benefits. This is the strand most apparent in national planning (including PRSPs).
- Small enterprise development that is based on forest resources is important to a large number of additional people. The significance of these businesses to poverty reduction is gaining recognition, although for many forest products the prospects of significant national-level poverty reduction appears slight. Also, at present the measurement of such impact is costly as these activities frequently take place in the informal sector, which is not recorded by central government statistical offices. Hence, there is little in national planning documents on these 'hidden' activities.
- The subsistence use of forest products is the area that seems to have been downplayed in the recent 'growth' debate and is missing from much of the PRSP literature. Yet there is considerable evidence to show that poor people rely on the collection of a wide range of forest products growing in the wild simply in order to survive (e.g. Campbell, 1996, Kaimowitz, 2003). These forest goods provide three types of benefit,

namely (i) the supply of basic needs, (ii) a saving of cash resources, and (iii) a buffer or safety-net during times of misfortune. Access to these resources is particularly vital to the poor in many countries where there are no formalised social protection mechanisms. In these countries the main sources of forest products are often state and common lands.

The issue of bushmeat shows discrete socio-economic and ecological characteristics, and merits attention separately from more general forestry issues. In particular, the mobility of the resource and its fugitive nature (in the sense of not being owned until the point of capture and death) leads to difficulties in measurement and regulation of the 'stock'. Equally, the informal nature of much of the trade and the relatively short supply chain make it difficult to assess or formalise trading activities. Yet much of this economic activity is believed to be carried out by members of poorer communities. Within these groups, the financial benefits often constitute a large proportion of household income, as well as being an important source of protein. Under these conditions, bushmeat resources are an indispensable safety-net for those most vulnerable to environmental or seasonal fluctuations in resource availability⁵. There is therefore a clear link between bushmeat activities and poverty.

2. COVERAGE OF FORESTS AND BUSHMEAT IN PRSPs - METHODOLOGY

2.1 Selection of countries

The countries chosen for this study all have extensive forest cover and are known range states where bushmeat production is a significant economic activity. Although frequently seen as essentially a West and Central African phenomenon, similar activities are common throughout the world, albeit often under different names. In an effort to understand the wider picture of how these issues have been treated in PRSPs, this report has included a number of Central and South American and South-East Asian countries, in addition to the West and Central African states. In all these countries the forest sector is a significant part of the economy. The sample therefore allows for a comparison between the treatment of forestry resources and of bushmeat, in the context of the livelihoods of the poor.

The following 16 countries were reviewed:

Africa (11):

Benin; Cameroon; Central African Republic; Cote D'Ivoire; Democratic Republic of Congo; Ghana; Nigeria; Sierra Leone; Zambia; Tanzania; and Uganda

Central & South America (3):

Bolivia; Honduras; Nicaragua

SE Asia (2):

Indonesia; Vietnam

2.2 Search methodology

2.2.1 Forestry and bushmeat coverage

The method used in this assessment was adapted from two similar studies that have examined the inclusion of (respectively) environmental issues (Bojö and Reddy, 2002) and forest issues in PRSPs (Oksanen and Mersmann, 2003 *in*: EFI Proceedings No. 47, 2003). For eleven countries within the sample, both the interim and final PRSPs were reviewed⁶. For the remaining five countries the final PRSP document has yet to be published, in which case the country analysis depended on a review of the interim PRSP. Automatic word

⁵ de Merode et al., 2003

⁶ Including Nigeria's CAS and NEEDS documents.

searches were carried out on each PRSP (or I-PRSP) for a number of bushmeat- and forestry-related terms.

The terms used were as follows:

Forestry:

- Forestry
- Forest Resources
- Forest Management
- Tree Products
- Non-timber forest products
- Management of renewable natural resources

Bushmeat:

- Bushmeat / wild meat / game meat
- Wildlife trade
- Wildlife products
- Hunting/trapping/trophy hunting
- Community wildlife / fauna management

Instances of these phrases in each of the documents were extracted and compiled in two tables, 'forestry' and 'bushmeat'. Each mention was then evaluated according to the following criteria in order to assess the degree to which the issues described had been incorporated in the PRS process:

- i) "Issue assessed": forest or bushmeat issues are mentioned in the poverty assessment/analysis
- ii) "Linked to poverty": causal linkages between forest or bushmeat-related issues and poverty related issues are discussed in the documents
- iii) "Responses discussed": forest or bushmeat-related responses and actions are defined in the documents
- iv) "Processes discussed": process links between the PRSP process and forest or bushmeat-related policy and planning processes are described in the documents

Within each of these categories, the treatment of the issue was given a score out of three, where:

- 0 = not mentioned
- 1 = mentioned but not elaborated
- 2 = elaborated
- 3 = best practice

This yielded the results shown in Table 1 below.

2.2.2 Asset or constraint – comparison of bushmeat and forestry contexts

The selected quotations were further examined to determine the context in which forestry and bushmeat resources were mentioned. In particular, each phrase was categorised as to whether the presence of these resources was considered a 'constraint' to be overcome and worked around, or an 'asset' to be used and built upon⁷. Relevant points and phrases were extracted and compiled into another two tables – one for forestry and one for bushmeat resources⁸. These extended tables were then condensed into a quantitative summary, yielding the results shown in Tables 2 and 3 below.

⁷ NB these two attitudes were not found to be mutually exclusive.

⁸ See Annexes Ia and Ib for these Tables.

Only PRSPs, I-PRSPs or equivalent documents were researched. PSIAs are so focussed on individual project areas that their coverage on a given issue is not indicative of that country's poverty strategy. Also there are few PSIAs relating explicitly to forestry, and none to bushmeat. The assessment of the Indonesian PSIAs to date has some useful comments for future PSIAs dealing with forestry, but there is little more mention than this. The Joint Staff Assessments (JSAs) however were slightly more vocal on the subject, and this is discussed in the section on the participatory process below.

2.3 Results

2.3.1 Forestry and bushmeat coverage

See table overleaf.

Table 1 – Scoring of forestry and bushmeat issues according to the Bojö and Reddy method. Scores in italics indicate those allocated by Oksanen and Mersmann (2003).

		Forestry				Bushmeat			
		Issues assessed	Linked to poverty	Responses mentioned	Processes discussed	Issues assessed	Linked to poverty	Responses mentioned	Processes discussed
Country	Document	0=not mentioned; 1=mentioned but not elaborated; 2=elaborated; 3=best practice							
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2003	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
Cameroon	I-PRSP 2000	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2003	2	1	2	2	0	0	1	1
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2000	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	1	0	1	0
Cote D'Ivoire	I-PRSP 2002	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
D. R. of Congo	I-PRSP 2002	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	1	1	0	0
Ghana	I-PRSP 2000	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2003	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	0
Nigeria	<i>CAS 2002</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>NEEDS 2004</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	I-PRSP 2001	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
Zambia	I-PRSP 2000	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2002	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	0	0	1	1
Tanzania	I-PRSP 2000	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2000	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
	draft PRSP 2004	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	0
Uganda	I-PRSP 2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PRSP APR 2003	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0
Bolivia	I-PRSP 2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2001	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	0
Indonesia	I-PRSP 2003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vietnam	I-PRSP 2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2003	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
Honduras	I-PRSP 2000	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2001	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0
Nicaragua	I-PRSP 2000	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	PRSP 2001	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Totals		23	18	31	17	4	1	6	2

PRSP = Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

I-PRSP = Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

CAS = Country Assistance Strategy (precursory document to the PRSP, essentially similar)

NEEDS = National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (effectively the Nigerian PRSP)

2.3.2 Asset or constraint – comparison of bushmeat and forestry contexts

Table 2 – Assessment of the treatment of forestry resources as constraint or asset in PRSPs
The 'process or outcome' field refers to the suggested responses. Thus for example the Indonesian PRSP considers forest resources an asset, but suggests neither process- nor outcome-based policies to address this.

		Forest resources considered...										
		Constraint	Process or outcome?	Asset	Process or outcome?	...independently	... together with bushmeat	...as part of rural development	...as part of agriculture and/or fisheries	... as part of manufacturing and export resources	... for tourism potential	Clash of agricultural and forestry interests
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2003	No	-	Yes	Both	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Cameroon	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	Both	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
	PRSP 2003	Yes	Both	Yes	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	Outcome	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Cote D'Ivoire	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	Process	Yes	Both	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Democratic Republic of Congo	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	Neither	Yes	Neither	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Ghana	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	Outcome	Yes	Both	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2003	Yes	Process	Yes	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Nigeria	CAS 2002	No	-	Yes	Process	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	NEEDS 2004	Yes	Neither	Yes	Neither	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Sierra Leone	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Zambia	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2002	Yes	Outcome	Yes	Process	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tanzania	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Draft PRSP 2004	No	-	Yes	Both	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Uganda	PRSP 2000	Yes	Process	Yes	Process	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
	PRSP APR 2003	No	-	Yes	Process	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Bolivia	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2001	Yes	Both	Yes	both	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Indonesia	I-PRSP 2003	No	Neither	Yes	Neither	No	No	No	No	Yes	no	No
Vietnam	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	Yes	Both	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
	PRSP 2003	No	Both	Yes	both	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Honduras	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	Process	Yes	both	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	PRSP 2001	No	Process	Yes	Both	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nicaragua	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	Both	Yes	Process	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	PRSP 2001	Yes	Both	Yes	Process	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3 – Assessment of the treatment of bushmeat as constraint or asset in PRSPs

		Bushmeat resources considered...										
		Constraint	Process or outcome?	Asset	Process or outcome?	...independently	... together with other forestry resources	...as part of rural development	...as part of agriculture and/or fisheries	... as part of manufacturing and export resources	... for tourism potential	Clash of agricultural and forestry interests
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2003	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Cameroon	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2003	Yes	Both	No	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	Process	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Cote D'Ivoire	I-PRSP 2002	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Democratic Republic of Congo	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	Neither	Yes	Neither	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Ghana	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	Process	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
	PRSP 2003	Yes	Process	Yes	Process	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Nigeria	CAS 2002	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	NEEDS 2004	No	-	Yes	Neither	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Sierra Leone	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Zambia	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2002	No	-	Yes	Both	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Tanzania	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Draft PRSP 2004	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Uganda	PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP APR 2003	No	-	Yes	Both	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Bolivia	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2001	Yes	Both	Yes	Both	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Indonesia	I-PRSP 2003	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Vietnam	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2003	Yes	Both	No	-	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Honduras	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Nicaragua	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No

3. WHERE DO FORESTS AND BUSHMEAT APPEAR AND HOW ARE THEY TREATED?

3.1 Quantitative overview

Forestry issues are mentioned in 22 out of the 27 documents reviewed, and in all of the full PRSPs (Table 1). In contrast, bushmeat is only mentioned in seven of the documents, and never scores at a level higher than 'Level One' (*'mentioned but not elaborated'*). Although some of the documents (e.g. Bolivia, Zambia, Uganda) mention policies and initiatives to maximise sustainable exploitation of wildlife (ecotourism, ranching, restricted hunting for export), they do not show how these initiatives might relate to current off-take levels. This reflects a more general pattern in the coverage of forestry and bushmeat. There are many suggested policy responses, but fewer references to assessment or analyses of the problems. For example, the Zambian PRSP (2002) lists deforestation as the fifth of five problems imposing the greatest social costs upon the Zambian people, but does not explain what the consequences are and how these impact on welfare or poverty. However, the suggested response includes extensive details of how to substitute charcoal fuel use and stimulate ecotourism.

Both policy responses and contextual assessments appear far more often than the two other aspects reviewed, namely the causal links with poverty and with sector policy and planning processes.

It is difficult to compare I-PRSPs with each other or any other document, as they vary hugely, ranging from a short summary of development priorities, (Tanzania, DRC), to a full 200+ page draft of the final PRSP (Honduras, Vietnam). However, the results obtained from the full PRSPs are considered to be sufficiently robust to provide an indication of the nature of present forestry and bushmeat coverage in PRSPs. ***It is noteworthy that the relative trends described above (i.e. with most attention paid to policy responses) are similar for both bushmeat and forestry issues (see totals row of Table 1), although bushmeat receives consistently less treatment than forestry.*** Given this similarity, the discussion on bushmeat and livelihoods may be able to gain from the more extensive debate on the relationship between forests and poverty reduction. In particular, there has been a considerable amount of work analysing the contribution of timber production to GDP, best practice for sustainable forest management (including indicators), and the impact of non-monetary benefits on poverty reduction. Some of the methodology established in the course of this research may apply to the evaluation of the bushmeat trade. This evaluation could in turn make it easier for PRSPs to include a more quantitative assessment of the trade, and develop more concrete policy recommendations and indicators.

Finally, although forestry resources do receive more attention than bushmeat specifically, this is not to say that the coverage of the former is satisfactory. Firstly, the type of coverage raises some questions, and these qualitative issues are explored later in this report. Most striking from a quantitative point of view were the results of a simple bibliometric analysis of the texts. When certain key words from these and other areas⁹ were counted, it became clear that the treatment of natural resources is much less extensive than that of other sectors. PRSPs are dominated, as might be expected, by the issues associated with the traditional social sectors of health and education. These two themes each receive as much attention on the whole as agriculture and industry combined. The issue of forests is considerably less mentioned, and that of bushmeat or game hunting hardly at all.

One notable exception to this trend is the case of Honduras, where forestry resources receive extensive mention. In addition, it is the only country to score a level "3" for their best-practice description of responses to forestry problems. This reflects a national recognition that forests are a source of both economic growth and a provider of community-level welfare. However, within Honduras tensions exist regarding forestry management

⁹ See Table 4 for the keywords that were used.

approaches. Some groups feel that the interests of the poor and forest conservation would be best served by making greater use of private sector investment and decentralisation. Others are driving for greater autonomy for rural communities in forest management, in accordance with the increased recognition of tenure based on indigenous rights and established usufruct. Both sides of this active and topical debate are represented in the PRSP, which may explain the prominence of the topic in the document. In addition, an extraneous event was clearly influential: the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch. According to the national media, deforestation was the main cause of the huge floods and damage caused by the hurricane, making it the most important environmental problem in the country. This message was constantly repeated for months and months generating a huge momentum for forests in the PRSP, and no group was willing to challenge this interpretation¹⁰.

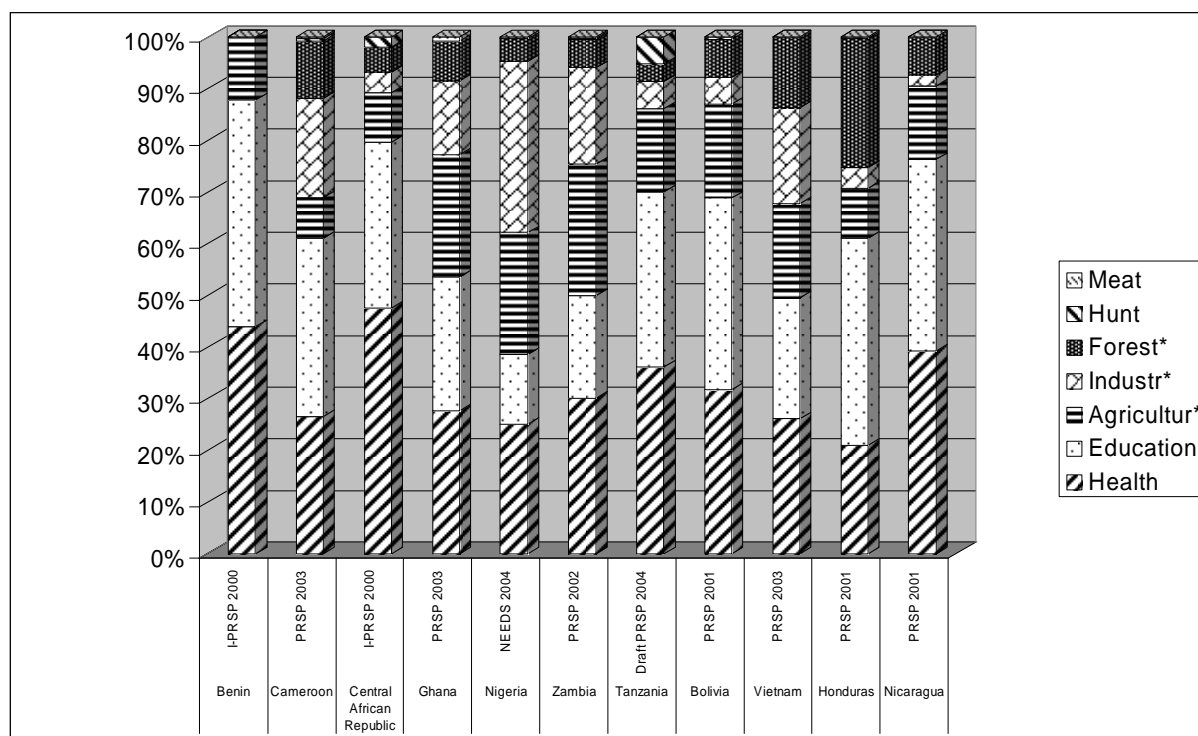
Table 4 – Incidence of keywords within PRSPs

Country	Document	Health	Education	Agricultur*	Industr*	Forest*	Hunt	Meat	Commodity exports ¹¹
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	18	18	5	0	0	0	0	cotton, crude oil, palm products, cocoa
Cameroon	PRSP 2003	258	336	76	188	107	5	3	Crude oil and petroleum products (38%), wood products, cash-crops
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2000	49	33	10	4	5	2	0	diamonds (54%), timber (16%), cotton, coffee, tobacco
Ghana	PRSP 2003	167	156	143	86	46	0	5	gold, cocoa, timber, tuna, bauxite, aluminum, manganese ore, diamonds
Nigeria	NEEDS 2004	70	38	66	93	12	0	1	petroleum and petroleum products 95%, cocoa, rubber
Zambia	PRSP 2002	224	148	189	139	40	2	2	copper 55%, cobalt, electricity, tobacco, flowers, cotton
Tanzania	Draft PRSP 2004	76	71	34	11	7	11	0	gold, coffee, cashew nuts, manufactures, cotton
Bolivia	PRSP 2001	152	177	87	25	35	2	0	soybeans, natural gas, zinc, gold, wood (2000)
Vietnam	PRSP 2003	183	164	128	130	96	0	0	crude oil, marine products, rice, coffee, rubber, tea, garments, shoes
Honduras	PRSP 2001	95	182	43	19	113	1	0	coffee, bananas, shrimp, lobster, meat; zinc, lumber (2000)
Nicaragua	PRSP 2001	176	166	64	9	33	0	0	coffee, shrimp and lobster, cotton, tobacco, bananas, beef, sugar, gold

¹⁰ Filippo Del Gatto, personal communication November 2004

¹¹ From <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cm.html>

Figure 1 – Incidence of keywords by document



3.2 Preservation or exploitation?¹²

An important qualitative consideration concerns how natural resources are viewed within poverty reduction strategies.

3.2.1 Preservationism

Many of the PRSPs advocate a combination of conservation and exploitation, with a few at either end of that spectrum.

Several countries plan some kind of reserves (Vietnam, Zambia) to **conserve** forest and wildlife resources. Cameroon's PRSP is unusually **preservationist**, as it presents the bushmeat trade as an outright threat to wildlife conservation.

"213. The demand for nontraditional stock farming products remains very high in domestic and regional markets. Game ranching would decrease the capture of wild animals, contributing to the conservation of ecosystems" (Cameroon PRSP 2003)(Also see p. 34, ibid, for a catalogue of protected forest areas)

This point is not, however, elaborated further, and it is worth noting that Cameroon's Forestry Reform Program explicitly supports forest-based income generation for poor forest-dwelling people later in the document (see point 36 quoted below).

3.2.2 The middle ground

Quite a few countries, from all regions, hold a **middle ground**, recognising the importance for local/ethnic/rural economic development of somehow stabilising forest resource use within sustainable limits. These include Bolivia, Benin, Cameroon, Vietnam, and Ghana.

¹² The following section is based on the method described in 2.2.2. Tables 2 and 3 provide a quantitative overview of these findings, and the full quotation lists can be found in Annexes Ia and Ib.

However, the policy recommendations seldom address the bushmeat issue explicitly and independently, often grouping all forestry resources together or else with agricultural interests:

"512. The appropriate utilization of the potential of biodiversity will also have significant positive effects on disadvantaged and vulnerable segments of the rural population (native peoples and peasant communities). In the short term, incomes of the communities of the east and high plateau will be increased through projects of sustainable use of wild animal species such as vicuna, lizard and peccary, whose economic value has already been recognized." (Bolivia PRSP 2001)

"88. Forestry. Forestry resources [...] provide an important source of food and income." (Benin PRSP 2003)

"36. The forestry reform program is to enhance forest-based income opportunities for village communities, and thus improve the livelihood of the rural population living in the forest zones" (Cameroon PRSP 2003)

"7.2. Pay attention to biodiversity in poor regions, sandy, arid, and marsh areas, ensuring the availability of renewable resources for production by people, especially by the poor. [...]" (Vietnam PRSP 2003)

"65. 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Forestry Development Master Plan (1996-2020) includes [...] (iii) stimulate community involvement in the management of the resources and enhance the economic well-being of rural residents." (Ghana I-PRSP 2000)

3.2.3 Utilitarianism

A small number take a more **utilitarian** view, where the aim is to exploit the economic potential of their natural resources for the whole country. This approach is focused more on the longer-term benefits of wildlife conservation, including ecotourism initiatives, the export of non-timber forest products and the growth of agro-forestry and sustainable (often community-based) forestry management. However, there is little focussed attention on specific mechanisms to incorporate wildlife into future local livelihoods.

"511. [...] Preliminary studies indicate that within a period of approximately 15 years the contribution of biodiversity could come to represent an increase of about 10 percent in GDP, if activities are developed in ethnic and ecotourism, mitigation of climate change and biodiversity services relating to biotechnology, ecological products, and others." (Bolivia PRSP 2001)

"3.1.3.2 In the areas of subsistence agriculture, livestock, water, and hunting and fishing, the policy directions will be based on the agriculture master plan (1999-2006) and will focus on the establishment of an efficient institutional and economic environment, as well as regional or sector support programs to ensure coverage of national needs and food self-sufficiency." (CAR I-PRSP 2003)

Frequently, PRSPs express potentially conflicting positions on livelihood concerns and preservationist priorities (e.g. Cameroon), sometimes even within one paragraph (e.g. Vietnam). It is further worth noting that the exploitation of wildlife for national economic growth does not seem to consider consumptive use, despite estimates of the traded volume as high as US\$200M across the range states¹³. Some evaluations calculate the production of bushmeat in the five central African states (Cameroon, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, and Rwanda) to exceed five million tonnes per annum, which would imply a value of upwards of US\$10 billion.¹⁴

3.3 Forestry and bushmeat: are they assets or constraints?

Tables 2 and 3 clearly show that forestry receives considerably more attention across the PRSP process than bushmeat. Furthermore, in the case of forestry attention is focussed on

¹³ http://www.odi-bushmeat.org/bushmeat_crisis_livelihoods.htm

¹⁴ Wilkie and Carpenter, 1998

its positive value as an asset, whereas the position of bushmeat is ambiguous. Thirteen documents consider forests generally to be a productive resource (usually with an emphasis on timber), whilst in only four documents can bushmeat-related activity be seen in this way. On the other hand, four documents cite forestry concerns as a constraint, as against three who hold the same view on bushmeat.

The following quotations provide examples of each instance:

Forestry as asset: "33. ...And despite a rapid pace of exploitation in the recent past, Cameroon's forests still cover more than 22 million hectares, making it the second largest producer of forestry products in Africa behind the DRC and the first exporter of wood products from Africa." (Cameroon PRSP 2003)

Bushmeat as asset: 224. "Environmental management is a policy [...] to develop mechanisms and instruments for appropriate management of biodiversity, and to promote the sustainable and equitable use of forest resources." (Bolivia PRSP 2001)

Forestry as constraint: "For protection and conservation of forest resources, US\$68.9 million is being invested [by the National Forestry Programme], with particular emphasis in the departments of El Paraíso, Olancho, Copán, Santa Bárbara, and Islas de la Bahía." (Honduras I-PRSP 2000)

Bushmeat as constraint: "7.2 Implement projects on environmental recovery and protection, protect watershed forests, build national parks and protected forest areas, construct national gardens, plant trees, preserve and protect bio-diversity. Develop and improve the quality of animal-botanic garden research centers and national parks in order to maintain and preserve precious and rare genetic sources." (Vietnam PRSP 2003)

3.4 Process over outcome

We have already noted that policy recommendations for forestry, whilst not extensive, are nonetheless more frequent than suggested initiatives concerning bushmeat. However, both policies relating to forestry and bushmeat resources tend to focus on inputs and process rather than outcome objectives. These include research and evaluation, the establishment of consultative committees, or the adoption of certain principles. If we compare these areas with, for example, agriculture, we can see that agriculture benefits from the most outcome-driven policies. Examples are provided in Table 5 for illustration.

The issue of bushmeat benefits from almost no concrete, outcome-based policy recommendations in these documents. This is not for lack of quantitative analysis as there has been plenty of work in this area, including that carried out by the Wildlife Conservation Society, the Durrell Institute and the Institute of Zoology¹⁵. Much of this research focuses on the socio-economic aspects of the bushmeat trade¹⁶, including non-income welfare indicators and localised benefits. This approach is explicitly acknowledged by the PSIA process, which could provide a channel to mainstream this research into the World Bank poverty reduction machinery.

Without some outcome indicators the impact on the poor at a national-level of aggregation is often difficult to see. Some likely reasons for this relative lack of outcome indicators include the international political sensitivity of natural resources, the informal nature of these resources, and the perceived limited potential for economic growth based on these resources¹⁷. This may put forestry, and in particular bushmeat, at a comparative disadvantage in PRSPs compared to those sectors where outcome indicators can be easily

¹⁵ See <http://www.odi-bushmeat.org/> and <http://www.zoo.cam.ac.uk/ioz/projects/bushmeat.htm> for details

¹⁶ E.g. http://www.odi-bushmeat.org/download_files/wpb7.pdf

¹⁷ See IDA and IMF, 2002 for discussion of the overall evolution of PRSPs from process- to outcome-oriented policies

measured and hence their impact on poverty reduction clearly demonstrated. Those allocating funds such as donors or government officials may prioritise the latter, partly to meet their own standards of accountability and transparency.

Table 5 – Comparison of process versus outcome recommendations

Country/document	Rural development & agriculture	Forestry	Bushmeat
	← OUTCOME EMPHASIS →		← PROCESS EMPHASIS →
Zambia PRSP 2002	<p><i>Output 4: [agricultural] Technology Development and Dissemination Improved</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a Technology Development and Transfer Fund. • Improve livestock disease monitoring and eradication. • Improve the enactment and enforcement of legislation and regulations. • Improve technical skills for farmers, farmer groups, extension staff, and NGOs. 	<p>Fruit/forest tree establishment/agro-forestry</p> <p>Conduct PRA WNB Train the local people in basic fruit/forest tree techniques \$30,000 Procure nursery inputs \$20,000 Establish community fruit/forest tree nurseries \$5,000 Establish fruit/forest tree orchards/woodlots \$2,000</p>	<p>Environment and Natural Resource Management</p> <p>Sensitise the private sector, NGOs, and local communities on the benefits of environment and natural resources \$25,000 Provide incentives to stakeholders \$WNB</p>
Cameroon PRSP 2003	<p>“The policy includes rural infrastructure development activities (building village-level warehouses, markets, rural and feeder roads, access to safe drinking water and electricity, etc.) and community development.”</p> <p>“200. <i>Rural sector financing</i> includes two subcomponents. The first (the National Microfinance Program) aims at improving the rural population's access to microfinance institutions and at strengthening the capacity of these institutions. The second plans to implement mechanisms relating to medium and long-term financing for farmers and agriculture-based business investments.”</p>	<p>“220. The 1994 Forest Law and subsequent forest sector reforms have improved the welfare of the forest population, which now receives part of the annual forestry tax (RFA). This group also benefits from the social welfare activities undertaken by the logging companies (in the case of large multiyear logging concessions). The goal of these reforms is to have forestry become: (i) a key sector in poverty reduction; and (ii) a major area for Cameroon's industrialization and exports. “</p>	<p>213. Non-traditional stock farming. "The demand for non-traditional stock farming products remains very high in domestic and regional markets. Game ranching would decrease the capture of wild animals, contributing to the conservation of ecosystems. Activities will include improving domestication techniques for a better and more sustainable management of species"</p>
Tanzania PRS II (draft) 2004	<p>Agriculture – “Increase food crops production from 9 Millions in 2003/04 tons to 10 Millions in 2010. (MAFS)”</p> <p>Rural development – “Construct more water charcos; improve access and quality of veterinary services; and promote diary and leather industries (SMEs).”</p>	<p>Promote schemes to add value to primary agricultural, fishing, forest products, wildlife, and livestock products</p>	-

3.5 The implications of value accumulation along the supply chain

3.5.1 The timber supply chain

The benefits from some forestry resources are widely distributed along complex production-to-consumption chains. Some of these receive attention in the PRSPs, for example the production of paper and other processed wood in Vietnam, or the revenue opportunities from eco-tourism in Zambia. The discussion on these topics includes the possible contribution to GDP and exports, the infrastructure requirements, and the benefits to local and poor communities through revenue sharing, concession allocation and decentralised management.

The timber supply chain has received attention for several reasons. Firstly, the process of extracting and processing wood products is formalised and therefore visible, requiring as it does roads, trucks, tools, and large numbers of people. Secondly, exports are often a significant proportion of the wood product trade, again increasing the visibility of the value chain, and providing opportunities for foreign earnings. By the same token, this industry provides revenue opportunities to central government, through taxation and concession fees. These funds potentially can then be reinvested into poverty-reduction measures. Thirdly, the logging companies bring complex economic benefits to the areas where they are active. These include improved road access, employment opportunities (timber extraction and also processing), education and health services.

Cameroon PRSP 2003

"36. Another major objective of the forestry reform program is to enhance forest-based income opportunities for village communities, and thus improve the livelihood of the rural population living in the forest zones. In this context, the government plans to grant interested local communities priority rights to designated "community forests" and to remit quote-part of collected forestry tax revenues to local communities."

Ghana PRSP 2003, 6.2.4

"The country's forest cover had been reduced from 8.2 million hectares at the beginning of the 20th Century to 1.7 million hectares in the 21st Century. Continued reliance on forest resources must be based on proper management to achieve low volume and high value production."

As we have seen, all of the countries with full PRSPs consider their forests a productive asset. Consequently, the policy recommendations are focussed on the exploitation of these resources, mostly for wood products and national-level revenue. In accordance with the PRS's emphasis on poverty reduction and economic growth, many PRSPs describe measures specifically designed to benefit poorer communities, in particular in forested areas.

Ensuring that logging companies adhere to socially responsible codes of practice, reforming land tenure rights for indigenous peoples, and increasing local government's share of related revenue, are all methods that utilise the forest product supply chain to reduce poverty.

In addition to focussing on forests' productivity, some PRSPs show a conservationist approach. These elements of the recommendations, however, appear to be mainly motivated by the need to avoid exhausting the nation's future revenue sources. There is a nominal commitment to preserving the heritage of biodiversity resources *per se* by several countries (Bolivia, Cameroon), but this is not supported by many concrete initiatives.

Bolivia PRSP 2003

"224. Environmental management is a policy on rational use of natural resources that seeks to optimize the use of water and land resources, to strengthen planning, management and control of environmental quality, to develop mechanisms and instruments for appropriate management of biodiversity, and to promote the sustainable and equitable use of forest resources."

A different aspect of the forestry value chain that does not receive much attention is the role of forests as poverty safety-nets. It may be because the vulnerability metric of poverty is difficult to quantify, and does not contribute to the growth-oriented indicators of poverty reduction. It is understandable that the use which provides a national-level, quantifiable return (timber harvesting) is more prominent in a national economic growth policy than an application which delivers localised, largely non-monetary benefits. However, the link between environmental vulnerability and poverty is receiving increased attention in the PRSPs. Given the dynamics of the timber supply chain described above, the capacity of forest resource management to alleviate this aspect of poverty remains under-explored where there is (competing) extraction potential.

3.5.2 The bushmeat supply chain

The flow and distribution of value along the bushmeat supply chain is difficult to measure for several reasons, including underreporting (due to illegality and taboo), and the remote

locations of much of the activity. There is correspondingly little mention of the potential of bushmeat for delivering benefits to targeted local areas, even where fauna are seen as an asset for poverty reduction¹⁸. There has been some research on the supply chain and value distribution of the bushmeat trade, but this has tended to be from a conservationist perspective¹⁹. This analysis could be useful for local poverty reduction, although recommendations are primarily aimed at reducing off-take levels. Given the difficulty of gathering data, the limited growth potential of the bushmeat industry, and the difference in the supply chain from one locality to the next, it is unlikely that this aspect of the bushmeat trade could be effectively exploited by a national PRS.

4. POSSIBLE CAUSES OF LOW COVERAGE

4.1 Low visibility

4.1.1 Forestry

Zambia PRSP 2002, p. 14

"Regarding industry, the strategy focuses on choosing winners or industries that have the best chances of export success after considering comparative advantage and existing trade agreements. These are likely to be processors of primary goods, such as agricultural and forest products"

The nature of the timber supply chain means that the financial benefits accrue to a visible sector of the population, and often provide revenue through taxation or concessions. Forestry as a productive asset therefore receives some treatment from the PRSPs. However, forest resources other than timber do not have these visible characteristics and therefore do not have the same prominence. In

this way, the localised (often informal or non-monetary) benefits of sustainable forestry management are not acknowledged in the context of PRSPs.

4.1.2 Bushmeat

Consumptive use of wildlife seems to be frequently viewed as only affecting populations within tightly defined geographical or socio-economic categories. As these are often

Bolivia PRSP 2001

"106. Many indigenous people, especially in the lowlands, are at a subsistence level, dependent on the few basic commodities which provide their basic diet and which are obtained largely through hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. Production and consumption are virtually equal, and operations are almost exclusively dependent on the amount of natural resources."

relatively 'voiceless' groups, their interests may be under-represented in the PRSPs. This underlines the fact that the contribution of wild meat to local livelihoods is rarely valued in these documents, despite the growing evidence

that it may contribute significantly to the well-being of the poor²⁰.

4.2 Low impact

4.2.1 Forestry

Another problem is the size of impact that forest management may have on *national-level* poverty. Although PRSPs are hefty tomes, they are nonetheless finite, and those compiling them must exercise a degree of selection and focus. There may be legitimate reasons why some forestry resource management issues do not meet the criteria for inclusion as well as other themes such as health, education or infrastructure provision. Also, the returns (including non-monetary welfare) from investing in forests and natural resources are seen to

¹⁸ With the exception of the Bolivian PRSP

¹⁹ Cowlshaw et al., 2004

²⁰ de Merode et al., 2003, Cowlshaw et al., 2004

be long-term and high-risk, compared to other more mainstream productive sector activities. Sustainable management almost invariably entails lowering the harvesting rate relative to existing 'free capture' levels, at least initially. In this sense any policy aimed at the conservation of forestry resources would restrict short-term economic opportunity and therefore likely meet with stakeholder opposition.

4.2.2 Bushmeat

Although bushmeat is an important source of income or an essential safety net for many poor people, it is still hard to demonstrate the positive impact on those people of any given policy designed for the sustainable management of wildlife extraction for consumptive use. Furthermore, once those benefits have been quantified, they need to be evaluated in the context of national poverty reduction in order to be relevant to the PRSP. If the benefits of a bushmeat policy are difficult to predict or measure, or if they only accrue to a small proportion of the nation's poor, then that policy will receive correspondingly little attention in the PRSP.

4.3 Low measurability

There is limited discussion of what 'sustainable' might mean in the context of natural resources, particularly regarding bushmeat production. The term, when applied, seems to be used in an abstract way to comply with the guidelines of the World Summit for Sustainable Development or the Millennium Development Goals.

4.3.1 Forestry

We have already seen that the large-scale, formal extractive forestry industry is relatively well measured, in terms of off-take and revenue generation. However, the non-monetary benefits of forest resources are not well quantified, although there is a growing amount of research to mainstream this type of evaluation. Also, the informal trade in forest resources is not satisfactorily documented, largely due to its dispersed and often illicit nature.

Over the last ten years considerable investment has been made in the forestry / timber sector to define sustainability, not only as researchers have been able to determine forests' rate of regeneration, but also as progress has been made in quantifying environmental and social factors alongside economic ones, allowing a "triple bottom line" analysis of costs and benefits²¹. However, whilst timber management in forest plantations is relatively advanced, natural forest management remains in an adaptive stage, as the significant investments made in recent years begin to point the way forward towards sustainable management systems.

4.3.2 Bushmeat

It is difficult to measure bushmeat populations, determine appropriate levels of off-take, restrict or even measure current trade levels, especially at a national level. The informality of the market means that not all transactions are financial, and those that are not are difficult to trace. Also, hunting is often done alone or in small, loosely affiliated groups. The illegality of much of this activity adds another incentive for hunters not to divulge the extent of their off-take. Finally, although the trading may take place in urban areas, the hunting itself is mainly carried out in remote places, relatively inaccessible to bureaucracy (to collect data) and law enforcement (to implement restrictions) alike.

The principle of limiting off-take to the rate of regeneration could perhaps be usefully applied to bushmeat activity. However, there are several problems associated with this. Firstly, the stock of mobile fauna is more difficult to identify than static tree stocks, and is not delimited by national geographical boundaries. This makes it difficult to measure populations and

²¹ i.e. taking into account economic, social and environmental costs and benefits

determine 'replenishment' rates, as well as making it impractical to restrict access (and offtake) or allocate (and enforce) property rights.

4.4 Unclear property rights

4.4.1 Forestry

Many countries still retain natural forests as state assets. Until rural people can claim ownership or precisely-defined use rights over these natural resources there is very little incentive for the poor to invest in forest management. It is therefore not surprising that forests are not seen as providing a pathway out of poverty. Nor is this situation restricted to natural forests: in some countries farmers hold no rights over the trees growing on their farms. This situation has led to conflict between those harvesting the timber and farmers, who purposely damage trees (e.g. Ghana).

Privatisation of state assets has become a major strategy to promote economic development in many countries. In forestry, this has led to the sale of state plantations to the private sector. With the improved management skills available there are some prospects for growth based on these resources. However, privatisation processes have been complex (often due to considerations over land tenure) and tangible benefits for either the forest industry or the poor have not been immediately obvious.

In a number of countries the existence of a dual legal system (i.e. Customary Law and Statute Law) has contributed to a lot of confusion and conflicts in rural areas, including disputes over forest resources. Until this ambiguity between statute law and customary law is resolved, investing in economic opportunities based on forest resources will in many cases remain a high-risk strategy for the rural poor.

Finally, the ambiguities over ownership of the resource have contributed to the poor governance conditions that are prevalent within the forest sector in many countries that possess valuable timber resources. This exploitative reputation reaches macro-economic planners where forestry is seen as a problematic sector, not deserving investment promotion within national policy documents such as PRSPs.

4.4.2 Bushmeat

Laws relating to wildlife are in even more need of up-dating than forest legislation, as many regulations concerning wildlife use have remained unattended for many years. Where regulatory reform is underway improved wildlife user rights are beginning to appear (e.g. Uganda). Local community benefits are slowly being recognised as being an important element of national conservation strategies.

4.5 Tensions within the national agenda

The fact that forestry falls under environmental concerns may be to its detriment. Many countries face other environmental crises with much more immediate and apparent impact on the poorest people. Soil degradation in Zambia, irrigation problems in Ghana, and oil gas flaring in Nigeria all absorb large amounts of the political capital allocated to environmental issues, leaving little left over for consideration of natural resources. Forestry manages best to reclaim some attention where it is seen as a productive sector. However, this status, and the associated increased political interest, is not attributed to bushmeat by any of the PRSPs, despite the contribution of wild meat to GDP in countries such as Ghana or Nigeria.

Table 6 – Principal environmental risks by risk group.

Sources of Risks	Key Risk Group	Formal Response
NATURAL -Drought, Flood, erosion, rainstorms, and food loses due to pests.	Well-to-do, poor, rural male, rural female, rural male youth, rural female youth	Irrigation, Agric. extension services, afforestation/agro- forestry, Agricultural insurance.
ENVIRONMENTAL - Deforestation, desertification, oil spillage.	Poor, rural male, rural female, rural male youth and rural female youth	Environmental measures to stem pollution, tree-planting campaigns. Agro-forestry, incentives to convert to alternative energy, use, enforcement of standard oil field practices.

(table 10.4, p108, Nigeria NEEDS 2004)

4.6 Tensions with and within the international agenda

Over issues such as education or health care, there is usually at least a buildable consensus between the interests of donors, local policy-makers, and their constituents. However, this is much harder in the case of bushmeat and forestry resources. The existence value of certain bushmeat species or forest habitats can mean little to those who depend on those resources for income or food. Conversely, international conservationists can have an incomplete understanding of the local dynamics of forest use, which can lead to inappropriate measures being proposed to achieve the conservation of these resources.

Although PRSPs are intended to be country-owned documents and not subject to such considerations, they are not immune from donor priorities and sensitivities²². Within the culture of the international donor community, there are two very different rationales which both resist the inclusion of forestry and bushmeat resource management in PRSPs. Firstly, the conservationist perspective stigmatises the utilitarianism exploitation of wildlife, and certain natural habitats (e.g. tropical rain forests). In addition to this there is a potentially counterproductive difference in priorities within the international donor community. As the PRS process gains momentum among donor organisations, particular interest groups are anxious to ensure their area of interest is included in the format. This includes organisations keen to improve the sustainability of natural resource management in developing countries. However, the PRS process places a strong emphasis on economic growth and infrastructure development. It is therefore difficult for conservation initiatives to gain the poverty-reduction credentials necessary to secure a legitimate and effective place within a poverty reduction strategy.

There may be some ways to reconcile these agendas. The first would be a more localised approach to poverty reduction. This would validate some of the bushmeat and livelihood programmes that only deliver benefits very locally, and are hence currently unrecognised by national PRSPs. Another approach could be to widen the scope of the PRSPs to strengthen the role of poverty alleviation and vulnerability mitigation, as well as economic growth. The groundwork for this is already present in the PRSPs in principle, including community resource management programmes and research into the environment/vulnerability/poverty dynamic. However, there is not much in terms of concrete outcomes and indicators concerning these non-income dimensions of poverty as they relate to forests.

4.7 Institutional weaknesses

In many of the countries examined, the design and implementation of sustainable, pro-poor forestry policy is further hampered by certain characteristics of the institutions currently in place. Firstly, the benefits of conservation do not accrue immediately or directly to those who exercise restraint or comply with prohibition. In other words, the preservation of future timber or wildlife resources is not in itself reward enough for people to reduce their off-take

²² Wilks and Lefrançois, 2002

levels. This is due to a variety of institutional factors, including culture (the bounty of the forest, the substitutability of different species) and property rights. As people do not feel adequately compensated for the loss of potential timber, firewood or game meat, incentives exist for the enforcement agencies to adopt more of a “rent-taking” attitude towards their conservationist duties. Furthermore, in many countries the institutions underlying natural resource regulation date from colonial times, and are not conducive to the development of sustainable small-scale, decentralised economic activity. This is compounded by the corresponding shortage of skilled and motivated manpower, which not only makes policy formulation difficult, but also impedes the effective collection and analysis of relevant data.

These institutional factors make it difficult to establish and enforce sustainable, pro-poor forestry policies, especially in the face of political resistance to measures which may restrict off-take levels in the short term.

4.8 Bushmeat as a forestry anomaly

The institutional reforms (gender equity, land tenure etc) that have potential to improve the management of other forestry resources do not transfer very well to bushmeat issues. The reasons for this include the often illicit nature of the bushmeat trade, and the fact that game is more mobile than other forestry resources. The use of land is therefore less intense but requires more forest to be set aside. This also means that bushmeat may roam across borders from one jurisdiction to another, either out of the ‘designated’ area for controlled hunting, or even into another country with a completely different regime in place. This may in part explain the omission of bushmeat from policies dealing with land tenure and property rights.

Côte D'Ivoire I-PRSP 2002
"II.2.1.2. Rural development [...] objectives are: (i) to improve the competitiveness and productivity of rural operations; (ii) to seek self-sufficiency and security with respect to food; (iii) to restore forest resources; and (iv) to improve farmers incomes and reduce local disparities and urban poverty." strategy is "... (vii) provision of land tenure security (application of the new Rural Land Use Code adopted in December 1998, and the new forest policy), preservation of environment and implementation of the new forest policy"

For example, the boxed extract sets out objectives for rural development. Although food security is one of the issues, the regulation framework seems to apply only to the land itself, not to the animals living on it:

5. A CLOSER LOOK AT THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

5.1 Participatory Poverty Assessments

The Bretton Woods Institutions require PRSPs to focus on poverty reduction, but beyond this stipulation they are intended to be a fully country-owned document. Part of this ownership involves countries defining poverty and its solutions according to their own criteria. In order to ensure that the priorities of all stakeholders are represented, the World Bank/IMF’s Joint Staff Assessments explicitly require evidence of the participatory identification of the factors of poverty²³.

A major methodological tool that was developed in an effort to ensure widespread participation in the analysis of poverty is the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA). Originating in the early 1990s, PPAs are designed to include poor people’s views in poverty analysis and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public policy, such as those laid out in PRSPs. However, there is no blueprint of either the content or the method for PPA, so it remains a loosely defined set of actions. However, two categories of research can be

²³ World Bank. NB the JSA is instructed not to comment on the *method* of consultation.

recognised: those studies that aim to enrich the knowledge base for designing policies to reduce poverty, and those studies that create new political space for negotiation, empowerment and influence²⁴.

A number of generic concerns have arisen from the experience gained from these studies to-date. First, is the issue of the reliability of the information generated and the policy inferences that are subsequently drawn. Second, a number of ethical issues are posed, including the demands on participants' time and the danger of raising unrealistic expectations. And thirdly, there is an acknowledgement that the messages originating from within poor communities go through a considerable filtering process before they appear within national policy documents, such as PRSPs.

5.2 Method for this part of the research

PPA findings that were used for input into the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers of this study were reviewed. This was only carried out for countries with full PRSPs or equivalent documents²⁵. I-PRSPs were not analysed, as PPAs are not required for these. In addition to consultation PPAs to inform the PRS, several PRSPs also describe decentralisation and participation programmes for the implementation of poverty reduction strategies. These were considered from the same perspective where available for comparison.

Each programme was assessed against the following yes/no questions²⁶:

- Timing:
 - o Set up prior to PRSP?
 - o Set up expressly for PRS contribution?
 - o Subsequent to PRSP (planned)?
- Function
 - o Participatory assessment (upstream feedback)?
 - o Participatory policy-making?
 - o Participatory administration (downstream management)?
- Aspects of poverty addressed
 - o Bushmeat?
 - o Forestry?

5.3 Results - forestry and bushmeat in the PPAs

The feedback from these consultations did not include very much on forestry resources or bushmeat. Of 17 consultation programmes (across 11 countries) designed for PRSP input, only five address forestry resources explicitly: in Cameroon, Zambia, Tanzania, Vietnam, and Nicaragua. Even when the issue of forestry was raised, it usually received fewer concrete policy suggestions than other sectors. The specific issue of wildlife use was not raised, in the context of consumptive or any other use.

Forest management issues, in particular deforestation, irrigation and desertification concerns, were most prominent in the context of agricultural productivity, not for the welfare

Tanzania PRSP 2003, p.12
Participants underscored the need for
i) new and strengthened rural credit mechanisms;
ii) improved research and extension services, possibly including one extension agent per village;
iii) enhanced ability, especially at the community level, to repair and maintain rural roads;
iv) the revival of agricultural cooperatives;
v) improvement and expansion of irrigated farming; and
vi) effective safety-nets, to assist vulnerable groups. “

²⁴ Norton et al., 2001

²⁵ Such as Nigeria's CAS and NEEDS documents.

²⁶ See Annex II for table of results.

provided directly by forest products (Cameroon, Vietnam, Uganda, Honduras).

There are several references to the conservation of environmental resources in general that may apply to forests and wild game, but these are imprecise in identifying either problems or possible solutions, and are often part of a list of miscellaneous secondary concerns (Tanzania, Benin).

The Vietnamese and Ugandan consultations both seem to show a relatively high awareness of the links between forestry and poverty. This includes both direct use of forest products, and the benefits to agriculture of forest management²⁷. The Vietnamese PPA in particular mentions the importance of forestry resources in mitigating the vulnerability of the poor, an aspect that is not well covered in the PPAs of other countries. However, these two examples are not representative of the PPAs as a whole.

Tanzania PRSP 2003, p.12

“Resources - Environment

· Conflict between demand for and actual usage of agricultural land, forestry land, and protection forest in upland area

· Many people have seen the benefit of forestation (Sa Moc tree)

Recommendations:

· Provide support to forest growers (avoid giving grant), and help them grow nursing by themselves

· Bring into play community ownership, and conserve “holy forest”

· Promote the use of ‘forest saving fireplace’ to save firewood”

Where forestry resources are identified by the poor, this does seem to be picked up by the PPAs. However, with the exception of Vietnam, this dimension of poverty receives relatively little attention. Equally, there is some concern over the methodology applied in gathering feedback through

PPAs, as there are no stipulations on this from the JSA, and there is some evidence that the methods applied are conducive to making certain findings. These concerns are focussed around the selection of the consultees, the remit of the interviewers (Indonesia), the phrasing of the questions, or the influence of donor representatives at the consultation level (Cameroon).

5.4 Disconnect between PPA and PRSP

It has been suggested earlier in this document that dependency on forest resources may be a regional concern, and therefore may be ‘filtered out’ at the national level. If this were the case, we would have expected to find at least some incidence of forestry or bushmeat concerns in the PPAs for at least some of the countries that then ignore this in their PRSPs. This is not borne out by this close reading of the PPA feedback, as none of the countries whose PRSPs ignore forestry and bushmeat show a significant incidence of these issues in their PPAs. In fact, the five countries which did discover forestry concerns among the poor all go on to deal with forestry resources in their final PRSPs (although Tanzania to a notably lesser extent than the others).

There does, however, seem to be differences between the attitudes towards forestry resources expressed in the PPAs, and the policies dealing with these issues in their Poverty Reduction Strategy. It is therefore worth looking at the various stages after an issue has been identified by a PPA before it is included in the final PRSP.

5.4.1 Different levels of consultation

²⁷ Vietnam - PPA in Lao Cai Province 2003; Uganda – PPA quoted in box on p.81 of the PRSP

Many of the countries conducted PPA at two levels, one directly consulting those affected by poverty, and another to obtain feedback from government ministries, donor agencies, local government, and other relevant decision-makers. In some cases there is a greater emphasis on natural resources, including forestry, at the second level. The drive to include these issues in the poverty reduction strategy appears to be coming from those responsible for designing and implementing the strategy, not its putative beneficiaries. In this way, not all views expressed in the context of the PPA are necessarily shared by the poor communities.

Equally, the editors of the PRSP are under no obligation from the JSA to include *all* the issues raised by the PPA. Given the breadth and detail of information collected, it is only practical to filter and organise the feedback (as in the Honduran PRSP) rather than

collate a comprehensive list of the participants' concerns and use that as a basis for policy (as in the Cameroonian PRSP). It is therefore consistent with the PRS methodology that the findings of the PPAs should not dictate the content of the PRSP.

Honduras PRSP 2001, p.5

"From the beginning, what was important was to identify the broadest possible accord, taking into account above all the national interest. [...] Likewise, the following types of proposals were not taken into consideration:
i) subsidies that do not necessarily benefit the poorest, or that for other reasons result in an inefficient allocation of productive resources, with negative effects on long-term sustainable growth and therefore on poverty reduction;
ii) policies, programs and projects for which both national and international experience has clearly demonstrated their inefficacy and inefficiency as poverty-reduction measures, such as massive subsidized-credit programs, price controls and artificial stimuli; and
iii) programs and projects specific to local areas. However, these latter will be considered within the framework of regional strategies."

5.4.2 Restrictions of PPA itself

The very nature of participatory consultation also limits its scope. Firstly, consumptive use of forest resources (especially bushmeat, and sometimes other NTFPs) is often taboo or illegal. This could well prevent participants from talking freely about their dependency on these. Secondly, the results from different regions and communities are bound to be different, and often contradictory. Thirdly, the selection of the participants may exclude the most remote communities, which are often those most dependent on forest resources, including bushmeat. And finally, there are concerns about the discourse of the data collection methodology, which may discourage the poor from listing secondary or non-monetary income, and predispose them towards prioritising growth opportunities rather than vulnerability mitigation²⁸.

5.4.3 Difference in motivation

The details of Ghana's consultation reveals that, even at the local level, availability of forestry resources (including bushmeat) is not an explicit factor of poverty for the rural poor. Equally, the breakdown of the feedback from the participation in Zambia reveals extensive and detailed requests from all regions on topics such as agriculture, but very little (and only from three regions) on the subject of the environment²⁹. It is therefore perhaps surprising that forest resources receive as much attention as they do; despite the apparent lack of interest from Zambia's rural poor, the country's PRSP describes the launch of 12 programmes working on the environment and poverty. Of these, nine explicitly deal with optimising sustainable extraction of forest and wildlife resources by poor communities³⁰. In Cameroon there are several forestry measures in the PRSP, despite a lack of explicit concerns voiced through the PPA. Honduras is perhaps the most striking example, where despite very little mention of forestry from the poor (at least through their PPA), the PRSP includes forestry management policies with extensive discussion of best practice.

²⁸ Brocklesby & Hinshelwood 2001

²⁹ Zambia PRSP 2002, pp 144 and 147, "Summary of provincial consultations on interventions for poverty reduction"

³⁰ Zambia PRSP 2002, p 117 ff., "Programmes on the Poverty/Environment linkages"

The question then arises of where the additional concern for forestry comes from. It appears that treatment of these issues is inserted on the initiative of national-level institutions and NGOs. The Tanzanian PRSP explicitly describes how the national workshop, following a consultative meeting with international donors “concurred with the orientation of the draft and also noted [i.e. *added*] specific concerns, such as unemployment, child labour and environment”³¹. The possible motivations for this input include a commitment to the Millennium Development Goals, a better overview of the causal relationships between degradation of forestry resources and poverty, and/or an awareness of the sensitivities of the international community. A closer examination of these underlying factors is beyond the scope of this report.

6. EVOLUTION OF THINKING ON FORESTRY ISSUES IN PRSPs.

This report builds on the report *Forests in Poverty Reduction Strategies: Capturing the Potential*, edited by Oksanen, Pajari and Tuomasjukka (2003). In particular, we have followed the methodology for the assessment of PRSPs that was used in the chapter *Forests in Poverty Reduction Strategies - An Assessment of PRSP Processes in Sub-Saharan Africa* by Oksanen and Mersmann.

Unfortunately, given the short time since the earlier study, it has not been possible to trace the evolution of forestry issues within PRSPs themselves, as the cycle of revision of these documents has not led to any significant, new editions. However, it is useful to consider the conclusions from the executive summary of Oksanen and Mersmann’s paper to determine which of the questions raised by these authors have been addressed by the current research, and which remain outstanding.

6.1 The role of PRSPs

The EFI paper stresses the importance of the PRSP process in simplifying and harmonising assistance programmes, with the aim of meeting the Millennium Development Goals regarding poverty reduction³². However, whilst most donors have indeed “strongly endorsed the PRSP process”, it is not so clear that “many donors have also agreed in principle to [...] concentrate assistance only in priority areas identified in PRSPs”³³, as asserted by Oksanen and Mersmann. In fact, it is extremely difficult to track the precise effect of ‘PRSP-inclusion’ on ODA allocation. This is principally because although the PRS process does include an element of budgeting, it is not a mechanism for receiving or tracking donor assistance. This is partly due to the nature of the PRS process itself. Firstly, there is no obligation to include indicators with any policy recommendation. As observed by Oksanen and Mersmann (and corroborated by our own analysis), suggestions relating to natural resources contain noticeably few concrete outcome objectives, compared to the social or more obviously productive sectors. This might cause donors to prefer to support more ‘accountable’ programmes, with more quantitative, explicit objectives. Secondly, in spite of the underlying principle, there is in fact nothing in the PRS process to *enforce* the alignment of ODA with the content of the PRSP; the process simply requires *completion and correct methodology* of the PRSP³⁴ to allow the *continued flow* of ODA (and accreditation / maintenance of HIPC status).

The benefits of inclusion in the PRSP therefore, cannot really be determined from the allocation of ODA. However, the Medium-Term Expenditure Frameworks (MTEF) are a more concrete indication of which government policies are going to be implemented, including timelines, budgets and indicators. In cases such as Uganda and Tanzania, there is a close

³¹ Tanzania PRSP 2003, p.5, Box 2, “Consultative steps in preparing the PRSP”

³² Oksanen and Mersmann, 2003

³³ *ibid*, p.122

³⁴ World Bank, n.d. *Guidelines for JSAs*

correlation between the PRSP contents and the policies that are included in the MTEFs³⁵. However, other countries such as Ghana do not have such a close link between the PRSP and a MTEF-type process. The presence of a functioning follow-up mechanism such as an MTEF is necessary if programmes are to benefit from being included in a PRSP³⁶.

6.2 PRSP focus and evolution

The EFI proceedings state “The PRS process and the PRSPs have initially had a strong focus on the traditional social sectors at the expense of a broader analysis of poverty and how to reduce it. Productive sectors such as the forest sector, natural resource sectors in general, and cross-cutting issues such as environment have received relatively little attention in these processes.”³⁷ This research also found that the earlier PRSPs have a considerable focus on public service provision. Some attention is given to the productive industries, but this is limited, possibly due to the fact that poverty reduction in the forest sector is more complex, and the rate of return on investment less certain³⁸. There is however an evolution within the PRSP process. It has been observed that second-generation PRSPs treat the productive sectors more extensively than first-generation ones³⁹. As urgent problems of social service provision are solved, governments may then find it easier to allocate resources to improving the conditions for industry and agriculture in the country.

Once the conventional productive sectors are effectively included in the PRSPs, natural resource management might then in turn receive more attention in future iterations of national PRSPs. Two things make this likely: firstly, the contribution that this sector can make to productive industry and poverty reduction should become more apparent. Secondly, if public services and basic industrial production reach more satisfactory levels, then the non-monetary benefits of sustainable natural resource management may become a more important component of welfare (and therefore poverty reduction) in the PRS. In this respect, we draw the same conclusion as Oksanen and Mersmann regarding the public-sector focus of early PRSPs, but see a possible positive trend for the future. PRSPs are already evolving to include the productive sectors, and this progression should allow for greater consideration of the sustainable management of natural resources as their contribution to poverty reduction becomes clearer.

6.3 Cross-linking with other sectors

The EFI report found that forestry resources are widely considered within sectors such as “agriculture, rural development, natural resources and environment, or cross-cutting issues as environment”. They found that there were few “linkages with sectoral policy and planning processes dealing with forests and forestry”⁴⁰. This report on the whole agrees that natural resources receive most attention in the context of productive sectors. Forestry management is important to the timber industry in the Western African countries, to the agricultural sector in South-East Asia, and others. The direct benefits of forests to the poor outside of these productive industries is discussed in the context of indigenous minorities (Honduras, Vietnam), but these are seldom quantified and are not associated with quantitative outcome indicators (Vietnam’s 5-Million ha reforestation program is an exception in this respect)⁴¹.

There is also considerable discussion on the relationship between poverty, environmental degradation and environmental vulnerability, although this tends to focus more on water quality and damage to agricultural land. The economic activity of bushmeat barely receives

³⁵ David Booth, personal communication

³⁶ See also Independent Evaluation Office of the IMF, 2004 for an evaluation of PRSP effectiveness

³⁷ Oksanen and Mersmann, 2003, p.122

³⁸ see Foster et al., 2001, for an exploration of this in relation to agriculture and SWAps

³⁹ see the JSA progress report on the second Tanzania PRSP, 2004

⁴⁰ Oksanen and Mersmann, 2003, p. 123

⁴¹ See also IDA and IMF 2002 for further analysis of cross-cutting linkages

any discussion as a productive sector. With the exception of Bolivia, the PRSPs tend to take a more conservationist approach, searching for ways to prevent or reduce wildlife consumption (through ranching, eco-tourism, hunting restrictions), rather than encourage its sustainable management.

On the whole we agree with the Oksanen and Mersmann report, that forestry concerns in the PRSPs are often linked with sectors such as agriculture or rural development, and seldom with sector policy or planning processes. This may reflect the fact that forests contribute to poverty reduction most *visibly* through these productive activities (timber, agriculture etc).

6.4 Joint Staff Assessments

The EFI proceedings mention that “the joint staff assessments of the World Bank and IMF do not comment on forest sector related issues, and make little reference to natural resources in general”. We would add that it is not the remit of the JSA to comment on the content at this level, as “a positive assessment does not necessarily indicate that the staff agree with all of the analysis, targets, or public actions set forth in the PRSP or consider that the PRSP represents the best possible strategy for the country.”⁴² Having said that, the guidelines also state “*comprehensive diagnosis, a long-term perspective, and results-orientation* are important.” This could legitimate proactive suggestions in the area of natural resource management. Indeed, we found that some of the JSAs on more recent PRSPs do emphasise natural resources in general, even if the coverage of forestry specifically is somewhat thin:

- The Tanzanian JSA (assessing Tanzania’s second PRSP) draws attention to environmental vulnerability and links to poverty, in a paragraph as lengthy and detailed as those dealing with other sectors.
- Equally, the Ghana JSA praises reforestation efforts, but criticizes ongoing logging rates, and the threat to savannah ecosystems, and the consequent risks to human welfare in those areas.

We agree with the EFI findings that, on the whole, the JSAs do not seem to be “pushing” for a greater inclusion of forestry-specific considerations in PRSPs. However, we would firstly argue that they are not mandated to determine PRSP objectives. Secondly, we have observed JSAs making use of their mandate to include specific comments on natural resources, including forests. The issue of wildlife consumption however is absent from the JSAs, although we do not find this surprising considering the brevity and focus of these documents.

6.5 Role of forests in poverty reduction

The EFI assessment raises a number of issues for further consideration, including

- “the implications of the lack of analysis of the role of natural resources, including forests, as determinants of human well-being in the poverty assessment as currently carried out in the PRS processes”
- “the need for the forest sector to assume a more pro-active stance in relation to the PRS processes to ensure that forest issues are taken on board in the broader PRSP programmatic and cross-cutting components”

⁴² World Bank, n.d. JSA guidelines

- “the need for the forest sector to maintain robust policy and planning processes based on a rigorous analysis on the forest (natural resource) dependencies of the poor in order to be able to make its case in the PRS processes”
- “the sustainability implications of the lack of forest and natural resource related indicators in the PRSP monitoring frameworks, and the consequential omission of these sectors from monitoring reports”

Although this research has not uncovered all the *implications* of this lack of analysis, pro-activity and indicators, it has suggested some of the *causes*. One such is the reticence of the poor to cite forestry as one of their main concerns, as shown by a lack of citations within the PPAs reviewed. Another may be the conflict between donor sensibilities and short-term economic growth requirements, which the PRSP editors are aware of, and which make it difficult to consider natural resources an asset for economic use in the context of a PRS.

We agree with the EFI report that this needs more work, specifically on integrating the non-monetary indicators of the welfare contributed by forestry resources. Equally, more attention should be paid to the safety-net value of these resources, rather than their limited and problematic growth potential. Finally, there is a legitimate way of including areas that are not raised directly by the PPAs. The PRSPs are designed to help developing countries integrate global and long-term concerns into their resource management. In particular, MDG no. 7 stipulates sustainable environmental management. Some element of ODA could be explicitly linked to the fulfilment of this requirement, thereby providing recipient countries with a short-term economic return on their long-term environmental investments. These all need to be explored as ways of resolving this apparent conflict of interest.

6.6 Disconnect with national forest programmes

National forest policy development, planning and implementation now has a globally adopted framework, the national forest programme (nfp), which is applicable to all countries and all types of forest. The nfp framework is based on the understanding that there are common elements which should be part of any national programme that aims to achieve the conservation and sustainable use of forests. In the same way as the PRSP, it is as a country-driven policy and planning tool, which is also responsive to multilateral environmental, economic and trade agreements.

Nfps are also intended to be used to improve donor co-ordination and attract developmental assistance, thereby increasing the effectiveness of national funding. Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAs) represent one area of potential synergy through which development assistance can be channelled in support of the policy framework established by a nfp.

An important link that has still to be fully understood is that between forestry and poverty reduction. This could be enhanced by ensuring PRSP and nfp processes communicate with one another. However, this research has shown that much remains to be done to turn development rhetoric into national experience in this regard, and concurs with the findings of the EFI report on this. Few PRSP documents make any mention of national forest programmes. Yet, nfps have the potential to link with the wider national process of poverty reduction if they can help to address the underlying causes of deforestation, forest degradation and illegal forestry practices.

7. CONCLUSIONS

An important consequence of the low coverage of all forestry resources in PRSPs is that these issues are unlikely to appear high on the national political agenda, which is much influenced by the poverty reduction debate at present. As a result, not only is there little

incentive for coordination across government – an aspect much needed when dealing with natural resources – but also limited financial support can be expected to be forthcoming from national budgets or international donors. This will tend to maintain, or worsen, the existing funding crisis for conservation.

Forest management receives more attention than bushmeat issues, and also benefits from a more outcome-based approach. However, the role of forestry in poverty reduction consists largely of its contribution to economic growth. The potential of sustainable forest management for alleviating poverty among extremely poor rural communities is recognized by some PRSPs (Bolivia, Vietnam), but not by many.

However, a number of obstacles remain. Lack of clarity over sustainable best practice is a major issue. In addition, the growth potential of extraction of timber or bushmeat from sustainably managed natural forests appears limited. Given the growth emphasis of the PRSPs, it is unlikely that initiatives based on *sustainable levels* of off-take would gain much prominence in a PRSP. Even if such potential were identified for some forests, there remains the stigma of using wildlife (and some tropical wood species) as a productive asset in the eyes of the international conservation community. These factors combined would make for a lot of work in order to increase the coverage of the issue in PRSPs.

Furthermore, nominal inclusion in PRSPs is no guarantee of successful implementation of forest conservation measures. This relies on the presence and nature of the indicators, the underlying institutional capacity, and the follow-up mechanisms (MTEF etc). The question remains therefore, whether the case of sustainable forest management would be best served by working towards greater legitimacy within poverty reduction strategies, or by increasing efforts through other national and local conservation programmes.

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ANNEX I A – FORESTRY AS CONSTRAINT OR ASSET

Summary of the contexts in which forestry was mentioned (numbers correspond to the extracts in the following table)

Country	Document	Constraint		Asset		Forestry resources considered...												
		Constraint	Process or outcome?	Asset	Process or outcome?	...independently	Quotations	...together with bushmeat	Quotations	...as part of rural development / poverty	Quotations	...as part of agriculture and/or fisheries	Quotations	...as part of manufacturing/production and export resources	Quotations	... for tourism potential	Quotations	
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	-	-
	PRSP 2003	No	-	Yes	1 Both	Yes	1 No	-	No	-	No	-	-	Yes	-	-	-	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	2 Both	Yes	3 No	-	No	-	-	-	-	Yes	4	Yes	5	No
	PRSP 2003	Yes	6 Both	Yes	7 Both	Yes	7 Yes	Yes	6 Yes	Yes	8 No	-	Yes	7	Yes	6	Yes	6
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	9 Outcome	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	Yes	10	Yes	11	No
	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	12 Process	Yes	13 Both	Yes	13 No	-	Yes	14 No	-	-	-	Yes	13	Yes	-	-
Democratic Republic of Congo	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	15 Neither	Yes	16 Neither	No	-	Yes	15 Yes	16 No	-	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	17 Outcome	Yes	18 Both	Yes	18 Yes	Yes	19 No	-	No	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
Ghana	PRSP 2003	Yes	20 Process	Yes	21 both	Yes	22 Yes	Yes	23 Yes	23 No	-	-	-	Yes	24	No	-	-
	CAS 2002	No	-	Yes	25 Process	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	Yes	26	Yes	27	No
Nigeria	NEEDS 2004	Yes	28 Neither	Yes	29 Neither	Yes	28 No	-	Yes	28 No	-	-	-	Yes	28	No	-	-
	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
Sierra Leone	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
	PRSP 2002	Yes	31 Outcome	Yes	32 Process	No	-	No	-	Yes	33 Yes	Yes	33	Yes	33	Yes	33	Yes
Zambia	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
	PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	35 Both	No	-	No	-	No	-	-	-	Yes	35	Yes	35	Yes
Tanzania	Draft PRSP 2004	No	-	Yes	38 Process	Yes	38 No	-	No	-	-	-	-	Yes	39	No	-	-
	PRSP 2000	Yes	38 Process	Yes	40 Process	Yes	41 No	-	Yes	42 No	-	-	-	No	-	No	-	-
Uganda	PRSP APR 2003	No	-	Yes	40 Process	Yes	41 No	-	Yes	43 No	-	-	-	Yes	43	No	-	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	Yes	46 Yes	Yes	46	Yes	47	Yes	48	Yes
Bolivia	PRSP 2001	Yes	44 Both	Yes	45 Both	Yes	45 Yes	Yes	46 Yes	47 Yes	Yes	48	Yes	49	No	-	-	-
	I-PRSP 2003	No	-	Yes	50 Neither	Yes	51 No	-	No	-	-	-	-	Yes	50	No	-	-
Indonesia	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	Yes	51 Both	Yes	53 Yes	Yes	52 Yes	53 Yes	Yes	54	Yes	55	No	-	-	-
	PRSP 2003	Yes	52 Both	Yes	53 Both	Yes	56 No	-	Yes	58 No	-	-	-	Yes	59	No	-	-
Vietnam	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	56 Process	Yes	60 Both	Yes	61 No	-	Yes	62 Yes	Yes	63	Yes	64	Yes	65	Yes	65
	PRSP 2001	No	-	Yes	66 Process	Yes	67 No	-	Yes	67 Yes	Yes	68	Yes	69	Yes	70	Yes	70
Honduras	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	66 Both	Yes	69 Process	Yes	70 No	-	Yes	70 Yes	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71
	PRSP 2001	Yes	69 Both	Yes	69 Process	Yes	70 No	-	Yes	70 Yes	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71
Nicaragua	I-PRSP 2000	Yes	66 Both	Yes	66 Process	Yes	67 No	-	Yes	67 Yes	Yes	68	Yes	68	Yes	68	Yes	68
	PRSP 2001	Yes	69 Both	Yes	69 Process	Yes	70 No	-	Yes	70 Yes	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71	Yes	71

Extracts of the contexts in which forestry was mentioned

1	points 88 to 90 : "fundamental role in the ecological balance" "forest resources [...] also provide an important source of food and income" 100,000 ha destroyed every year by unsustainable practices, formalisation and participation required, "Government has set up, with support from the World Bank, a program for management of Forests and Adjacent lands (programme de gestion des forêts et territoires riverains, PGFTR)"
2	74. In 1997/2000, an economic and tax audit of the forest sector was conducted, and an independent observer was appointed to the commission responsible for awarding forest commissions
3	1.3 - transparency in public affairs - "In the forestry sector, based on the results of the economic and financial audit of the sector, the government has taken steps to ensure: (i) rational and sustainable use of forest resources; (ii) protection of biodiversity; (iii) improvement of the sector's contribution to government revenues. To achieve these objectives, efforts have been made to: (i) define the criteria for granting concessions for forestry operations in such a way as to limit waste; (ii) define the criteria and procedures for selecting applicants for such concessions; (iii) set up a system to oversee revenues from forestry operations, including a manual of procedures. An administrative order was issued by the Minister of the Environment and Forests to ensure that an independent observer participates in the workings of the national commission responsible for awarding concessions for forestry operations."
4	"p. 104 [...] This approach focuses on three essential factors: (i) diversification and processing of agricultural, livestock and forestry exports;"
5	111. Sectors that further propel employment are the construction materials manufacturing industry, agro-foodstuffs production, the timber industry, and water and electricity production
6	34. Natural Resources Development and Protection Program, especially targeting Cameroon's fauna. "In 2001, under the first phase of the program, the GOC created a network of 6,650,000 hectares of protected areas for fauna covering about 14 percent of the national territory. The protected areas comprise 10 national parks, 6 fauna reserves, 1 fauna sanctuary, 3 zoological gardens, 35 protected hunting areas, and 10 community-managed protected hunting areas."
7	"33. ...And despite a rapid pace of exploitation in the recent past, Cameroon's forests still cover more than 22 million hectares, making it the second largest producer of forestry products in Africa behind the DRC and the first exporter of wood products from Africa."
8	"36. Another major objective of the forestry reform program is to enhance forest-based income opportunities for village communities, and thus improve the livelihood of the rural population living in the forest zones. In this context, the government plans to grant interested local communities priority rights to designated "community forests" and to remit quote-part of collected forestry tax revenues to local communities."
9	p 17 "Despite difficulties in implementing certain structural measures, significant progress has been made in the first year of the program. For 2001, the objective is a growth rate of about 5 percent, mainly owing to vigorous growth in forestry, construction, and industry."
10	"3.1.3.2 In the areas of subsistence agriculture, livestock, water, and hunting and fishing, the policy directions will be based on the agriculture master plan (1999–2006) and will focus on the establishment of an efficient institutional and economic environment, as well as regional or sector support programs to ensure coverage of national needs and food self-sufficiency."
11	"3.1.3.2 Direct action in favour of economic growth. The promotion of the productive sector will continue as part of the economic deregulation and a greater mobilization of foreign and domestic private investment. In this context, investment priorities will be such as to create the economic and social infrastructure needed to ensure the viability of the production sectors. Export subsectors—timber, diamond, coffee, and cotton—will receive particular support in view of jobs created and foreign exchange resources generated."
12	Land tenure security is a problem, and a conflict area in forested areas where people are trying to expand agriculture in areas restricted by forest preservation. The implementation of the Rural Land Use Code (1998) is very important.

13	<p>Forest as productive sub-sector; " II.4.1.1.2. Forest subsector</p> <p>In the framework of the implementation of the guiding forestry plan 1988-2015, a forestry sectoral project (PS11) was formulated and executed in 1996. At the end of this project, an assessment allowed the authorities to evaluate the forestry sector and to adopt a new framework for forest policy. This policy based on the conservation of the assets of Ivoirien forests' biodiversity and on the restoration of potential for production, based upon the following objectives and strategies.</p> <p>Objectives:</p> <p>These objectives are: (i) ensure the ownership transfer of natural trees to the local rural population as far as the management of the wood resources in rural areas; (ii) guarantee the participation of wood industrialists in the supply of the wood transformation units, by private investment in rural areas well as in listed forests; (iii) ensure the management of farming occupation in listed forests by centralizing the planning operations at best conserved spaces in the listed forests; (iv) enhance the value of the environmental potential; (v) ensure the organization of the forestry sector, in particular the management of protected areas and listed forests, the coordination and the continued attention to forestry policy.</p> <p>Strategies</p> <p>The strategic approach adopted by the government for a period of 14 years is focused on a forestry management framework program (PCGF), which consists of four phases: (i) the urgent phase of one year during which a certain number of prior actions were taken (the interministerial steering committee of coordination and the technical cell) and others were under way; (ii) the ten-year phase subdivided into two periods of five years during which projects of the PCGF were adopted; (iii) the three-year phase of the coordination of the consolidation of the PCGF's gains. The organizational audit of the forestry sector will propose a new institutional and regulatory framework and will define the reforms and human financial resources necessary for the implementation of this plan."</p>
14	<p>"I.1.2. Causes of poverty</p> <p>I.1.2.1. Economic, institutional, and governance-related causes</p> <p>The economic causes of poverty are both domestic and external:</p> <p>Domestic causes</p> <p>There are many causes linked to: [... 13 other detailed reasons...]</p> <p>- Destruction of forestry resources, and extensive cropping methods that lead to soil degradation."</p>
15	<p>"42. With their basic needs for food, energy, and other resources increasingly unmet, the Congolese are putting their natural ecosystems under ever more intense and devastating pressure. The situation is particularly dire in the eastern part of the country where the influx of 2 million refugees from Rwanda and Burundi in 1994, in the wake of the crisis in those two countries, led to deforestation and the destruction of fauna in the wildlife parks. "</p>
16	<p>Intro 1. "At least 60 percent of the population inhabit rural areas and survive on traditional farming, hunting, and fishing."</p>
17	<p>"65. 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Forestry Development Master Plan (1996-2020) includes [...] (ii) prevent further environmental degradation due to forest depletion and inappropriate farming practices"</p>
18	<p>"66. The passage of the Forestry Commission Act, 1999 (Act 571) paves the way for the reestablishment of the Forestry Commission as a corporate entity under which existing forest and wildlife implementing agencies have been incorporated. The Government has also outlined its plans to embark on a project that will encourage private investment in commercial forest plantations and, to this end, approval has been given for the creation of a Forest Plantation Development Fund."</p>
19	<p>"65. 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Forestry Development Master Plan (1996-2020) includes (i) ensure a sustained and adequate supply of forest and wildlife products"</p>
20	<p>Although the PRSP does advocate EIA for all new projects, and claims that the long-term objective is "to prevent all forms of environmental degradation", much more specific and detailed recommendations are made for sustainable exploitation of the resources than for their conservation.</p>
21	<p>Continued reliance on forest resources must be based on best-practice management to achieve low volume and high value production</p>

22	<p>“ 6.2.4 Environmental And Natural Resource Management The country’s forest cover had been reduced from 8.2 million hectares at the beginning of the 20th Century to 1.7 million hectares in the 21st Century. Continued reliance on forest resources must be based on proper management to achieve low volume and high value production. The government’s on-going strategy to address the challenges in natural resource management are largely embodied in the National Environmental Action Plan (1990-2000), the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy, the Forestry Development Master Plan (1996-2000), the 1999 National Land Policy, the Science and Technology Policy (2000), and the Action Plan for Science and Technology Management. The Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana aims at conservation and sustainable development of the nation’s forest and wildlife resources for maintenance of environmentally quality and perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society.”</p>
23	<p>“The Natural Resource Management Programme. This programme is to protect, rehabilitate and sustainably manage the national land, forest and wildlife resources through collaborative management and aimed at increasing the incomes of rural communities who own these resources. “</p>
24	<p>4.5.4 " A replanting programme must be developed and fully implemented in the lumber industry to ensure regeneration of forestry resources, an important source of foreign exchange earnings."</p>
25	<p>14. "...deforestation, affecting 50 million people, with an estimated loss of forest resources of US\$570 million annually. In aggregate, the annual costs of these and other sources of environmental degradation were estimated to be on the order of US\$6.9 billion in current prices, or 20% of GDP. While little new data is available, the situation has more than likely worsened since 1990."</p>
26	<p>CAS 2002 "36. A preliminary review of Nigeria's agriculture sector has identified the following major challenges to improving agricultural production: [...] * Low productivity because of inherently difficult natural conditions for agriculture in some areas, exacerbated by increasing deforestation and unsustainable land use practices and because of the high costs of transferring technology from other areas of the world; “</p>
27	<p>CAS 2002 “14. Analytic work carried out in 1990 noted that land degradation is the most serious environmental problem facing Nigeria. Three aspects of the problem were identified: soil degradation, affecting 50 million people with an annual cost estimate in excess of US\$3 billion, water contamination, affecting 40 million people and estimated to cost more than US\$1 billion dollars to correct, and deforestation, affecting 50 million people, with an estimated loss of forest resources of US\$570 million annually. In aggregate, the annual costs of these and other sources of environmental degradation were estimated to be on the order of US\$6.9 billion in current prices, or 20% of GDP. While little new data is available, the situation has more than likely worsened since 1990.”</p>
28	<p>Box 1.1 " However, rapid deforestation has reduced Nigeria's forest by 50 percent in the last 15 years, and the potential for their future exploitation is extremely limited. "</p>
29	<p>"Over 90% of the rural population depends on the forest for livelihood and domestic energy”</p>
30	<p>p. 89 - importance of coordinating forest conservation with mining industry</p>
31	<p>p14 "For the majority of poor Zambians depending on wood fuel, the objective is to develop more efficient wood energy utilisation in order to reduce demand on the forests, which provide this type of fuel."</p>
32	<p>p14 "Regarding industry, the strategy focuses on choosing winners or industries that have the best chances of export success after considering comparative advantage and existing trade agreements. These are likely to be processors of primary goods, such as agricultural and forest products. It is planned that some of the agricultural goods suggested for production above should have value added before being exported. Another area is manufactured items required by the mining industry. While exports increase the domestic market for local goods, unfair trade practices from abroad and smuggling reduce the opportunities for local industries. During this PRSP, efforts to have an even playing field will be intensified. Capacity building to this effect will be undertaken.</p>
	<p>[...]</p>

	<p>12.2.1 Energy Resource Base, Supply and Demand</p> <p>Except for petroleum, which is wholly imported, Zambia is richly endowed with a range of indigenous energy sources particularly woodlands and forests for wood fuel, hydropower, coal, and new and renewable sources of energy. Woodland and forests cover about 66 percent of the total land area with the growing stock being equivalent to 4.3 million tonnes of wood that provides about 70 percent of the nation's energy needs. The hydropower resource potential is estimated at 6,000 MW although the installed capacity is only 1,715.5 MW, which contributes about 14 percent to total energy use. Hydroelectric plants represent 92 percent of installed capacity and account for 99 percent of electricity production. The major plants are Kafue Gorge (900 MW), Kariba North Bank (600 MW) and Victoria Falls (108 MW). Important international connections include two 330 kV lines to Zimbabwe and a 220 kV line connecting the Copperbelt to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The major electricity users are the mines, which consume up to 68 percent of total load, industry and commerce 4 percent, households 19 percent, agriculture and forestry 2 percent while the remaining 7 percent is taken up by government services.</p> <p>[..]</p> <p>12.3.6 Promoting Efficient Production and Utilisation of Wood Fuel</p> <p>Activities under this programme have so far involved studies of the various aspects of the charcoal industry, starting with the resource base (forests), charcoal production, transportation, marketing, and distribution of charcoal. The aim is to minimise the use of wood fuel because of its adverse effects on the environment. When fully operational, the programme will result in annual wood savings of about 10 percent of total wood consumption, which is equivalent to 400,000 tonnes per annum. Projects under this programme include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Efficient production and use of charcoal: Zambia has produced a charcoal production manual that can assist rural communities increase their production efficiency in earth kiln. In addition, efforts to improve end-use efficiency through adoption of an appropriate improved stove will continue. • Substitution of charcoal in urban households with millennium gel-fuel: The government is considering the introduction of the use of millennium gel fuel in urban households. The millennium gel fuel currently on trial use in Zimbabwe and soon to be introduced in Malawi provides an opportunity for replacing charcoal use in urban households. The gel fuel will either be imported from Zimbabwe/Malawi or produced in Zambia at Nakambala Sugar Estate (where molasses for production of ethanol already exist). Efforts will also be made to look at other alternative fuels that can replace charcoal in households. Other fuels such as Liquid Petroleum Gas (LPG) will be used to undertake the necessary studies first before determining the way forward. Much of the future growth in the energy sector will depend on the energy requirements of other sectors. Zambia offers a great opportunity for investors in that its principal energy resource base is composed of renewable sources. The programmes that have been identified in this chapter will be monitored through the Department of Energy, which already collaborates with other institutions in the various energy sub-sectors."
33	<p>p50 "Regarding economic empowerment, it is recognised that many parts of rural Zambia are well endowed with resources like land, water, wildlife, and forests – often better endowed than some urban areas. They remained underdeveloped because they have lacked quality investments to exploit the resources. Where there have been investments such as the Kariba and Kafue hydroelectric schemes in Southern Province there has been negligible social and economic linkages within their vicinity."</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>p117 "In rural areas, the poor are heavily dependent upon natural resources (forests, land, water, animals, etc). Attacking poverty in rural areas is, therefore, necessarily a matter of improving poor people's ability to derive livelihoods from more productively and sustainable natural resources."</p>
34	<p>p60 "The current tourism policy framework has three key elements. Firstly, the emphasis is private sector-driven development. The private sector will take the lead in the development of tourism initiatives and the implementation of investment plans with the assistance of the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources and the Zambia Investment Centre. Secondly, the sector encourages environmentally sustainable growth. The development of the sector will be undertaken in a manner which protects natural resources to ensure long-term sustainability of key tourist attractions (e.g., wild life, forests, water falls) that are required to attract tourists to Zambia. Lastly, the government's policy in the tourism sector is to create an enabling environment for private sector</p>

	participation; provide adequate infrastructure and legislation for the growth of the sector; and encourage balanced community involvement aimed at poverty reduction in rural areas."
35	4.3.4 Quantitative targets for reducing rural/agricultural poverty. "Strategies for achieving this goal include improving rural productivity and profitability in agriculture including farming, livestock, fishing, forestry, bee-keeping through improved access to inputs and modern technology, improved support services with particular focus on research and extension and increasing areas under irrigation and mechanized agriculture. " NB nothing more specific on forestry
36	4.4.3 "Poor people rely heavily on natural resources (land, forests and water) and are most vulnerable to external shocks and environmental risks, including drought and floods. Over-exploitation of natural resources leads to increased environmental degradation that affects the livelihoods of the poor. The government aims to reduce vulnerability to environmental risk through interventions aimed at checking soil erosion and deforestation, reducing environmental pollution and development of mitigation measures against flooding and drought."
37	Annex II - "Increase growth in environmentally and community based tourism"
38	Sustainable resource use will be promoted by raising awareness, including the encouragement of communal initiatives to protect common property resources. Forestry needs to be promoted by a mixture of public protection and investment in private forests.
39	Agriculture, fisheries and forests all grouped together for budgeting purposes.
40	3.3.1 Forestry made an explicit asset for the poor, particularly threatened by overexploitation and other environmentally degrading factors.
41	p. 82 "[...] The Government in 2001 put in place a National Forestry Policy that sets out the vision and guiding principles for the forest sector development. The framework for implementation is the National Forestry Plan (nfp) approved by cabinet in 2002. Divestment of the Forest Department and creation of a new National Forestry Authority (NFA) is one of the key policy directions under the plan to improve efficiency in management of Central Forest Reserves. "
42	p. 8 environment important because a) Ugandan dependence on agriculture and b) "Moreover, many of the rural population, and particularly the rural poor, are dependent on natural resources such as forests and natural water sources for their basic level of daily subsistence"
43	"D. Reducing the Vulnerability of the Poor 81. Changes in macroeconomic conditions, external shocks, deterioration of the terms of trade, natural environmental factors, the legal framework, and the administration of justice all affect the few assets owned by the poor in both rural and urban areas. The following actions aim at reducing that vulnerability:"
44	"516. In terms of strengthening the institutional framework of the government, support will be provided for the operations of the Consultative Wildlife Council, which has the role of recommending directives for the sustainable management of some species, in the context of the indefinite general close season currently in effect. Scientific-technical development centers will be strengthened in the managements, regulations, guidelines and procedure manuals for the conservation and Resources Conservation System will be completed. There will be standards, regulations, guidelines and procedure manuals for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, while inter-institutional agreements signed with the police and armed forces will allow for control and protection of wildlife resources."
45	"(iv) Promoting sustainable utilization of forest resources 517. Sustainable utilization of forest resources will be promoted by integrating forests, industry and the market through strategic alliances, shared risk corporations and subsidiary contracts among all stakeholders, concessionaire companies, private owners, social groupings in municipal forestry reserve areas, indigenous territories and Native Community Territories (Tierras Comunitarias de Origen—TCOs). 518. Free access will be promoted for the entire population to woods and forests for management and utilization with a view to creating new opportunities to improve their incomes. In particular, an effort will be made to bring within the national forestry framework those producers who are yet engaging in extractive activities without complying with the corresponding regulations (payment of concession patent, sustainable forest management, and other considerations). In this sense, the introduction of non-timber forest activities (gathering of brasilian nuts and palm cultivation) within the forest system will be supported, and the establishment of Local Social Associations (Asociaciones Sociales Locales – ASLs) in municipal forest reserve areas will be promoted. 519. Together, both aspects represent an expansion of approximately 4 million hectares in the country's surface area dedicated to forestry under the forestry system (two-thirds of the surface area currently under the forestry system). As a result of the formalization of these activities, the populations involved, which are frequently the most impoverished, will have a direct positive impact on the income levels they receive."

46	Forest Management System covers bushmeat as well as forestry
47	<p>"518. Free access will be promoted for the entire population to woods and forests for management and utilization with a view to creating new opportunities to improve their incomes. In particular, an effort will be made to bring within the national forestry framework those producers who are yet engaging in extractive activities without complying with the corresponding regulations (payment of concession patent, sustainable forest management, and other considerations). In this sense, the introduction of non-timber forest activities (gathering of Brazilian nuts and palm cultivation) within the forest system will be supported, and the establishment of Local Social Associations (Asociaciones Sociales Locales – ASLs) in municipal forest reserve areas will be promoted."</p>
48	<p>"307. The BPRS will support implementing the new Bolivian Agricultural Technology System (SIBTA) by stressing the need to make efficient use of the national and international resources devoted to technological development of the agricultural, agro-forest, and industrial sector. Most of these funds will be coordinated within SIBTA. The Foundations for the Development of Agricultural Technology [Fundaciones para el Desarrollo de la Tecnología Agropecuaria—FDTAs] that are responsible for meeting demand from producers and supporting research centers in the transfer and adoption of technologies will be strengthened."</p>
49	<p>"511 [...] Preliminary studies indicate that within a period of approximately 15 years the contribution of biodiversity could come to represent an increase of about 10 percent in GDP, if activities are developed in ethnic and ecotourism, mitigation of climate change and biodiversity services relating to biotechnology, ecological products, and others"</p>
50	<p>"1.1 Indonesia possesses abundant natural resources while its geographic position is a foundation of high potential in economic. The climates in Indonesia allow continuously use of the land all year long which also produces woods and mineral sources as well. Despite all the advantages Indonesia gives in natural [re]sources, however, they are not able to contribute much for the welfare of most of Indonesian people."</p>
51	<p>p.4 "Other approved programs include: Program on Socio-economic Development in Especially Disadvantaged Communes in Mountainous, Isolated and Remote Areas (Decision No. 135/1998/QD-TTg); National Target Program on Employment (Decree 120/CP); and the Program 327 (later known as Project on 5 Million Ha Reforestation)." This appears in the context of hunger eradication and poverty reduction</p>
52	<p>"7.2. Constantly improve the quality of the environment and use natural resources in an appropriate way. Pay attention to biodiversity in poor regions, sandy, arid, and marsh areas, ensuring the availability of renewable resources for production by people, especially by the poor. [...] Implement projects on environmental recovery and protection, protect watershed forests, build national parks and protected forest areas, construct national gardens, plant trees, preserve and protect bio-diversity. Develop and improve the quality of animal-botanic garden research centers and national parks in order to maintain and preserve precious and rare genetic sources."</p>
53	<p>p73. "1.2. [...] Ensure that key annual targets are achieved including new afforestation of approximately 300 thousand hectare with protected and special-use forests making up approximately 150 thousand hectare; forest protection for total area of about 2 million hectare, of which forest regeneration combined with new planting makes up approximately 500 thousand hectare; and caring for planted forest with total area of approximately 500 hectare."</p> <p>P73. "1.2. Vigorously develop forestry, turning it into a profitable business that helps to create jobs and raise incomes for people in mountainous areas. Provide adequate incentives to people who plant forests and promote the role of the community in the protection and natural regeneration of forests. Continue the implementation of the 5 million-hectare forestry program; speed up the process of allocation of land and forest, especially in important, environmentally sensitive areas. Ensure that key annual targets are achieved including new afforestation of approximately 300 thousand hectare with protected and special-use forests making up approximately 150 thousand hectare; forest protection for total area of about 2 million hectare, of which forest regeneration combined with new planting makes up approximately 500 thousand hectare; and caring for planted forest with total area of approximately 500 hectare. Allocate land and forest together with implementing fixed cultivation and settlement, and stabilize the livelihood of people in mountainous areas. Encourage fixed cultivation and settlement and voluntary resettlement. Provide financial support to reallocate people from vulnerable and disaster-prone areas (flash flood, land erosion etc.) towards safer areas. Ensure that people living in mountainous areas, especially poor households, can directly manage and protect their forests and are provided with appropriate incentives that link their benefits and responsibilities with the forest. Continue to review, revise and amend policies on investment in forest development including adjusting norms and unit price in forest protection and care. Provide interest free or low interest loans for afforestation, adequately invest in infrastructures in forest areas (roads to transport materials, storage facilities, etc.), develop forest processing industry to increase the</p>

54	<p>value received from forestry and create forestry-related income generating opportunities."</p> <p>"The Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy formulated by the Government of Vietnam is composed of six parts: [...] Part IV: Major Policies and Measures for the Development of Sectors and Industries to Ensure Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Growth</p> <p>Agriculture and rural development: ensure food security; diversify agricultural production; attach importance to market research and ensure timely provision of information; increase investments in agriculture; link the production of high value crops to developing storage and processing facilities; promote research and efficient use of natural resources; expand agricultural, forestry, fishery activities and extension activities in a manner that is suitable to production conditions in different areas and is responsive to the demand of poor people; develop fisheries and diversify aquaculture; develop a disaster prevention strategy to minimize losses and stabilize livelihoods and production in disaster-prone areas.</p> <p>Industry and urban development:</p> <p>develop our comparative advantages in labour-intensive industries and industries that utilize domestically produced agricultural, fishery and forestry raw materials. Push up the development of the agricultural engineering sector to take advantage of the large domestic market and the markets in neighboring countries. Develop mechanisms to encourage spearhead and labour-intensive industries. Formulate policies to deal with the problems of urban poverty, provide legal support, create jobs, provide credit, develop basic infrastructure, improve the urban environment and landscape, strengthen vocational training and resolve effectively the problem of urban migration, etc."</p>
55	<p>"Investment for development "for forestry, to complete the New Five Million Hectare Forestry Project, developing economic forests, creating raw material zones combined with the construction of paper, powdered paper, plywood manufactures, requires VND 10 – 13 thousand billion;"</p>
56	<p>Section 6 on rural development acknowledges importance to rural poor of environmental degradation, and how the practices they are forced into are now sustainable. Policy actions include:</p> <p>"d) National Forestry Program</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For protection and conservation of forest resources, US\$68.9 million is being invested, with particular emphasis in the departments of El Paraíso, Olancho, Copán, Santa Bárbara, and Islas de la Bahía."
57	<p>V POVERTY GROWTH AND MACROECONOMIC FRAMEWORK</p> <p>B. MACROECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND ADJUSTMENT MEASURES ADOPTED IN THE 1990S -</p> <p>2. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES -</p> <p>b) Price Liberalization - [.]</p> <p>"In the forestry sector, the Law on the Modernization and Development of the Agricultural Sector (LMDSA, 1992) attempted to stimulate production and improve its efficiency and sustainability, through plans for sustainable management and a system of auctions to sell timber on state lands, thus eliminating the high subsidies previously granted to purchasers of this timber. However, the system of auctions has not functioned properly, and the sector is not creating the production and employment that was anticipated.</p>
58	<p>Intro "There is also a close link between poverty and ecological degradation. Thus, the degraded coniferous forest areas in the southern and western parts of Honduras are also the country's poorest regions, where the rural population resorts to unsustainable practices, which in turn lead to further deterioration of their natural means of subsistence."</p> <p>Section 6 Rural development - acknowledges importance to rural poor of environmental degradation, and how the practices they are forced into are now sustainable. Policy actions include: "d) National Forestry Program</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For protection and conservation of forest resources, US\$68.9 million is being invested, with particular emphasis in the departments of El Paraíso, Olancho, Copán, Santa Bárbara, and Islas de la Bahía."

59	<p>V STRATEGY B STRATEGIC GUIDELINES 3 RAPID AND SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH</p> <p>"c) One essential element in achieving the rapid economic growth which the Strategy seeks involves implementation of the recommendations derived from the Agenda for Competitiveness and Sustainable Development for the Twenty-First Century, approved by the presidents of Central America. Specifically, joint actions with the private sector will be sought in order to promote key activities such as: tourism, agricultural businesses with a high value-added component, forest products, and maquiladoras."</p>
60	<p>P45 "The country has a sustainable forest-production capacity much higher than current production."</p>
61	<p>"v. Promote the development of the forest cluster including actions to: § Approve a unified Forestry Law that defines conditions for forest resource management and use with efficiency, sustainability, equity and participation; § Establish technical-assistance and credit programs for primary-forest activities and their links to secondary-forest activities; and § Develop a system of "green seals" for forest management."</p>
62	<p>P 46, deforestation attributed to change in soil use, firewood consumption (linked to utility and employment), degradation and forest fires. Evidence and exploration of interconnected factors. Also "b) Population in Forests and Protected Areas As noted above, there is a strong coincidence between areas of greater deforestation or degradation of forest soil and water, and municipalities with greater and more persistent poverty. This can be seen especially in the southern and western regions, which have the greater differences between urban and rural income. However, other departments (Comayagua, El Paraíso, Olancho and Yoro) with good forest coverage, also have low human development indices (HDIs). This is related to the fact that most of the population of these departments, better endowed with forests than the former group, does not work in, or have access to the commercial use of forest resources or to other productive resources that would allow them to improve their income.</p> <p>In the case of departments that have lost most of their forest cover or have only a few, degraded forests, the rural population consists of small hillside producers with marginal and unproductive production systems. Training and extension to introduce agro-forestry and forest-pasture systems and energy plantations, especially in the south of Francisco Morazán, Choluteca and Valle, will be fundamental to improving their productivity and income. In these cases, high priority must also be given land titling and access to credit. There are successful cases, where the introduction of these programs has led to rapid and impressive development of micro and small support companies, such as family and/or communal nurseries. These successful cases have almost always been associated with credits conditioned to the introduction of trees on the farm. It is obvious that in departments such as Comayagua, El Paraíso, Yoro and Olancho, which have many national and communal forests and at the same time show low human development indices, no effort has been made to promotion to incorporate communities in investment activities with the purpose to protect and sustainably manage the public forests in a way that enhances their economic, social and environmental value in medium and long-term. There is also a need to develop activities within national forests, beneficial in themselves that will increase their protection and future value, as well as strengthen the participatory capacity of local stakeholders (groups, communities, local governments and personnel from the State Forest Administration) for the decentralized implementation of forest management and protection, as well as an equitable distribution of benefits."</p>
63	<p>p24 "Nevertheless, Honduras is in a better situation than other countries in the region regarding other key elements of competitiveness, with advantages such as a better strategic position in relation to the most important markets; an extraordinary ecological diversity; and a substantial agricultural and forestry potential. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the country has a considerably lower cost of shipping to the United States market than the rest of the Central American countries, with the exception of Costa Rica, due fundamentally to a shorter distance and to its competitive port infrastructure."</p>
64	<p>"c) Programs and Projects [...] ii. Technical assistance for development of the forestry sector. The objectives are to support the development of commercial forest plantations; enlarge the primary-forest industry; expand and develop the secondary-forest industry; and establish a program to attract foreign investment to the forestry sector."</p>

65	<p>p. 60 ff "§ Establish co-management arrangements or concessions to local organizations for managing activities such as eco-tourism, research on biodiversity and its potential, and forestry and agro-forestry projects in buffer zones."</p>
66	<p>6th of 9 intermediate targets: "91. Target 6: Implementation of a strategy for sustainable ecological development by the year 2005. Due to natural disasters, an inadequate regulatory framework, and an irrational exploitation of natural resources, environmental deterioration and deforestation have set in on a large scale in Nicaragua. At present, deforestation runs at a rate of 100,000 hectares per year."</p>
67	<p>"139. Notwithstanding the reduction in areas under natural forests and the ecological deterioration stemming from human encroachment and natural phenomena, Nicaragua still has substantial natural resource potential for improving living standards and attacking poverty. Actions to reduce ecological vulnerability, however, will be adopted and undertaken without delay. These actions entail the establishment of better policies, institutional changes and specific projects and programs to protect natural resources and the environment."</p> <p>"159. But legislation or plans are only the beginning. In many cases those ministries and agencies that administer them must be institutionally strengthened and their staff better-trained. Three examples --in forestry, the judiciary, and social protection-- underline the challenge. In forestry, the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry (MAGFOR) will work closely with the new environmental ministry, MARENA, to undertake reforestation programs, promote sustainable forestry practices, encourage the creation of indigenous forestry firms and practices, approve and monitor the operations of commercial firms, and develop special programs for specific areas -for ecotourism, for wetlands on the Atlantic, and for drier areas in the north. To do all these operations well will require years of training, external support, and adjustments."</p>
68	<p>"105. The LSMS results show expanded nonagricultural employment in rural areas will also be vital to reduce poverty. The generation of employment and income by small businesses -- particularly in towns close to urban areas-- is thus another lynchpin in the strategy to broaden the benefits of economic growth. Accordingly, in recent years the Ministry of Development, Industry and Trade (MIFIC) and the National Institute for Small and Medium Enterprises (INPYME) have jointly developed a strategy to foster small businesses' competitiveness, employment, and exports. The government will also implement an agreement of the Central American presidents' agenda for competitiveness. Supported by the business community, it will promote growth in four strategic clusters identified for their high growth potential: tourism, coffee, textiles manufacturing, and forestry products. Three of these will have a major impact on rural economic activity."</p>
69	<p>8th of 14 intermediate targets: "94. Target 8: Implementation of a strategy for sustainable environmental development by the year 2005. Due to natural disasters, an inadequate regulatory framework, and an irrational exploitation of natural resources, environmental deterioration and deforestation have set in on a large scale in Nicaragua. At present, deforestation runs at a rate of 100,000 hectares per year."</p>
70	<p>189. But legislation and plans are only the beginning. In many cases those ministries and agencies that administer them must be institutionally strengthened and their staff better-trained. Two examples, forestry and social protection, underline the challenge. In forestry, the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry (MAGFOR) must work closely with the new environmental ministry, MARENA, to undertake reforestation programs, promote sustainable forestry practices, encourage the creation of indigenous forestry firms and practices, approve and monitor the operations of commercial firms, and develop special programs for specific areas -- for ecotourism, for wetlands on the Atlantic, and for drier areas in the north. To manage all these operations effectively will require years of training, external support, and adjustments. New legal and institutional frameworks must be complemented by stronger social protection systems. The decentralization process, key to a responsive safety net, is complex and will take time to take effect. Management information systems, institution-building, and projects directed to this end, will remain a near-term governmental priority for this pillar.</p>
71	<p>"109. The LSMS results show expanded non-agricultural employment in rural areas will also be vital to reduce poverty. The generation of employment and income by small businesses, particularly in towns close to urban areas, is thus another lynchpin in the strategy to broaden the benefits of economic growth. Accordingly, in recent years the Ministry of Development, Industry and Trade (MIFIC) and the National Institute for Small and Medium Enterprises (INPYME) have jointly developed a strategy to foster small businesses' competitiveness, employment, and exports. The government will also implement the Central American presidents' agreed plan to improve competitiveness. Supported by the business community, it will promote growth in four strategic clusters with high growth potential: tourism, coffee, textiles and clothing, and forestry products. Three of these will have a major impact on rural economic activity."</p>

ANNEX I B – BUSHMEAT AS CONSTRAINT OR ASSET

Summary of the contexts in which bushmeat was mentioned (numbers correspond to the extracts in the following table)

Country	Document	Constraint		Asset		Bushmeat resources considered...											
		Constraint	Process or outcome?	Asset	Process or outcome?	...independently	Quotations	... together with other forestry resources	...as part of rural development	Quotations	...as part of agriculture and/or fisheries	Quotations	... as part of manufacturing and export resources	Quotations	... for tourism potential		
Benin	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2003	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Cameroon	PRSP 2003	Yes	1	Both	-	Yes	1	Yes	2	Yes	3	No	-	No	-	No	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	4	Process	-	No	-	No	-	Yes	4	No	-	No	-
Central African Republic	I-PRSP 2002	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	I-PRSP 2002	Yes	5	Neither	-	Yes	6	Neither	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Democratic Republic of Congo	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	Yes	8	Process	-	Yes	8	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2003	Yes	9	Process	-	Yes	10	Process	-	Yes	11	Yes	10	Yes	12	Yes	13
Nigeria	CAS 2002	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	NEEDS 2004	No	-	Yes	14	Neither	-	No	-	No	-	Yes	14	No	-	No	-
Sierra Leone	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Zambia	PRSP 2002	No	-	Yes	15	Both	-	No	-	No	-	Yes	16	Yes	17	No	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Tanzania	Draft PRSP 2004	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Uganda	PRSP APR 2003	No	-	Yes	19	Both	-	Yes	19	Yes	19	No	-	No	-	No	-
	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Bolivia	PRSP 2001	Yes	20	Both	-	Yes	21	Both	-	Yes	21	No	-	Yes	23	Yes	23
	I-PRSP 2003	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Indonesia	I-PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2003	Yes	24	Both	-	No	-	No	-	Yes	25	No	-	Yes	26	No	-
Honduras	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
Nicaragua	I-PRSP 2000	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-
	PRSP 2001	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-	No	-

Extracts of the contexts in which bushmeat was mentioned

1	213. "The demand for non-traditional stock farming products remains very high in domestic and regional markets. Game ranching would decrease the capture of wild animals, contributing to the conservation of ecosystems" - also point 34 lists protected areas
2	34. Natural Resources Development and Protection Program, especially targeting Cameroon's fauna. "In 2001, under the first phase of the program, the GOC created a network of 6,650,000 hectares of protected areas for fauna covering about 14 percent of the national territory. The protected areas comprise 10 national parks, 6 fauna reserves, 1 fauna sanctuary, 3 zoological gardens, 35 protected hunting areas, and 10 community-managed protected hunting areas."
3	"36. Another major objective of the forestry reform program is to enhance forest-based income opportunities for village communities, and thus improve the livelihood of the rural population living in the forest zones."
4	"3.1.3.2 In the areas of subsistence agriculture, livestock, water, and hunting and fishing, the policy directions will be based on the agriculture master plan (1999–2006) and will focus on the establishment of an efficient institutional and economic environment, as well as regional or sector support programs to ensure coverage of national needs and food self-sufficiency."
5	42. Poverty and displaced immigrants are causing destructive exploitation of fauna and flora
6	Intro 1. "At least 60 percent of the population inhabit rural areas and survive on traditional farming, hunting , and fishing."
7	"42. With their basic needs for food, energy, and other resources increasingly unmet, the Congolese are putting their natural ecosystems under ever more intense and devastating pressure."
8	"65. 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy and the Forestry Development Master Plan (1996-2020) includes (i) ensure a sustained and adequate supply of forest and wildlife products"
9	"6.2.4.1 [...] Mining and timber firms and other industries with potential to damage the environment must pay environmental taxes, which should be used to task NGOs working in collaboration with District Assemblies and the environmental protection agencies"
10	"6.2.4 Among others, successful implementation of this programme, being emphasised by the GPRS are [...] [a ten-year program] including "- Enhanced community involvement in the management of forest and wildlife and savannah woodland resources and improve benefit flows to communities from resource sales" and "- Improved management of wildlife while increasing their contribution to local livelihoods and economic development."
11	"6.2.4 [...] The Forest and Wildlife Policy of Ghana aims at conservation and sustainable development of the nation's forest and wildlife resources for maintenance of environmentally quality and perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society."
12	p. 84 - MoFA efforts to integrate appropriate technology include "Collaboration between the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) and the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines, (MLFM)" - also 6.1.9 "In addressing issues of increased agricultural production, the conservation and sustained use of biodiversity of plants, animals and microbes shall be encouraged"
13	"6.2.5.1 Increasing the Production and Exports of Non-Traditional Exports [...] e) Development of Private NTE Exports [...] Exporters of non-traditional commodities in the field of wildlife shall be encouraged to practice captive ranching of animals intended for export. "
14	P 94 "Over 90% of the rural population depends on the forest for livelihood and domestic energy"
15	14.4.2 "The Administration and Management Design (ADMADe) programme for wildlife management in Game Management Areas (GMAs) seeks to build capacity for community-based natural resource management by, among other things, decentralised decision-making and wildlife revenue sharing"
16	"14.4.1 The NEAP identified five problems as imposing the greatest social costs on the Zambian people, namely, water pollution and inadequate sanitation; soil degradation; air pollution especially on the Copperbelt; wildlife depletion (fish and game); and deforestation. The greatest costs, both environmental and social, of these problems are borne by the poor who have less capacity to adapt to environmental changes, which are basically consequences of development."

17	14.4.2 "The Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) Programme provides for the involvement of local communities in the management of their natural resources such as forests, wildlife, fisheries, water, and arable land"
18	7.2.1 "The Wildlife Act envisages improving the quality of life in the communities living in GMAs through Community Resource Boards that are registered with ZAWA and permitted to access the revenues from licenses issued and hunting concessions granted by ZAWA. Apart from the revenues that are ploughed back, the communities also derive benefits from employment as scouts and also working in the safaris."
19	p90 "v) Wildlife Wildlife protected areas occupy 14% of total land area in Uganda. Wildlife provides food and opportunities for investment by the rural people through tourism-based enterprises. Wildlife population in Uganda have been on the decline in most national parks (except the Queen Elizabeth protected area), wildlife reserves and controlled hunting areas due to poaching and hunting. Over the past decade, the wildlife policies have been reviewed to accommodate the community access to certain resources within the protected areas. The 1995 Wildlife Policy provides for sharing of revenue accrued from tourism between the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the districts, and permits collaborative management of wildlife resources with communities. The UWA statute (1996) provides for Wildlife User Rights (game farming, game ranching and sport hunting among others). However the following challenges affecting access remain: over-dependence of local communities on protected area resources; problem animals and vermin that cause damage to crops and people's investments; weak capacity to effectively manage the Wildlife User rights program, collaborative management arrangements and revenue sharing scheme with Districts and poor infrastructure and management of tourism as a source of revenue."
20	"516. There will be standards, regulations, guidelines and procedure manuals for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife."
21	"224. Environmental management is a policy [...] to develop mechanisms and instruments for appropriate management of biodiversity, and to promote the sustainable and equitable use of forest resources."
22	"516. In terms of strengthening the institutional framework of the government, support will be provided for the operations of the Consultative Wildlife Council, which has the role of recommending directives for the sustainable management of some species, in the context of the indefinite general close season currently in effect."
23	"307. The BPRS will support implementing the new Bolivian Agricultural Technology System (SIBTA) by stressing the need to make efficient use of the national and international resources devoted to technological development of the agricultural, agro-forest, and industrial sector."
24	"7.2 Implement projects on environmental recovery and protection, protect watershed forests, build national parks and protected forest areas, construct national gardens, plant trees, preserve and protect bio-diversity. Develop and improve the quality of animal-botanic garden research centers and national parks in order to maintain and preserve precious and rare genetic sources."
25	p.20 "15. [...] Natural resources have not been exploited effectively, economically, and sustainably. There is a trend decline in the quality of the environment. The area of natural forests continues to decline; in certain areas, mineral resources are exploited in haphazard fashion; in other areas, land is eroded and degraded. Bio-diversity on land and sea is gradually declining."
26	P 73 1.2 "Allocate land and forest together with implementing fixed cultivation and settlement, and stabilize the livelihood of people in mountainous areas. Encourage fixed cultivation and settlement and voluntary resettlement. Provide financial support to reallocate people from vulnerable and disaster-prone areas (flash flood, land erosion etc.) towards safer areas. Ensure that people living in mountainous areas, especially poor households, can directly manage and protect their forests and are provided with appropriate incentives that link their benefits and responsibilities with the forest."
27	P60" § Establish co-management arrangements or concessions to local organizations for managing activities such as eco-tourism, research on biodiversity and its potential, and forestry and agro-forestry projects in buffer zones."

ANNEX II – PARTICIPATION MECHANISMS

The following table illustrates sample participation mechanisms mentioned in the PRSPs, with a brief comment of the elements that relate to forestry resources. This is not an exhaustive list of consultations in the countries represented

Country	Document	Participation initiative	When/why established			Function			Aspects of poverty		Comments	
			Prior to PRSP	Set up expressly for PRS contribution	Subsequent to PRSP (planned)	Participatory assessment	Participatory policy-making	Participatory administration	Treats bushmeat issues	Treats forestry issues		
Benin	PRSP 2003	Local consultation for PRSP Central consultation for PRSP Programme National de Gestion de l'Environnement programme de gestion des forêts et territoires riverains, PGFTR Projet de gestion des ressources naturelles, PGRN programme d'aménagement participatif, PAP Acceleration of devolution	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Many suggested areas/causes of poverty, natural resources not included. No response on forestry or bushmeat from this process Consults with government departments. Only addressed "acceleration of economic growth, the reform of water and electricity sectors, and government reform" (p.7) Talks of cost of environmental degradation, nothing specifically on forests. Emphasis on production and employment potential as well as "ecosystem quality of life" PGFTR builds on PGRN. Works through Direction des forêts et des ressources naturelles. Some participation proscribed, not emphasised though. Forest concerns mentioned, but not bushmeat Implies that bushmeat or forestry could be addressed if required, but no explicit provisions for this.
			Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	
			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	
			No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
			Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	
			No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	
			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	

Country	Document	Participation initiative	When/why established			Function			Aspects of poverty		Comments
			Prior to PRSP	Set up expressly for PRS contribution	Subsequent to PRSP (planned)	Participatory assessment	Participatory policy-making	Participatory administration	Treats bushmeat issues	Treats forestry issues	
		Various experimental small-scale community participation experiments	Yes	No	yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Experiment stage for all these projects - mixed success. See point 208 in PRSP.
		Social Change Observatory	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Designed to assess success of PRS implementation
Cameroon	PRSP 2003	Participatory Assessment of Poverty in Cameroon	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	The forestry issues were added during the workshop between national bodies and international consultants (still technically part of the PPA), not during the consultations with the poor.
Ghana	PRSP 2003	Preparation of the GPRS	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Five themes: macro-economy, productivity and employment, human resource development and basic services, vulnerability and exclusion, governance. Nothing explicitly on forest resources, although vulnerability and resource access could be interpreted as covering this in the relevant communities.
Nigeria	CAS 2002	CDF consultations in Nigeria	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Dominant feeling of mistrust in government initiatives. Residents of the Delta invoked the "legitimate" constitution, under which each region retains 50% of their revenue base. The impression was that the discovery of oil had undermined this agreement. No mention of forestry.
		"Nigeria, consultations with the poor" (1999, with WB & DFID)	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	The primary causes of poverty were expressed as lack of education and employment opportunities, and poor access to justice. The consequent breakdown of the social fabric was seen as a vicious circle. No mention of natural resources.

Country	Document	Participation initiative	When/why established			Function			Aspects of poverty		Comments
			Prior to PRSP	Set up expressly for PRS contribution	Subsequent to PRSP (planned)	Participatory assessment	Participatory policy-making	Participatory administration	Treats bushmeat issues	Treats forestry issues	
		Community Empowerment & Social Inclusion	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Emphasis is on building community capacity and participatory mechanisms. Nothing on forestry, but this is intended as a process and does not pretend to assess local outcome priorities.
Zambia	PRSP 2002	Provincial consultations on interventions for poverty reduction	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	The area of agriculture receives extensive and concrete requests from all 9 regions. General environmental suggestions are only present in 3 regions, and only 2 of those mention forests (Southern: "Establish afforestation programme" and Western: "Establish forestry commission").
Tanzania	PRSP 2003	Zonal Workshops in preparation for PRSP	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No explicit mention of forestry, although one area of concern was to promote "environmentally sensitive exploitation of land and other natural resources "
	PRSP 2003	National (government) workshops in preparation for PRSP	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	These included international 'partners', and identifies issues of youth unemployment, environmental degradation, debt cancellation, child labour, supporting small businesses (incl agricultural), opening to private sector. Many of these themes are absent from the Zonal workshops, including the emphasis on environment. Forestry is referred to but is not the principal focus of the environmental recommendations.
	Draft PRSP 2004	Internal government consultations for PRSP II	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Concerns raised include PRS implementation capacity, donor harmonisation, 'non-priority' PRS sectors, linkages between ministries and programmes (MDGs, PRS, Vision 2025), and horizontal issues (possibly including the environment but not explicitly).
	Draft PRSP 2004	Nationwide stakeholder consultations for PRSP II	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Food security and environmental vulnerability may include bushmeat or forestry management, but this is not made explicit.

Country	Document	Participation initiative	When/why established			Function			Aspects of poverty		Comments
			Prior to PRSP	Set up expressly for PRS contribution	Subsequent to PRSP (planned)	Participatory assessment	Participatory policy-making	Participatory administration	Treats bushmeat issues	Treats forestry issues	
Uganda	PRSP APR 2003	Community Mobilization Strategy PPA2	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Implicitly, communities could invest these resources in bushmeat or forestry management, but this is not made explicit, and seems unlikely in the light of PPA priorities. Main perceived causes of poverty are alcoholism, polygamy and insecurity & displacement. Main solutions to poverty are seen as employment, multiple income sources and land & property access. The latter two could include forest resources (incl bushmeat), but the link is not made explicitly The policy conclusions emphasises environment/poverty link, but this does not seem to come from the participation contributions. Nothing explicitly on forest resources.
			Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	
Bolivia	Second PPA report 2002 PRSP 2001	PPA2 National Dialogue 2000	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	National Dialogue 2000 rests on results of many other small-scale PPAs. Although the environment is occasionally mentioned, as well as property rights and vulnerability in rural populations, nothing explicit on bushmeat or forestry addressed in the conclusions. Both appear in the PRSP though. Most concern for forestry is to preserve agricultural terrain, also some through agro-forestry (Lao Cai province). Most explicit and detailed links between poverty and forest management of the participations examined for this report. Principally "to improve local governance" through transparency, accountability and participation at the local level. Land use planning is an important component, but this is a governance process initiative and so makes no recommendations regarding the type of land use.
			Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	
Vietnam	PRSP 2003	Various PPAs in 2003 Grassroots democracy decree	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	
			Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	

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Honduras	PRSP 2001	Consultation with Civil Society	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Very small mention of forestry in the context of employment generation, and again concerning environmental vulnerability. Explicitly discards some elements of PPA for PRSP, if either too localised, or else not viable for poverty reduction. Five guidelines: Economic growth, poverty alleviation; participation; governance; mitigating environmental vulnerability. The last point could include forestry, but priority seems to be halting soil and water degradation, rather than conserving forestry resources.
			No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	
Nicaragua	PRSP 2001	SGPRS Territorial Consultation Support Project (PROCONSULTA)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Relevant pillars include "Protection for vulnerable population" (population and nutrition strategy) and "environment and vulnerability" (proposed land use and management regulations). Also some of the recommendations regarding indigenous rights over state-owned land probably include forestry resource rights. Point 73. specifically criticises forestry concession allocation practices.