



Small Scale, Large Impacts

Transforming Central and West African Forest Tenure and Industry to Improve Sustainable Development, Growth, and Governance

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ATEMs	Alternative Tenure and Enterprise Models
CAFT	Coopérative Agro Forestière de la Trinationale
CAR	Central African Republic
CED	Center for the Environment and Development, Cameroon
CIB	Congolaise Industrielle des Bois
CIF	Cost, Insurance and Freight
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CIRAD	Center for Rural and Agricultural Development Research
CFA	Central African Franc
CFE	community forest enterprise
COMIFAC	Central African Commission on Forests
DFID	Department for International Development, United Kingdom
DLH	Dalhoff Larsen and Horneman Group
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FLEGT	forest law enforcement, governance, and trade
GDP	gross domestic product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICRAF	World Agroforestry Centre
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
NACO	National Consultancy on Extension Services & Training, The Gambia
NGO	non-governmental organization
NTFP	non-timber forest product
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PRSP	poverty reduction strategy plan
RRI	Rights and Resources Initiative
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SME	small- and medium-scale enterprise
SMFE	small- and medium-scale forest enterprise
SSFE	small-scale forest products enterprises
U.N.	United Nations
U.S.	United States of America
U.K.	United Kingdom
VPA	voluntary partnership agreement

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PREFACE

Africa faces a daunting set of immediate challenges—a high incidence and density of poverty, the continued spread of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, pockets of violent or threatened conflicts, and a number of countries in fragile post-conflict situations. Climate change is already driving shifts in production systems, and socially sound adaptation is made more difficult by the insecurity of land and resource tenure that exists across much of Africa.

After nearly half a century of independence, many African countries are only now starting the transition to postcolonial models of tenure regimes that clarify ownership and access rights to land and other natural resources and enable effective administration.

The challenges for transforming the sector are great. Forested countries in the tropics have high levels of corruption and illegal logging, strong vested interests in the status quo, and relatively weak and politically disempowered local constituencies. Debates about climate change have brought a new global focus on the forests of Central and West Africa, both for the opportunities they offer for carbon capture through incentive-based avoided deforestation and degradation and for issues around adaptation to climate change and biodiversity conservation.

Globally, shifts in the forest economies of other forested countries towards new products and markets call into question much of the conventional wisdom about the relation between forests and economic growth, tenure, and industry. Indeed, the dominant, formally privileged, subsidized, and export-oriented industrial concessions model continues to demonstrate disappointing shortcomings in its ability to deliver expected returns, rural growth, increased jobs and services, and diversified local and regional economies.

In parallel, political economists and development institutions like the World Bank are rethinking the relationship between resource extraction and sustainable and equitable economic growth and development. In many of the resource-rich countries of Central and West Africa, the current model of forest development essentially divides the forest into either protected areas or industrial logging concessions. In doing so it establishes a co-dependency in the political economy, where the rationale for conventional protected areas is to complement and offset the damage of industrial activities and vice versa. This results in a highly unequal situation leaving no real political or economic space for local people to voice or pursue their own land traditions, aspirations, or economic goals. Further, in such analyses, few developing countries whose economies are propelled primarily by non-renewable natural resource extraction and timber exports show positive per-capita growth trends to a more diversified economy.

Development economists learned an important lesson in Latin America in the 1990s, that economic growth must be commensurately higher in countries with high inequality than in those with relatively low inequality (e.g. China) if growth is to lead to significant reductions in poverty. In most developed forested countries, small- and medium-scale forest enterprises (SMFEs) constitute the majority of employers and the largest share of forest-sector activity. Despite the on-going consolidation of big industry and big capital, smallholder forest ownership and small enterprises predominate.

This report presents a body of new evidence on the formal and informal forest industry and market in Central and West Africa. Most importantly, this analysis shows that transitions in both regional and global markets present new and important opportunities for SMFEs. While numerous across Central and West Africa, SMFEs are constrained by regulations, a lack of government recognition and support, and an uneven playing field that advantages large, state-sponsored industry.

Promising opportunities for SMFEs in Central and West Africa include domestic and regional markets, both of which are experiencing increased demand, and in selected export niches for valuable non-timber and processed woods. SMFEs have already contributed substantially to equity, forest conservation, and poverty reduction. Supporting their development and suspending public support for large-scale industrial concessions should be key priorities of governments and civil society across the region.

It is our hope that this report contributes to the transformation of the forest sector in Africa to one that nurtures sustainable development, equitable growth, and democratic governance.

Andy White

Coordinator, Rights and Resources Initiative

1

Introduction

Forests have been claimed by the state and allocated to large industry and protected areas, for most of modern history, with limited concern for the rights or benefits of the people living in and around them. A tenure transition under way in many forested countries in the tropics, which recognizes greater rights for local people, has important implications for the future development of forest industries and forest economies. This transition is just beginning to scale up in Africa. Currently, two-thirds of the forests in Latin America and one-third of the forests in Asia are locally owned or administered—much of it by communities. Massive shifts towards local ownership and management have occurred in both regions over the past three decades, and the trend is continuing because of the sustained demands of communities and local people and the demonstrated positive impacts of such shifts on forest resource governance. In Africa, in contrast, states still claim most forest ownership—less than 2% of forests are officially owned or administered by communities or local people. There has, however, been a significant devolution of forest rights in Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya, and the Sahelian countries.

In Central and West Africa, administrative rights over forest management are increasingly being decentralized to local governments. This is occurring in response to political and social developments such as the greater accountability of central governments brought about by reforms, emerging social movements responding to more liberal policies on political pluralism and freedom

of association, international pressure, and activism from civil-society advocates and conservation lobbies. This expansion of opportunity has spurred new business enterprises in rural fuelwood harvesting, value-added wood processing, and non-timber forest product (NTFP)-based operations, and new relationships between settled and pastoral peoples. Some governments are seeking to strengthen the capacity of local governance systems and to deal with issues such as elite capture, gender and minority imbalance, uneven social capital, multiple vested interests over scarce land and resources, a diversity of land-use and settlement patterns, and changing rural aspirations.

In Central and West Africa, customary use rights over forests, which were weakly supported in the post-independence forest codes, are now being re-examined. Typically, state policies and regulations have favored statutory rights over customary rights, the rights of sedentary populations over transhumant or marginal populations, and the rights of men over women. Forest-tenure reforms have often been partial and contradictory,³ and the state continues to play a strong role in management decisions, imposing complex regulatory frameworks and controlling local actors' access to markets. New experiments with community forest enterprises (CFEs) are under way, however, and there is growing recognition of the web of customary tenure regimes in forests and forest landscapes.² Legal reform is actively continuing in Cameroon, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Regional policymakers are

drawing on growing experience in countries like Tanzania, Niger, Botswana, and Ghana and are taking notice of regional land-tenure policy initiatives (e.g. the African Union Land Policy Initiative). There is growing internal debate on reform models and the appropriate role of the state.³

Transitions in both regional African and global markets also present new and important opportunities for small-scale forest management and enterprises—including for fuelwood and charcoal, NTFPs, and artisanal timber processing. Local populations that are highly dependent on forests for livelihoods and incomes have complex harvesting, production, and marketing networks, many in informal or officially illegal sectors. Regional demographics mean that domestic and regional markets are expanding much more quickly than global demand for high-quality logs and processed lumber. While recovering from the economic downturn, the conventional wood-export sector—long the priority focus of government support—struggles with a backward movement in value-added exports, meaning that African producers cede profits and jobs created further up the value chain to China and its regional suppliers. At the same time, a growing number of concessionaires and investors in Africa are from emerging market economies—China, the Middle East, and South and East Asia—which focus on clients and markets that are less concerned with forest equity or sustainability than the concessionaires they are replacing.⁴

To understand the potential for the transformation of tenure and markets for people and forest economies in Central and West Africa, and the opportunities that such a transformation presents for reaching the Millennium Development Goals, increasing equity, and conserving forests, this report:

- Analyzes existing conventional forest economies in Central and West Africa, summarizing evidence of their contribution to growth, social development, and employment;
- Situates forest economies in the context of recent macroeconomic analyses of extractive economies and growth;

- Examines key tenure and market trends and their implications for potential transformation;
- Examines new evidence on small- and medium-scale forest enterprises (SMFEs), their potential contribution to socio-economic development, and the scope for expansion;
- Examines the relevance of global experience highlighting the role of SMFEs and CFEs in economies and the changing opportunities for enterprise and trade; and
- Reports on the reflections and recommendations emanating from a regional conference held to deliberate on the national and regional implications of a tenure transformation and the potential rise of SMFEs.

This report, from the first phase of an RRI strategic analysis initiative, Alternative Tenure and Enterprise Models (ATEMs), synthesizes the learning from a set of critical analyses to assess the potential scope for alternatives to the conventional industrial concessions model of forest development in Central and West Africa. As part of ATEMs, diverse case studies at very different scales in Central and West Africa—supported by background global analyses and drawing on lessons from outside Africa—were carried out to examine the link between tenure and industry. They found that, given conducive policies and regulations, SFMEs can participate at multiple levels in the value chain, may (in aggregate) generate more revenue and income than industrial concessions, and can tap the changing demand for timber and wood products and NTFPs in domestic, regional, and international markets.

A Central and West Africa regional conference, sponsored by the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and RRI, and hosted by the Government of Cameroon, was held in May 2009 to deliberate on the evidence produced and issues raised by ATEMs and to bring relevant additional knowledge to bear to assess their regional implications. The resulting rich set of regional recommendations by regional stakeholders form part of the conclusions of this report.

2

The Tenure Transition in Central and West Africa

2.1

THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF TENURE IN CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

Africa has strong systems of customary land and forest rights and complex social systems of usage and management rights. Central and West Africa comprise 23 countries, 330 million people, and 1,200 million hectares of forests⁵ and contains close to 50% of Africa's natural forests.⁶ About 90% of the continent's rainforests are located in Central and West Africa, including 80% in Central Africa. DRC alone accounts for 53% of forest cover in the subregion, and it and three others—Central African Republic (CAR), the Republic of the Congo ("the Congo"), and Cameroon—account for 72%.

More than three-quarters of Africa's forest lands are designated, by statute, as state-owned, although in some countries there has been an increase in statutory community ownership (e.g. Tanzania⁷) and formal community management (e.g. Cameroon). In most of Africa, tenure is subject to legal pluralism, where formal law dominates over customary systems and functionally limits the rights of communities to access and own what they consider to be their natural resources. Central and West African countries have been slow to repeal laws and regulations inherited from colonial times and, unlike many other countries in the global South, have only recently begun re-evaluating the extent to which such laws are in the national interest. Moreover, following a historic administrative pattern, government institutions have been

structured in a manner that separates the regulation and management of agricultural land from that of other natural resources, such as timber and minerals.

A transition away from colonial-era forest policies and legal regulations has been long in coming to Central and West Africa, and still only a limited number of countries have made fundamental reforms to forest-tenure regimes. In Africa more generally, forest tenure shifts are taking place through the legitimization and recognition of traditional and customary tenure systems vis-à-vis statutory tenure and through ongoing decentralization processes that support democratic decentralization (or devolution). The nascent forest transition in Central and West Africa includes a rethinking of the role of forest agencies and a potential devolution of their responsibilities for administering forest lands outside the permanent forest estate. It also involves a recognition of customary governance and use rights as well as rights over environmental, social, and economic benefits in forests in the permanent forest estate, including benefits from some already-present agricultural uses.

African forest-tenure reforms are being influenced by a recent set of regional initiatives on land and tenure reform, notably the land policy initiative of the African Union and deliberations in other regional forums (e.g. the Economic Community of

West African States—ECOWAS—and the Central African Commission on Forests—COMIFAC).⁸ The African Union has declared land reform as its first priority, and ECOWAS and COMIFAC have prioritized governance and the diversification of forest management and forest economies within subregional convergence plans.⁹ Tenure reform is on the agenda for a number of reasons, including the increasingly clear link between conflict and land and resource rights; the limited effective organizational and enforcement capacity of forest agencies; and the need to lay a more solid foundation for broad social, economic, and equitable development. In Central Africa, new forest policies and laws in Cameroon, DRC, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, CAR, and the Congo are more respectful of the rights of local communities in forest management, but many are still being formulated and few really improve on colonial-era legislation. Decentralization—both political and administrative—remains a topic of discussion but has yet to be implemented in these countries.

In francophone West Africa, tropical forest lands were influenced by French tenure and forest management regimes that recognize state and private ownership (either individual or corporate) but not customary rights based on a diverse bundle of tenure and rights. In many countries in the Sahel, decentralization processes include the devolution of authority for the management and administration of forests and other renewable natural resources to local government entities and collective customary entities, but are in the early stages of transition towards clear local authority. In Mali, the 2002 Tenure Law recognizes customary institutions and usage rights and grants communities and individuals the right to possess forests, while the 2007 forest policy reaffirmed the government's commitment to promoting community forest management. Niger, which neighbors Mali, has perhaps moved the furthest towards a comprehensive legal arrangement and process for local resource control. In Ghana, land is vested mainly in recognized customary institutions, but valuable natural resources, such as high-value hardwood trees, are under state control.

Tenure and sectoral forest reforms are taking place in a number of African countries in response to a growing movement of communities claiming rights to participate in processes regarding resource use and conservation, but are being hindered by the slow implementation of new laws and codes. Reforms are also taking place to update revenue collection, tariff structures, and fiscal measures in response to initiatives for improved governance (e.g. the European Union's Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade—FLEGT—Action Plan) and new global issues such as climate-change mitigation and adaptation and the global financial crisis.

Since the 1990s, some Central African countries—most notably Cameroon—have restructured their forestry policies to recognize the rights of local communities to resources and to transfer or delegate powers over forest resources and financial benefits accruing from commercial exploitation to local communities. A number of laws and policies have been passed, including: Cameroon's Forestry Legislation (1994); DRC's Forestry Code (2002); the Congo's Forestry Code (2000); (iv) CAR's Forestry Code (2001); Gabon's Forestry Code (2001); and Equatorial Guinea's Forestry Code (2002). However, while these laws and policies foster a sharing of rights, they do not change ownership. Under the legal pluralism operating in most countries, forest law dominates over customary systems, regardless of actual land use or practice.

Unlike the property or tenure ownership rights in English-language systems, which involve two distinct concepts (“ownership” and “property”), French-language systems have only one word (*propriété*) that entails an absolute right of alienation. The English concept of property allows only exclusion rights, as evident in the useful list of English- and French-language equivalents shown in Table 1.³⁰ In the Francophone countries, as the table below indicates, the bundle of rights attached to “*propriété*” is by definition a more complete bundle than in Anglophone systems, where any of a range of the bundle of rights can be included. This encourages the State to define its control over for-

TABLE 1. ENGLISH AND FRENCH TENURE CONCEPTS AND TERMS

English concept	French equivalent concept
Tenure	<i>Tenure (old) or maîtrise (foncière ou fruitière)</i>
Land tenure	<i>Maîtrise foncière</i>
Tenure rights	<i>Droits de tenure (old) or maîtrises foncières et fruitières</i>
Land rights	<i>Droits fonciers</i>
Ownership	<i>Propriété (exclusive et absolue)</i>
Property rights	<i>Droits d'appropriation</i>
Property régimes	<i>Régimes d'appropriation or régime de droits</i>
Common property	<i>Propriété commune</i>
Use rights	<i>Droits d'usage</i>
User rights	<i>Droits des utilisateurs</i>

Source: Roy, Karsenty, and Bertrand, 1996 (as cited in endnote 10).

ests as more absolute, and to be reluctant to cede ownership for fear of lacking a legal mechanism to control forest management. In both Francophone and Anglophone use and user rights exist, but in Anglophone countries, the State is more willing to cede ownership and control management through a separate set of environmental codes or regulations governing use and preventing alienation. Unlike urban and agricultural land tenure, forest land ownership can include a prohibition on either alienation or land-use change—in these eventualities, ownership is usually mandated to return to the state. This process is distinct from concession arrangements with forest industry, where state forests are leased under varying agreements to private-sector actors or parastatal organizations but remain state-owned and administered.

Countries in West Africa have undertaken legal reforms to update legislation based on French

tenure and management regimes that recognize state, private, and community-owned forests. Legal reforms to facilitate natural resource management by communities have been limited and the legal underpinnings for community forestry and tree planting on farms are weak. Forest reforms are further challenged because government institutions are structured in such a way that the regulation and management of agricultural land is treated separately to that of valuable natural resources such as timber and minerals, and the recourse available to smallholder farmers is limited. Given their greater fiscal revenue streams, agencies in charge of mining and energy are generally more powerful than those in charge of forestry, and have in many countries given concession rights to extractive companies that overlap already established forest reserve or concession arrangements.

2.2

IMPLICATIONS OF THE TENURE TRANSITION

The tenure transition contradicts and undermines the dominant economic and conservation models, which are based on the full state ownership and control of forest resources and an

export-led, industrial concessions model. In DRC, Tanzania, CAR, Gabon, Cameroon, and Mozambique, the total area of forest lands under concession is 78.1 million hectares. In contrast, the area of

forest lands formally designated for or owned by communities and indigenous groups is 7.23 million hectares, or less than one-tenth of concession lands. In Cameroon, only forests in the non-permanent forest estate are designated for communities and indigenous groups, even though customary rights persist within the permanent forest estate.¹¹ In Liberia, a community rights law was signed into law in 2009, but it has yet to be implemented. A Liberian land commission was created recently and it has brought nationwide attention to the issue of land tenure, but there is no current definition of what are included in or related to other categories of land rights. In Cameroon, more than 2600 communities have been mapped within the boundaries of existing industrial concessions and protected areas. Many of those communities have extensive and overlapping systems of agriculture and forest resource use and long-standing customary arrangements, but their statutory tenure and rights are ill-defined. Moreover, while Cameroonian communities have recognized usage rights in what is zoned as non-permanent forest land, their choice of enterprise by which they can make use of such rights is often highly restricted by regulation or its discretionary application.

In some countries, the state-run protected-areas model has created an additional barrier to the exercise of local customary rights to the forest and to the evolution of SMFEs through community-based or smallholder forest management. In many current and planned protected areas, customary tenure and rights are unaddressed, a situation that undermines local forest knowledge, livelihoods, and uses. Only rarely is a sustainable model of management or co-management—consistent with international environmental standards—in place. For many local people, parks and industrial concessions are two sides of the same coin; both reduce the area of forest in the community domain, provide highly inadequate financial resources to fund the intended institutional framework, and undermine the potential for forest communities to

adapt their livelihoods and enhance conservation and sustainable development.¹²

A major challenge is the equitable integration of the interests and decision-making authority of women, pastoralists, and other vulnerable or semi-nomadic peoples. State authorities often continue to maintain regulatory influence over decentralized forest management, including community-based initiatives, through management interventions and other mechanisms delivered via forestry departments.

The region is thus undergoing a dynamic tenure transition that is being undermined by many challenges, including a lack of political will, limited government capacity, the poor organization and articulation of supportive social movements, weak infrastructure, and an absence of mechanisms and funding for broad, multi-stakeholder dialogue.

There are opportunities to harmonize decentralized forest management with land law, as has been achieved in Tanzania and Mozambique. To do so requires learning how best to embed forest rights in the context of overall tenure and to legally support community tenure. It also requires an approach to governance that recognizes the diverse interests within communities and the respective roles of state and customary governance structures.

Now, 50 years after the independence of the African states, there are new, historic opportunities for diverse combinations of tenure and rights (such as community ownership, co-management, and state ownership with customary use rights) that make possible new business models. It is in this context that diverse models of small-scale and community-based forest enterprises are evolving. But for these opportunities to be realized, communities must be legally able to negotiate and defend their rights to land and resources—whether recognized statutorily or through systems of legal pluralism—without the state predetermining the structure of the enterprise through a top-heavy system of regulation.

3

The Forest Economy in Central and West Africa

3.1

THE ROLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONCESSIONS SECTOR IN THE REGION

The export-oriented industrial concessions model of forest development has been justified on the grounds that it will optimize the contribution of forests to national economic development, government revenue streams, and the development of rural communities. This model was—and in some cases still is—seen as a solution to the sustainable management of large areas of forests with limited administrative coverage and difficult access (Box 1). The expectation was that establishing a stable and concentrated flow of high-value export timber from forests would support a national processing industry in the private sector that would add value, jobs, and income and thereby help to reduce poverty.³³

Together, Central and West Africa produce approximately 15% of the tropical timber in the global market, but much of it is in the form of unprocessed products. Interestingly, only four countries—Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroon, and Côte d'Ivoire—produced 80% of this amount in 2006, even though they represent only 22% of the region's forest cover.³⁴

Current global trade in tropical timber is worth US\$11 billion per year (US\$8 billion in logs and sawnwood), of which African products make up US\$2.7 billion (including nearly half—US\$1.2 billion—of the log trade value). In 2001, the total accumulated value of exports from Central Africa contributed 15% to gross domestic product (GDP) in the subregion.³⁵ Of producer countries in the three

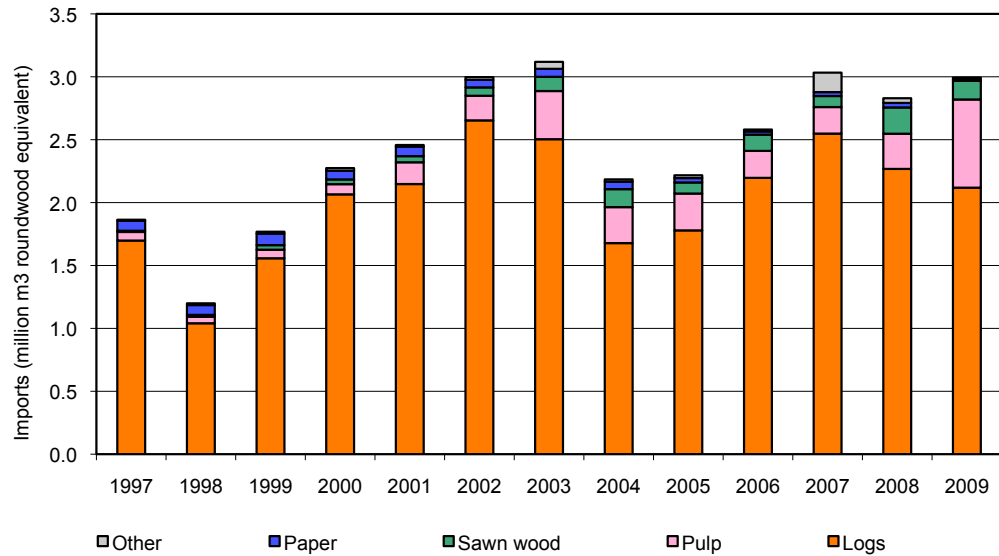
tropical regions, those in Africa continue to export the largest volume of tropical logs compared to processed primary products. In 2008, for example, log exports comprised 20% of Africa's log production and 46% of its total export volume. In Asia, by comparison, log exports made up about 11% of total log production and just over 25% of total primary product export volume.³⁶

Two new trends in Africa are the parallel export of plantation wood from the non-tropical forest producing countries, as evidenced in the table comparing plantation exports from the Republic of Congo with those of South Africa—a significant portion of which go to China, mainly as pulp and wood chips.

There are ten ITTO producer member countries in Africa, but most of the region's high-value-added exports originate in only two of them: 50% of exported plywood is produced in Ghana and most exported veneer is produced in Côte d'Ivoire. Even so, Cameroon is a better performer than Ghana in both product segments on the basis of unit value, selling its veneers and plywood at close to three times Ghana's unit value (probably due to the higher quality of the raw material).

Several important trends in Central and West Africa are affecting the participation of foreign companies and capital in concessions and the size of companies engaged in the export sector.³⁷ One is the increased emphasis on the legality of timber

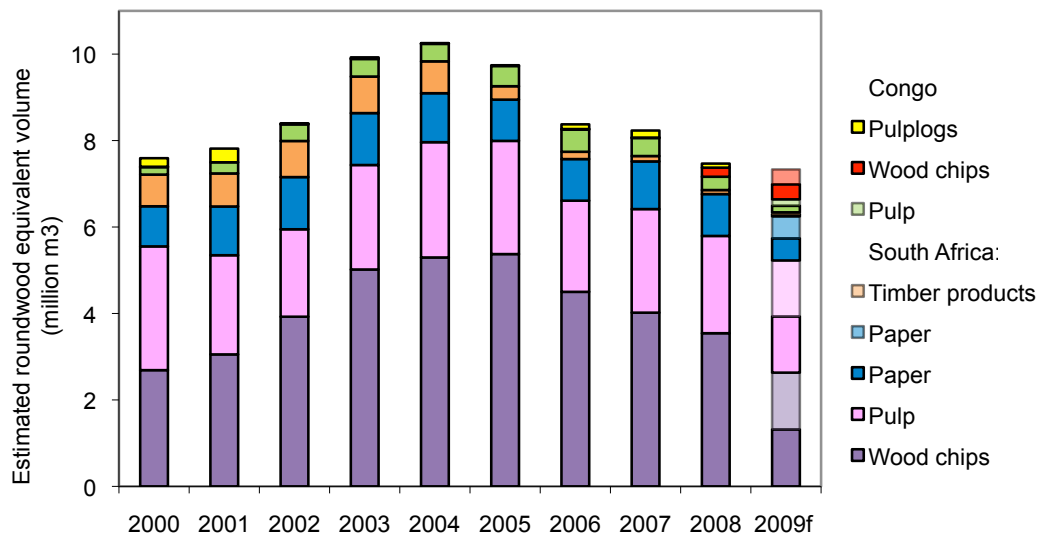
FIGURE 1. CHINA'S FOREST PRODUCT IMPORTS FROM AFRICA, BY VOLUME & TYPE



Source: Canby et al. forthcoming.¹⁸ China Customs Statistical Yearbook, Eurostat, World Trade Atlas, and other data, compiled by James Hewitt.

Note: Exports from African countries to the world. Excludes Madagascar (whose exports were negligible compared to the other three countries during the period shown), and fuel wood and teak from all countries.)

FIGURE 2. CURRENT EXTENT OF PLANTATION-BASED EXPORTS FROM THE TROPICS (E.G., THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO) AND TEMPERATE REGIONS (E.G., SOUTH AFRICA), BY VOLUME & ORIGIN



Source: Hewitt.

exports to both Europe—through the European Union’s FLEGT Action Plan and voluntary partnership agreements (VPAs)—and the United States (U.S.)—given an amendment to the Lacey Act mandating legal wood supply. This emphasis on legality has combined with the reform, by national governments, of concession and revenue policies and the more stringent application of legal contract, management, and accounting requirements. Both trends favor the concentration of capital and the rationalization of company management and outlets (in order to reduce the fixed-costs burden of concession fees). There is a trend, therefore, towards the greater concentration of concession ownership, not less. For example, one of the largest companies operating in Central Africa, Dalhoff Larsen and Horneman Group-Nordisk (DLH), recently took over Congolaise Industrielle des Bois (CIB), the largest concessionaire operating in the Congo.¹⁹

One impact of this trend has been an increase in the concession area certified to international standards in Central and West Africa (from 3 million hectares in 2008 to 5 million hectares in 2010). **Another impact, however, is potentially negative**—the exit of smaller (including nationally owned) companies, since such companies find it difficult and costly to comply with the more stringent requirements or to bribe their way around them. An outcome of the need to reach sufficient scale is the development of new business alliances and a restructuring of the sector driven by export-oriented companies.

There is pressure to increase in-country value-added processing throughout the region in order to generate more jobs and export revenues and to comply with rising European Union and U.S. standards, but this has not been easy to promote given Asia’s growing demand for minimally processed timber. A counter-trend to higher standard setting and the expansion of certification has been the growing number of non-European investors and transnational companies becoming established in the region with a focus on exporting to emerging market economies.

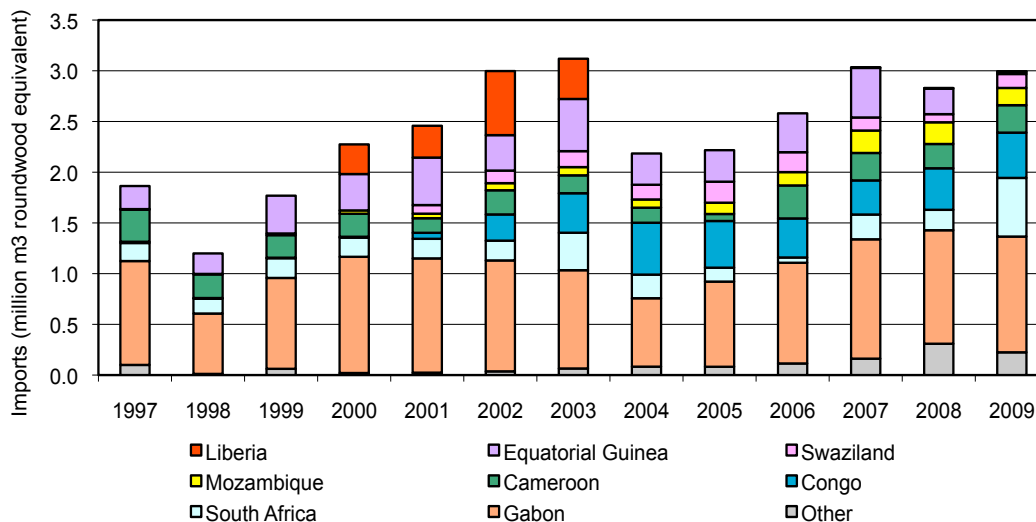
Gabon, for example, recently adopted a policy to stop exporting logs, starting in 2009, but by mid 2010 there were indications that some concessionaires

would sooner leave their concessions than invest in additional sawnwood processing. Industry figures show that, overall, sawnwood processing in Gabonese export operations currently runs at a loss.²⁰

Moreover, given the impact of the 2008 global economic downturn, the sawnwood, plywood, and particleboard segments seem unlikely to expand in the near term. Total wood export demand started to recover in 2009 and African exports are expected to return to pre-downturn levels in 2010, but with little growth in value-addition (Figure 1 and Figure 3 show this for exports to China). Investment in processing capacity in Africa has been flat since a series of European investments at least a decade ago. Many investors have changed business strategies, concentrating harvesting on a subset of their concessions and realigning their overall footprint in the region. In fact, several certified European concessions are currently for sale. CIB’s concession acquired by DLH may again be sold, and has already recently fired 680 out of 1600 employees (and 50% of the foreign staff) DLH has incurred large financial losses and wants to refocus its activity on trading: the other timber companies controlled by DLH in the subregion—Gabonaise Industrielle des Bois and Compagnie Forestière des Abeilles, both in Gabon—are also for sale, with potential buyers hailing from Asian or Middle-Eastern countries where there is limited demand for meeting high social or environmental standards.²¹

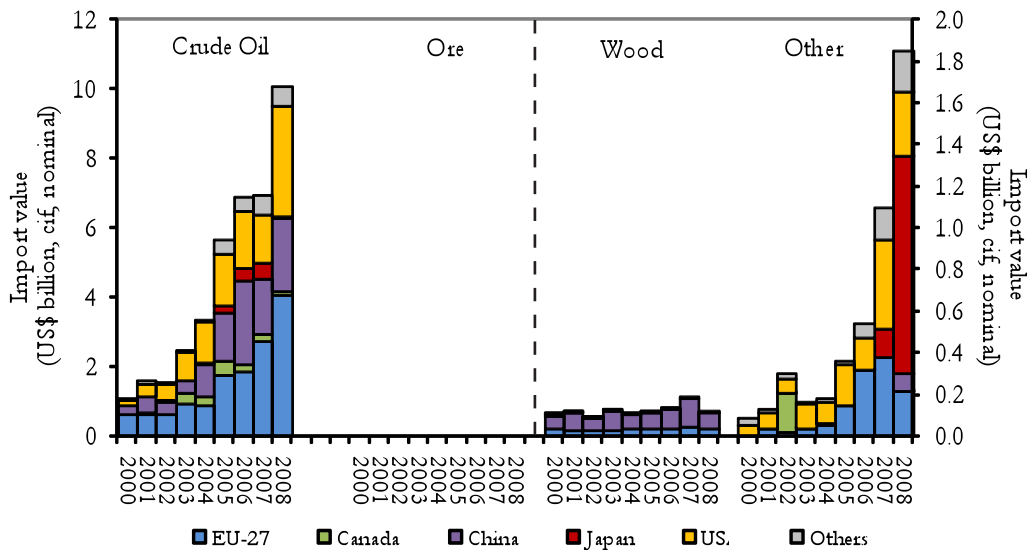
Forest revenues continue to be an important source of income for Central and West African governments, even those with important mining and hydrocarbon revenues. Annual revenue from forest taxes ranges from US\$3.85 million in DRC, where most of the industrial concessions have been cancelled as part of reforms and rezoning, to US\$40 million in Cameroon and up to US\$50 million in Gabon. In terms of the non-oil contribution to GDP, the direct added value provided by the formal forest sector ranges from 3.2% in Cameroon and 6.4% in Gabon to 10% in the Congo. Tax-collection rates are still below potential maximum rates, but they have improved recently in countries such as the Congo and Cameroon. Even with these higher fiscal

FIGURE 3. MAJOR AFRICAN EXPORTERS OF FOREST PRODUCTS TO CHINA, BY VOLUME



Source: Canby et al. forthcoming.²²

FIGURE 4. VALUE OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA'S PRIMARY COMMODITY EXPORTS



Source: China Customs Statistical Yearbook, Eurostat, World Trade Atlas, and other data, compiled by James Hewitt.²³

revenues, however, wood exports in key countries generate only a fraction of the actual and potential fiscal revenues derived from mining and petroleum. In the Congo, for example, revenues from the wood-export sector are only 1% of theoretical oil revenues; thus, they are financially important but

not nearly to the extent of non-renewables.²⁴ The situation is similar in Equatorial Guinea (Figure 4).

Another result of the 2008 global financial crisis, which is explored in more detail below, is an increased interest among national government policymakers in opportunities in the domestic and

BOX 1. A SHORT HISTORY OF CONCESSIONAIRES IN AFRICA

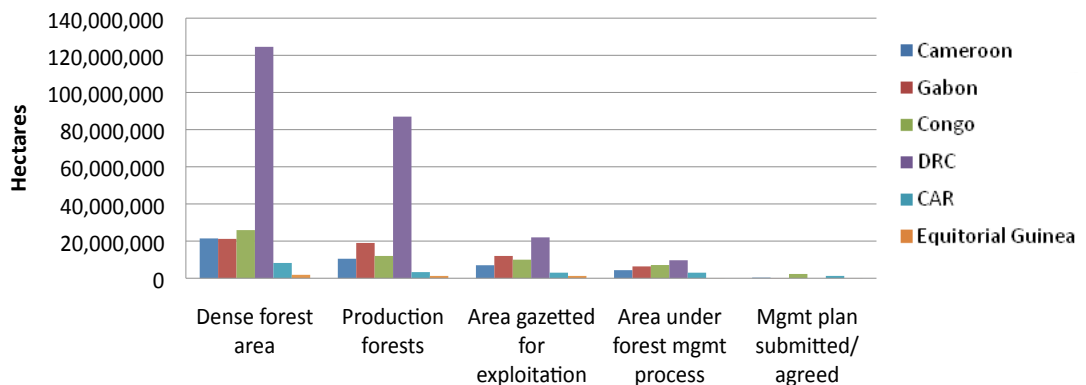
During the colonial era, concessionaires were granted rights to a given (and generally large) area by European governments, for which they received privileges to use natural resources as private assets, enjoy a trade monopoly on the resources they extracted, levy taxes, and implement inequitable labor practices. Following independence, the relationship between private actors and states gradually became more balanced. Over time from the 1980s onwards, concessionaires were requested to bear responsibilities previously borne by governments, such as the management of production forests and the oversight of some parts of territories where forest concessions were prominent. Today, concessionaires have diverse requirements, either technical (e.g. preparing logging or forest management plans following given norms and guidelines, or committing to perform specific tasks), economic (e.g. building a processing unit of a given size or creating and maintaining road networks of local and regional importance), social (e.g. creating jobs in the logging area, the delivery of goods and services to local administrations, authorities, or populations, or the launching of “social” projects for local populations), fiscal (e.g. paying specific fees and taxes in addition to the general fiscal regime of companies and individuals), or environmental (e.g. fighting illegal hunting and poaching inside the concession area).

regional wood industry. In the past, this has been largely separate from the export industry because national prices are too low to attract exporting companies. Historically, therefore, the national and regional markets have not been of key interest to finance or trade ministries, particularly when many actors operate in the informal sector, where they do not pay taxes.²⁵

A significant gap remains in the Congo Basin countries between sustainable forest management standards and practice. A comparison of all the for-

est areas gazetted and allocated for industrial timber concessions in Figure 5 below shows that while there has been significant advance in a number of countries in the region to establish sound forest management plans for the areas allocated to companies, there is still a big gap between management plan requirements and achievements in practice, with only the Central African Republic developing plans for the majority of its concessioned areas thus far.

FIGURE 5. COMPARISON OF FOREST AREAS GAZETTED FOR PRODUCTION AND UNDER MANAGEMENT, CENTRAL AFRICA



Source: Karsenty et al., 2007.

3.2 THE ROLE OF SMFEs IN THE FOREST ECONOMY

While industrial concessions are the main focus of forest-related economic policies, it is the small-scale operators who, collectively, are the main contributors to production, value, and employment in the forest sector. Most domestic and regional wood supply comes from small- and medium-scale suppliers, many of whom harvest along the roads originally created by logging concessionaires. These suppliers are not well-monitored and therefore are difficult to regulate. Without legal sanction, most are therefore considered to be part of an informal economy, evading official registration and the payment of required fees either because of low margins or because they cannot conform to regulations designed for a different type of industrial model. Few furniture or wood-working shops in Ghana, for example, qualify for licenses to operate in the urban areas in which they are located, and many harvesters carry out their logging without the requisite—but impossible-to-obtain—management plans.

The informal sector is important and dominant throughout the region for subsistence, domestic, and regional trade in a diversity of wood products and NTFPs. In the more populated countries, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, DRC, Liberia and Ghana, official and unofficial figures—where they exist—indicate that the informal wood sector contributes both permanent and seasonal employment that is an order of magnitude larger than that contributed by the formal sector. Official data from the formal Ghana wood sector indicate that it provides 50,000 jobs, while Birikorang et al.²⁶ document at least another 54,000 in direct employment in wood harvesting and haulage, bringing the total to more than 100,000 jobs, without counting informal processing and value-added activities. Subsequent surveys by a team of researchers building upon this early study, estimates that the informal sector generates many more than these 54,000 jobs, closer to 450,000 jobs in the harvesting, hauling and small-scale milling of

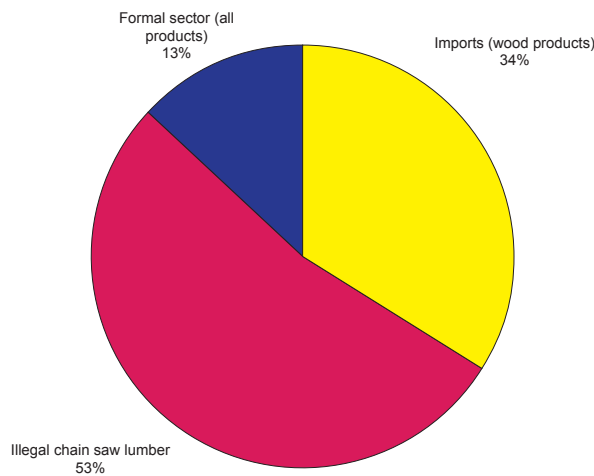
wood alone. The same surveys document another 2.5 million full or part-time jobs in all wood and non-wood forest product related activity.²⁷

The informal wood sector in Cameroon is a large contributor to the rural economy, with a financial gain of 26 billion CFA francs per year (compared to the 6 billion CFA francs per year collected from the “annual area fee”).²⁸ Recent studies show that Cameroon's estimated annual sales of timber in the domestic market amount to 930,000 m³ per year, most of which is supplied by the informal sector.²⁹

Moreover, the informal production of cane and rattan furniture and a number of other promising NTFPs has great importance for employment and incomes (generating, for example, 300,000 part-time and full-time jobs in the cane and rattan sector). Yet such production is not realizing maximum potential returns nor operating in an environment that provides incentives for sustainability. Cane and rattan is also a high-value NTFP in Ghana, which employs 2,000 weavers (adding newly trained people regularly) and thousands of harvesters (each earning, on average, US\$8 per day, which is three times the daily minimum wage).³⁰

But the informal sector struggles against an adverse regulatory environment that favors large-scale operators over the operations of local people and limits the ability and/or incentives of small-scale operators to harvest raw materials sustainably.³¹ There are an estimated 8,000 small-scale loggers in DRC (a Congolese association of small-scale loggers has been established), harvesting an estimated 1.5–2.4 million m³ per year, which constitutes 500,000 m³ of sawnwood with a market value of US\$100 million.³² Reportedly, 103 lumber markets operate in Kinshasa, Matadi, and Boma;³³ these are linked into multiple value chains but have no means of attaining legality under existing regulatory policies and systems. Cameroon has been experimenting with community forestry since

FIGURE 6. SOURCES OF WOOD SUPPLY FOR GHANA'S DOMESTIC MARKET, 2005



Source: Birikorang et al. 2007.³⁴

the 1994 forest law became effective, but its scope is still limited both in area and in the categories of forest that can be recognized for local management, and there are fundamental constraints related to regulations around organizational structure. Moreover, while community forestry takes place in a landscape context, the rules limit integration with or the optimization of agroforestry and NTFP production systems.

The importance and prevalence of the informal wood sector is increasingly being acknowledged publicly, and West African countries in particular are actively seeking ways to bring informal operators into the legal sector. In Liberia, a system of temporary permits managed by the Forest Development Agency was set up during the reconstruction period after the civil war to enable informal pit-sawyers, most of whom were ex-combatants, to chainsaw-mill commercial timber harvested in customary community forests and state-owned forest lands. This allowed them to supply timber for the reconstruction effort as an alternative to wood from state concessions, since an export logging ban was imposed by United Nations and the interim government after the Taylor regime fell. Subsequently a limited number of harvesting arrangements (limited logging contracts and a concession called FMC) have been

approved by the Inter-Ministerial Concessions Committee, but most wood still comes from this source. A preliminary assessment of these operations in various counties found them to be important in building peace and security, by providing jobs for a growing number of ex-combatants (for example, 3,500 pit-sawyers and their assistants were employed in River Cess County alone) and by supporting a well-organized union that managed log collection, sorting, and marketing.³⁵ As many as 560 timber traders in Liberia may be dealing in chainsaw-milled wood and the total volume of timber traded annually is estimated to be between about 86,000 m³ and 201,000 m³; based on this range there could be between 1,800 and 16,000 people employed by chainsaw milling, with the probable number around 5,000.³⁶

In Ghana, the informal wood sector contributes 70% of the value of export earnings with much less investment and is the main source of domestic wood supply.³⁷ Moreover, SMFEs in the country contribute an estimated 5% of GDP, while the formal industry contributes only 2%. The arbitrary suspension of small-scale logging in Ghana between 1999 to 2006 artificially spiked the volume of logging conducted illegally by small-scale enterprises, since formerly legitimate enterprises became illegal.³⁸ Figure 6 illustrates the importance

BOX 2. “INFORMAL” NTFPS ARE BIG BUSINESS IN CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

In Cameroon about 3,000 of the 8,000 known plant species have valuable uses (Mbile 2008). A study of 140 NTFPs indicates that they contribute 7.5 times more to the regional economies of northwest and southwest Cameroon than do timber products (Van Dorp et al. 2000). Another study, based on information from 426 NTFP traders in Cameroon (who comprised 26% of the estimated 1,100 traders operating in 25 markets in the main districts of Cameroon’s humid forest zone), estimated that half-year sales of NTFPs in 1995–96 were worth US\$1.9 million (Perez et al. 1999). This is reportedly a conservative estimate, as other significant products—such as *Prunus africana* bark (sold to pharmaceutical companies for the treatment of prostate gland problems), rattan (*Laccosperma* spp.) and Raphia palm (used for basketry and furniture)—were not included in the study. Using data from the 1991–92 Ghana living standards survey, it was estimated that total household expenditure on nine NTFP products was over US\$200 million (Townson 1995 in Arnold 1996).

A study in the Gambia showed that a similarly high diversity of NTFPs are marketed. A 2005 survey of 26 villages and 72 community-based enterprises revealed 484 interest-group members focused on the following products: fuelwood, logs/timber, honey, netto, palm oil, tree nursery production, kembo posts, handicrafts, Rhun palm splits, and eco-tourism and forest walks (Thoma and Camara 2005). The Congo and DRC likewise have a high livelihood and trade dependence on NTFPs. Bushmeat and other animal proteins such as fish, caterpillars, and honey, are important sources of food and cash income, with caterpillars and honey sometimes generating higher incomes per hectare in DRC than agricultural crops.

Sources:

- Mbile, Peter. 2008. Forest Industry & Trade in Cameroon: Current Situation, Trends & Prospects. A context report and analysis produced for the Rights and Resources Initiative.
- Van Dorp, M., R. Niemeijer, and D. Offermans. 2000. Measuring the socio-economic value of NTFPs on a regional or national level: Case study for North-West and South-West Cameroon. *European Tropical Forest Research Network News*, No. 32, Winter 2000–2001.
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- Arnold, M. 1996. Economic factors in farmer adoption of forest product activities. Paper presented at the International Conference on Domestication and Commercialization of Non-timber Forest Products in Agro-forestry Systems, FAO.
- Thoma, W. and K. Camara. 2005. Community Forestry Enterprises—A Case Study of the Gambia. ITTO, Forest Trends, and RRI.

of wood obtained (illegally) on a small scale to Ghana's wood supply.

Wood is not the only component of the informal forest economy that generates important jobs, revenue, and trade. In aggregate, NTFPs, including bushmeat, are also important contributors. High-value NTFPs such as bush mango, Gnetum leaves, the fruits and medicinal bark of the African cherry, and cola nut are traded throughout Central and West Africa, generating millions of dollars in trade, both regionally and to high-value markets in Europe and elsewhere comprising residents of African origin (Box 2). Women are important participants in the NTFP economy, which is not the case in the formal and much of the informal wood economies. Since so much of the trade is domestic or informal, there are no accurate statistics of it.³⁹ A recent analysis in Cameroon indicated that, simply given legal access, the sale of forest products by forest smallholders and communities

could generate average annual household revenues of US\$80–100, but this could be much higher with a change to improve markets access and participation in value-added processing, grading or aggregation of supply and links to finance.⁴⁰

In the less-forested countries of West Africa, NTFPs are still significant contributors to income streams and subsistence well-being. In the Sahel, fuelwood, charcoal, karité (shea butter), and honey are high-value NTFPs that are traded both formally and informally. Statistics are weak in many countries on the significance of this income nationally. An estimated 40,000 households in Nairobi, Kenya, sell charcoal, while charcoal-making in Zambia generates 40,000 jobs⁴¹; the production and marketing of NTFPs in West Africa would no doubt generate comparable employment.

4

Limitations of the Industrial Concessions Model: Issues and Alternatives

While forest-sector reforms are under way in the countries of the Congo Basin, at the current rate of change it would take those countries over 260 years to achieve a similar proportion of legal community control over forests to that achieved in Amazonian countries.⁴²

About 46 times more forest area is allocated to industrial concessions than to communities in Central and West Africa. Even in the non-gazetted forest lands zoned by the state, smallholders and communities face serious restrictions in their ability to develop their forest enterprises. As of 2008, public forest land is designated for use by communities in only two countries—Cameroon and the Congo. No forest areas are recognized in statutory law as owned (either collectively or individually) by communities or indigenous peoples.

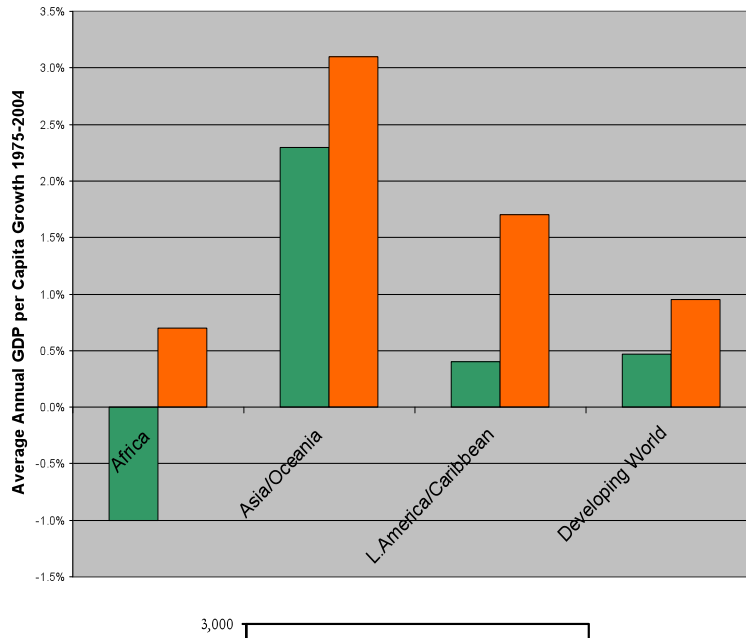
The predominance of industrial concessions in the forest landscapes of Central and West Africa poses problems for human rights because it denies traditional peoples (including indigenous peoples) their customary rights of ownership, access, use, and/or governance. In parallel, a rich set of macro-economic and poverty studies produced in the last decade has found that, in many countries in the region, the model of export-oriented industrial concessions contributes little to widely shared growth or development.⁴³ **Studies on growth, the resource curse, forest corruption, and China's pro-poor growth lessons for Africa all document the serious challenges faced by export-led, concessions-dominated forest economies in supporting widespread growth and rural poverty reduction.**

Wherever there is a lack of economic transfer of earnings from industrial concessions to growth elsewhere in the economy, there are perpetual problems of corruption in the control and allocation of concessions; conservative vested interests; the poor distribution of revenues to local levels; a lack of economic diversification; barriers to small enterprises for navigating the formal sector, leading to the criminalization of most domestic operators; flat or negative per capita growth; and limited poverty reduction or rural development in and around forest areas. This is not to say that industrial concessions need not be part of the overall forest economy, but where they predominate they displace other, more pro-poor economic activity while not delivering development.⁴⁴

In general, the economic growth of forested countries that are also net wood exporters has lagged behind that of the developing world as a whole. In Africa, and to a lesser extent Latin America and the Caribbean, net-wood-exporting countries post growth rates that are well below average. Between 1974 and 2005, the average GDP per capita growth of such countries in Africa was -1.0%, while in net-wood-importing countries it was 0.7% (Figure 7).

With the lack of competitiveness of African producers in the trade of value-added wood products, the global economy is not favoring Africa. Trends in investment and trade indicate that traditional wood-exporting countries in Africa will find it hard to attract capital for processing (and related infrastructure) and to compete with established

FIGURE 7. AVERAGE ANNUAL GDP GROWTH OF ITTO PRODUCER COUNTRIES VS NON-ITTO PRODUCER COUNTRIES, 1975 AND 2004



Source: Samjee and Davis, 2007.⁴⁵

industries and market and supply chains that are already competitive elsewhere (Box 3 and Box 4). Indeed, it is the higher-income African countries with limited natural forest but relatively good infrastructure and expanding commercial wood plantations that are establishing the most vigorous trade with China and the rest of Asia—exporting

pulp and particleboard and importing furniture and other processed wood products. The traditional wood-exporting countries are attracting a different kind of capital—one focused more on short-term profit through native-forest extraction. Figure 8, for example, shows that while Cameroon’s sawnwood exports are increasing as a percentage of total

BOX 3. RESEARCH ON ECONOMIES DOMINATED BY RAW MATERIAL EXPORTS QUESTIONS LONG-TERM GROWTH

“Research on the impact of agglomeration economies on production cost and international competitiveness strongly suggests that late-comers to industrialization, such as Africa’s natural resource exporters, suffer from competitive disadvantage linked to the spatial distribution of global industry. ... Not surprisingly, then, the data show that Africa’s mineral rich economies trail both the Africa regional average and the least developed countries in general in key indicators of industrial dynamism.”

Source: Page, John. 2008. Rowing against the current: the diversification challenge in Africa’s resource-rich economies. *Global Economy and Development Working Paper 29 December 2008. Paper prepared for the Africa Economic Research Consortium 20th Anniversary Conference, September 15-17, 2008, Nairobi, Kenya. Brookings: Washington, D.C.*

BOX 4. AFRICAN BUSINESS OWNERS FACE DISTINCT DISADVANTAGES COMPARED WITH THOSE IN OTHER DEVELOPING REGIONS

In general, studies of African markets show that small- and medium-scale, autochthonous African business owners face a specific set of disadvantages. Their enterprises perform more poorly than foreign or foreign-descent enterprises, a situation correlated to their more limited access to networks providing investments to information. This makes it hard for them to establish a reputation, control transaction costs, and meet regulatory hurdles. Overall, the cost of doing business in Africa is 20–40% higher than the cost in other developing regions. In 2006–07, the average rank of African countries in the World Bank’s Doing Business indicators was 136 (where 1 = the best environment), while low-income African exporters averaged a rank of 161.

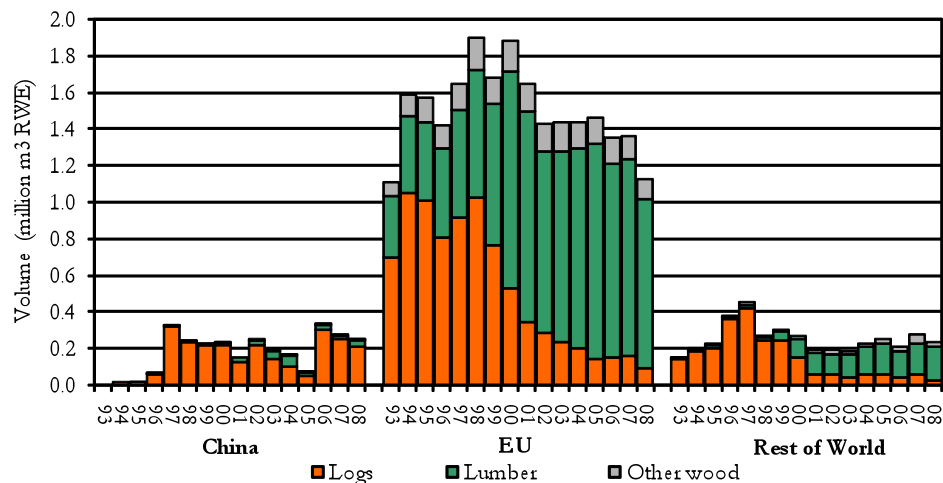
trade to the European Union, its growing trade with China is based predominantly on log exports.

Those African countries that are net wood exporters and also ITTO producer members not only show negative economic growth, they also perform poorly in a range of quality-of-governance indicators (Figure 9). While it is not possible to show a causal relationship between the domination of an export-led wood industry and governance, seven of the ten African ITTO producer countries are among the low-

est 35 countries in the 2010 Failed States Index, scoring especially low on “shared growth”.⁴⁶ African ITTO producer countries also return low scores on other governance indices—including that of Transparency International,⁴⁷ the survey of “freedom in the world” carried out annually by Freedom House,⁴⁸ and a list compiled by Alden Wily (2008)⁴⁹ on current state-level conflicts related to tenure insecurity.

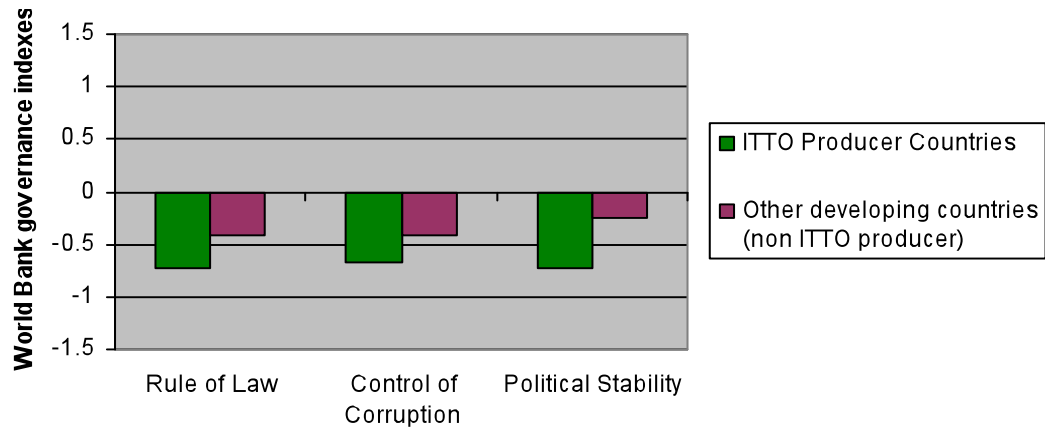
In summary, the reality of the predominant industrial concessions model does not approach

FIGURE 8. CAMEROON’S WOOD EXPORTS BY DESTINATION & TYPE



Source: China Customs Statistical Yearbook, Eurostat, World Trade Atlas, and other data, compiled by James Hewitt.

FIGURE 9. GOVERNANCE INDICATORS, ITTO PRODUCER COUNTRIES VS OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



Source: Samjee and Davis, 2007.⁵⁰

the ideal, even with the increased number of certified operators in the region. Asian buyers of African wood are interested mainly in logs and minimally processed lumber. The segmented trade with China and Europe concentrates higher-paying manufacturing jobs and revenues in the destination countries, with most revenues captured by foreign investors. There is a minority of heavily committed and responsible companies and operators, but the majority is still not managing assigned areas sustainably and allows poverty to increase in and around forest areas. Vested interests in the public and private sectors continue to promote the industrial concessions model, and the development community has made only limited efforts to encourage alternatives.

Some countries recognize that conventional models focused on export-oriented industrial concessions are not contributing to either their growth or their need for broad-based employment and enterprise opportunities, and are seeking new policies. Countries with a longer history of

industrial forestry, such as Ghana, are finding that industrial concessions are a sunset industry that is competitive only on a confined and ever-reducing forest area and neither increases employment nor adds product value.⁵¹ Ghana is engaged in defining a process to improve the legality and sustainability of the domestic informal wood industry through the European Union’s FLEGT/VPA platform, recognizing that a non-conventional forest industry is needed. The Government of DRC has also greatly reduced the area of government-allocated concessions as part of its current reform process, exploring the rights of and opportunities for communities living in and around the forests; it is curtailing plans to expand industrial concessions granted by the state beyond the currently approved 9.4 million hectares.⁵²

The following section looks at the new opportunities emerging in Central and West Africa in the wake of tenure reforms, and speculates on the healthier forest economy that could emerge if SMFEs are given their due.

5

Transitions in Tenure and Markets: New Opportunities for Africa

5.1

THE GLOBAL AND DOMESTIC MARKETPLACE: A NEW BALANCE OF LARGE AND SMALL ENTERPRISE AND OWNERSHIP

New thinking in Africa on the role of conventional and non-conventional industry models mirrors analyses of trends in global production and the shifting and expanding opportunities available in the domestic and regional markets of developing countries. What is often misunderstood by policymakers in poor, developing countries is that forest industries in high- and middle-income forested countries are already dominated by SMFEs (including CFEs), not by large industry. The forest economies of high- and middle-income countries—including the U.S., Europe, Brazil, India, and Indonesia—are heavily weighted towards SMFEs⁵³ in both the share of forest revenues and employment. Apart from the capital-intensive large-scale pulp and paper industry, most wood and non-wood market chains in these countries are dominated by SMFEs and will continue to be so. African producer countries can only make optimal policy choices if they pay attention to these, more global, trends.

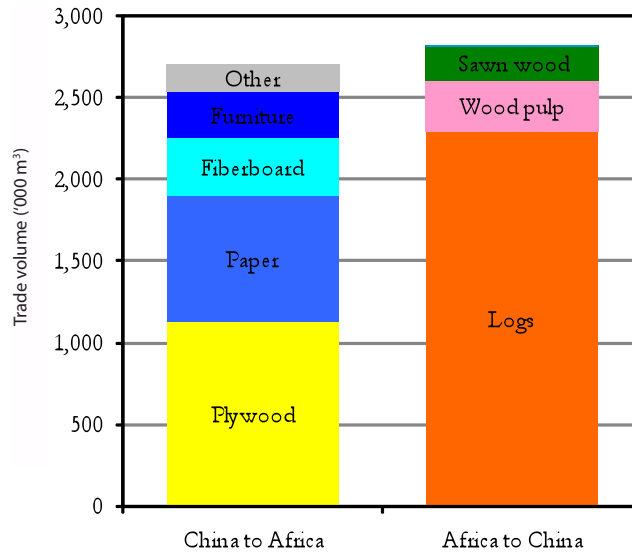
The nature of demand for forest products has shifted dramatically in the past two decades. The pulp and paper industry has become increasingly concentrated among fewer, larger players and is supplied increasingly by plantation wood grown in temperate climatic zones through a range of ownership and tenure arrangements. This segment has a very different structure and market demand to that of sawnwood and high-value tropical wood

products, and a very different structure to diverse NTFP markets.

Growth in overall demand for forest products is actually greater in the lower- and middle-income countries—where the population, and specifically the urban population, continues to grow—than in developed countries, which have experienced a demographic shift towards an older population. Trade is also growing among developing countries, and between developing countries and those with emerging economies, with new drivers and demand criteria. Today, Africa's (mainly unprocessed) wood exports to China are matched by China's exports of (processed) wood products to Africa (Figure 10). However, most of the latter go to non-producer countries in Africa, reducing regional demand for locally manufactured products.⁵⁴ Other emerging economies are waiting in the wings; India, for example, is beginning to position itself more strongly in Africa and is seeking new kinds of investments and product ranges.

Domestic and regional markets in developing countries continue to expand. These markets, including those in sub-Saharan Africa, are creating opportunities for a host of forest-based products, including those where SMFEs already predominate. The expanding domestic fuelwood and wood markets are dominated by SMFEs that operate separately to the export sector. While markets for

FIGURE 10. A COMPARISON OF CHINA'S WOOD-BASED EXPORTS TO AFRICA AND AFRICA'S WOOD-BASED EXPORTS TO CHINA



Source: Canby et al. forthcoming⁵⁵

individual NTFPs are not, on their own, significant in national accounts, their aggregation indicates a dramatic increase in their potential to contribute to GDP. Official statistics on NTFPs and their markets are historically poor, therefore masking these trends; those data that exist are unreliable, and entire sub-sets of products are uncounted. In reality, NTFPs are a highly significant part of the forest economies of almost all forested countries (albeit, in developing countries, mostly in the informal sector). Products and enterprises are diverse and include subsistence as well as commercial trade in condiments, medicinal products, health foods, traditional plant-based foods, oils, and fibers, and a broad range of animal products and bushmeat, including insects. NTFPs are not only important in developing countries. Estimates of the annual value of these and other NTFPs to the economy of British Columbia (a province of Canada) alone are in the range of US\$280 million.⁵⁶ As the International Institute for Environment and Development put it so aptly, “Small enterprise is big!”⁵⁷

SMFEs are not necessarily less efficient than larger enterprises. Data from Europe, the Americas,

Indonesia, and India all indicate a highly positive relationship between SMFEs and returns on capital and labor, and strong benefits through the generation of employment and the investment of earnings in social as well as economic goods. Case studies of furniture SMFEs in Indonesia, for example, show that if expanded to meet demand, SMFEs could deliver 12% of the total export value from only 3% of the logs harvested for that purpose, given that the furniture industry in Indonesia produces three times as much export income as equivalent log use in panels and sawnwood, and significantly more than pulp and paper.⁵⁸ In China, 87% of forest enterprises are SMFEs, which create 90% of the value generated.

Heavily industrialized forested countries in the North generate most of their forest employment through SMFEs. In the European Union, where 90% of forest-related firms employ fewer than 20 workers, SMFEs contribute over 50% of forest-sector employment.⁵⁹ In the U.S., SMFEs in the sawmilling sector alone contribute 37.4% of forest-sector employment. In comparison, industrial concessions in Central and West Africa

TABLE 2. DIRECT EMPLOYMENT IN THE FORMAL SECTOR (CONCESSIONS)

Cameroon	Gabon	Congo	DRC	CAR	Equatorial Guinea	Côte d'Ivoire	Ghana	Liberia	TOTAL
13,000	11,500	6,500	15,000	4,000	2,000*	25,000	50,000	8,000**	135,000

Source: Karsenty 2007,⁶⁰ except:

* Lebedys, 2004.⁶¹

** UN Security Council, 2003.⁶²

TABLE 3. SOME KEY FINDINGS ON THE CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICAN SMALL-SCALE FOREST PRODUCTS ENTERPRISES

	Botswana	Kenya	Lesotho	Malawi	Swaziland	Zimbabwe
Number of small-scale forest products enterprises (SSFEs)	1,026	127,774	5,561	80,335	17,505	175,004
Number of SSFEs as a proportion of total number of SSFEs	2.0%	14.1%	5.8%	14.1%	35.3%	20.7%
Employment in SSFEs	1,893	350,416	10,420	132,178	30,571	237,136
Employment in SSFEs as a proportion of all small-scale enterprises	2.1%	17.2%	6.7%	13.1%	32.3%	18.5%
Average annual employment growth rate of small-scale forest products enterprises	33.2%	23.3%	5.3%	10.7%	5.5%	4.0%

Source: Based on Arnold et al., 1994.⁶³

TABLE 4. SOME KEY FINDINGS ON THE CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF SMFEs

	Brazil	China	Guyana	India	South Africa	Uganda
	%					
Number of SMFEs as a proportion of total forest enterprises	98	87 ¹	93 ²	87–98	33–95	No data
Number of SMFE employees as proportion of total forest employment	49–70	50	75 ³	97 ⁴	25	60
SMFE revenues as a proportion of total forest revenues	75	43	50	82 ⁵	3	60

¹ All forest enterprises; ² All forest production enterprises; ³ Forest harvesting; ⁴ Safety match manufacturing; ⁵ Sawnwood production

Source: Mayers, James and Duncan Macqueen, 2007.⁶⁴

generate a total of 135,000 jobs (Table 2)—without visible SMFE participation or significant new labor absorption in the formal sector.

In countries like Finland and the U.S., where forestry has long been a major economic activity, the sector's relative contribution to the economy

is declining. Even in Finland, where the forest economy still contributes 17% of GDP, the focus is increasingly on the diversification of forest use—towards, for example, bioenergy, tourism, recreation and water.

The evidence from limited case material and extensive experience in other countries (e.g. China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, and Western Europe) suggests that the potential for the development of SMFEs is quite high in Central and West Africa. A shift in model to one involving a more limited allocation of forests to large industrial concessions—with appropriate attention to the fostering of gender and cultural equity and self-sustaining enterprises—is essential for achieving the Millennium Development Goals and respecting rights and cultural aspirations. It would also promote a healthier economy, improve the stewardship of the

region's forest resources, and reduce the threat of conflict. Box 5 shows, in the case of Mexico, that SMFEs can help to transform rural economies.

Securing communities' rights to land and resources is important but insufficient to improve livelihoods and conserve natural resources. Those communities need also to sustainably manage their lands and forests and to competitively enter the marketplace for forest products and services.⁶⁵ As the following section demonstrates, there are many opportunities in Central and West Africa for mutually beneficial partnerships between community and smallholder enterprises, the private sector and governments.

BOX 5. COMPARATIVE CASE OF MEXICO COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES

Mexico is a well-known example of a forest economy based on the ownership of the majority (more than 80%) of forest land by indigenous communities and land-reform collectives (*ejidos*). This forest contributes the lion's share of national forest conservation values, complementing public protected areas, and sustains diverse livelihoods and SMFEs rooted in community management structures. As a result of historical distrust of large industry among communities and *ejidos*, there are few private–community joint ventures, and most high-value processing industries are supplied by imported wood from Southern Cone countries or Brazil. Nonetheless, the more than 2,000 CFEs with legal logging permits supply a range of domestic markets and log-sorting yards and have enabled communities to diversify economically. CFEs also provide social infrastructure and jobs and finance forest conservation and management, which has had enormous benefits for the state in foregone disaster relief and conservation investment. The diversity of the opportunities available to CFEs has been a key factor enabling them to emerge and thrive. While collaboration between the private and community sectors may increase in the future, there are many other options for building the forest economy—taking into account the multiple roles and values of forests and the reality of culturally embedded rural livelihoods.

Source: Community Forestry Conservation and Development Program (PROCYMAF) II Annual Report, 2008. Mexico City: Government of Mexico (CONAFOR); World Bank, 2009, Implementation Completion Report, Mexico. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

5.2

WHAT RANGE OF ENTERPRISES EMERGE WHEN FOREST-TENURE REFORMS RECOGNIZE COMMUNITY AND LOCAL RIGHTS TO FORESTS?

The tenure transition that is beginning to take place in Central and West Africa in the ownership and administration of forest land creates an important set of opportunities for SMFEs, including CFEs.

FUTURE SCOPE FOR SFMEs IN CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

Central and West Africa are rich in forest uses, livelihoods and SMFEs—both smallholder and community—but this is not being captured in the

official forest-sector data that guides policymakers. Examples in other countries undergoing reform in the region—e.g. Gambia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Burkina Faso—document the potential of traded NTFPs to generate employment and income as well as contribute to local subsistence livelihoods.⁶⁶ Products with promising projections that are traded both regionally and beyond include honey, karité, moringa, rattan and cane furniture, and neem and other medicinal products from planted tree stands and natural forests. Governments in Sahelian countries are testing more participatory ways of organizing rural fuelwood markets.⁶⁷ A host of NTFPs have high trade value domestically and within the region. Increasingly, NTFPs are also securing valuable export markets in European countries, where large African immigrant populations seek to maintain their consumption of traditional foodstuffs, artisanal crafts, and medicinal products.

SMFEs generate multiple benefit streams, including local employment, income streams in small-scale manufacturing in urban areas, and investments in social infrastructure such as health and housing. Communities also provide important, unremunerated environmental services by investing in forest management activities such as fire control and patrols against encroachment or other illegal activities.

In Central and West Africa, governments remain reluctant to recognize the pervasive and important role of the informal sector in their forest economies and the need to better integrate this scale and set of actors. Instead, they relegate the bulk of SMFE commerce to illegality, either by law or by applying a barrage of costly regulations and requirements. There is a lack of reliable data showing the important role that this informal sector already plays, and could play, in forest management and development. Faced with a lack of information to the contrary, policymakers worry that, in the absence of foreign investment, there are insufficient numbers of local people in the forest to assume management or to establish the minimum infrastructure required. This is a real issue in a subset of forest areas, but overall there is evidence that there

is much greater room for diverse approaches to forest-based economic activity.

Some options pertaining to scope and potential are evident in other countries that have greatly reduced poverty while developing a robust rural and forest economy. A number of policy messages emerge from the literature on the success China has had in combating poverty. While growth in the export-led manufacturing sector there clearly played a role in reducing poverty in the 1990s by absorbing surplus labor from rural areas, in the early stages of China's reform process the poverty-reduction "heavy lifting" was done by the rural economy. China's growth-promoting reforms of the late 1970s and onwards started in the rural economy, where, at that time, poverty was as widespread as almost anywhere else in the world. The initial economic agents of change were countless smallholders, who increased their output in response to newly unleashed market incentives. In due course, the policy emphasis switched to the non-farm urban economy, and the subsequent absorption of rural labor was clearly important for continued progress in poverty reduction. Now, in China, a large number of forest smallholders supply industry with high-quality plantation and natural forest products and, in a number of forest provinces, forestry at the commune level is a major source of income. All this stems from the expansion of reforms in the late 1970s to the large-scale forest sector.⁶⁸

STEPS TOWARDS AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR SMFEs

Among the many factors that influence the transformation towards community forest-based entrepreneurship, the nature of the rights of forest communities to access, manage, and commercially exploit forest resources stands out. The distribution and allocation of tenure rights shape the type of forest industry that is established and determine the degree to which that industry contributes to social and economic development. SMFEs cannot grow without clear tenure security over the forest lands upon which the enterprises

are based. Guaranteed access to resources is a necessary condition for the development of all SMFEs, whether smallholder, family, or community-based. Such access must be recognized legally and enforced by the relevant authorities.

Secure tenure will not, on its own, guarantee the successful emergence or growth of SMFEs, however. An enabling environment has other elements. For example, access to markets and market information is essential: SMFEs are often hampered in their efforts to access local, national, and international markets by a lack of information and by regulatory and other barriers. Experience has shown that support for product and market development significantly improves the performance of SMFEs.

The supportive role of government and private technical service providers can be key, as long as the model is one of building capacity and solving start-up problems rather than substituting leadership and control. The case studies conducted as part of ATEMS identified a number of factors for success, which mirror lessons in other studies on SMFEs in Africa and elsewhere. These include secure legal tenure over the resource; training in product development, marketing, and financial management; access to credit; access to markets; connections to other entrepreneurs; and the enforcement of regulations that reduce illegal and unfair market competition without creating requirements for SMFEs that are too costly to meet or that delay returns for too long.

Women are leaders in the generation of income from NTFPs. Women play an important role in the development and running of SMFEs, especially those related to NTFPs and wood-based bioenergy, with major benefits for local economies. Insufficient effort is being made, however, to support the role of women in forest management. Providing support for women's networks and collective forest enterprises can help them to solve problems, strengthen institutions, and garner market share.

The state plays a key role in supporting or hindering the development of SMFEs. Despite their socio-economic importance, SMFEs, and CFEs in particular, are far from achieving their full poten-

tial contribution to local and national economies. The state can play an important role in encouraging SMFEs, including by providing incentives and technical support.

STEPS TOWARDS CHANGING THE STRUCTURE OF THE FOREST INDUSTRY

Transformation is not only about supporting the emergence and growth of SMFEs; it is also about transforming the forest tenure and industry structure towards a healthier blend of large- and small-scale enterprises and community, private, and public ownership. At the same time that governments can take positive steps to enable the emergence and development of SMFEs, they can also change the structure of the forest industry towards a more diverse mix of large and small enterprises (and improved relations between them), and a more balanced mix of domestically, regionally, and globally oriented forest-product trade.

Such a transformation requires a re-evaluation of the models and processes by which forest lands are allocated and governed, including the industrial concessions model and the models of conservation that govern protected areas and their buffers.

Where industrial-scale forest concessions are viable, there are multiple ways to create synergies with small-scale operations—whereby small-scale operators can take advantage of industrial infrastructure or training in industry skills. Communities can develop meaningful partnerships with industrial-scale concessions in many ways that benefit rural economies. There are also many arrangements relating small-, community-, and industrial-scale investors and enterprises at various points in the value and market chains. While the certification of industrial concessions and their export chain has made an important contribution to benefit streams for rural communities, global trends indicate a much more diverse structure in the global forest economy in the future and a very different future blend of scales. Certification can clearly contribute, but only as long as it does not become a barrier to smaller-scale entry into the value chain.

Overall, in many countries a new analysis is needed to properly identify the potential of the forest sector at all scales to contribute to equitable economic growth, rural development, and poverty reduction, and to identify an appropriate tenure and regulatory framework that helps forest economies to diversify beyond a narrow, export-led base. There is a severe bias in conventional analyses of the forest sector that favor the industrial concessions model, albeit with improvements. This greatly limits not only the policy and economic directions considered by governments and the private sector but also the interventions

proposed by and with donors and multilateral finance institutions to promote sustainable forest development in the region. Countries need better analyses of the forest economy and the capacity of SMFEs to deliver both quantity or quality; they also need a better understanding of the potential of domestic and regional markets. Many lessons have been learned regionally and globally on ways to avoid the over-harvesting of fragile NTFPs and to overcome the barriers and constraints to production, processing, marketing, equity, and legality; these should be better disseminated.

6

Transforming the African Forest Industry to Advance Development, Growth, and Governance

6.1 SUMMARY ANALYSIS

Central and West African countries undergoing tenure and forest policy reforms aim for the greater incorporation of customary tenure and rights over forest resources and to decentralize administration and management to local governments (including traditional authorities). A wide range of options for such reforms are available that will ensure that forests play a more positive role in poverty reduction, climate adaptability, equitable growth, and improved governance. However, achieving such change means a radical departure from many assumptions that have previously shaped legal and policy frameworks for tenure, governance, and economic activities.

The export-oriented industrial concessions model that still predominates in many countries in Central and West Africa is not contributing to widely shared growth or sustainable development. Rather than serving as a stepping stone to vertical integration and diversification or as a driver of national growth (as frequently stated in the poverty reduction strategy plans—PRSPs—of forested countries), the wood-export trade typically bypasses local processing operators and contributes in only a limited way to employment. Moreover, wood production by industrial concessions, mostly for global export, is not being complemented by a legal supply to meet domestic and regional demand. The industrial concessions model is also characterized by pervasive corruption and by

benefits that are skewed towards elite vested interests—due to the opportunities available for business operators and government officials to exploit the lack of transparency in concession transactions and the discretionary application of norms and regulations. These problems are common to many resource-rich economies and are very difficult to change without fundamental institutional reforms that are sensitive to the realities of the specific country.

Certification has created an incentive for a significant and growing set of companies to adhere to worthy performance, management, and benefit-sharing standards. It is concentrated, however, in concessions linked to European or U.S. markets and does not address domestic and regional market or employment trade-offs. Moreover, given current market trends, the growth in demand will come increasingly from Asian and Middle Eastern investors, where certification is not yet important.

In other forested countries that underwent significant tenure reform much earlier, SMFEs play a critical and dominant role in forest industry and the overall economy. In a number of higher-income countries, including the U.S. and in Europe, SMFEs generate the bulk of forest-sector employment, give a high return per unit of forest product extracted, and make important contributions to local income streams and social needs.

SMFEs and CFEs are already an important part of rural landscapes in Central and West Africa, and could be more important. Non-official or non-aggregated official data show that there is a robust informal forest economy based on wood and non-wood harvesting and small-scale individual and collective enterprises. Domestic lumber supply, the furniture-making industry, NTFPs for foodstuffs, condiments, medicinal and cosmetic uses, and raw fiber material all have extensive local use and complex regional market chains, some reaching markets generated by immigrants of African origin in Europe and elsewhere. There are also niche fair-trade and organic NTFP export markets. These options and products continue to be poorly appreciated, and are rarely factored into economic or forest policies and reform dialogues.

Unlike industrial concessions, SFMEs are intrinsically tied to the communities in which they are located, provide needed goods and services, and generate wealth that stays within communi-

ties. They also create more opportunities for local employment and are more linked to domestic processing industries, adding value to timber and leading to indirect multiplier effects. Thus, SMFEs have the potential to contribute strongly to poverty alleviation, social and economic development, and the sustainability of forest economies.

While the role of forests is recognized in many PRSPs, there have been insignificant measures or reforms to support that role.⁶⁹ The lack of tenure (ownership, access, use, and trade rights) in state forest lands makes it difficult for semi-nomadic forest peoples to legally gather forest products for traditional subsistence. Moreover, restrictions on tenure and use by forest-dependent populations limit the emergence and expansion of enterprises that could otherwise use forests as a capital asset. A lack of clarity over tenure increases conflict among and between groups and obstructs important opportunities for poverty reduction.

6.2

CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MOVING FORWARD

In May 2009, Central and West African government officials, researchers, and representatives of communities and civil-society organizations met in Yaoundé, Cameroon, at the International Conference on Forest Governance, Tenure and Enterprise: New Opportunities for Livelihoods and Wealth in Central and West Africa. Among other things, participants deliberated on current trends and opportunities in tenure and forest-sector reform and their implications for the future of forest enterprise. They identified a number of challenges to reform in their countries and made a range of recommendations for reaching their goals. Some of these are presented below.

CHALLENGES

Attitudes are hard to change. Strong voices in government and the private sector who favor the

traditional forest-development model or fear that industrial concessions may be a sunset industry are earmarking the forests for other extractive and sub-soil activities, commercial plantations, and energy infrastructure.

Corruption is a serious problem, and government institutions are not structured to deliver the kind of oversight and services needed.

Socio-cultural variation requires flexible solutions. There is great socio-political variation in the subregion. Settlement and livelihoods patterns are complex, with multiple ethnic groups and different hierarchies of power and influence, a reality that gives governments pause in devolving the control of forests toward a form of local governance that may end up being controlled by local elites or that may selectively exclude marginal peoples. Some areas have relatively strong customary governance in favor of balanced forest management and use, and

strong traditions of mediating competing interests and conflicts, while others will need processes to support the rise of inclusive and effective resource governance.

Regulatory, skill, and market barriers must be addressed. SMFEs face many barriers to their emergence and success, including poor infrastructure; limited contacts with and information about markets; a lack of organizational and technical capacity; and a persisting regulatory framework that imposes high costs and complicated requirements. Tax structures, fiscal mechanisms, and regulatory frameworks for forest access and use, management, and processing industries are all in need of review.

Social movements and community networks are weak. Representative community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations active in the forest sector exist, but higher-level, representative organizations are few, and their networks tend to be weak or dominated by the objectives of outside projects or donors.

Existing models of support for community forestry have been “boutique” and focused on a limited set of highly orchestrated models. They have failed to create a broad understanding within communities and social organizations of the opportunities for and potential direction of SMFEs, including CFEs.

Databases are fragmented and administered by different agencies. Governments, researchers, and civil society have limited understanding of the contribution of different forest activities and products to the overall economy or to future demand in domestic or regional markets.

Disadvantaged actors—such as women and vulnerable minorities—have very limited access to forest resources, markets, information, finance, technology, and decision-making.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENTS ENGAGED IN REFORMS

A number of possible interventions and policy changes can be made to improve business and

institutional frameworks and allow multiple tenure and enterprise models to thrive and interact. Each set of actors has a specific role to play, as indicated below.

Set targets for transferring the administration or ownership of public forests to the local level on a significant scale and over a reasonable time frame. Forest-tenure security has implications for peace, security, and governance as well as economies. Ministries of finance and the various sectoral agencies need to recognize the pay-offs from moving, within a reasonable time frame, to a new forest-tenure regime which empowers customary forest rights-holders and local governance structures while establishing the basis for sustainable forest management and a vibrant economy. Forest-tenure reform should be integrated within other land-tenure reforms already under way.

Pursue a rights-based approach and recognize customary forest rights-holders. Recognition needs to go beyond ‘customary usage’ and ‘axe rights’ to the underlying governance systems around tenure and rights. Tools such as community capacity building, participatory rights mapping, and negotiation platforms should be used to address conflicts and avoid elite capture.

Analyze the market and forest economy in the countries where SMFEs predominate to identify alternatives to the current predominance of the industrial concessions model and to legalize a large portion of what is now considered illegal within the informal economy.

Seek to foster systems of smart regulations which rethink the role of the state as regulator and are appropriate to the range of forest owners and administrators, the rural and forest economies, and the scale of extraction and enterprise.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FOREST PRODUCER COMMUNITIES AND NETWORKS

Exchange information with like-minded communities and organizations on existing opportunities to modify and scale up SMFEs and CFEs, including small-scale loggers, NTFP collectors and

traders, the fuelwood and informal wood markets, and the wood, fiber, furniture, and other processing industries, to encourage environmental compliance and boost economic and social returns.

Seek out lessons from other countries and regions on how forest producers acting collectively have gained better access to markets; market information; support for capacity building and strengthened organization around enterprises; greater equity for women and vulnerable community members; and access to credit and infrastructure.

Use networking strategically to learn about and analyze new markets and opportunities, influence donor thinking in global fora, and engage government policymakers nationally in the development of supportive policies and smarter regulations for forest enterprises and community-driven conservation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DONOR AND GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PROGRAM DESIGN

Avoid piloting that creates “boutique” or artificial CFEs that can neither be sustained over

time nor provide replicable options at scale. Learn from developed forested countries in which SMFEs are the predominant employers and constitute the largest share of forest enterprises as to how their forest economies developed over time, and gain an understanding of the diversity of models that have worked in various countries and forest landscapes.

Invest in the appropriate infrastructure for a more diversified forest industry, looking at alternative technologies for energy, production, and transportation, and the potential for community-company partnerships that are mutually beneficial.

Seek to create preferential markets for community products that are not limited to forest-management certification and including government procurement preferences.

Invest in building the capacity of SMFEs and community forest governance as directly as possible rather than through intermediaries—recognizing the value of horizontal learning and strategic networks driven by community-based organizations.

ANNEX: Key RRI ATEMS briefs and related publications

ATEMS OVERVIEWS AND COUNTRY CONTEXT STUDIES

- Social Policies of Forest Concessionaries in West and Central Africa.* Alain Karsenty. November 2008. RRI and CIRAD.
- Small and medium forest enterprises: Instruments of change in the developing world.* Robert Kozak. 2007. RRI and University of British Columbia.
- Summary Overview Report of the Status of Forest Industry and Trade in Central and West Africa.* Gene Birikorang, 2007.
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- Comparison of economic growth and governance between high forest and low forest countries. Briefing Note.* Anne-Sophie Samjee and Andrew Davis. September 2007.
- Alternative Tenure and Enterprises: Ghana Country Context Study.* Gene Birikorang, Mar. 2008. RRI and Hamilton Consulting Company.
- Overview of the History of Forest Policy Property Rights Industry and Trade in Cameroon and Opportunities, Restraints and Recommendations for Community Forest Enterprise Development in Cameroon.* Peter Mbile, et al 2008. RRI and ICRAF.
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ENGLISH-LANGUAGE BRIEFS

- Cameroon: Alternate Tenure and Enterprise Models in Cameroon: Community Forests in the Context of Community Rights and Forest Landscapes.* Peter Mbile with Gilbert Ndzomo-Abanda, Hermann Essoumba, and Anicet Minsouma Bodo. May 2009.
- The Gambia: The Gambia: Alternative Tenure and Enterprise Models.* Kanimang Camara. May 2009. RRI and NACO.
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- Burkina Faso : *Amélioration de l'équité et des moyens de subsistance dans la foresterie communautaire au Burkina Faso*. Bocar Kante. May 2009. CIFOR and RRI.
- Burundi : *Propriété alternative et modèles des Petites et Moyennes Entreprises Forestières pour la croissance économique en faveur des pauvres en Afrique centrale et Occidentale : cas de l'association des tradipraticiens (ATRAPRABU) du Burundi*. Diomède Manirakiza, Salvator Ndabirorere, Cleto Ndikumanenge, Thaddée Habiambere et Chantal Wandja. January 2009.
- Guatemala : *Guatemala : Etudes des Cas sur les Modèles Alternatifs de Propriété Foncière et Entreprises Forestières*. Patrice André Pa'ah ; Marike Michel. May 2009. CAFT and RRI.
- Rwanda : *Propriété alternative et modèles des Petites et Moyennes Entreprises Forestières pour la croissance économique en faveur des pauvres en Afrique centrale et Occidentale : cas de la coopérative « moringa growers » (Rwanda)*. Diomède Manirakiza, Salvator Ndabirorere, Cleto Ndikumanenge, Thaddée Habiambere et Chantal Wandja. January 2009. IUCN and RRI.

LISTENING, LEARNING, AND SHARING LAUNCH (LLSL) AFRICA DOCUMENTS

- Are Secure Rights to Forests Enough for Rural People to Really Benefit? – Some Lessons from Africa*. Barrow, Edmund, J Kamugisha-Ruhombe, Isilda Nhantumbo, Rene Oyono, and Moumini Savadogo. (Drawn from IUCN-RRI report: Barrow, et al., 2008, “Governments are Devolving Responsibility for Forest Management in Africa, but are rural people able to take on their Rights?” <http://www.rightsandresources.org>, and from Barrow et al, 2007. RRI and IUCN. http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/rri_2008_1_14_03_ed_africa_llsl_presentation.pdf
- Forests Are Important to the Rural People of Africa – Some Empirical Data*. Barrow, Edmund, Kamugisha-Ruhombe Jones, Isilda Nhantumbo, Rene Oyono, Moumini Savadogo. May 2009. RRI and IUCN. <http://www.rightsandresources.org>

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Endnotes

- ¹ Larson, Anne M., Deborah Barry, Ganga Ram Dahal and Carol J. Colfer, ed. 2009. *Forests for People: Community Rights and Forest Tenure Reform*. London: Earthscan. Ch 10.
- ² Mbile, Peter, with Gilbert Ndzomo-Abanda, Hermann Essoumba and Anicet Minsouma Boda, 2008. *An Overview of History and Evolution of Forest Policy, Property Rights, Industry and Trade in Cameroon*. Washington, D.C.: Rights and Resources Initiative. <http://www.rightsandresources.org>
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