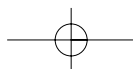
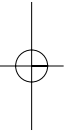
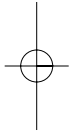
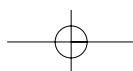
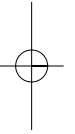
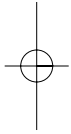
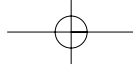


PART I

EXPLORING POTENTIALS AND OPPORTUNITIES





CHAPTER ONE

PARTNERSHIPS FOR SUSTAINABLE FOREST AND TREE
RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA:
THE NEW ROAD TOWARDS SUCCESSFUL
FOREST GOVERNANCE?MIRJAM A.F. ROS-TONEN,* HELEEN VAN DEN HOMBERGH**
AND ANNELIES ZOOMERS***

Forest management in Latin America is facing new challenges. Having been claimed as the exclusive domain of central government agencies since colonial times, today the formulation and implementation of forest policies has become a complex interplay of multiple actors. As a result of the decentralisation of management responsibilities by the state (Colfer and Capistrano 2005; Ribot and Larson 2005), local and municipal governments are nowadays playing an increasingly important role in the formulation and implementation of forest policies. Local populations—including indigenous peoples and traditional forest users—are, often successfully, (re-)claiming their rights to forest land and resources. In addition, international organisations, non-governmental and other civil society organisations are demanding a say in the management of what is in their view a common good or global heritage.

The growing complexity of the forest governance arena, combined with the need to deal with competing claims, diverging interests and increasing pressure on forest resources has led to strategic alliances and partnerships between various actors in an attempt to reconcile

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what have previously been conflicting interests. The traditional ‘command and control’ of state-led forest governance seems to be making way for a multi-stakeholder approach to accommodate diverging claims. At local level, numerous partnerships for the protection and co-management of forest resources are emerging between international donors, government agencies, national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private sector actors, research organisations and community-based organisations. Tropical forest protection and management are increasingly the product of negotiations and joint actions between players at multiple scales—even more in Latin America with its strong civil society than on any other continent.¹

This book brings together experiences with a rich variety of such partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management from various countries in Latin America—Trinidad, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guyana, Brazil and Ecuador. The authors reflect on the scopes, objectives and institutional organisation of partnerships, on the actors involved and excluded, on the benefits, and the hindrances to overcoming cultural differences, institutional barriers, power imbalances and diverging interests. The question that runs as a common thread through this book is what can we learn from these cases in Latin America with regard to the conditions under which partnerships for sustainable forest and resource management can reconcile multiple interests and contribute to pro-poor, socially just and environmentally-friendly forest governance. Before summarising these lessons learned, this chapter first defines and classifies various types of partnerships and analyses how partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management fit in with mainstream forest management thinking, general development paradigms, Latin American forest policies and the broader academic debate on social movements and multi-spatial interactions.

¹ Notwithstanding the trend towards alliances and partnerships, the quest for conservation—now or never!—is also still leading to exclusion or expulsion of local populations without due compensation or dialogue on alternative forms of use and management. The cases presented in this book focus, however, on situations in which cooperation with local population groups is sought.

Definition and Types of Partnerships

In all honesty, the term *partnership* is a tricky one to use because it has a warm and positive connotation. It suggests that the parties involved participate and collaborate on equal terms. In this way, partnerships may mask power asymmetries and exploitative relationships and become symbolic power in the hands of the most powerful who, by engaging in them, can demonstrate their good intentions quite easily. We do not, however, opt for a normative definition of partnerships in order to be able to include a broad spectrum of them in our discussion. Instead, we come up with a number of conditions for partnerships to contribute to fair and sustainable forest management agreements at the end of this chapter.

From this perspective, we conceive partnerships as more or less formal arrangements between two or more parties from various sectors (government, civil society and/or private sector) around (at least partly) shared goals, in the expectation that each party will gain from the arrangement. The goals of the partnerships that are presented in this book are related to forest conservation, responsible forest use and/or the sustainable production of forest and tree resource products. With respect to the latter, we define forest products in a broad sense as products that originate from natural forests but can also be a part of man-made forest types or farming systems.

Depending on the actors involved and the main goal of the partnership, several kinds of partnerships can be identified.

1. *Public-private* partnerships are arrangements between the state and a company or a group of private sector actors (for instance the public-private partnership for reforestation with bamboo in Ecuador (Cleuren, Chapter 3) and between the Trinidad government and woodcutters for sustainable timber exploitation (Fairhead and Leach, Chapter 5).
2. *Company-community* partnerships are oriented towards the production of forest and tree resource products, with mutual benefits being the expected result. Examples in this book are the timber harvesting agreements between logging companies and Chachi communities in the Ecuadorian province Esmeraldas (Rival, Chapter 2), the partnership between The Body Shop and A'Ukre-Kayapó villages in Brazil (Morsello and Adger, Chapter 7) and the partnership between palm heart and *açaí* fruit juice company Muaná Alimentos

Ltd and various communities on the Marajó Island in the Brazilian Amazon delta (Van Andel, Chapter 8). If the deal is directly between growers/landholders and the processing industry, in which the first contractually agree to grow bamboo or trees for pulp, wood fibre or timber, such partnerships are usually referred to as out-grower schemes. Examples of out-growing arrangements are those for bamboo production between small farmers and banana producers in Ecuador (one of the options explored by Cleuren in Chapter 3) and between the wood fibre industry and private and community landowners (Vermeulen and Mayers, Chapter 6). As Vermeulen and Mayers show in Chapter 6, various modalities of company-community partnerships exist in the wood fibre industry, involving actors that operate at various scales and various degrees of collectivity. In addition to out-grower schemes, these include product supply contracts, lease agreements, joint ventures, crop share arrangements, corporate social responsibility contracts and co-management schemes. An example of a leasing agreement can be found in Chapter 4 where Van den Hombergh deals with such an agreement between a transnational paper company and farmers in Costa Rica. The latter case in particular raises the question of whether the various types of supply arrangements are rightly categorised as partnerships. This case shows that these kinds of company-community partnerships are actually or potentially exploitative relationships. As an anonymous referee rightly suggested, such arrangements could be better called supply or business agreements as their reconstruction as partnerships may facilitate 'green wash' or fake social responsibility. We include them in the discussion, however, as such agreements and their connotation of 'partnerships' have become part of the international development discourse as employed, for instance, at the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002.

3. *NGO-community partnerships* can be seen as a special variant of the company-community partnership, as in the case of the partnership for sustainable bamboo production in Guayaquil, Ecuador (Cleuren, Chapter 3) which entails one NGO manufacturing low-cost housing for the poor in the slums, while another acts as a broker and watchdog to overcome the farmers' lack of negotiation skills.
4. *Multi-sector or intersectoral partnerships* involve actors from multiple sectors (government, business, civil society) who often operate at multiple scales. Examples of such actors are international donors

and organisations, national and local government agencies, non-governmental organisations, private corporations, research organisations and community-based organisations. These partnerships bring together political power, donor funding, management capacity, technological skills and local knowledge, as a result of which the actors in the partnership are able, at least in theory, to achieve much more than they would achieve individually. Multi-sector or intersectoral partnerships are generally aimed at the conservation and responsible use of tropical forest areas. Examples in this book are the integrated conservation and development programme Sustainable Use of Biodiversity Resources (SUBIR) in the Chocó area in Ecuador (to which Rival refers in Chapter 2 as a coalition), the Guiana Shield Initiative (Van Dijck, Chapter 9), the forestry initiatives in Nicaragua's North Atlantic Autonomous Region (Brook, Chapter 10), and the partnerships related to extractive reserves in Brazil (Rosendo, Chapter 11). Multi-sector partnerships are usually part of what is referred to in natural resource management literature as multi-stakeholder processes (Hemmati 2002).²

5. *Research partnerships* involve universities and/or private research organisations which explicitly cooperate with multiple actors with a view to generating change towards sustainable and pro-poor forest use. An example is the Amazon Paper project initiated by the University of Pará in Belém, Brazil (Otsuki, Chapter 12).
6. *Political partnerships* involve various civil society organisations engaged primarily in advocacy for equitable and pro-poor forest management or forestry arrangements. We decided to depart from a broad definition of partnerships, in order to be able to include this type of political cooperation that often involves broader policy goals.

² Hematti (2002) describes multi-stakeholder processes (MSPs) as 'processes which aim to bring together all major stakeholders in a new form of communication, decision-finding (and possibly decision-making) on a particular issue. They are also based on recognition of the importance of achieving equity and accountability in communication between stakeholders, involving the equitable representation of three or more stakeholder groups and their views. They are based on democratic principles of transparency and participation, and aim to develop partnerships and strengthened networks between stakeholders. MSPs cover a wide spectrum of structures and levels of engagement. They may consist of dialogues on policy or grow into consensus-building, decision-making and the implementation of practical solutions. The exact nature of any such process will depend on the issues, its objectives, participants, scope, time lines, etc.' (URL: <http://www.earthsummit2002.org/msp/#Introduction>).

Some authors refer to these political partnerships as alliances, coalitions or networks. Examples at national and sub-national levels include the coalition against the paper giant Stone Container Corporation in Costa Rica (Van den Hombergh, Chapter 4) and the political mobilisation of social movements and NGOs in protest at two large public infrastructure investment projects in the Brazilian Amazon (Scholtz, Chapter 13). Examples at international level are the international community forestry networks presented by Colchester in Chapter 14. This type of partnership is basically different from the formal public-private partnerships and multi-sector partnerships because it does not (officially) involve the corporate sector or government and is mostly oriented towards more fundamental (policy) changes instead of the management of a particular area.

The cases in this book show that the scope of partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management is wide-ranging, including (1) sustainable production of forest and tree resources; (2) (community-based) forest management; (3) conservation of biodiversity and/or genetic resources; and (4) lobbying for sound and pro-poor forest policies at national and/or international level. The sub-objectives often include (1) securing communal and other tenure arrangements; (2) strengthening community-based organisations for the management of forest and tree resources; (3) capacity building in sustainable forest and tree resource management; (4) implementing sustainable forestry and agroforestry systems; and (5) income generation.

In general, public-private and company-community partnerships evolve around the objective of the sustainable production of forest and tree products, while multi-sector partnerships tend to pursue the objective of integrated sustainable and pro-poor forest management, and political partnerships focus on lobbying for forest policies that meet the interests of specific groups.

Partnerships and Mainstream Thinking on Sustainable Forest Management

This book deals for a large part with partnerships for sustainable forest (resource) management, which we understand as being deliberate efforts to maintain the forests' ecological values, production services and their role as source of livelihood for the rural poor. These days, it is commonly acknowledged that forests need to be managed for economic, social and ecological ends. The notion that sustainable

forest management encompasses ecological, economic and social aspects is, however, a relatively recent one (Wiersum 1995). When German foresters launched the concept of sustainable forest management as the '*Nachhaltigkeitsprinzip*' in 1804 (Wiersum 1995, 321), the assumption, for a long time, was that it only dealt with sustained timber yields. The primary driving force behind the forest management concept was the need to provide strategic industries with secure supplies of timber (Colchester *et al.* 2003). Colonial forestry acknowledged the need to maintain the forest's ecological characteristics, but this was generally interpreted in rather narrow terms of maintaining heterogeneity of ages and species, the capacity for natural regeneration, the forest's hydrological functions in a watershed and soil protection through continuous forest cover (Schmidt 1987). The function of forests as a productive and cultural asset for forest-dwelling people was neglected until late into the 1970s (and in practice sometimes until well into present), while the preservation of biodiversity and wildlife was considered to be the task of conservation agencies and international environmental NGOs. Conservation, too, has been characterised for a long time by a neglect of human needs and interests, to an extent that can be labelled as 'ecototalitarian' (Dietz 1996, 13).

The Brundtland Report entitled *Our Common Future* (WCED 1987) provoked a change in the prevailing forest management and conservation narratives (Campbell and Vainio-Mattila 2003). By promoting 'a type of development that integrates production with resource conservation and enhancement, and that links both to the provision of an adequate livelihood base and equitable access to resources' (WCED 1987, 39–40) it was made clear that forest resource management and conservation could no longer overlook peoples' needs and their rights to a stable livelihood base. Since then, the notion of sustainability as a three-tiered concept encompassing ecological, economic and social aspects has gained wider acceptance. This was further strengthened at the United Nations (UN) Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, where the international community reached a broad consensus on the principles, guidelines, criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management. It recognised the cultural and spiritual value of forests, the necessity of stakeholder participation, the vital role of forests in maintaining ecological processes and balance, the need for biodiversity conservation, the protection of indigenous rights and the right of forest dwellers to have an economic stake in forest use

(UNCED 1992).³ In addition, the forest-related aspects of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, also adopted at UNCED, acknowledge that forests should also be managed on the basis of their role in biodiversity conservation and climate change. Many definitions of sustainable forest management have circulated since then (Wiersum 1995; Higman *et al.* 1999), all of which share the following features:

- It is now being recognised that forests can be managed to different ends—not only for sustained timber production, but also for the preservation of nature and wildlife, for traditional uses or to protect the habitat of indigenous peoples.
- All definitions share the conception that sustainable management should be ecologically sound, economically viable and socially acceptable.

As a result, the concept of sustainable forest management is now a more dynamic one, aimed at finding and negotiating a balance between various land-use options (Foahom and Jonkers 2005). At international level, these negotiations became institutionalised in 2000, when the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) created the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF) as part of a new (legally non-binding) International Arrangement on Forests. The idea behind the UNFF was to create a more permanent home for the international dialogue on forests and exchange experiences among governments and other stakeholders in sustainable forest management (UNFF 2004). Unfortunately, the UNFF process has shown recently that international consensus over the actual implementation of the principles of sustainable forest management is lacking and hampered by diverging interests across the globe.

What has become increasingly clear, however, is that there is universal recognition of the fact that sustainable forest management or conservation is impossible without the active participation of local populations and without due consideration for their livelihood needs (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2000; Lawrence 2000). In forestry circles, many see the VIIIth Forestry Congress of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), which was held in 1978

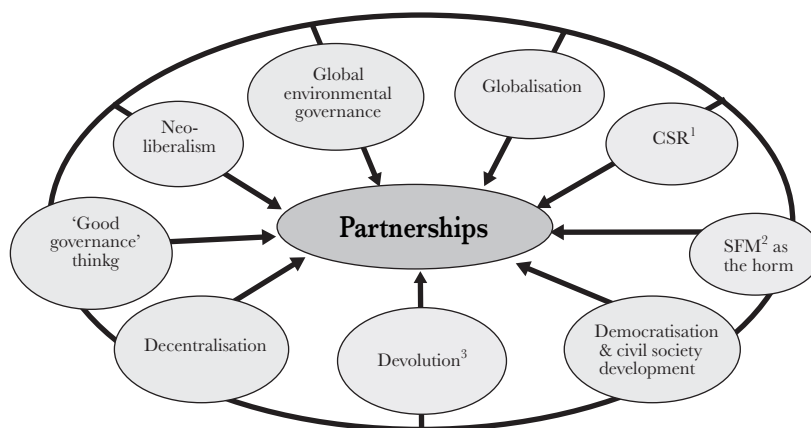
³ Relevant forest-related documents adopted at UNCED include the 'Forest Principles' and Chapter 11 on Combating Deforestation in Agenda 21.

under the title 'Forestry for People', as a turning point in this respect (Arnold 2001). Social or community forestry was launched as an approach to forest management aimed at increasing community participation in the development and management of forest resources and at providing the rural poor with fuel, food and other products to meet basic needs (Arnold 2001). Although it initially focused on tree planting, attention later shifted to participatory and cooperative management schemes and social forestry became an important supplement to the industrial, timber-oriented approach to forest management. In the context of conservation efforts as well, several approaches have been developed to enhance 'participation' and combine conservation and development objectives (Western and Wright 1994; Fisher 1995; Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). Examples of such efforts include transition zone management, Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs), community-based conservation, participatory resource management (also known as co-management or joint forest management), adaptive or negotiated forest management, and strategies based on the commercial exploitation of non-timber forest products (Campbell and Vainio-Mattila 2003; Ros-Tonen *et al.* 2005a). Participation has become a 'master frame' (see Van den Hombergh, Chapter 4)—a broadly accepted desired direction of society. These changes in the discourse on forest management and conservation have provided a fertile breeding ground for partnership thinking in forest governance, albeit with mixed consequences in practice.

Partnerships in the International Development Discourse

In addition to the changes in forest management thinking, several other factors and processes have played a role in the emergence of partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management. Some of these are of a global nature, while others refer to local level processes (Figure 1.1). As regards the former, the partnership idea featured in the international 'good governance' debate in the 1990s. In its document 'Local partnerships for better governance', the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001) puts forward that:

To improve governance, governments throughout the OECD have recently created and supported networks of area-based partnerships. Through partnerships, agreements on long term priorities involving a



¹ CSR = Corporate social responsibility.

² SFM = Sustainable forest management.

³ Devolution = transfer of decision-making powers from the central state to local actors, such as indigenous populations, local community organisations or organised groups of forest users.

Figure 1.1 Factors favouring the formation of partnerships in forest and tree resource management.

wide range of stakeholders may be used as a guide to deliver programmes and services consistent with local conditions and allocate resources in a way that is conducive to sustainable development. These partnerships facilitate consultation, co-operation and co-ordination. They are, in short, a tool to improve governance (OECD 2001, 13).

The Millennium Development Goals, launched in 2000, also embrace the objective to 'develop strong partnerships with the private sector and with civil society organisations in pursuit of development and poverty eradication'.

Two years later 'partnership' was the buzz word at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, which promoted partnerships for sustainable development as 'voluntary multi-stakeholder initiatives contributing to the implementation of Agenda 21, Rio+5 and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI)'.⁴ Partnerships for sustainable development received an important impulse in the WSSD process, with over 300 partnerships having been registered at the Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) Secretariat to date.⁵

⁴ URL: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/partnerships/csd11_partnerships_decision.htm.index.

⁵ URL: <http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/partnerships/partnerships.htm>.

The philosophy behind partnerships fits in well with neo-liberal reforms through which the role of Latin American states has been reduced and more important roles have been assigned to the private sector and civil society (Kirby 2002). Neo-liberal thinking—that became widespread through Structural Adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank—recommends that tasks which were formerly the responsibility of governments are transferred to private enterprises or are carried out jointly by governments and private sector companies in public-private partnerships. Under the denominator of ‘good governance’, the same and other international organisations have forged partnerships with civil society organisations with a view to solving social issues and promoting sustainable development. These neo-liberal policies with regard to governance and partnerships have also had an influence in the field of forest and natural resource management.

Another important factor favourable to the creation of partnerships is the increasing awareness of global environmental problems from the 1970s onwards. The depletion of the ozone layer, ocean pollution and climate change due to the emission of greenhouse gases were among the first problems to be recognised as having a global impact (Speth 2002). Moreover, tropical deforestation and the consequent loss of biodiversity and other environmental services like carbon sequestration and watershed protection started to be regarded increasingly as problems of global concern. This led to more and more forest-related conventions and agreements intended to protect these global values, as part of a process referred to as global environmental or forest governance (see Brown 2001 for an overview). Rischard (2002) goes a step further in this respect, arguing that treaties and conventions, intergovernmental conferences, groupings like the G-8 and multilateral organisations are incapable of solving what he calls ‘global issues’. He therefore calls for ‘networked governance’ to solve these issues, through the inception of Global Issues Networks involving representatives of national governments, international civil society and global businesses. Although the need for concerted action with regard to global issues is undisputed, Rischard rather naively expects these individuals to act as global citizens rather than the defenders of their sector’s interests once they have become part of such a network.

Finally, there is the pressure of consumers worldwide for environmentally friendly and socially responsible production conditions. More and more often, companies are being held responsible for the

adverse social and environmental effects of their activities. This pressure led an increasing number of private businesses to operate deliberately under the label of Corporate Social Responsibility (Mayers and Vermeulen 2002). By engaging in partnerships with (indigenous) communities for the sustainable production of forest products and other commodities, some of these enterprises have developed a 'green' and socially conscious image that allows them to operate on profitable niche markets. Several examples of companies that have entered into deals with indigenous and other forest-dwelling communities can be found in this book, such as The Body Shop's involvement in the production of Brazil nut oil (Morsello and Adger, Chapter 7), the export by Munuá Alimentos of certified palm heart and *açaí* fruit (Van Andel, Chapter 8) and Mercedes Benz do Brasil (Daimler Chrysler), which made car products from fibres extracted from coconut husks mixed with natural latex (Otsuki, Chapter 12).

All these new global players in the forest management arena have been able to link up more and more with national and local actors, because globalisation is making the world smaller each and every day. Internet, e-mail, and fast means of transportation facilitate communication between actors operating at different levels of scale. This enables them to spread their ideas rapidly, to establish and maintain contacts with distant partners, to negotiate forest policies and undertake joint activities. In contrast to the situation in which forest policies are the mandate of national governments, negotiating and formulating forest policies is now a multi-scale process which integrates three major competing interests. In this process, forests represent a global common resource, a sovereign resource to be used by the state to further national interest, and a local common resource to which local forest dwellers and indigenous peoples have primary property rights (Brown 2001, 896).

Local Factors that Encourage Partnerships in Forest Management

For a long time, policies aimed at forest areas in most Latin American countries have not been conducive to participatory or partnership approaches. The prevailing perception and attitude towards forests was one of an unproductive 'green hell' that should be opened up, developed and integrated into the national economy. Even a country like Costa Rica, now perceived as one of the most progressive in

terms of environmental policies, implemented an active frontier policy in the 1950s which supported the conversion of forest into farmland and pasture on the basis of favourable credits and granted property titles to those who ‘improved’ (read: cleared) forestland (Pellegrini, n.d.; Carriere 1990). Agricultural colonisation was also the dominant strategy in the Amazon basin (for instance in Brazil), in eastern Paraguay and in the lowland area to the east of the Andes in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. It also took place—but to a much lesser extent—in Uruguay, Venezuela, Central America and Mexico (see Kay 1998; Dorner 1992, cited in Zoomers and van der Haar 2000, 19). Even though a lot of governments designed programmes for ‘official colonisation’ (the prior selection of target groups, pre-established criteria for land adjudication, food support, etc.), the majority of the ‘colonists’ settled spontaneously. From the moment a colonisation area was opened up by roads, landless and land-poor people decided to leave *minifundia* areas and settle in the colonisation areas by occupying the land. As soon as they were recognised as *de facto* occupants (*ocupantes de hecho*), they claimed the land. Most governments responded *ex post* by consolidating the situation in these frontier areas through the provision of infrastructure and the granting of land titles. However, the majority of the *ocupantes* did not succeed in becoming the legal owners of their land. This policy was considered an easier way of dealing with extremely skewed landownership than implementing land reform. Thus, the prevailing practice was, for a long time, one of highly centralised government interventions geared towards opening up and clearing forests rather than conserving or sustainably using them. This began to change from the mid 1980s onwards, mainly due to international pressure. Since then, policies have shifted in the direction of decentralised and sustainable forestry, in which a balance is sought between conservation and development needs.

Decentralisation (or more precisely, de-concentration) transferred decision-making powers, including those in forest management, from central to provincial or district levels, as well as to municipal authorities (see Ferroukhi 2003 and Larson 2003 for a review of the roles of municipal governments in forest management in six Latin American countries). It is generally expected that the involvement of actors living in closer proximity to the forest than the representatives of central government provides, in theory at least, an incentive to preserve the forest and manage it on a sustainable basis, while offering better

opportunities for local participation and poverty alleviation. Recent studies (Colfer and Capistrano 2005; Ribot and Larson 2005) have shown, however, that this is not always happening due to local elite capture, poor coordination and planning, a lack of local community skills and empowerment, inadequate funding and commitment from higher government officials, plus a tendency to overexploitation. However, decentralisation and the associated entrance of new actors in the forest governance arena provided a stimulus to the formation of sustainable forest management partnerships as actors expect to win from joining power, assets, knowledge and skills with actors at other levels of scale.

In addition to the downward extension of state powers, decentralisation also encompasses delegation—the transfer of managerial responsibility to organisations indirectly controlled by the central government such as regional development agencies or parastatal organisations—and devolution (Agrawal and Ribot 1999; Gregersen *et al.* 2005). In the latter case, decision-making powers are transferred from the central state to local actors, such as indigenous populations, local community organisations or organised groups of forest users. Widespread devolution of forestland to indigenous peoples—with some 100 million hectares set aside for indigenous populations of the Amazon region between 1960 and 1996 (Roldán Ortega 1996, in Assies *et al.* 2000, 98)—occurred because several conventions advocated an increase in the autonomy and rights of indigenous peoples to manage their own resources. Firstly, the ratification of ILO Convention 169 in 1991, which deals with the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, led several Latin American governments to adopt new constitutions that recognise the multiethnic and pluricultural character of their countries (Assies *et al.* 2000). This convention, which has been incorporated into national law in many Latin American countries, facilitated the protection of ‘the total environment of the areas which the peoples occupy or otherwise use’ (Art. 13–2), and focused on ‘safeguarding the rights of the peoples concerned to use lands not exclusively occupied by them but to which they traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities’ (Art. 14–1). In addition, the Convention on Biological Diversity adopted in 1992 recognises the rights of indigenous people to manage their own resources.

Another example of devolution of forestland to local communities and forest users can be found in Brazil where, in 1990, the federal government created the possibility of demarcating extractive reserves

in which forest-dwelling communities can sustainably exploit the forests for rubber, Brazil nuts and other forest products, while being offered protection from encroachment by farmers and loggers. Until 2000, twelve extractive reserves had been created in the Amazon region, covering 3.3 million hectare and involving about 42,000 people⁶ (see also Rosendo, Chapter 11).

This tendency towards the devolution of forestland to indigenous and other traditional peoples has led to a doubling of the share of forest land reserved for, or actually owned by, indigenous or community groups over the past 15 years, to 21.9 percent (White and Martin 2002 on the basis of data on 24 of the 30 countries with the largest forest cover). Scherr *et al.* (2003) expect this share to increase in the near future because traditional forest users are continuing to reclaim their rights and an increasing number of countries are implementing laws which recognise these rights. An important side-effect of the increased autonomy and rights to land for local groups in terms of partnerships is that these communities turn into interesting partners for forestry companies which aim to secure access to roundwood and pulpwood in situations of increasing scarcity of forest resources (Mayers and Vermeulen 2002; Scherr *et al.* 2003).

The democratisation wave following the collapse of authoritarian regimes since the early 1980s was another factor that stimulated a partnership approach to forest management, as it has paved the way for a stronger participation of civil society organisations in the formulation of forest policies. One of the consequences of the 'good governance' debate mentioned above was a massive increase in the sponsorship by international donors of the development of civil society organisations, whose number grew dramatically in Latin America during the last decade of the twentieth century.⁷ These organisations increasingly form alliances with both national and international actors to shape forest policies and management (see also Chapter 13 by Scholz).

⁶ URL: <http://www.ibama.gov.br>.

⁷ Citing Valencia and Winder (1997), Balbis (2001) mentions 200,000 non-profit-making agencies in Brazil and 10,000 organisations in Mexico, covering a broad range of social welfare organisations, advocacy groups, groups and associations for the defence of civil rights or specific interests, and groups for the promotion of arts and culture. According to the same author, a census of communal action associations carried out in Colombia in 1993 revealed that there were 42,582 such associations or *juntas*, 5,437 NGOs, 2,700 sports clubs and over 600 voluntary organisations.

To summarise, the combined effects of trends in mainstream development and forest management thinking, shifts in governance, claims for more democracy and the demand for corporate social responsibility led to new types of actors playing a role in forest management, often alongside central governments. At local level these include provincial and municipal governments, indigenous and other forest-dwelling communities and the organisations representing them, and NGOs and civil society organisations. At global level, these include multilateral agencies and environmental organisations like the World-wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN), donors, internationally operating companies and research organisations. These actors find each other in a globalised environment and, at the same time, in a decentralised institutional setting in which there is more potential than ever for the formation of partnerships.

Partnerships in the Academic Debate

Forest and tree management partnerships are not only 'fashionable' in policy and forestry circles, but are also a relevant topic for numerous academic debates. Partnerships often combine private with public agencies and agents from global, national and local levels of scale. These actors pursue multiple goals, ranging from conservation to livelihood improvement and the reduction of vulnerability. This complexity requires improved insights into the nature of partnerships, the motivation and cultural values of the actors participating in them, and the power imbalances between them. Political environmental geography (see Dietz 1996), in combination with environmental and rural sociology, environmental economics and social forestry, provides such insights. It does so by studying the foundation for environmental behaviour in people's varied and often conflicting endowment and entitlement systems, in their contrasting valuations of environmental costs and benefits, and in their different capabilities as regards dealing with adversities and opportunities (Ros-Tonen *et al.* 2005b, 415). The theoretical stances that are most relevant in this respect are the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (Chambers and Conway 1992; Carney 1998; DFID 1999), the entitlement approach (Dietz 1996; Leach *et al.* 1999; Njogu 2003); the politics of scale debate (Swyngedouw 1997; Peck 2002; Sheppard 2002; Kurtz 2003)

and social movement theories (for example Mc Adam *et al.* 1996; Klandermans *et al.* 1998, Alvarez *et al.* 1998).

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach, notably the concept of social capital embodied in this approach, offers useful tools with which to analyse the costs and benefits of partnerships. A relevant question in this respect, which is not addressed in any greater detail in this book, is related to whether the partnership forms an essential social asset that increases or decreases access of the poorest sectors of society to natural, human, physical, financial and political-juridical capital, and helps increase the human capability to survive and attain a sustainable livelihood (Chambers and Conway 1992; Bebbington 1999; De Haan 2000; Henkemans 2001; Van den Hombergh 2004). Social and political-juridical capital (including access to financiers, decision-making and the legal system) are relevant to further studies in the social context of partnerships, as outside actors involved in partnerships can build bridges to local actors' wider goals, but may also interfere with these in a negative sense (Cleaver 2005). When developing partnerships between local communities and external (development) organisations, particular attention therefore needs to be paid to the 'interfaces' or 'critical points of intersection or linkages' between social groups (Long and Van der Ploeg 1989).

At these interfaces, power imbalances and conflicting interests with respect to forest and tree resources have an important impact on the structuring and functioning of partnerships. Insofar as power imbalances are grounded on diverging rights and access to resources, they can be understood by using the entitlement approach, which deals with the rights to own, the rights to use and the rights to intervene in resource situations (Dietz 1996, 41; see also the endowments and entitlements concepts in Leach *et al.* 1999). Njogu (2004) combines this entitlement approach with stakeholder theories developed by Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) and Mikalsen and Jentoft (2001), on the basis of which he has drawn up a checklist of actors. Conflicting interests are also based on different ways in which different stakeholders value forest and tree resources. Such a normative pluriformity is particularly strong when the points of view of professional state conservation and management organisations are compared with those of local communities (Long and Long 1992; Wiersum 1999).

The fact that the actors involved in partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management operate at multiple spatial scales gives rise to 'politics of scale' (Swyngedouw 1997; Peck 2002; Kurtz

2003). This involves such questions as the divergence between the scale at which environmental problems such as deforestation occur and the scale(s) at which they can and should be tackled, how the various governance levels can be linked (a question taken up by Mary Brook in Chapter 10), how actors can strategically articulate (or 'jump scale' in the terms of Smith 1984) with actors at another scale in order to increase leverage (see Sergio Rosendo in Chapter 11) and the use of scale as a means of legitimating the inclusion and exclusion in political debate (Kurtz 2003). The latter is a problem dealt with by Colchester in Chapter 14, where he notes that one of the main challenges international community forestry networks are facing is to link with local communities and prevent their exclusion from the forestry debate due to not being duly represented. Although the 'politics of scale' are not the explicit focus of this book, the chapters that deal with them provide useful insights into the human geography debate on how processes at distinct spatial levels interact and influence each other.

Finally, social movement theories can provide crucial insights into the construction of public-private and other partnerships and into how they are debated as panaceas for sustainable development. Political partnerships as vehicles for protests against forest destruction and social exclusion and lobbies for pro-poor and sustainable policies can be the outcome of successful struggles of environmental and other movements. Examples in this book are the alliance against the industrial forestry contract between the Costa Rican government and a paper giant (Chapter 4 by Van den Hombergh), social movements against infrastructure investments in the Brazilian Amazon (Chapter 13 by Scholz) and the international community forestry networks which are the subject of Chapter 14 by Colchester. More so than in the case of the other types of partnerships, political partnerships deal with the underlying causes of deforestation rather than easing them through contracts or forest management projects. The conditions under which political partnerships, through alliances, coalitions and social advocacy networks are able to gain both short-term political success and deal with such underlying causes have been addressed by authors like Alvarez *et al.* (1998), Mc Adam *et al.* (1996) and Van den Hombergh (2004), while Kaimowitz (1996), Silva (1997), Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Colchester *et al.* (2003) addressed the extent to which, and under what conditions, such partnerships can enhance environmental and forest management.

Dangers and Pitfalls

Whether in terms of social or symbolic capital, the general assumption behind partnerships is that, by joining assets, funds, political power, skills and knowledge, the parties involved gain from participation in the partnership and engage in the partnership in the expectation of mutual benefits. Often, this assumption is justified. For example, the A'Ukre Indians in the Brazilian state of Pará would not have gained access to a profitable market for Brazil nut oil were it not for the partnership with The Body Shop (Chapter 7 by Morsello and Adger) and the rubber tappers in the western Brazilian Amazon state of Rondônia would never have gained secure access to forest land in the form of extractive reserves if they had not entered into partnerships with international NGOs that had the political power to influence the World Bank (Chapter 11 by Rosendo). The cases assembled in this book teach us, however, that there are numerous dangers and pitfalls. Below we review the major risks which include failure to deal with diverging interests and power asymmetries, the use of discourses or 'strategic frames' to obscure such power imbalances, failure to recognise ecological and social dynamics, exclusion of crucial actors (local and regional governments in particular), adverse effects on local governance structures, a disabling policy environment, high transaction costs, limited capacity of partnerships to alleviate poverty and the problem of scaling-up successful initiatives.

The Challenge of Diverging Interests

Parties involved in a partnership do not necessarily pursue the same objective and may have different reasons for participating. What is most important is that all the partners recognise a common ground which justifies the partnership, that they share the expectation that the partnership will generate benefits and that they recognise each other's goals in order to create a win-win situation. For instance, by entering into a partnership with a paper company (Van den Hombergh, Chapter 4) the Costa Rican government tried to defend its 'green image' of pursuing sustainable development and reforestation, while the paper company sought to secure a cheap supply of pulpwood. Similarly, government actors might be primarily motivated to participate in multi-sector partnerships by the opportunity it offers to attract donor funding, while international environmental organisations

seek to promote conservation, and local communities participate in the expectation of improved livelihoods. Whether the stakeholders' end goals are practically compatible is an issue that needs to be considered in any kind of partnership. The examples in this book demonstrate that such multiple objectives can often be reconciled, but that there is also a serious risk that the agenda of the most powerful will dominate. Several authors therefore stress the importance of brokers who act as 'watchdogs' (for instance Cleuren, Chapter 3; Vermeulen and Mayers, Chapter 6; Morsello and Adger, Chapter 7). Such a watchdog is an organisation (governmental, non-governmental or international) that defends the interests of the least powerful, both in the stage of negotiating the goals and terms of the partnerships and during their implementation.

Failure to Reduce Power Asymmetries

Marginal population groups remain dependent on external actors for access to markets and often lack the skills and power to negotiate prices and conditions in their favour. This holds true for most company-community partnerships, particularly those involving indigenous populations living in isolated areas, with poor knowledge of the official language and little experience with outside markets, contracts and marketing arrangements. Although the A'Ukre Indians in Brazil who are involved with The Body Shop benefit from premium prices, the Chachi Indians in Ecuador who are engaging in a company-community and a multi-sector partnership for sustainable community forestry (Chapter 2 by Rival) feel that income and services from trading logs in the partnerships are not any better than in the business-as-usual scenario. Moreover, donor funds can create new dependencies which render the projects unsustainable when donor support comes to an end. Capacity building and empowerment of the least powerful may help to address these power asymmetries.

Framing as a Means to Obscure Power Imbalances

The risk of framing partnerships as relationships based on shared interests is that power imbalances are neglected. Several authors (Escobar 1995; Fairhead and Leach 2003; Van den Hombergh 2004) have stressed the fact that such notions as 'partnerships', 'sustainable management', 'biodiversity conservation', 'decentralised governance' and 'community participation' are politically charged and represent

diverging conceptions by communities, NGOs, international donors and other actors that are part of the partnership. As Van den Hombergh makes clear in Chapter 4, such discourses or strategic frames may obscure actually or potentially conflicting interests. In the case she describes, a paper company was able to create goodwill with the Costa Rican government by using a 'green' discourse ('*esta compañía reforestadora*'—this re-afforesting company), despite the fact that its primary interest was to secure the supply of pulpwood on cheap terms through leasing arrangements with farmers (who in the end were caught in the 'partnership' that prevented them from benefitting from more lucrative land uses). Frames may also obscure power imbalances at community level. For instance, by framing all villagers as 'poor and marginalised' (Rival, Chapter 2), partnerships neglect gender, ethnic and generational differences which may lead to the unequal distribution of benefits from the arrangement.

In the analysis of partnerships it is important to consider frames or discourses in two respects. Firstly, it is important to reveal how the prevailing discourse is the result of a power play ('the discursive battlefield'), the winner of which is capable of determining what options are being considered. Silva *et al.* (2002, 64–66), who adapt the classification by Dryzeck (1997), distinguish four major paradigms as far as the sustainable management of forest resources is concerned. They use these paradigms to explain the 'political will' for policy reform in a number of countries, but they can also be used to explain the shape and direction that a partnership takes. The paradigms in question are:

- The market paradigm, the proponents of which rely on markets rather than on government interventions. This paradigm is reflected in the company-community partnerships described in this book;
- The technocratic planning paradigm which considers forestry issues as technical problems for which government regulation and intervention is needed. This one is reflected in the public-private partnerships, in particular the Trinidad case described by Fairhead and Leach in Chapter 5;
- The social forestry paradigm which prefers local communities to be in control of forests and benefit from them. Examples which reflect this paradigm are the multi-actor partnership with Chachi Indians described by Rival in the next chapter and the international community forestry networks described by Colchester in Chapter 14).

- The conservation paradigm which emphasises environmental services to be conserved either through market mechanisms (for instance the Guiana Initiative described by Van Dijck in Chapter 9), government interventions or community-based approaches (reflected in two of the multi-scale partnerships described by Brook in Chapter 10).

As proposed by Lebel *et al.* (2004), it is useful to add a fifth perspective to these, namely the ‘Nobody Knows Best’ perspective which recognises multiple actors and mixed interests in forest management. This paradigm prevails in most of the multi-sector partnerships described in this book, for instance in the case of extractive reserves (Chapter 11 by Rosendo) and a multi-sector partnership for ‘ecological’ paper production (Chapter 12 by Otsuki). In many of these cases, however, the discourse of international donors tends to dominate (see also Chapter 14 where Colchester mentions this as one of the bottlenecks in international community forestry networks).

A second reason to pay attention to discourse development or framing is that the deconstruction of frames provides insight into the real environmental and socioeconomic effects of partnerships and who are being affected by them.

Failure to Recognise Ecological and Social Dynamics

One of the framings specific for partnerships for sustainable forest management relates to the desired outcome of the management effort and the assumed stability of the management system—an issue raised by Fairhead and Leach in Chapter 4. Fairhead and Leach argue that the framing of stability—both in ecological and social terms—should be contested for ecological dynamics and social unpredictabilities inherent in the system. Failure to take these into account may lead to tensions between the partners (in this case woodworkers and the Forestry Division of Trinidad), based on a frustration that goals and rules are constantly adapted or that commitments by the Forestry Division are not met due to ‘unexpected’ events such as fires resulting from prolonged droughts. The same applies to social dynamics, such as the power plays of large-scale sawmill operators who, despite the fact that they are not part of the partnership, gain preferential access to timber resources thanks to their political connections and influence. Like Rosendo in Chapter 11, Fairhead and Leach argue for non-equilibrium thinking and the application of adaptive management principles in order to deal with these dynamics.

The Risk of Exclusion

Partnerships may exclude crucial social actors, thus creating new inequalities by preferring some villages or actors to others and by unequally distributing funding, training and resources. The exclusion of whole villages has been observed by Rival with respect to Chachi villages in the multi-sector community forestry partnership in Ecuador described in the next chapter, and by Brook (Chapter 10) with respect to the multi-scale co-management initiatives with Miskitu Indians in Nicaragua. In both cases, exclusion also occurred in other manners. In the Chachi case, the better-off (leaders and teachers) were the ones who benefited most from capacity building, while the Miskitu Indians were hardly involved in decisions regarding the implementation of the forestry initiatives. A similar situation can also occur involving individual poor farmers who are considered to be the 'less promising' partners, as in the case of the leasing arrangement with the paper company in Costa Rica (Chapter 4). Here, the company preferred relatively larger and more fertile tracks of land than those of poor farmers. In Chapter 14, Colchester points to a particular kind of social exclusion, caused by mediating NGOs which do not represent local communities but do replace their voice in multi-scale political partnerships.

A Disabling Policy Environment

Several pitfalls occur where partnerships are based on neo-liberal ideas about a retreating role of the state. Several authors in this book argue that a strong public actor is needed for several types of partnerships to thrive. This holds true for multi-sector partnerships like the one described in the next chapter by Rival which failed to translate the aim of reconciling conservation and development goals at the regional policy level due to overlooking the regional government as a partner for social reform. It is also observed by Cleuren in Chapter 3 who notes that excessive bureaucracies hamper small producers to successfully engage in public-private partnerships for the sustainable production of bamboo in Ecuador, while the government is a relatively weak partner for such partnerships due to lack of expertise, financial means and vision. Vermeulen and Mayers argue in Chapter 6 that the voluntary arrangements in company-community partnerships based on corporate social responsibility are insufficient to guarantee sustainable and socially just practices and that an adequate public policy is needed to set the regulatory

framework under which the companies are to operate. A combination of these arguments can be found in Chapter 13 by Scholz with respect to political partnerships against the adverse effects of large-scale infrastructural investments in the Brazilian Amazon region. She concludes that local governments lack the capacity to be a partner of much better informed civil society actors in the analysis of the risks of such investments and the possible solutions for them, while the legal institutions are too weak to provide adequate protection of the environment.

Adverse Effects on Local Governance Structures

As Brook makes it clear in Chapter 10 and Rosendo in Chapter 11, multi-scale partnerships involving external and international actors may erode traditional governance structures by introducing new leaders, or by neglecting or replacing local leadership. This is a serious threat to the sustainability of the partnership as local people might not feel part of the process.

Transaction Costs

Particularly in multi-sector partnerships, the danger lies in the limits of managing complexity. The involvement of a large number of actors, often operating at different geographical scales, implies high transaction costs, which may prejudice the success of the partnership. As Vermeulen and Mayers note in Chapter 6, this might also be the case in company-community partnerships when a business has to deal with a large number of farmers.

Partnerships and Poverty Alleviation

It is highly questionable whether poverty can be alleviated through forest conservation and management alone. Various cases presented in this book make it clear that partnerships are not a panacea for lifting people out of poverty. Moreover, the majority of the poor in Latin America live outside the forest and many of those living in the forest try to escape from poverty by moving out. However, be it through conviction or circumstance, others do depend on the forest as a means of livelihood. Ways will have to be found to alleviate poverty among those population groups living inside and outside the forest and those who are and who are not willing to stay there.

Examples such as the case described by Otsuki in Chapter 12, where a multi-sector partnership aimed at the sustainable production of 'ecological paper' in the Brazilian Amazon region deliberately involves the urban poor, are in a minority.

Scaling Up

Of course there are also success stories in which there only seem to be winners. The partnership between Muaná Alimentos Ltd and poor communities in Brazilian Amazonia exploiting (*açaí*) and palm heart of the *Euterpe oleracea* palm (Chapter 8 by Van Andel) seems to be such a case. However, the up-scaling of successful experiences is a problem. Partnerships should not be romanticised. The political power of large landowners and multinational corporations is strong and the public sector is weak. For the time being, the influence of outsiders such as the Church, NGOs and international donors remains essential.

Conditions for successful partnerships

In the light of the potential dangers and pitfalls highlighted above, the question is raised of what are the conditions for successful partnerships. 'Success' is interpreted here primarily in terms of (1) the capacity of partnerships to reconcile multiple interests and power imbalances; and (2) their potential to contribute to ecologically sustainable and socially just forest and tree resource management. We thereby distinguish between success factors related to partnerships as a social process which is unrelated to the specific objective of that partnership, and conditions related to the specific aim of achieving sustainable forest and tree resource management.

Power Balancing

When constructing partnerships, account should be taken of diverging interests, social inequalities and power imbalances between partners (for example according to gender, ethnicity, resource availability and being rural or urban). In order to deal with them brokers might be needed, as well as empowerment of community-based organisations and producer associations. Traditional governance structures and local knowledge should be integrated into multi-scale initiatives in order to do justice to cultural diversity and legal pluralism.

The objectives of the partners should be compatible or at least be mutually respected. Partners may participate on the basis of different motivations, but they should at least acknowledge each other's goals and interests. This requires a fair negotiation process during the formation of a partnership, involving local groups in all stages of planning in order to ensure ownership. Care should also be taken to ensure that all stakeholders are identified, since negotiations will be ineffective if partnerships exclude people or prevent important actors from participating. Security, trust, access to information, feedback mechanisms, a transparent dialogue and preparedness to compromise are other prerequisites for successful negotiations. Rights (for instance to a sustainable livelihood) rather than stakes should be the leading principle in negotiating the aims of the partnership.

Realism

Objectives and the prospects of benefits should be realistic in order not to raise false expectations—participants should believe and obtain evidence that they benefit from the partnership, that there is 'something in it' for them. Local value adding is important in this respect, as well as the inclusion of multiple components in forest and tree resource-related livelihoods (timber and non-timber products, including the provision of environmental services where feasible; natural and domesticated forest products; forest production and farming). Sound business should be combined with broader development goals, which in addition to implementing sustainable forestry and agroforestry, requires lobbying for pro-poor forest policies at national and international level. Furthermore, the number of partners should be limited as dealing with a high number of partners involves high transaction costs. By forming associations and producer groups, these transaction costs can be lowered. In order to generate a realistic view of ecological and socioeconomic impacts, frames like 'sustainable forest management' and 'reforestation' should be duly deconstructed and their desired conditions made clear. Finally, a realistic and long-term timeframe should be set, but one that is sufficiently flexible to deal with changes. Partnerships require mutual trust between the partners and hence long-term commitment.

Risk and Conflict Management

Agreement should be reached on the responsibilities between the partners (for specific tasks, environmental damage, etc.) in accordance with the scale at which an actor operates and the assigning of complementary rather than overlapping or conflicting tasks. Care needs to be taken to make sure that risks are equally shared and that mechanisms are in place to cope with risk (diversification, insurances, etc.). It should be realised that partnerships cannot act as a substitute for the role of government and that public investments—and hence the participation of public actors in partnerships—remain crucial. Proper monitoring and conflict resolution systems should be created in order to be able to solve conflicts might these arise between the parties in the partnership.

An Enabling Institutional Environment

With respect to the objective of realising sustainable forest and tree resource management that also contributes to poverty alleviation, the cases in this book make it clear that the following institutional conditions play a crucial role:

- Secure tenure and resource-use arrangements;
- A clear legal framework for the forest and tree resource products;
- An enabling, de-bureaucratised policy environment specifically at regional and local level, which may require ‘environmental capacity’ building of public sector actors through lobbying and exposure to global civil society networks;
- Capacity building of small farmers and forest dwellers in sustainable exploitation techniques;
- Access to markets, with particular attention for the potential of markets for environmental services and domestic markets, for well-functioning marketing channels and the grading of smallholders’ production to the required market standards.

The Structure of this Book

The cases presented in this book are arranged according to the type of partnership under discussion, with the next two chapters covering several kinds of partnerships. Rival (Chapter 2) and Cleuren (Chapter 3) both deal with Ecuador and compare various types of

partnerships ranging from public-private and company-community partnerships to multi-sector or intersectoral partnerships (referred to as 'coalitions' by Rival) and political partnerships. While focusing respectively on community forest management and sustainable bamboo production, they pay attention to the conditions that make partnerships successful in terms of environmental sustainability, economic feasibility and poverty alleviation.

The two chapters that follow focus on public-private partnerships. In Chapter 4, Van den Hombergh describes the political discourse relating to a public-private partnership for the sowing of *Gmelina arborea* trees for pulpwood on farmland between the Costa Rican government and a paper industry, and the political coalition against it. Fairhead and Leach (Chapter 5) focus on a public-private partnership between government foresters and artisanal woodworkers for the sustainable production of timber in Trinidad. In both chapters, the authors argue for the deconstruction of frames like 'sustainability', 'equilibrium' and 'stability'.

Chapters 6–8 deal with company-community partnerships which combine business goals of corporate social responsibility and 'green' marketing with the development goals of poor rural communities. The authors highlight conditions for the success of these partnerships, each from a different perspective. Based on a review of company-community partnerships in the wood fibre industry all over the world, Vermeulen and Mayers (Chapter 6) deal with operational features affecting the efficiency, equity and durability of the partnerships, presenting the lessons learned with respect to transaction costs, power sharing, risk, conflicts and the policy environment. Morsello and Adger (Chapter 7) focus on benefits and drawbacks of a partnership between The Body Shop and a community of A'Ukre Kayapó Indians in the Brazilian Amazon region as far as income distribution, social and cultural disruption, empowerment and conservation are concerned. Van Andel (Chapter 8) focuses primarily on the conditions under which fruit (*açaí*) and palm heart of the *Euterpe oleracea* palm can be harvested in a sustainable manner within the framework of a partnership between a Brazilian company and poor communities in Brazilian Amazonia.

The four chapters in Part IV present multi or intersectoral partnerships for sustainable forest and tree resource management which involve actors that operate on multiple scales. The case of the Guiana Shield Initiative (GSI), presented by Van Dijck in Chapter 9, differs

from the other multi-sector partnerships presented in this book because it does not primarily implement sustainable forest management, conservation and/or sustainable livelihood projects, but prioritises the creation of financial mechanisms for the conservation of eco-services such as carbon sequestration and biodiversity conservation as a basis for generating the funds for such projects. The three chapters that follow illustrate the main challenges of multi-sector partnerships, such as dealing with diverging goals and interests, power imbalances and donor dependency. In Chapter 10, Brook does this on the basis of four multi-sector partnerships in indigenous Miskitu villages in Nicaragua, while Rosendo (Chapter 11) focuses on partnerships relating to the creation, legal implementation and development of extractive reserves in Rondônia, Brazilian Amazonia. Otsuki (Chapter 12) uses an 'ecological paper' project in the Brazilian Amazon region to demonstrate how institutionally complex it is to set up multi-sector partnerships for localised production chains. She argues that this complexity is needed in order to be able to link the funds, markets, research capacity, technical skills and institutional support needed to produce the paper in an ecologically sustainable and economically feasible manner to the benefit of both the rural and urban poor.

The last two chapters deal with political partnerships, alliances or networks. In Chapter 13, Scholz examines the environmental capacities (the ability to devise solutions for environmental problems) of the actors involved in two such partnerships relating to unsustainable infrastructure investments in Brazilian Amazonia. In the last chapter, Colchester looks at factors that determine advocacy effectiveness, communications, relationships with donors and linking with communities and social movements. He does so on the basis of a review of international community forestry networks, with a focus on networks that are based in, or are particularly relevant to, Latin America. Considering the power imbalances inherent in all types of partnerships reviewed in this book, his main message is of universal value. According to Colchester, all actors involved in partnerships need to reflect on the extent to which the voice of local communities is heard, whether they are adequately represented in decision-making and whether agendas are not imposed on them. Failure to do so may lead to new forms of social exclusion.

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