COMMUNITY FOREST MANAGEMENT
(CFM)
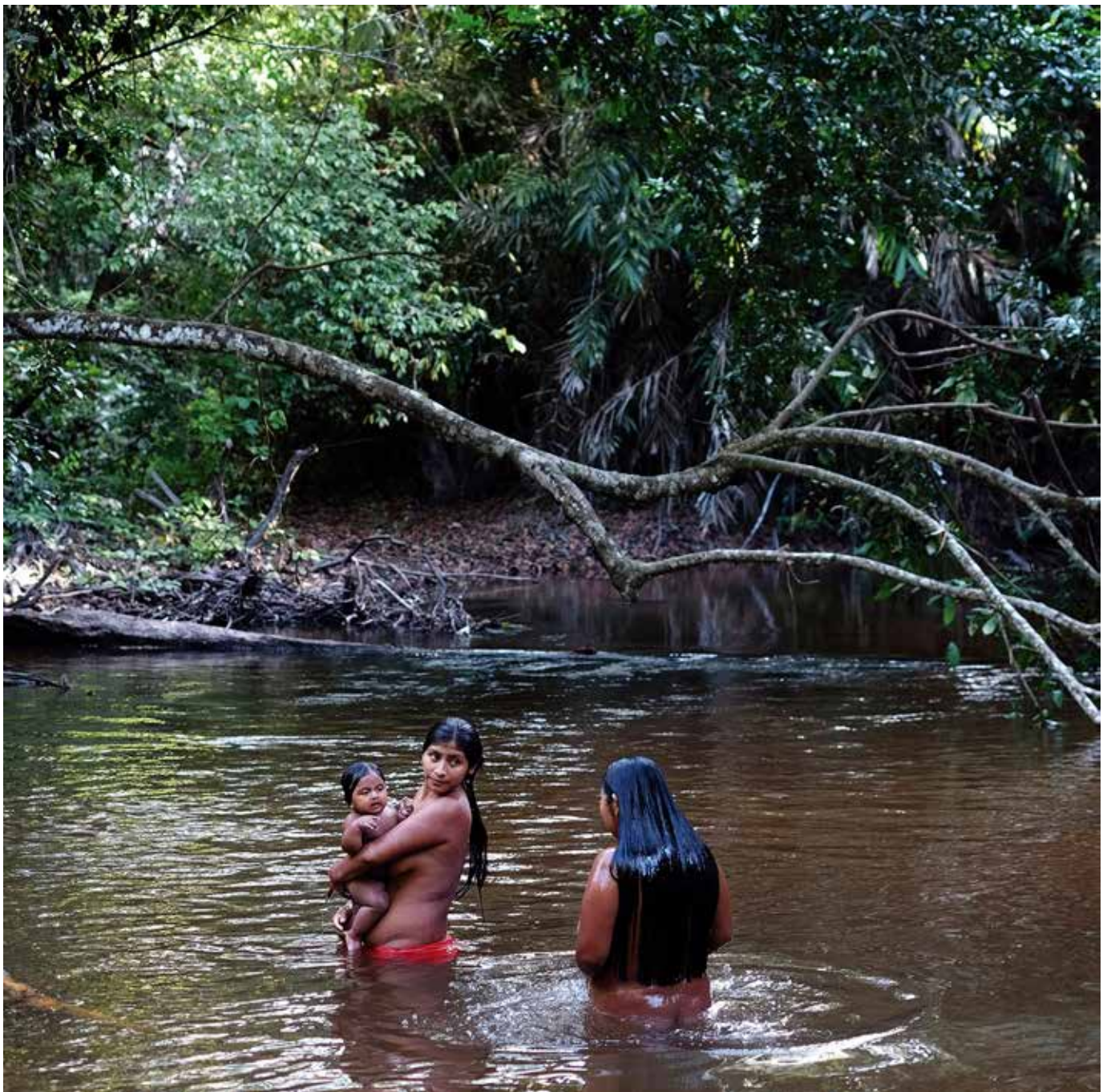
AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE VITAL RESOURCES
FOR THE GOOD LIVING OF HUMAN SOCIETIES

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Community Forest Management (CFM)
An opportunity to preserve and restore vital resources for the Good Living of human societies

By Javier Baltodano
Septiember 2015, javier@coecoceiba.org

"The removal of people, often the poorest and the indigenous, from the very resources on which they most rely has a long and troubling history and has framed much natural resource policy in both developing and industrialized countries"[1].

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1. INTRODUCTION: ABOUT GOOD LIVING, FORESTS AND OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY CFM

1.1. GOOD LIVING AND FORESTS

The new paradigm, which has gathered support among most Indigenous Peoples, environmental and peasant movements, and the most progressive sectors of Western societies is related to what is referred to as "Good Living". This is a concept that challenges the capitalist paradigms of "progress", "development" and "sustainable development" that have ruled over the fate of the planet during the past five centuries and that are seemingly coming to an end, as the unequivocal depletion of natural resources and widespread unhappiness clearly show.

The concept of Good Living is broad and is not limited to a specific recipe; it is an ongoing process, or in some cases a rebuilding process based on ancestral knowledge that five centuries of colonial history and capitalist "development" have not managed to destroy completely. However, there are specific issues that show very concretely the path within the conceptual framework of Good Living. One of the most complete academic analyses[2] about the issue states that this concept "implies to be in harmony with Mother Earth and the conservation of ecosystems. It means "... happiness for Indigenous People around the world and of all human groups in general, it implies community coexistence, social equality, equity, reciprocity, solidarity, justice, peace". It is then a concept that integrates specific cultural values and also ancestral techniques and scientific knowledge.

It is important to point out that the Good Living refers to a good coexistence among human beings and between them and other sentient beings, including cosmic and spiritual forces of nature and animals. It is not about living better than others, it is about living respecting ourselves and the "otherness". "What surrounds us (mountains, forests, rivers...) is part of a whole that gives us life, they are deities (water, air, land, universe) whose energy is the same as that of the atoms that make up human beings. The Kuna people of Panama consider natural elements as "big brothers" because they existed before human beings."[3] .

The concept of Good Living is clearly sustained on two main axes. On one hand, it represents a critique against the modern times in which we are immersed, while on the other hand, it proposes the basis upon which to create an ethics for a new paradigm grounded on the elements mentioned above. Evidently, the logic of the capitalist economic system of transforming everything into a commodity is the most visible expression of these modern times. Capitalism, in this way, is much more than a mere economic reality. It also implies a certain world view and a social way of organizing that is sustained by power relationships that devour communal ancestral territories that are crucial for life, in order to meet the self-generated needs of sustained growth and capital expansion.

Both the conservation and restoration of biodiversity and forests, and their organized and autonomous management by communities are key aspects of the Good Living. Forests are closely related to basically all the natural commons that are necessary for a good life: water, seeds, biodiversity, climate, soils, honey, fruits, medicines...are elements that depend on forests.[4] In many communities around the world, forests also stand for a close link with the spiritual world, which is also a key aspect of Good Living that largely anticipates the guidelines for good governance in CFM.

1.2. FOREST CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION: A CHALLENGE THAT NECESSARILY INVOLVES CFM AS A KEY ELEMENT

At global level, forests have been facing an intense and sustained attack for over five centuries. Over half of them have disappeared and it is estimated that during the first half of the 21st Century, over 130,000 square kilometers (Km2) of forest territories have been destroyed each year, of which 80,000 km2 are located in tropical regions that host the highest levels of biodiversity in the world. These data do not include a considerable surface area subject to deforestation by commercial logging processes, which goes unnoticed by satellite image studies.[5] It is important to highlight that this camouflaged deforestation entails severe negative impacts on water, biodiversity and often also on the communities that inhabit the areas neighboring this sites of industrial extraction of timber.[6]

To address this situation, human societies need to use multiple tools and action elements. The Brazilian Amazon detailed case study presented here illustrates the complexity of the issue.[7] This study establishes the average deforestation rate in the region at 19,500 km2 per year between 1996 and 2005. If this deforestation rate were to continue, the forest coverage of the Brazilian Amazon

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2. Houtart F. 2011.El concepto de Sumay Kawsay (Buen Vivir) y su correspondencia con el bien común de la humanidad. Revista de Filosofía. #69, 2011-3,pp 7-33

3. Houtart F. 2011.bis

4. Baltodano et al. (Ed), 2007. Community-based forest governance: from resistance to proposals for sustainable use. Friends of the Earth International. .82 p. www.foei.org

5. Fearnside P.and Lawrence W., 2007.Comment on "Determination of Deforestation Rates of the World's Humid Tropical Forests" Science. Vol 299, p.1015

6. Baltodano J. 2003. La madera , el bosque y la gente. Propuesta ecologista para producir madera respetando el bosque y las comunidades. Coecoceiba- Friends of the Earth –CR. 71 p. www.coecoceiba.org. .

7. Nepstad, D. et. All. 2009.The end of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. Science, #326. Dec 2009. pp 1350-1351

would be destroyed in little more than 100 years. However, from 2005 to 2009, it was possible to reduce the average deforestation rate by 36%. Some of the policies and actions often cited as the basis on which this reduction could happen are:

> increasing acreage under Protected Areas: from 1.26 million to 1.82 million hectares, comprising to date 51% of all forest covered areas;
> campaigns by the federal government to identify illegal tenure of land and cancel loans and other forms of support to this irregular situations;
> campaigns to put pressure on markets that included products extracted or derived from the Amazon;
> repression and imprisonment of illegal operators; and
> downsizing of the meat and soybean industry in the region.

Based on this study, scientists propose a strategy to bring deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon down to zero by 2020. This strategy must necessarily combine the following aspects:

> a strong policy that encompasses education, credit incentives and repression when necessary. This would prompt cattle-ranching companies, soybean production, industrial timber extraction and other activities such as illegal mining to respect the law;
> an effective protection of the Protected Areas system needs to develop, among other things, an adequate finance system and policies to integrate these areas with neighboring communities who have historically inhabited them;
> integration of communities: by the end of the past decade, there were around 400,000 small farmers (with 100 hectares per family) who lived in forest lands with production systems that integrated the forest or had low impact in terms of deforestation. These social forces must become allies and be integrated under CFM schemes;
> there are also around half a million[8] and one million people[9] belonging to Indigenous Peoples or local communities who have historically defended their territories against deforestation and forest degradation. Neither the federal government nor other public institutions have had any comprehensive policies or support for these communities. Strengthening the organization and management abilities of these groups is a key component of any action plan that aims to succeed in stopping deforestation.

These recommendations and the cited study highlight that forest conservation in such a wide, difficult to govern, and key area as the Brazilian Amazon largely depends on

empowering and supporting community management -whether by indigenous or peasant communities- regarding the defense and good use of their territories and forests. This idea will most likely apply to other forest regions in Africa and South-East Asia with similar realities: Indigenous peoples coexisting with peasant communities that are systematically attacked by large corporations and/or landowners who have the financial capital and industrial machines necessary to exert pressure and violence against the communities and to destroy the forests (whether to extract timber or establish monoculture plantations and/or cattle pastures to meet the huge demand from international markets.)

CFM has then a significant role among the efforts to reduce forest destruction, and it is necessary and urgent to generate a profound international debate about it in order to stimulate, promote and support these community processes in the best way possible.

2. CFM: A DECENTRALIZATION PROCESS FOR GOOD LIVING

2.1. CFM AS PART OF GROWING INTERNATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION PROCESSES

Decentralization in the management of some resources has been pointed out by academics as "one of the most significant and visible changes in environmental policies of developing countries since the 80s."[10] In Latin America, local communities have obtained property or use rights recognized by governments for at least 150 million hectares,[11] which represent approximately 20% of the total forest land in Latin America.[12] Mexico is probably the country in the region with proportionally more forests in the hands of "ejidos" and indigenous and peasant communities: one important legacy of the Mexican revolution is having given possession over a half of its forests (40-70% according to CONAFOR's data) to communities. After serious conflicts and many struggles, many communities have managed to establish organized structures to take advantage of forests, most of which have contributed to the conservation and sustainable use of forest resources. At global level, it is estimated that local communities manage around 8% of all forests in the world.[13] This proportion needs to increase significantly if we want forests to be preserved and their richness and biodiversity maintained.

8. Nepstad, D. et. All. 2009.bis
9. Kaimowitz D. 2002. Pobreza y bosques en América Latina: Una agenda de acción. Revista Forestal Centroamericana 39-40: 13-15.
10. Agrawal, A. Ostrom, E. in Decentralization, Forests and Rural Communities: Policy Outcomes in South and Southeast Asia, E. L. Webb, G. Shivakoti, Eds. (SAGE, New Delhi, 2008), pp. 44–67.
11. White, A; Martin, A. 2002. Who owns the world's forests? Washington D.C., Forest Trends
12. Porter-Bolland, L. et al. 2011.Land use,cover change,deforestation,protected areas,community forestry,tenure rights,tropical forests. Forest Ecology and Management 268: 6-17
13. Porter-Bolland, L. et al. 2011. bis

Beyond forests, decentralized governance of resources by community groups or local associations, including of pastures, water, fisheries, biodiversity or territories in general is essential for the Good Living of many communities around the world.[14] This is why people often talk about community-based governance of territories or community-based governance of resource conservation, or community use of communal spaces or the commons. All these concepts are included herein under the CFM concept. During the '90s, approximately 500,000 local groups from a variety of environmental and social contexts were identified as linked to the management of a natural resource. Most of them progressed until reaching a similar number of participants (from 20 to 30 active members per organization, on average). Thus, 8 to 15 million persons globally are involved, including relatives or other people who are closely linked to the active members of these local organizations that manage resources.[15]

2.2. DESTRUCTIVE LOGGING: NEITHER CENTRALIZED NOR DECENTRALIZED

It is always important to take into account, highlight and denounce that there are a series of proposals regarding forests that, under the guise of community control, in reality represent ways of facilitating the extraction of resources and community commons by large companies. This is the case of experiences identified under the concepts of Community Forestry or Sustainable Forest Management, whereby governments hand over to the communities that inhabit forests the responsibility to "control" or supervise industrial timber extraction operations. This is what we refer to as commercial logging which, as has been found by many academics and confirmed and suffered by local communities around the world, is an activity that destroys and degrades forests.

In these projects, communities are in practice almost forced --through corruption processes or taking advantage of their poverty-- to allow the operation of industrial companies within their forests. Community involvement is limited to obtaining a minute percentage of the high profits from timber extraction by transnational corporations, which in most cases operate in association with national bureaucracies.[16] Many of these projects involve violence and high levels of corruption.[17]

This type of practices will be further analyzed below, since it is one of the most serious threats against CFM.

For the time being, it is important to highlight that in FoEI we have clearly differentiated this type of practices that are not community practices, from others where communities effectively control and respectfully use their forests and territories. Within the conceptual framework of the Good Living, we emphasize that the decentralization of territorial management must be honest and not serve to disguise corporate "business as usual". CFM must also involve a new ethical approach that integrates a comprehensive improvement of the quality of life for all the communities and peoples linked to a specific territory, with due respect to their spirituality and the natural resources. Sometimes we have resorted to the concept of "community forest and/or territorial governance" to differentiate CFM from damaging forest management initiatives, which is the way Western science refers to destructive commercial logging.[18]

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14. Pretty J., 2003. Social Capital and the Collective Management of Resources Sciencie #302, Dic 2003, 1912-1913.

15. Pretty J.,2003. bis

16. - Foe-Malasya. 2007. Proyecto de Reforestación en Long Belok. En: La Gestión Comunitaria de los Bosques: entre la resistencia las propuestas de uso sustentable. Baltodano J. et al (ed). FOEI. p. 25-26 www.foei.org. - Foe- Liberia 2008. conver pers. - ver estudio de caso Camerún

17. - Van Oijen, D. 2007. Ley forestal de Camerún: cuando la ley no se cumple las comunidades y los bosques sufren.En: La Gestión Comunitaria de los Bosques: entre la resistencia las propuestas de uso sustentable. Baltodano J. et al (ed). FOEI. pp 62-63. www.foei.org.
- ACF and CECOR-FoePNG. 2006. Buildozing Progress. Human Rights Abuses and Corruption in Papua New Guine Large Scale Logging Industry. 38pp. www.celcor.org.

18. Baltodano J. et al (editores), 2007 La Gestión Comunitaria de los Bosques: entre la resistencia las propuestas de uso sustentable. FOEI pp25-26 www.foei.org

We have stated above that under the concept of CFM we refer to multiple practices, but it is very important to differentiate these -those we include under the CFM term- from those which are presented us such, but are effectively nothing more than a way to do business using and abusing communities and Indigenous Peoples.

2.3. WHAT IS THEN THE CFM THAT IS PROMOTED ON THE BASIS OF THE "GOOD LIVING"?

The concept of CFM implies the political control by communities over their territories and resources through horizontal decision making processes that include transparency and accountability towards the rest of the community. CFM is not limited to the forest and the timber in them. It is holistic because it involves the adequate and planned use of water, of sacred places and biodiversity. It is not limited either to political management, given that it also involves aspects related to appropriate technologies, ancestral knowledge and community practices of organized planning and use of resources.

By management, we refer to an organized and orderly administration, because it involves processes of self-governance and generation of holistic policies that ensure sustainability, fair distribution and respect for the territory and its resources. All of this goes beyond a simply technical management, as happens under so called sustainable forest management.

On that regard, the Consortium of Territories and Areas Preserved by Indigenous People and Local Communities[19] (ICCA) specifies that there is also an ancestral link that communities or peoples have on a specific territory and the management or effective governance of it by the community. The ancestral link implies in itself many elements that facilitate this self-governance. This link is deep and involves many ways of life, energy, health, identity and culture and freedom itself. Also, this link is closely related to ancestors and intergenerational connections in a way that it becomes a basis to apprehend, identify values and develop their own rules. In the same way, it is linked with the spiritual reality.

CFM refers to regulations and practices used by many communities for the preservation and sustainable use of the territories they inhabit. It is a type of collective, community-based management, traditionally identified with protection against the industrial and commercial use given to natural resources, including forests. CFM is also identified with traditional knowledge as a complement and counterbalance to the so-called "Western science", which is based on simplified models that often include assumptions that have facilitated in many cases the devastation of resources and conditions of serious social injustice.

The concept of CFM integrates then a varied umbrella of possible situations that go from the wise and precise use of forests by some Indigenous Peoples, to the cases of peasant and urban communities that use, take care of and/or restore in a collective way forest areas in order to protect a vital resource (such as water, medicinal spe-

19. www.iccaconsortium.org

cies, etc). It includes the artisanal use of primary forests by "Chicleros" in the Amazon, the restoration processes of the forest by peasant communities that inhabit severely degraded areas[20] and subtle experiences of using fallen timber by organized peasants that inhabit forest areas[21]. CFM is closely linked to territories and initiatives by communities organized to manage territories related to the preservation of their water sources and their wild life, and fisherfolk communities that want to use their community resources in a responsible way.

In legal terms, a CFM handbook presents different community-based tenure or territorial control models[22]:
* the local (municipal) government owns forest areas or controls them through various legal agreements and arrangements;
* specific communities have agreements with central governments about the use of national areas;
* National Parks or reserve areas belonging to the central government are used by neighboring communities through agreements that regulate their use;
* indigenous territories under various arrangements, from community rights to community ownership titles;
* communities have concessions to use timber or any other resource;
* private lands are managed in a communal way through local organizations.

While there has been an increase in the processes of decentralization of forest territories, especially in the global South, most modern forest policies and laws have not opened spaces for communities to control their forests or at least participate in decision making processes about the use and planning of neighboring resources. Today, however, different movements are speaking up, demanding and fighting for their rights. Their success will largely depend not only on their ability to ensure there is clarity regarding forest land tenure, but also on their ability to organize themselves, recover ancestral capacities and manage resources in an organized way.

In the past two decades a significant amount of scientific information has been generated related to the use of resources by communities, the decentralization of forest-covered territories and the so-called community management of resources in general[23]. From all the information gathered, we have summarized some aspects related to CFM that we consider especially significant and relevant, both to ensure successful processes and to make sure they can be adequately integrated as part of the Good Living paradigm.

2.3.1 STRENGTHENING OF COMMUNITY RIGHTS.

Community rights are part of the Fundamental Human Rights and can be located within Solidarity Human Rights, due to their collective nature. These rights vindicate the role of local communities and indigenous peoples in different spheres:
* balanced relationships in ecosystems through sustainable use and the conservation of its elements;
* improvement and discovery of biodiversity uses;
* recognition of diversity in terms of organization, culture, legal system, world view.

Therefore, these are Universal, indivisible and interdependent rights and are based on the culture, traditions and practices of Indigenous Peoples and local communities, and therefore are historical and do not entail an ownership right[24].

In practice, one of the key aspects of community rights are community territories, since it is on the territories where they are based where all these spheres of expression of these rights takes place. And clarity of territorial tenure is precisely one of the aspects most widely cited in the research about successful CFM cases. A study about sixty nine CFM cases involving experiences in three continents cites land tenure and clarity around tenure rights as the two main aspects related to the success of CFM experiences[25].

In Tanzania, the traditional responsibility of communities over their territories and ancestral practices was taken away during colonial times and then under the socialist

20. Baltodano J. y Díaz F. 2004. La restauración ecologista del bosque tropical. Coecoceiba-Amigos de la Tierra-Costa Rica. 44pp. www.coecoceiba.org
21. Baltodano J. 2012. Madera caida del bosque tropical. Una opción ambientalmente sana y socialmente justa para producir madera. 36pp. Coecoceiba-Amigos de la Tierra-Costa Rica.36pp. www.coecoceiba.org
22. Gunter J.(Ed), 2004. The community Forestry Guidebook: tools and techniques for communities in British Columbia. British Columbia Community Forest Asociation. info@bccfa.ca
23. - Baltodano et al. (Ed), 2007. La gestion comunitaria de bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de uso sustentable. Amigos de la Tierra internacional.82pp. www.foei.org.
 -Brook, J. et al 2012.How national context, project design, and local community characteristics influence success in community-based conservation. PNAS , vol 109(52): 21265-21270
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24. Rojas I., 2007. Derechos Comunitarios, una herramienta para el fortalecimiento de la gestión comunitaria del bosque y la biodiversidad. En: La gestión comunitaria de los bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de usos sustentable, ed. Javier Baltodano, Luisa Paz y Janice Wormworth. .FOEI. p.11. www.foei.org
25. Pagdeea, A. 2006. What Makes Community Forest Management Successful: A Meta-Study From Community Forests Throughout the World. Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal. Vol 19(1): pp33-52

government. However, due to the success of projects to restore ancestral practices and community responsibility in the beginning of the past decade, a political process to return tenure and use rights over territories to local communities was started. Maybe because of this, sometimes these initiatives are referred to as "returning-back" processes to democratic management of resources.[26] In Nepal[27], an interesting case is mentioned where legal changes in forest lands granted to communities from different castes allowed for a more just and equitable use of forests and an increase in the quality of the life for the members of different castes. However, it is pointed out that the Kami caste, which prior to 1990 were usually denied forest use rights, fell behind in their ability and capacity to use the forest. In Costa Rica, executive decrees, together with the indigenous law in force managed to partially delimit and consolidate 24 indigenous territories. This has allowed eight Indigenous Peoples to survive keeping a large part of their social and natural heritage. However, serious deficiencies have been identified in this law, including ambiguities about their autonomy and the independence of their local governments with respect to the central government. This has caused that over half of the indigenous territories were not able to adequately consolidate themselves and that non indigenous cattle-ranching families now threaten the way of life and needs of the Indigenous People (see Annex 1 with case study about Costa Rica). In Mozambique, the situation is complex (see annex 2 with the case study about Mozambique). On the one side, being a socialist country provides it with a progressive legislation where land is exclusively in the hands of the State and therefore it cannot be sold and is for the benefit of the people. However, differing interpretations and the limitations of institutions along with the corrosive influence of power and corruption determine that communities are often attacked in their exercise of their fundamental community rights, with emerging cases of families and communities that have been displaced from their territories.

2.3.2. DEFORESTATION AND FOREST DEGRADATION PREVENTION

For decades, scientific studies have reported the cases of communities that govern forests or territories in an effective way, without any kind of external interference[28]. Their numbers have increased in the past two decades; a study about eighty four forest municipalities in Africa and Asia points out that while the issue is broad and there is a wide variety of experiences where positive and negative results are combined in different proportions, generally "the participation of forest-user communities in forest governance institutions is strongly linked to positive re-

sults for the conservation of biodiversity in the forest and to increases in the quality of life of communities".[29]

The case of Costa Rica is clear at pointing out that "indigenous territories on average have a larger and higher quality forest coverage (primary forests, compared with secondary or degraded forests) than the rest of the national territory and even more than protected national wildlife areas. This is a clear example of how territories managed by Indigenous Peoples are successful in keeping forest coverage and biodiversity.

A comparative study that analyzed satellite images of forty protected areas and 33 CFM experiences in several localities in Mexico, South America, Africa and Asia concluded that the areas under CFM presented a lower annual deforestation rate which was less variable than areas under absolute protection regimes[30]. Forests under absolute protection accounted for a deforestation rate of 1,47% while areas managed by communities limited deforestation to 0,24%. The authors point out that absolute conservation is beneficial in specific cases, but that it should be integrated with CFM initiatives within regional conservation strategies. On this regard, they state that "CFM is a key tool to take into account within national strategies to stop deforestation".

2.3.3 CONSERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF BIODIVERSITY

Being an efficient forest preservation tool, CFM has a direct impact on the conservation of the biodiversity kept in forests. However, there is something more: Indigenous Peoples and other communities related to the forest make a use of biodiversity often based on ancestral knowledge, enhancing and shaping the biodiversity of the forests where they live in certain specific ways. The case of the Ngobe indigenous people in the South region of Costa Rica and North of Panama is an example of this: they weave forest fibers and their hats and baskets are high quality. This People uses a large variety of palm fibers and lianas from the forest: a Ngobe woman can use and knows several tens of forest plants with which to elaborate different weaved products. Thus, for long duration rustic baskets they use "cucharilla" lianas, for rapid and rustic hats, they use "estrella" lianas, for fine hats they use the fibers of three or four different underwood palms. During a countryside tour carried out by COECOCEIBA with this people, we asked one of the women what happens if they run out of lianas and palms.
"No!", she said, "we harvest lianas on the waning moon for them not to dry up when we trim them, and we only

26. Ylhasi J. , 2005, Forest privatisation and the role of community in forests and nature protection in Tanzania. Environmental Science and Policy vol 6(3): pp229-239
27. Maharjam K., 2005. Community participation in forest resource management in Nepal. Journal of Mountain Science, vol 2(1): pp32-41
28. Ostrom, O.1990. Governing the Commons. CambridgeUniv. Press, New York, 1990..
29.   Persha, L.; Agrawal, A.; Chhatre, A. 2011. Social and Ecological Synergy: Local Rulemaking, Forest Livelihoods, and Biodiversity Conservation. Science # March 2011 #331, pp1606-608.
30. Porter-Bolland L. et al, 2012. Land use,cover change,deforestation,protected areas,community forestry,tenure rights,tropical forests.Forest ecology and management. Vol 268:6-17
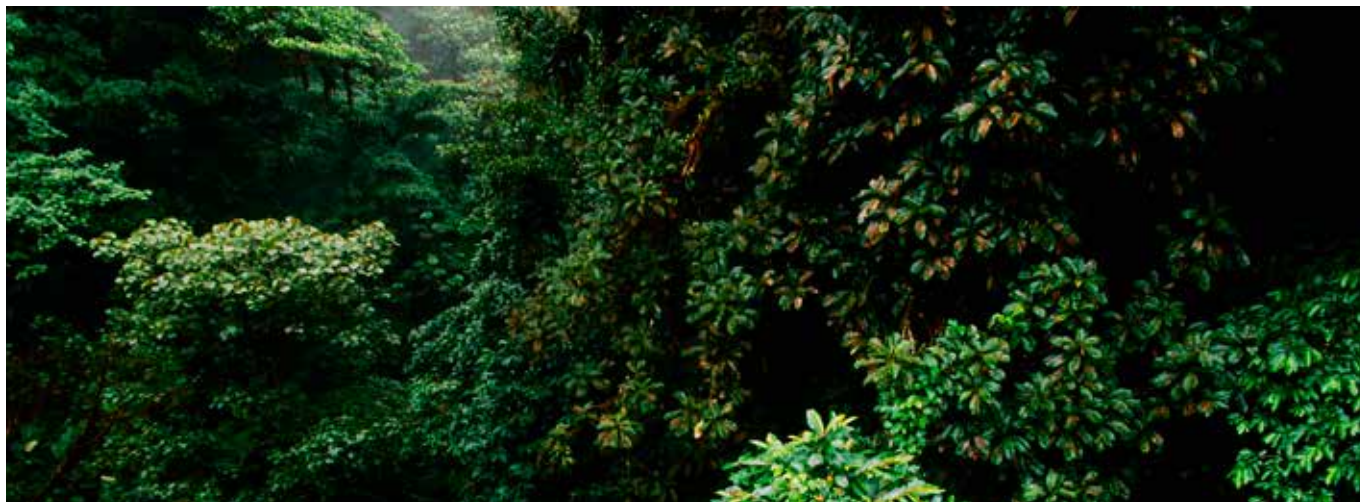
harvest some leaves from the palms and only during the appropriate moon time, and during the rainy season we host a liana festival, where the entire community participates with young people to collect our lianas from the forests".[31] Another important example described in the case study about Costa Rican indigenous territories, are the agriforestry systems of the Bribri people and other Indigenous Peoples, which are true gardens that integrate a rich diversity of beans, pumpkins, different plantain and cacao varieties, maize, rice and a wide range of wood trees that wisely and precisely regulate the light of the system. This is an ancestral knowledge that is integrated with primary forests to form an impressive setting of biodiversity and agrodiversity.

This is why a study analyzing over 500 experiences of "common heritage" management, whether of territories, forests or fisheries around the world, concluded that "most of these groups showed essential features to improve community wellbeing and obtained beneficial results both in economic terms and in terms of improvement of resources such as water basins, forests and pest management"[32].

2.3.4. CLIMATE STABILITY

It is well known that forests are the most effective safeguard against climate change: they regulate the water cycle and allow basins and aquifers to maintain water in a better way. They also help prevent and alleviate disasters caused by floods, tsunamis and landslides.

An example of this can be seen in Central America. The biggest disasters recorded in terms of loss of human lives,

destruction of infrastructure and agricultural systems that have affected this region in the past decade are related to erosion processes, including the displacement of huge masses of land in slopes or floods in low-laying areas caused by tropical storms and hurricanes. Hurricane Mitch in 1999 was perhaps the most devastating event, with winds reaching over 285 kilometers per hour and rainfall levels over 50% above the annual averages that resulted in over 100,000 deaths, three million people affected and about six trillion dollars in damages. The intensity of the damage caused by this phenomenon has been linked to the deforestation to which the region has been subjected[33]. Other studies[34] explain how impacts on soil and water are generated due to changes in land-use in tropical forests, pointing out that activities such as selective logging or deforestation with the use of heavy machinery have an influence on soil permeability and compaction levels, which in turn allow for higher superficial runoff rates and therefore more water accumulation in the lower basins. They also point out that according to the types of soil, selective logging, the building of roads and deforestation increase landslides. A participatory research carried out by peasant organizations pointed out that land under forest preservation, agriforestry schemes, green cover or other similar practices implemented, resisted better the impacts of hurricane Mitch and were better able to recover their productive capacity (Holtz-Gimenez et al, 2000)[35].

Similarly, a close link has been established between the degree of destruction caused by the tsunami of December 2004 in the coasts of a large part of South East Asia and the state of the forest coverage of these coasts. It has been estimated that this phenomenon killed 174,000 people and destroyed tens of thousands of buildings in Thailand, Indonesia, India, Maldives and Sri Lanka.

31. Baltodano J. Y Rojas I. 2008. Los Ngobes y el Bosque. Asociación de Comunidades Ecologistas La Ceiba- Amigos de la Tierra.CR. 64 pp. www.coecoceiba.org
32. Pretty J., 2003. Social Capital and the Collective Management of Resources Sciencie #302, Dic 2003, 1912-1913.
33. Holt-Giménez, E. et al. 2000. Midiendo la resistencia agroecológica campesina frente al huracán Mitch en Centroamérica. Vecinos Mundiales. www.agroecology.org/people
34. Grip, H.et. al.2005. Soil and water ipacts during forest conversion and stabilization to new land use. In: Forest ,Water & People in the HumidTropics . ed M. Bonell and L.A. Bruijnzeel. Cambridge University Press, UNESCO.
35. Holtz-Gimanez, E. et al. 2000. bis

However, the area of Ranong in Thailand was barely damaged thanks to the presence of a lush green mangrove forest[36].

Also, forests are an important reservoir of carbon and therefore it is said that deforestation is one of the most significant sources of emissions. Therefore, avoiding deforestation is one of the necessary tools to tackle climate change. As seen before, CFM is a key component in any serious strategy to avoid deforestation at global level.

2.3.5. INCREASED COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Beyond community organization as such, some researchers refer to the "social heritage" of a community as a feature directly related to the success of experiences in community resource management, including CFM. This is an aspect persistently mentioned when making reference to the amount of links and social norms of a given community or social group. The richer this social heritage is, the more trust there will be and accountability and community control will be easier to sustain. There are four important components mentioned: relationship of trust, reciprocity and exchanges, clear and common rules and sanctions and the ability to have a joint vision of the future[37]. The latter is particularly important since it is related to the community's rootedness in the territory, the permanence as communities and the feeling that the resource means prosperity for the present and the future. Cultural and spiritual aspects of communities as supportive components of organizational processes are also mentioned.

A process such as CFM must rely on the one hand in a process of election of representatives and leaders on which the responsibility for the given resource is deposited, and on their accountability[38]. The conflict resolution processes go hand in hand with all this and are also related to the social heritage of the group or community. It has been pointed out that "the weakening of traditional institutions due to centralized government systems that retain control over the most relevant powers and functions"[39] is one of the most important threats to this type of experiences.

Often, these types of processes and community resource management practices need several stages and time to generate the necessary social heritage to ensure a good management. In other situations, communities are fully capable of carrying out community-based management of their territories, and what they need are public policies by the central governments and/or their implementation.

It is important to mention that the absence of any of the elements of the social heritage related to the success of the experiences studied does not mean that a CFM process cannot be successful. It is often necessary to open spaces and allow for the exchange and capacity building for a given process to start working.

Beyond organizational capacities and social heritage, communities and groups need certain technical capacity based both on the knowledge of ancestral practices and the acquisition of modern appropriate technologies. It is also said that this aspect is another one of the most relevant elements and that there aren't successful projects without it[40]. Capacity building is related to the knowledge of the territory or the resources managed, to technological aspects available for the adequate use of resources and to monitoring work and organizational tools and accountability forms and transparency. And of course, all this is the basis for a good territorial planning in terms of use and spacial/time distribution of activities.

2.3.6 DEFENSE AND MANAGEMENT OF COMMON RESOURCES

This aspect is extremely sensitive given the violent attacks during colonial processes. In the case study about Cameroon (see Annex 2 with the case study about Cameroon) this situation was well illustrated. In this region, after 1896, the German colonial administration introduced written rules that used the concept of "vacant lands or lands without owners". In this way, the colonial state opened the doors to establish possession rights for the new actors, while the rights of the local population to the land and its resources was restricted. Land could only be requested if there was proof that it would be used profitably for crops or establishing buildings. This way, the ancestral community rights over forest areas managed collectively by the Bantu people and other groups were completely destroyed.
Therein began a process of erosion of the traditional knowledge about bees and honey, about forest medicines and food and about the ways to live in a dignified way

36. Baltodano, J. 2007. Bosques y prevención de los desastres. En: La gestión comunitaria de los bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de usos sustentable, ed. Javier Baltodano, Luisa Paz y Janice Wormworth. FOEI. 82 pp. www.foei.org/publicaciones

37. Baltodano J. 2007Caracteristicas que comparten algunos casos exitosos de Gestión Comunitaria de Bosques..En: La Gestión Comunitaria de los Bosques: entre la resistencia las propuestas de uso sustentable. Baltodano J. et al (ed). FOEI pp62-63www.foei.org/publicaciones

38. Oyono P. R. 2008.Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR, Central and West Africa Regional Office), PO Box 2008, Yaoundé/Messa, Cameroon.. oyono@cgiar.org

39. http://www.iccaconsortium.org/

40. Brooksa, J. et al 2012. How National Context, project design and local community characteristics ifluence succsess in community-based conservation projects.Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (PNAS). Vol 109 (52)

in close relationship to forests. Today, CFM in that region has been slowly helping to recover some of these rights and allows four million people in local groups to survive in Cameroon.

In other regions, the threats to the commons have other features. The case of Costa Rica shows that by law, indigenous territories are community territories and the land belongs to the entire community. However, there is certain pressure for each indigenous family to establish certain ownership rights that are inherited and that imitate traditional Western private property mechanisms as in the rest of the country. With the erosion of ancestral traditions and experiences such as "mano vuelta" where families got together to carry out joint farming work or community biodiversity uses, there is a tendency to divide the community territory. This tendency has been promoted by neoliberal politicians who proposed that an indigenous person can place a mortgage on his land in order to receive credits and payments through the payment for environmental services system (PES), a market-based mechanism that operates in the country and that has been applied in indigenous territories in the same manner that in the rest of the country, with no safeguards or consideration whatsoever to the communal feature of indigenous territories. PES is often disbursed individually throughout the territories generating serious conflicts and divisions, and especially leaving aside collective needs such as the recovery of lands within indigenous territories. This aspect represents a serious threat and will be dealt with below.

2.3.7 GENDER EQUITY

With the Good Living paradigm in mind, the wellbeing of the entire community is important, as well as the protection of the knowledge that rests with each group of people that is part of the community.

Making autonomous decisions in a participatory manner is a key element in any CFM experience. In that sense, it is necessary that all groups of the community, including women, participate in these processes around forest management[41]. However, this doesn´t always take place, and therefore it is necessary to be aware and act according to principles of equity and justice. Women often face limitations to participation, given the traditional roles they hold, which restrict their presence in decision making spaces. On the other hand, there are also cultural limitations that can become limits when the voice of women is usually replaced by that of men.
It is important to note that it has been documented[42] that

in most communities, both men and women use forest resources in a particular way to comply with the tasks related to their own survival and that of their families. From here we derive that women hold a very valuable specific community knowledge, which is in direct relationship with the good living of the family, and that it must be integrated in the decision making process. The case study about Cameroon shows that one of the most widely sought and exploited trees due to their precious wood is the Moabi, endemic to the Congo River basin. Women from local communities play the particular role of collecting fruits and extracting, processing and commercializing oil, therefore they are the most opposed to the commercial destruction of this species by logging operations.

2.3.8 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

There are many examples of communities around the world that are able to master better quality and more satisfactory lives when they control their natural resources. The rural population, and particularly those referred to as poor according to their access to and amount of economic resources they have and control, often have a symbiotic relationship with their local environments. For these populations "poverty is much more than the simple lack of money or possessions". It is in fact, a measuring stick that is directly related to their access to natural resources and their involvement in decision making processes over these resources"[43]. This is the case for the almost four million persons of the Baka, Bakola/Bagyeli, Bedzan peoples and the different Bantu peoples who inhabit Cameroon forests; for the million Indigenous People who inhabit the Brazilian Amazon forests; for the over a hundred thousand people from the different Macrochibcha ethnic groups that inhabit Costa Rican indigenous territories; for the three hundred thousand Ngobe people (many of whom are landless in Panama); for the over six million Mayan people who inhabit Guatemala and Mexico; for the thousands of Penan people in the Sarawak region, Borneo, among many, many others. Their poverty is related to whether they have land or not, since if they posses land without tenure insecurity, most of the times they preserve their traditional knowledge and culture that allows them to live with dignity in a relationship of symbiosis with their territories and resources. Many of these peoples are being directly affected today by destructive logging by logging corporations, they suffer violence and violations from the logging companies' workers or are being threatened by cattle expansion or soy and oil palm monoculture plantations, among others.

41. Jonson N. 2007. La impotancia de incluir a las mujers en procesos de gestión comunitaria de bosques. En: La gestión comunitaria de los bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de usos sustentable, ed. Javier Baltodano, Luisa Paz y Janice Wormworth. FOEI. pp 12-13. www.foei.org/publicacione
42. WRM, 2005. Las mujeres y los bosques: un enfoque de género.World Rainforest Movement(WRM), Montevideo, Uruguay. www.wrm.org.uy
43. Raman M. 2007. Bosques y combate a la pobreza. En: La gestión comunitaria de los bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de usos sustentable, ed. Javier Baltodano, Luisa Paz y Janice Wormworth. FOEI. pp 78. www.foei.org/publicaciones

All these activities are strongly linked to the supply of raw materials for production chains that are unnecessary for the Good Living of Human Kind. And halting this type of activities is part of the struggle to achieve social and economic justice.

In the Osa Peninsula in the Costa Rican South Pacific region, an area mostly covered by old growth tropical forests and inhabited by approximately two thousand peasant families, there is an experience that shows how the community initiative, together with appropriate legislation and public policies, trigger community processes than in turn generate wellbeing and economic justice. Following the community struggles in the mid 80s that stopped the Stone Container corporation (one of the largest paper producers) attempts to displace peasant families and establish melina tree monoculture plantations, the national government was pressured to enact legislation that prohibited on the one hand commercial logging in the region, and on the other hand promoted the use of naturally fallen timber in the forests. This experience has allowed to preserve so far the mega-biodiversity of the area from further degradation (a degradation that would have taken place if the transnational corporation had operated), and on the other hand it allowed hundreds of peasant families to organize around the small forestry industry and use almost 18,000 cubic meters of fine or precious woods, thereby generating almost three million dollars.[44] This experience included an important gender component, since almost half of the permits granted for the extraction of fallen timber were granted to peasant women. The prices they obtained for their produce surpassed by over 300% those that the families would have received if they had sold the timber to logging corporations.

Given that CFM takes place in close association to the local use of the resource, if the natural rhythm of the forest is respected, its biodiversity can generate very important experiences. This type of use is not meant to supply the production and consumption chains of the dominant capitalist markets or to compete with other actors in those markets. This type of experiences are located in local markets that often generate economies embedded in more solidarity[45].

3. CASE STUDIES

The case studies requested in the terms of reference were those that FoEI has dealt with since the Forests and Biodiversity Program meeting in Uganda in February 2013. In the case of Costa Rica, together with the Program coordinator, we made the decision to broaden it and focus on the experience and situation of Indigenous Peoples so that FoEI has a more complete vision of the situation around

this issue in this country. About the case study on Mozambique, the national group of the Federation provided written and photographic information about it, which has been incorporated. We decided to keep the case study on Cameroon, taken from a document elaborated by CED - Friends of the Earth Cameroon, given its richness and the fact that it shows the complexity of the issue. Finally, we didn´t receive any more information about the Indonesia case. While there is a good video about it, the available information is not sufficient for this exploration.

These cases have been incorporated to the analysis of all points in this study, so they are included in the annexes to this document. Each case is attached in their original language: Spanish for Costa Rica, Portuguese for Mozambique and English for Cameroon.

4. THREATS AND/OR CHALLENGES FACED BY CFM

The threats faced by CFM respond to whether the aspects that feature the successful cases pointed out before are present or not. However, there are other serious threats related to international policies, climate change and consumption patterns. Following are some of the main threats identified.

4.1. LIMITED SOCIAL HERITAGE IN COMMUNITIES

This may be perhaps the most serious internal threat, since the loss of social heritage very often entails that organizational capacity, trust and community knowledge are also largely lost. This means that the possibilities to resist and take the necessary steps to recover the territory and other key aspects for CFM are severely hampered. The case of Costa Rica reveals that indigenous Bribri, Boruca, Ngobe and Telire people have for hunderds of years survived the attacks of non indigenous cattle-ranchers who remain in their territories. These people largely keep their languages, traditions and internal trust levels. This heritage has allowed them to maintain an organizational capacity that enables them to carry out resistance processes and continue fighting for the consolidation of their territories. A close link can be established here between social heritage, organizational levels and the quality of life and the consolidation of the territory. The alienating processes, generally related to globalization, the lack of political and technical capacity-building and social heritage generation spaces, added to neoliberal privatization and commodification proposals that run contrary to community possession of lands, favor the accelerated loss of social heritage.

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44. Baltodano J. 2012. Madera caída del bosque tropical: una opción ambientalmente sana y socialmente justa de producir madera. Coecoceiba-Amigos de la Tierra, Costa Rica. 35 pp. www.coecoceiba.org
45. Baltodano J. 2012. Madera Caída del bosque tropical: una opción ambientalmente sana y socialmente justa para producir madera. Coecoceiba- Amigos de la Tierra Costa Rica. 36pp. www.coecoceiba.org

Gender analysis related aspects are particularly important in this context. Women are precisely the custodians of language and many of the ancestral traditions that enrich the social heritage of communities. The active participation of women in CFM processes is key for maintaining and transmitting the social heritage.

4.2. LACK OF LEGAL TENURE SECURITY AND/OR CERTAINTY

If there is no clarity with regards to the geographical limits of the territory and in relation to the legal authority of the peoples and communities inhabiting them to exercise control and governance over it, the chances are big for CFM to fail, as can be seen in the cases studied and other experiences analyzed. What happened in the Sarawak region, in Borneo Island is an example of this. There, the Long Belok community of the Penan people had their community forest in a region that was excluded from commercial logging since the 90s. When the government declared this region as a forest reserve and granted it in concession to the largest logging corporation operating in the region, Shin Yang, a conflict was initiated focused on the rights of the community over that territory. This demand for rights revealed that in declaring the area as a forest reserve, what the forest law did was earmarking it exclusively for forest exploitation activities on a permanent basis[46], rather than as a territory over which the community had rights and where it could carry out their management experience of the land, generating a higher quality of life for themselves.

4.3. COMMERCIAL LOGGING AND DES-TRUCTIVE LOGGING

There is a perverse misconception that confuses CFM with the commercial extraction of timber. Various international organizations that lobby defending the interests of the logging industry, as well as some governments of countries with large forest areas, have promoted the idea of decentralizing the control of forest regions to the communities inhabiting them. At the same time, they spread the concept of forest management -or sustainable management- as a substitute for commercial or corporate logging. This way, commercial logging takes place in the

hands of the community, or at least with the feeling that the community controls it, and in the best of cases, it generates a serious degradation that many times is the beginning of a complete deforestation process. At the same time, a series of social problems emerge in the communities.

Several recent scientific studies have pointed out the negative impacts of selective logging on biodiversity, the structure of tropical forests and the communities inhabiting them[47]. Selective logging, or selective deforestation, entails the use of tractors and heavy machinery that compact the surface of the soil, often leading to serious erosion processes. The inroads built to extract timber are enlarged over time and facilitate colonization and widespread deforestation processes in the region. The fragmentation of the forest caused by the building of inroads and the clearings decrease their natural humidity, leading to increased wildfires and reducing the possibility of some species to regenerate, while increasing at the same time the mortality rates of other species. In Costa Rica, the practices referred to as sustainable management of tropical forests allow for the legal destruction (deforestation) of over 29% of the forest areas under such management, as a result of the trails and timber storage facilities that are built and the destruction caused by the felling and dragging of trees[48].

The community processes linked to industrialized commercial logging are generally geared to supplying world markets and their existence is not based on a new ethical approach of forest-community relationships and the satisfaction of local basic needs or the establishment of alternative economies to the dominant one. The CFM processes related to this type of operations tend to destroy their vital resources, and the communities and their leaders tend to get corrupted.

In the case of Costa Rica, the Tayni-Cabecar people in the Southern Atlantic region of the country requested and obtained a logging permit by the respective government office, based on the inaccuracies of the Indigenous law and with the technical support and finance of forest engineers and logging businesspeople. In total, a little over 300 trees for a total of 1800 cubic meters of timber were used. The timber was sold to a logging businessman who extracted it with heavy machinery.
As part of the payment, the businessman opened extraction roads within the indigenous territory. This case triggered a strong controversy among Indigenous Peoples,

46. Amigos de la Tierra Malasia, 2007. Bosque Comunitario de Long Belok. En: La gestión comunitaria de los bosques: entre la resistencia y las propuestas de usos sustentable, ed. Javier Baltodano, Luisa Paz y Janice Wormworth. FOEI. pp 78. www.foei.org/publicaciones
47. -Sebbenn, A. M. et all . 2008. Modelling the long-term impacts of selective logging on genetic diversity and demographic structure of four tropical tree species in the Amazon forest. Orest Ecology and Management. Vol 254(2): 335-349
- Broadbent E. N. et al . 2008 Forest fragmentation and edge effects from deforestation and selective logging in the Brazilian Amazon. Biological Conservation, Volume 141,(7): 1745-1757
-Lawrence W. Et al. 2009. Impacts of roads and linear clearing on tropical forests. Trends in Ecology and Evolution. Vol 24(12): 659-669
- Baltodano J. 2007. Tala Selectiva, Tala Industrial, Manejo Sostenible del Bosque Tropical. En : En: La Gestión Comunitaria de los Bosques: entre la resistencia las propuestas de uso sustentable. Baltodano J. et al (ed). www.foei.org. Pp 57-58
48. Baltodano J. ,2003. La madera, el bosque y la gente: propuestas ecologistas para producir madera respetando el bosque y las comunidades. Coecoceiba- Amigos de la Tierra-Costa Rica 70pp. www.coecoceiba.org/publicaciones/bosques

many of which argued that logging was unsustainable and destructive, and that activities related to the use of wood an timber inside indigenous territories can take place with less impacts and establishing solid bases for the Good Living of the entire community.[49] For instance, the inroads to extract timber, which caused damage to the water sources and lead to increased logging and illegal hunting activities, would not have been opened. In addition, the community only received less than 10 percent of what they would have received under other conditions and would have used for the improvement of the entire community. Additionally, the businessman hired labor outside the indigenous community, so not even salaries were obtained.

The case study on Cameroon is another particularly illustrative example of the threats of commercial logging to CFM processes: commercial logging in this country consists of "extracting the most possible of the richest species in terms of timber quality in the least amount of time possible and with the least regard for sustainability". Even though selective commercial logging causes less damage than clearing forests to give way to plantations, it always causes direct and indirect severe damages. The long inroads needed to extract the most sought trees cause the fragmentation of the forest. This has been particularly serious in Cameroon, since these roads destroy the agriforestry systems of the Bantu people and have become the gateway for commercial hunters that have generated a parallel wild meat industry that has dramatically reduced animal populations that are already endangered. In addition, the sustainability of this type of logging has not been proven by any scientific long-term study[50].

The forest law of 1994 in Cameroon grants forest rights to communities over their own territories and regulates the use of industrial equipment to minimize damage to the forest. However, the overall amount of community operations is extremely limited when compared to commercial logging operations, and given that the total timber extraction volume is so high (over 250,000 cubic meters exported to Europe in 2008, only counting legal timber[51]), the development of a local or national market where to sell timber produced in an artisanal way by local communities is practically impossible. The benefits obtained by the communities are disproportionally limited[52] when compared with the economic resources generated by a powerful logging industry that trades hundreds of thousands cubic meters of precious woods every year in European markets. This without taking into account the damage inflicted on communities, the historical inhabitants of forests, through the devastation caused by the destructive commercial logging of the forest[53].

The exploitation of Moabi (Baillonella toxisperma) illustrates very well how commercial logging works. This tree is not only an endangered endemic species of the Congo River Basin. It is also a key component for the forest communities in the South of the country who resist its exploitation. Moabi, in addition to what was mentioned before, has cultural functions (it is a sacred space linked to ceremonies around death and it is some kind of totem that reminds of ancestors), medicinal functions (nearly fifty types of medicines are produced from its leaves, roots, sap and trunk, including medicines to cure vaginal infections and medicines used during labor), food functions

49. Salazar Brauli, Morales Jeremías, Steiner Winfred. 2007. Informe sobre la visita del Territorio Tayni. Shuretka: Asociación de Desarrollo Indígena BRIRI. 5pp
50. Debroux, L. 1998. L'aménagement des forêts tropicales fondé sur la gestion des population d'arbres: l'exemple du moabi (Baillonella toxisperma) dans la forêt du Dja. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Gembloux: Faculté Universitaire des Sciences Agronomiques
51. Eba'a R. 2009.Study on Progress of Timber Procurement Policies. Country Case Study: Cameroon. International Timber Organization. www.itto.int/.../topics_id=230
52. Oyono,P.R. 2004. Assessing Accountability in Cameroon's Local Forest Management. Are Representatives Responsable?. African Journal of Political Science . Vol. 9 (1) 126-136
53. Djeukam R. et. al. 2015. Forest and Communities in Cameroon. Centre Pour l' Environnement et le Developpement- Foe-Cameroon. http://www.ceecec.net/case-studies/forestry-and-communities-in-cameroon/

(its fruits are very nutritious when consumed directly and an oil is artisanally extracted from its seeds and sold in local markets) and gender functions (women are the ones who use it medicinally and who extract and control the production and commercialization of the oil). In addition to this, Moabis are very fragile, their maturity is extremely long (70 years), their growth rate low, and they are fragile in their reproduction phase (three or more years). Due to commercial exploitation, its populations have been decimated or reduced to very low levels, with the ensuing cultural impacts, especially on women. In Europe, the Moabi wood is considered a luxury consumption item that is limited to the production of furniture and fine boats for the upper classes.[54]

4.4. CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AND THE BEHAVIOR OF CORPORATIONS

The operations of these companies are featured by the intensive use of technology and financial capital, and they are capable of severely damaging basically any resource or territory around the world; they are often linked to political-economic influence networks that often incur in corruption, illegality and violence cases. The examples are many: in Costa Rica, Infinito Gold attempted to establish an open pit gold mine that affected over 500 hectares of forest, threatening aquifers and the international basin of the San Juan River where thousands of peasant families live[55]. In Liberia, Palm Oil PLC has refused to return the community territories of the Jogbahn Clan[56] despite of the fact that the concession terms over the territory have finished.[57] In Borneo, gold mining and palm oil companies constantly pressure local communities to sell their territories or to let them operate there... Countless examples of violence by logging companies on communities that defend territories have been documented by different media[58]: in the Amazon, 40% of the 116 environmental activists murdered in 2014 were indigenous leaders. Among them, four Ashaninka community leaders in Peru were brutally murdered by timber loggers[59]. In Mexico, some communities that own their communal territories "hand over the commercial exploitation of their forests to third parties, selling standing trees to logging companies under generally disadvantageous conditions for communities"[60]. Whether through the development of tree, palm oil or soy monoculture plantations or cattle ranching, or the extraction of precious woods, energy sources or gold, corporations linked to the supply of large Northern markets generate violence and destroy forests and opportunities for CFM processes.

4.5. CLIMATE CHANGE AND REDD+.

Climate change threatens life forms and the natural resources that sustain local communities and Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, it also threatens CFM.

Official international negotiations have chosen an easy way to develop proposed solutions.
Instead of halting oil exploitation and exploration and reducing the consumption of oil derivatives, for instance, they have been developing offsetting mechanisms with no or very poor scientific basis, which are often difficult to implement in real life, in the best of cases, and that will in fact generate pollution markets such as the carbon market. [61]

54. Debroux, L. 1998. L'aménagement des forêts tropicales fondé sur la gestion des population d'arbres: l'exemple du moabi (Baillonella toxisperma) dans la forêt du Dja. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Gembloux: Faculté Universitaire des Sciences Agronomiques
55. www.coecoceiba.org
56. http://www.foei.org/resources/videos
57. https://vimeo.com/channels/foei
58. www.foei.org, www.wrm.org.uy , www.iccaconsortium.org
59. http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/pope-francis-protects-amazon-rainforest-by-bruce-babbitt-2015-08/spanish
60. Kaimowitz D. 2002. bis

REDD (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) is one of those mechanisms that has been developed. There have been many discussions about it, and FoEI and many other social movements and Indigenous Peoples reject it.[62]

REDD includes commercial logging operations as one of the possible forest management activities recognized as part of REDD mechanisms, through the addition of one of the + [63]. Thereby, these types of operations that are responsible for the degradation and destruction of forests worldwide would derive profits not only from timber sales but also from the sale of the carbon credits generated. REDD+ becomes thus an incentive for commercial logging, which is in turn one of the threats to CFM.

REDD threatens CFM in other ways as well. Scientific studies report that REDD+ is a mechanism based on results that tends to exclude communities and indigenous populations from its management by its very nature and promotes the control of territories by centralized bureaucracies and economic power groups [64].

Another research, published in Science[65], states that "By monetizing forest carbon, REDD+ will substantially increase the market value of forests, including those previously considered marginal, incentivizing central governments to increase control". Thus, the activities related to monitoring, reporting and verification (MRV) become a guarantee for the pledged funds to reach a particular country. The implementation of these activities requires particular technical capacities and skills. The same happens in terms of the negotiations to sell carbon in markets. These activities therefore entail prohibitive costs for small-scale initiatives such as the CFM experiences[66]. Thus, the participation of communities in this projects is often limited to collection of data and receiving in exchange a small percentage of the revenue, determined by central governments or the new corporations that focus on these new businesses.

It is also argued that REDD is a cost effective strategy for the protection of forests, but if we take into account that MRV activities require specialized technical capacities in addition to institutional arrangements to carry it out, REDD is an expensive activity. The system of payment for environmental services (PES) of Costa Rica, which has inspired and is the basis of REDD proposals, shows that it is not a cheap mechanism for the protection of forests: the

funds that finance PES represent 35% of the Environment Ministry budget and can provide protection -since they pay to preserve- to 10% at best of the national territory. With the remaining budget, the Ministry has to tackle the protection of 25% of the national territory that is designated as protected wildlife areas, and the rest of the national territory.[67]

A variety of Indigenous Peoples Organizations, but also environmental movements, have denounced that carbon markets can generate interest on the purchase of land, thus facilitating land grabbing aimed at capturing carbon. Many areas can be thereby privatized. This privatization can take place through contractual agreements, as denounced by FoEI [68]. Thus, even though they seem to be legal agreements, these contracts are effectively illegitimate given their failings, resulting in several communities or Indigenous People handing over in practice the control over their territories and becoming instead the watchmen in charge of supervising that no-one, not even the community itself, uses any resource provided by the forest. What has been happening under this contracts is that the total conservation of the territory is demanded, even where Indigenous People live, effectively preventing them from using the forest in any way. All of this is unacceptable, also from an ethical point of view[69][70]. The Costa Rican experience with the PES system also shows that it triggers division within the indigenous communities, new forms of control and supervision are imposed that are alien to the indigenous world view, and a money-mediated relationship with the forest is established, the result of which is that when the funding flows are interrupted the forests are no longer preserved[71]. Moreover, PES was created to favor individuals, not community management, so this impacts especially on Indigenous Peoples, with significant cultural consequences in terms of their social cohesion which tends to break down.

There is a question that is constantly asked regarding REDD: can REDD funds be used to finance CFM experiences? Our answer is no, due to all the impacts entailed by REDD. REDD is not only a mechanism through which to access funds, REDD implies a world view and therefore a view of how territories with forests should be managed and protected. Thereby, REDD imposes a view on how this conservation or management should take place, which

61. Para una discusiòn sobre el tema ver : Lohman L. Ed. 2006. Carbon Trading: a critical conversation on climate change, privatisatio and power. Developmental Dialogue vol 48, set 2006. www.dhf.uu.se
62. Véase www.foei.org para consultar la posición de Amigos de la Tierra Internacional sobre REDD
63. http://www.un-redd.org/AboutUNREDDProgramme/FAQs_Sp/tabid/4827/language/en-US/Default.aspx
64. Phelps J. et. al., 2010.Does REDD+ threaten to Recentralize Forest Governance. Science. Vol 328: 312-313
65. Phelps J. et. al ,2010. bis
66. Cacho O.J. et. al, 2005.Transaction and abatement cost of carbon sink project in developing countries. Environ. Dev. Econ. 10, 597 -614
67. Baltodano J. 2008. Bosque, cobertura y uso forestal. Decimo Tercer Informe de la Nación en Desarrollo Humano Sostenible. p.46. www.coecoceiba.org.
68. Véase el documento de ATI relacionado a los contratos REDD en www.foei.org
69. Osborne T. et. Al. , 2014 bis
70. Osborne T. et. Al. , 2014 bis
71. Comunicación personal con Mariana Porras, COECOCEIBA - AT
72. EIA, 2014. World Energy Investment Outlook- executive summary. OECD/EIA 4pp. www.eia.org

prioritizes the individual over the collective. It also imposes conflict resolution forms within communities, it increases inequalities between those who receive funds and those who don´t, and this divides the community. By doing so, it also imposes ways of using the forest that are not their traditional. It also fails to promote the strengthening of the rights of communities or Indigenous Peoples, and it creates new owners over these territories by establishing an owner of the carbon stored in these forests, effectively preventing other uses of the forests. Finally, REDD payments are results-based. So the communities who want to access these funds must first proof that carbon has been stored and emissions reduced, before receiving payment. Therefore, only those with sufficient economic resources to pay for everything that is needed to prove that which is required from them will be able to access these funds.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. AT LOCAL LEVEL

5.1.1 TERRITORY, CONTROL, CAPACITY BUILDING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

It is urgent and necessary to stimulate and promote territorial consolidation processes under community or Indigenous Peoples control. There are many territories that have not been legally demarcated and therefore, peoples and communities cannot fully exercise their rights over them. Under such conditions of land tenure uncertainty and insecurity it is very hard or impossible to develop CFM processes. With these measures, we would also be promoting actions to tackle climate change and preserve forests.

In parallel, it is necessary to stimulate and promote community spaces for the recovery and/or recreation of the social heritage, as well capacity building around new technologies and strategic planning spaces for the conservation of resources against climate change. In some areas with eroded social heritage or with degraded lands it would be urgent to motivate capacity building processes around the recovery of traditional knowledge and community organization that enable the emergence of community initiatives of forest restoration.

Assistance to communities for the construction of basic infrastructure that is generally low cost in relation to the services it provides.
Here we refer mainly to the construction of small community controlled aqueducts or drinking water systems and irrigation projects.

The work to consolidate CFM experiences is a process that starts at the local level, but it needs to be linked to actions at the national and international level. While CFM will not be the salvation of forests, it does represent a significant

step forward in that direction. In addition to CFM, communities must follow through and continue with their own resistance and mobilization processes. They have to be joined by and complemented with denunciations, campaigns and political and legal reforms at national and international level.

5.2. AT NATIONAL LEVEL

5.2.1. FORTIFICATION OF LEGISLATION AND APPROPRIATE PUBLIC POLICIES TO PROMOTE AND FACILITATE CFM PROCESSES

Governments, together with local communities and Indigenous People need to generate laws and policies that first of all fortify traditional territories under the control of the communities which have traditionally inhabited them.

Once these territories have been demarcated and legally secured, the community will be able to define the possible uses and responsibilities as well as accountability and management mechanisms of these territories. Also, it is necessary to generate tools and mechanisms, including financial, needed to comply with said regulations.

It is also necessary to work on promotion policies that include provision of spaces and finance for capacity building, exchange and recovery of traditional knowledge to be applied to CFM. The funds from REDD are not appropriate for CFM given the impacts it entails. The funds to be used need to be unconditional and should go hand in hand with comprehensive and holistic public policies that ensure the rights of these people and the generations of better living conditions for these communities and peoples.

Also, the legislation and policies should go hand in hand with strong institutions with mechanisms that ensure their transparency.

5.2.2. NATIONAL STRATEGIES TO TACKLE CLIMATE CHANGE NEED TO BE GENERATED

These should, among other aspects, recognize and promote CFM as one of the most efficient tools to preserve forests. These strategies must leave aside false solutions such as REDD and reject carbon markets.
The funds to finance said strategies must be generated for instance through changes in the patterns of grants to an economy based on fossil fuels. Thus, funds dedicated to finance oil exploration and exploitation, as well as transport of fossil fuels, road building and the development of new technologies and the production of private automobiles must be channeled instead to promote CFM.

5.2.3. NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND POLICIES TO CONTROL AND DISCOURAGE CORPORATE-CONTROLLED COMMERCIAL LOGGING PROCESSES SHOULD BE GENERATED

Commercial logging should be replaced by forest use practices that respect the forests' ecological processes and surrounding communities. Small scale timber production experiences with local market integration processes exist around the world, as we have pointed out.

5.3. At international level:
5.3.1 Adaptation processes (which would be better defined as survival) to climate change must be financed through honest and adequate compensation mechanisms
Societies with a historical and differentiated responsibility for climate change must pay for the necessary technical and economic resources for those processes. With those funds, it is necessary to finance not only the survival needs of the affected peoples and communities, but also the organizational and CFM initiatives from peoples and communities that preserve forests and vital resources to tackle climate change. Proposals include generating funds through retroactive pollution taxes, payment of the ecological debt and rechanneling money traditionally invested in funding a fossil-fuel-based economy.

5.3.2. INVESTMENTS IN FOSSIL FUEL EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY HALTED

These are million-dollar investments and despite all negotiations on climate change they continue increasing. Without a drastic cut to these investments it will be difficult in the near future to stop emissions. These investments should be oriented to educational processes to reduce energy consumption, to social reorganization processes that respond to the use of other energy sources, and to processes to support the survival of the most vulnerable communities.

Over $1600 billion dollars were invested in 2013 to generate the energy used today. Of this, $1100 billion dollars were related to the extraction and transport of oil and the construction of oil refineries and fossil fuel fired power plants.
A further $130 billion dollars were invested in energy efficiency. Investments in renewable energy reached $250 billion dollars[72]. This scenario must be necessarily modified if we want to survive.

5.3.3. THE PERVERSE GAME OF POLLU-TION MARKETS APPLIED TO CARBON NEED TO BE DRASTICALLY STOPPED

The logic of offsetting and carbon markets, as pointed out by several researchers[73]around the world, only delay the necessary decision-making to generate important structural changes which is what we need.

5.3.5. INTERNATIONAL TIMBER MARKETS MUST BE DISCOURAGED AND DRASTICA-LLY REDUCED TO STOP FOREST DEGRA-DATION

Commercial logging is not sustainable, it causes serious damage to forest ecosystems in the tropics, and it is one of the threats against forests and CFM most mentioned in scientific papers that value this type of experiences. Commercial logging has been disguised under numerous denominations including "sustainable forest management, community forestry, among others, and it is sustained by the markets of industrialized countries or powerful economic groups in developing countries.

Often, these are luxury product markets (fine woods) that need to be urgently modified as part of a strategy to tackle climate change. They often use certification mechanisms that are nothing more than actions to try to hide the environmental and social impacts caused.

Countries that consume these products need to generate discouragement policies against luxurious consumption of tropical precious woods.

5.3.6. ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS FOEI NEED TO CONTINUE DENOUNCING BIG CORPORATIONS AND THEIR FINANCE AND CERTIFICATION SCHEMES

Corporate power is one of the main actors that erodes activities such as CFM. Its actions in relation to forests have not been positive in any way, and it is also the direct cause of human rights and environmental violations, seriously damaging the basis for Good Living.

Finally, FoEI should revise the following:

* the concept used, CFM, does not represent all the activities carried out by communities and Indigenous Peoples in their territories. Normally, it is associated to agroecological and water and biodiversity protection practices. These practices in turn constitute rights that must be the grounds on which the defense of this type of experiences is based. Thus, territory plays a central role, and community-based territorial management is what should be promoted in the near future.

* FoEI needs to have documented experiences, with written materials, audio, photographs and videos that show the progress that has been made in the CFM path, and the challenges and aspects to improve on that regard. These experiences should provide the necessary elements to reflect upon the structural threats they face: PES systems, REDD mechanisms and new funding mechanisms based on the logic of offsetting or the commodification and financialization of nature. These materials are important to show that all scientific arguments compiled in this study are based on reality. At the same time, they can indicate and reveal areas where further theoretical reflection and further practice are needed.

72. EIA, 2014. World Energy Investment Outlook- executive summary. OECD/EIA 4pp. www.eia.org
73. Lohman L. Ed. 2006. Carbon Trading: a critical conversation on climate change, privatisatio and power. Developmental Dialogue vol 48, set 2006. www.dhf.uu.se

COMMUNITY FOREST MANAGEMENT (CFM)

AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE VITAL RESOURCES
FOR THE GOOD LIVING OF HUMAN SOCIETIES
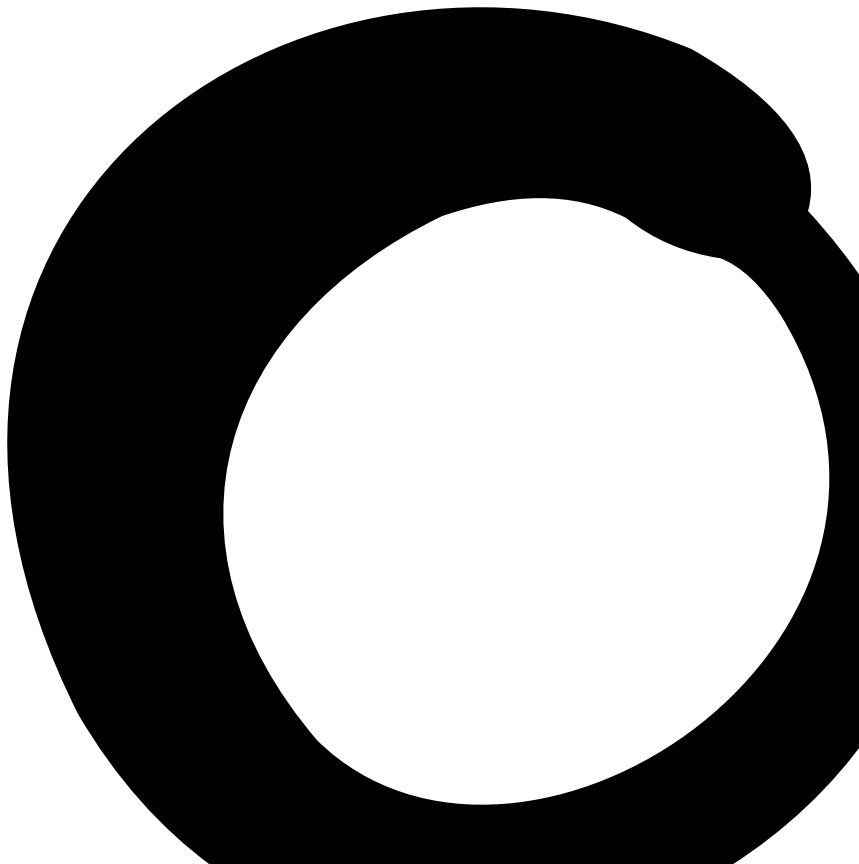
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