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Stakeholder Participation Model for Forest Reserves: The Case of Shasha Forest Reserve, Osun State, Nigeria

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INTRODUCTION

Public participation is a continually evolving concept. Broadly speaking, it may be defined as an opportunity for citizens and public. as well as, private organizations to express their opinions on general policy goals or to have their priorities and needs integrated into decisions made about specific projects and programmes (Feeney, 1998). Participatory management produces better development and results up to the grass-roots. It is becoming increasingly accepted that traditional means of local decision-making and governance hold important lessons for sustainable management and utilization of renewable resources. According to Juma and Olwang (1996), evidence from around the world shows that neither state ownership and regulation nor the market have had much success in enabling individuals to sustain longterm productive use of natural resources. Contrarily, communities of individuals have relied on institutions resembling neither the state nor the market to govern some resource systems with reasonable degree of success over long periods of time.

It has been observed that though forest ecosystem may be said to be natural, human beings are an essential part of this dynamic nature (McNeely, 2002). Building resilience into forest ecosystems therefore, requires building resilience into the human management systems. Since the inception of organized forest management in Nigeria in 1876, several efforts have been made to achieve sustainable forest management. Management practices such as the Tropical Shelter Wood System, enrichment planting, group planting and the Malaysian Uniform System

have all been applied with only minimal levels of success. The abandonment of these techniques was due to technical, and socio-economic problems. Prominent among these, is the failure of forestry authorities to carry the local communities along in management planning and execution.

According to Ajayi (1996), the colonial forest officers cleverly seized the forestlands from the indigenous owners without affording them the opportunity of having a say in the management of such properties. Instead they had resorted to the use of oppressive laws and forest policing to exclude the people for whom the forests were supposed to be held in trust. Some of the resultant effects of this deprivation include uncooperative attitudes of the local communities; illegal felling and forest encroachment. Furthermore, Feeney (1998) observed that many development projects failed in the past because of the failure of planners to understand the prevailing economic and political contexts in developing countries. This may be achieved through close interactions with indigenous communities seeking their opinions in project planning and implementation.

The current rate of illegal felling and forest encroachment in Nigeria is alarming. Francois (1991) had suggested the involvement of local communities in forest management arrangement as a possible measure to curb such destructive activities. Shinkafi and Isa (1995) observed that forest plantation projects in Sokoto State of Nigeria could not achieve its objectives because they were not people-oriented. There is thus no gainsaying the fact that for the achievement of sustainable forest management, it is important that community members are involved in the planning and execution of projects.

Other afforestation projects in states such as Jigawa; Kano; Akwa-Ibom; Edo; Cross-River; Ogun and Osun States of Nigeria achieved some levels of success due to some minimal level of community participation. However, the achievements were not sustained because the socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of the local people were not carefully understood before embarking on the projects. Therefore, it is very important that community participation arrangement should carefully study the above-mentioned factors, as well as, benefit-sharing arrangement and stakeholder's identification in order to design effective community participation programmes.

This study's main focus is to design a community participation model for the sustainable management of Nigerian forests. It provides

a framework for the workings of community participation in forest management in Nigeria with particular reference to Shasha Forest Reserve, Osun State.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study Location

Shasha Forest Reserve is situated in Osun State Nigeria, between latitudes 7° and 7°30' N and longitudes 4° and 5°E (Fig. 1). The reserve was first gazetted in 1925 as part of the Old Shasha Government Forest Reserve under an agreement with the Ijebu Native authority. It was later reconstituted as the Native Authority Forest Reserve after the re-demarcation of boundaries between Oyo and Jiebu provinces in 1941 (Kio. 1978; Popoola et al., 1999). The reserve shares boundaries with Omo Forest Reserve on the West; the Northern and Eastern boundaries are with the Native Authority Reserve (No. 2) and Oluwa

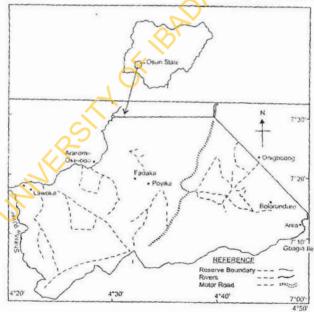


FIGURE 1. Map of Shasha Forest Reserve showing the Study Areas.

Source: Osun State Department of Forestry, Osogbo.

Forest Reserve, Ondo State respectively. The total area of the Forest Reserve in 2002 was 23,064 hectares. Out of this, 1,523 hectares were under plantations of various species such as *Gmelina arborea*; *Tectona grandis*, *Terminalia spp. Pinus spp.* and *Nauclea diderrichii*. The rest are patches of secondary forests at various stages of development and farm fallows.

Data Collection

The study adopted questionnaire survey; Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); Participatory Rural Appraisal Techniques (PRAT) and Personalized Interviews as research tools. A total of two hundred and thirty-nine questionnaires were administered on the five categories of stakeholders identified within the study area as follows: Harvesters of NTFPs/Fishermen - 40; Marketers of NTFPs - 27; hunters - 32; Consumers of NTFPs - 130 and Forestry staff - 10. Sampling intensity varied between 10 and 20 per cent depending on the population of the target groups (Table 1). The questionnaires were used to obtain information on the existence or otherwise of business associations: regulatory rules guiding product harvesting; licenses, permits or access charges by the State's Forestry Authorities, willingness to participate in forest management; potential roles of groups and associations in forest management; traditional methods of forest protection; present level of community involvement in the management of the forest reserve; the nature of the relationship between the various stakeholders and the best method(s) by which the forest reserve could be sustainably managed.

The FGDs, PRAT and Personalized Interviews were used to obtain information on issues which villagers would not normally want to discuss during meetings such as collection of materials from the forest; hunting and fishing, methods of traditional administration including relationships between various organizations and groups, and benefit sharing. Visits were made to traditional chiefs' palaces to seek their opinion on issues relating to resource tenure and traditional laws on resource security. Additional information was obtained from the records of the State Forestry Headquarters at Osogbo, Osun State.

RESULTS

Harvesting Permits/Controls

It was discovered that control over product harvesting focused largely on timber. The State Forestry Department issues permits and

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licenses for timber exploitation. Stumpage price and Out Turn Volume charges are paid by timber takers, though cases of illegal felling; flitching and forest encroachments are rampant. Hunting and access permits are paid by hunters, fishermen and harvesters of other non-timber forest products. Cases of evasion of these fees were found to be very common in the study area. There is little or no control on NTFPs harvesting, hunting and fishing. Control on timber exploitation is equally loose.

Identification of Forest Stakeholders

Many associations and traditional institutions with interest in the forest reserve were found in communities surrounding the Forest Reserve Associations present include Hunters' Association; Ife Zonal Timber Contractors'/Sawmillers' Association; Traditional Medicine Practitioners' Association; The Elders' (Ogboni) Society, The Youths' Associations; the Ife Zonal Farmers Development Council and the Committee on Ife Affairs. The Institutions with interest in the forest reserve include: The traditional village heads (Baales), research and educational institutions and non-governmental organizations. The Hunters' Association is the most popular and influential in forestry matters in the study area. Traditional chiefs and village heads also wield some influence at the decision-making level. Other groups including harvesters and marketers of forest products belong to the Hunters' Association. The major function of the association is in regulating access into the forest reserve. Members carry identity cards, so it is easy for them to monitor the right of way.

The Ife Zonal Timber Contractors' Association consists of timber contractors and sawmillers operating in Shasha and other forest reserves under Ife Forestry Charge. The role of this association is very important in the sustainable management of Shasha Forest Reserve. The association had virtually taken over the control of Shasha Forest Reserve following the breakdown of law and order during a prolonged communal clash. They constituted a Forest Monitoring 'Task Force' for the purpose of regulating timber harvest in the forest reserve. Although this has not solved the problems of illegal felling in the area, it is an indication that forest stakeholders could be useful in maintaining law and order in forest reserves. Another area in which the association has contributed is in the maintenance of access roads. The Association's Secretariat claimed that an average of N1.5 million (about US \$11,029) was being spent annually from the associations' purse for this purpose. The Traditional Medicine Practitioners' Association and the Elders' Society

are closely associated. The two associations are very powerful but highly secretive. They play very crucial roles in forest protection and conservation using traditional taboos and norms.

The Youth Associations comprise younger members of the communities. Members possess some level of western education and they are concerned with community development. Some of them work as timber contractors, drivers, power saw operators and produce buyers. The Ife Titun Farmers Development Council is also a very powerful interest group in the management of Shasha Forest Reserve. This association is in the forefront of the struggle for de-reservation of portions of the forest reserve for Cocoa farming. The association is in firm control of farmers working within the forest reserve. The 7,770 ha of the forestland de-reserved by the State government in 1999 was being allocated to farmers by this association at the time of this study.

The traditional chiefs/Baales adjudicate on minor land disputes and their cooperation is often needed by the Forestry Department on issues relating to security of forest properties. Many of them have direct link with paramount ruler in the area, and they feed him back regularly on happenings within their jurisdictions. These chiefs still exercise reasonable level of control over their people. Their cooperation is therefore very important in the plan to sustainably manage the forest reserve. The Hausa community is a small group represented in all the major villages. They are mainly itinerant forest and farm produce harvesters and merchants from the northern part of the country. Their stay in the forest reserve is often short and seasonal. They submit to the authorities of the village chiefs and pay permit fees to the State Department of Forestry when necessary.

Uniformed staff that is resident within and around the forest reserve represents the State Department of Forestry. Professional and technical staff visits the reserve frequently to supervise activities and report back to the Ife Zonal forest officer who in turn reports to the forestry headquarters at Osogbo. Senior officers from Osogbo also visit the forest reserve periodically to monitor the field officers and to inspect field activities.

Willingness to Participate in Forest Management

A summary of stakeholders' opinion on community participation in the management of the forest reserve is presented in Table 1. There are strong indications that the Community members are willing to participate in the management of the forest reserve. Of the 239 respondents, 198 (about 88%) indicated their interest to participate in the management of the forest reserve while forty-one (17.2%) were

not willing to participate. Twenty-six of the thirty-two hunters (81.3%) interviewed were willing to participate in the management of the forest reserve while six (18.8%) were not willing. For the harvesters/ fishermen, thirty-two (80%) of the forty individuals interviewed were willing to participate while six (20.8%) were not willing. All the twenty-seven (100%) marketers interviewed indicated positive interest in participating in the management of the forest reserve. Of the 130 consumers interviewed, 110 (84.6%) were willing to participate in the management of the forest reserve while the remaining twenty (15.4%) were unwilling. Furthermore, five (50%) of the ten forestry officials interviewed supported the idea of community involvement in forest management in Shasha Forest Reserve while the other five 50%) were opposed to it (Table 1). It must be pointed out that the top cadre staff did throw their weights behind the idea, although they warned that there has to be proper planning and monitoring in order not to further weaken government control of the forest reserve. Those opposed to the joint management of the reserve hinged their argument on the fear of the unknown, i.e. possible job loss. Experience from Cross River State in the Southeastern part of Nigeria where professional forestry staff became busier with joint management of forests in the State, however shows that such fears were unfounded

TABLE 1: Willingness of Various Stakeholders to Participate in Forest Management

Stakeholder	Estimated Population	No. of Questionnaires Administered	%	Willing	%	Not willing	%
Hunters	317	32	10.1	26	81.3	06	18.7
Harvesters	285	40	14.0	32	80.0	08	20
Marketers	178	27	15.2	27	100	0	0
Consumers	12,780	130	1.1	120	92.3	10	7.7
Forestry staff	49	10	20.0	5	50.0	05	50
Total	13,609	239	1.8	210	87.9	29	12.1

Source: Field Survey 2002

Roles expected to be played by Stakeholders

The responses of the different stakeholder groups on the roles they would be willing to play if allowed to participate in a joint forest management committee varied. Table 2 presents a summary of the respondents' opinions on role assignment.

TABLE 2: Roles to be Assigned to Various Stakeholders in the proposed JSFC (Joint Stakeholders Forest Management Committee)

Stakeholders	No. of Respondents	A	В	С	D	E	F
Hunters	32	18	4	3	-	-	
Harvesters	40	4	11	-	6	4	15
Marketers	27	18	4	5	2		
Forestry staff	10	21	4	3	-	-	-
Total	109	40	23	11	8	4	15
Percentage	100	36.7	21.1	10.1	7.3	3.7	13.8

Source: Field Survey 2002

A = Forest Protection; B = Forestry labour; C = Decision-making; D = Provision of advisory services; E = Forest regeneration and F = Others.

The Table shows that many of the respondents are willing to participate in forest protection while only few were interested in provision of advisory services and forest regeneration. A relatively higher percentage of the respondents were interested in providing forest labour and participating in decision-making. About 13.8 per cent of the respondents held different opinions on the roles they were willing to play. This ranged from taungya farming, vigilante group and forest produce buying.

Existing relationship among Stakeholders

There is some level of cooperation among the various stakeholders. This was evident from existing development projects jointly executed by community members. These include construction of bridges, annual road maintenance and the constitution of a forestry task force by the timber contractors, which work with the forestry officials to control illegal forest activities within the forest reserve.

Table 3 shows the kind of relationship existing among the forestry officials and the other stakeholders.

TABLE 3: Relationship Among the Various Forest Stakeholders in Shasha Forest Reserve

Stakeholders	No. of Respondents	Α	В	С	D
Hunters	32	16	8	4	4
Harvesters	40	13	10	12	5
Forestry Staff	10	2	4	2	2
Total	82	31	22	18	11
Percentage	100	37.8	26.9	22.0	13.4

Source: Field Survey 2002

A = Cordial; B = Friendly; C = Casual; D = Indifferent.

The Table 3 shows that there is at least some level of understanding among the various stakeholders. About 37.8 per cent of the total number of respondents interviewed agreed that they have a cordial relationship with other stakeholders while 26.9 per cent said they are friendly with each other. While 22 per cent are of the opinion that they have only casual relationship with other stakeholders, 13.4 per cent of the respondents are indifferent to this. It is interesting to note that Community associations exist in the study area, which is already integrated to each other by tradition and culture. For instance the Traditional Medicine Practitioners and the Elders' Society are intertwined while many people in the elders' society are also members of the Hunters' Association, Many food sellers and NTFP harvesters are also members of Hunters' Association. Some indigenes have also risen to very high positions in the State Forestry service. There is thus a reasonable measure of socio-cultural relationship among the various stakeholders.

TABLE 4: Indigenous Methods of Forest Protection in Shasha Forest Reserve

No. of Respondents	A	В	С	D
32	4	2	26	0
40	2	6	21	2
72	6	8	47	2
. 100	8.3	11.1	65.3	2.8
	32 40 72	32 40 72 6	32 40 72 6 8	32 4 2 26 40 2 6 21 72 6 8 47

Source: Field Survey 2002

A = Guards; B = Barriers; C = Traditional laws; D = Prosecution.

Sixty-five per cent of the respondents supported the idea of using traditional methods of forest protection while 2.8 per cent believed that the use of legal prosecution is best (Table 4). The use of barriers such as fencing and guards are not very popular among the respondents. It was agreed during meetings with various stakeholder groups that an equitable benefit-sharing arrangement borrowing partly from the existing Forestry Trust Fund in practice in some states of Nigeria be adopted.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The presence of many local groups and associations is an incentive for the formation of a Joint Stakeholders Forest Management Committee. The community members have co-existed over the years and have developed good working relationship. They could therefore

be easily organized into a working committee whose activities will be jointly planned and carefully streamlined towards the sustainable management of the forest reserve. The fact that majority of the stakeholders are willing to participate in the management of the forest reserve is very important. This will provide ample opportunity to the local people to fully participate in the management of the forest and benefit from the outputs of the forest. The implication of this is that the forest can now be better managed with reduced cases of illegal felling; encroachment and wilful destruction of the forest in protest of their alienation from their own land by the forestry authorities as observed by Ajayi (1996). Many authors have advocated the involvement of local communities in rural development and resource management (Ostrom, 1990; Savenje and Higman, 1991; Otegbeye, 1995 and Higman, et al. (1999).

The roles of the various stakeholders can be linked to the socioeconomic characteristics and the traditional role of each group in the society. The fact that many of the hunters wish to participate in forest protection reflects their traditional role within the society, which is that of protecting the community members against external aggressors. Also as professional hunters, they would want to ensure the sustainability of the forest in order to sustain their business/job. The attitude of the marketers to the role perception may also be understood from the economic point of view. The fact that none of the forestry staff indicated interest to participate in forest protection is however strange as this is one of their roles as foresters. Their attitude may however be attributed to fear of attack by indigenous contractors who seized the opportunity of the communal clash to grasp as much as they could from the forest reserve while the crisis lasted. Forest guards in Nigeria are not allowed to carry arms. It may therefore be quite dangerous for them to confront the sometimes-armed illegal forest users. Twenty-one per cent of the respondents are also willing to provide forest labour. This could be understood from an economic point of view. Many of the indigenous folks who live around the forest are poor and would readily serve as forest labour to supplement their meager farm income. The other stakeholders expressed interests in activities such as decision-making, provision of advisory services and forest regeneration. All these are very useful services for the proper functioning of the proposed JSFMC.

It is also interesting to note that the stakeholders enjoy some good relationship among themselves. Many of the respondents say their

relationships with the forestry officials are cordial, friendly or at least casual and indifferent respectively. This implies that there are no serious conflicts among them, which could prevent them from working together as a group. It is only natural that many of the respondents advocated the use of traditional laws for forest protection. The people are already used to such methods, it has worked to sustain their lands before the advent of the colonialists who according to Ajayi (1996) stealthily took away the land from them and gazetted them into forest reserves. This is more so when as observed by Juma and Ojwang (1996), the forestry authorities have been unable to provide the financial resources, personnel and other facilities to ensure or enforce sustainable forest management.

Fewer respondents believed in the use of guards, barriers and legal prosecution probably because none of these have succeeded in efficiently securing the resources of the forest in the past.

The benefit sharing arrangement proposed hopefully would serve as an incentive for community members who want to contribute to the security and sustainable management of the forest reserve. The workability of this arrangement is not in doubt since the practice of forestry trust fund has been adopted by many states in Nigeria prior to this time. The innovation here is the payment of royalties to communities from forestry proceeds. Again, this is being experimented in Cross River State of Nigeria and the response so far is very encouraging. According to Iboh (2003), a total sum of N54.98m (US\$404,264) had been distributed to various participating communities between 1999 and 2002. This constitutes about 50 per cent of the total sum of N109.84m (US\$807.647) generated from the forest within this period. This is mutually beneficial to both the participating communities and the forestry commission. Some communities have judiciously utilized such money in prosecuting community development projects such as building of schools, health centres, culverts, roads and provision of electricity while the total revenue accruing to the forestry commission had increased significantly within the four-year period. Soulama (1995) had also reported a development in Burkina Faso where the project on "Natural Forest Management for Environmental Protection and Wood Production" contributed \$1.2 million to the communal fund in the year, 1995 while 25 per cent of Ouagadougou's fuel wood need was supplied. In Cameroon, Vabi et al. (2000) reported a participatory arrangement whereby the administration in charge of forestry entrusts part of the national forest to a community with a view to ensuring its management, conservation and use for the benefit of that community. Since the idea of community participation in forest management has worked in one part of Nigeria and in other countries with similar socio-economic and ecological circumstances as Nigeria, it is presumed that the idea will be practicable in the study area and in the country.

On the basis of the findings and discussion of results of this study, a participatory model establishing a web of working relationship among the various stakeholders, is developed as shown in Figure 1.

Duties and Functions of the Joint Stakeholders' Forest Management Committee (JSFMC)

The setting up of the committee is such that decision-making encompasses all the interest groups in forest management, right from the community (grass-roots) level to the highest policy-making level. The duties and functions of each stakeholder group are as follows:

(i) Community-based Association/Institutions

These are the people for whom the forest is supposed to be managed. They are to provide genuine ideas on forest management strategies, including the rights and benefits they desire from the forest. Their representatives shall attend the meetings of the JSFMC regularly to exchange ideas and make recommendations on forestry issues. They shall collaborate with the State Department of Forestry to provide effective protection to the forest reserve. They should also be involved in the establishment of community nurseries to supply seedlings for afforestation/reforestation/regeneration programmes. They shall provide paid labour for forest operations such as fire tracing, site preparation and road maintenance.

(II) The Forestry Field Staff on Ground at Shasha

These are to represent the interest of the State Government at the committee meetings. They are quite familiar with the forest reserve, its extent and resource composition. They shall provide professional advice and first hand information about the state of the forest reserve during meetings. They are also expected to provide feedback to the Department on discussions and decisions made at the JSFMC meetings through the charge officer at Ile-Ife.

(iii) Research Institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations

They are to carry out research on current forestry problems and disseminate findings through workshops and publications. They are also to provide the training and development programmes for forestry

staff and other members of the JSFMC by organizing short training courses, workshops and seminars to be sponsored by the State Government or in collaboration with other donor agencies.

(iv) The Zonal Forest/Charge Officer at Ile-Ife

This officer shall form the link between the committee and the State Forestry Service. He shall on a regular basis, report back to the Department on the recommendations and proposals emanating from the JSFMC. He in turn relays information on government policy decisions and programmes concerning forest management back to the meeting. The State's Director of Forestry is to serve as the committee chairman while the secretary comes from NGOs, Research Institutions or the Committee on Ife Affairs.

(v) The Committee on Ife Affairs

This committee's representative(s) shall liaise with the Ife Zonal Farmers' Development Council and representatives of traditional rulers who are members of the JSFMC to obtain information on decisions reached at JSFMC meetings. This information is in turn relayed to the Monarch who may react appropriately through the Honourable Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources or directly to the office of the Governor.

(vi) Timber Contractors/Sawmillers Association

Their representative shall attend the JSFMC meetings; provide advice and suggestions on timber concessions, permits and maintenance of law and order in the forest reserve. They shall also operate with other stakeholders for the execution of minor development projects such as road maintenance and bridge construction as is currently the case.

(vii) The State Forestry Service

The Department shall on the basis of the proposals and recommendations of the JSFMC, taking cognizance of the political, economic and technical expediencies of the period, prepare work plans. The latter, becomes a working guide for the management of the forest reserve. The Department shall also monitor and coordinate the activities of the JSFMC. It is also to recommend disciplinary actions for forest offenders and compensations and incentives to deserving officers and community members.

The Department will also in collaboration with the NGOs and Research Institutions provide training and development programmes

for forestry staff and disseminate forestry information to the members of the JSFMC. The Forestry Department will regularly brief the Hon'ble Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry on the policy recommendations and requests for financial and technical supports to execute forestry development projects.

(viii) The State Legislatures

The legislative arm of the State Government shall deliberate on appropriation of budget to the forestry sector. They shall also debate forest policy matters as presented to the house by the JSFMC through the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

(ix) The State Executive Council

The Hon'ble Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources shall liaise with the State House of Assembly on matters requiring policy decision including budget appropriation for forestry development programmes and forestry related bills. He shall also work with the Monarch (paramount ruler) to seek his opinion, advice and suggestions concerning the management of the forest reserve and to resolve conflicts. He is to report regularly to the Governor of the State on proposals, recommendations and requests emanating from the JSFMC.

The State Executive Council shall deliberate on forestry matters. It approves or rejects recommendations forwarded to it, authorizes the release of funds for staff training and forestry development projects. It will also occasionally approve incentives for the Monarch and the JSFMC after due consultations with the Hon'ble Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources who in turn must have received the necessary advice from the Director of Forestry.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Members of the forest reserve communities are willing to participate in the management of the forest reserve. Most of the respondents advocated the use of traditional methods for protecting the forest. There already exist some long-term social relationships among the various social groups within the communities, which make it easy for them to work together in a committee. Many of the indigenes are willing to work as paid labour, hence the supply of labour in the forest reserve may not be a limiting factor. The state of security of resources in the forest reserve is currently not assured.

exploitation are rampant. Regeneration and maintenance activities are rather absent, hence the management of the forest is far from being sustainable. The proposed Management Committee if adopted is capable of improving the forest management status and contributes to the welfare of the community members.

Recommendations

The traditional forest protection ideas of the indigenous communities should be carefully studied and incorporated into the present forest policing idea which appears to have failed in the forest reserve.

Hunters and traditional rulers could be very useful in forest law enforcement. They should therefore be organized into a taskforce to work with the uniformed forestry staff in the protection of forest resources. Boundary guards and patrolmen should be equipped with motorcycles and provided fuel allowance for effective patrol.

The benefit-sharing should be such that the total earnings from the forest reserve are shared at a ratio of 1: 2: 1 for forest regeneration, community royalties and returns to government respectively. Seedlings for forest regeneration must necessarily be purchased from communities and association's nurseries. This will augment the income-generating capacities of the rural communities and encourage rural enterprise. Able bodied and qualified members of the surrounding communities should be recruited into the forestry service to further encourage societies' goodwill. The model should be reviewed every five years to accommodate emerging socio-economic developments.

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